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**Language Attitudes and Practices among Basque
Youngsters: A Qualitative Study of the Outcomes of
EuskarAbentura.**

Treball de Fi de Grau/ BA Dissertation

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Abstract

The aim of my research is on the one hand to demonstrate that while Basque youngsters (especially those in Model D schooling) continue to successfully develop and gain proficiency in Basque, they often fail to employ Basque outside the classroom, and on the other hand to find out to what extent adventurous, non-academic strategies can bridge the gap between Basque knowledge and social-use among youngsters. The study is based on the hypothesis that the EuskarAbentura expedition, an innovative expanded version of Basque summer camps, may have a positive impact on participants' Basque-language attitudes and use in multilingual contexts like the Basque Country. This research work is based on an analysis of testimonies drawn from semi-structured interviews with five participants of the expedition with different linguistic profiles. Comparative analysis of the data with that of the general outcomes provided by the EuskarAbentura committee shows that the expedition successfully achieved the goals set, with the data from the five interviews also including aspects of the expedition that the EuskarAbentura committee failed to assess.

Keywords: imagined community, multilingualism, linguistic identity, language attitude, language-revival activism.

1. Introduction

Previous research has demonstrated the importance of Basque immersion schooling in Model D and other governmental language-revival measures in order to ensure its proficiency. However, the minority status of Basque in society cannot be completely counterbalanced by these authorities as they cannot reach all arenas of social life and ensure the positive attitudes towards the language, which, among other factors, in turn increases the actual use of Basque. As a result, nongovernmental language activism continues to be essential to normalizing the use of Basque in everyday life. The objective of my study is to analyse a particular Basque language activism initiative called EuskarAbentura, which is addressed to youngsters in non-academic contexts, and to evaluate the linguistic impact of these activities for the participants' use of Basque. Interviews with five youngsters who participated in the 2018 EuskarAbentura expedition will be the main method of data collection used in my qualitative research. Unlike quantitative methods, qualitative methods provide a deeper understanding of a social phenomenon. Interviews in particular, are very appropriate for exploring sensitive topics such as language attitudes and linguistic identities and obtaining detailed insights from individual participants.

This paper is organised as follows. Section two presents schooling as a main state apparatus and gives an overview of the education system in the Basque Country, as well as its achievements and challenges. Section three deals with language revitalisation movements in the Basque Country mostly beyond the classroom, and their evolution. In Section four, I analyse the case of Basque Summer camps and in particular the EuskarAbentura expedition as an innovative, nongovernmental, beyond-the-classroom language-revival initiative. In Sections five and six, I provide methodological details on the process of data generation and I will analyse extracts from five life stories in order to

compare them with the final conclusions drawn by the EuskarAbentura committee. Finally, in Section seven I will present the final conclusions of my research and the future perspectives.

2. Education systems as state apparatuses and the case of schools in the Basque-speaking territory

The school system is one of the most powerful ideological apparatuses of the state (Martin-Rubió, 2004: 12). The school is a crucial social site that I will discuss in this research because it plays a key role in the formation of children's world-view and both social and linguistic identity. The Basque Country or the Basque-speaking territory is located in the western Pyrenees region, on the border between France and Spain on the coast of the Bay of Biscay. It comprises the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (BAC) and Navarre in Spain and *Iparralde* (literally, "the northern part") in the north-east, entirely within the French department of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques. Although not officially considered to collectively form a state, these Basque territories constitute a very strong imagined community and the basis for claims of linguistic and cultural unity (Anderson, 1983).

Unlike in France, where the only official language is French, the creation of regional governments in Spain has granted minority languages a certain degree of institutional backing which includes the implementation of immersion programmes in the educational system. The Spanish Constitution of 1978 states in Article 3 that the Spanish language is the official language of the nation, but allows autonomous communities to provide a co-official language status for the other languages of Spain.¹ However, official support for the language and the linguistic rights of citizens differ considerably across the Basque

¹ With the exception of Aragonese and Asturian which are not official language and are only protected under the Statute of Autonomy, making them elective language in schools.

country: Within the Basque Autonomous Community, Basque has an official status, and it is not surprising that this is where Basque is spoken the most. The Chartered Community of Navarra, also called Navarre, is divided into three linguistic regions: The Basque-speaking area where Basque is widespread and co-official, the mixed region where Basque is present and has reduced co-official recognition, and the non-Basque-speaking area where Basque is not official. Within *Iparralde*, Basque has no official status. However, *Seaska*, the association of *Ikastolak* in Iparralde, provides Basque-immersion education which is key to ensure the survival of the language in that region.²

Language proficiency, use and school performance are complex issues in officially bilingual communities moving towards multilingualism, especially in places where more powerful *lingua francas* (like Spanish and French) coexist with regional minority languages (like Basque, which is the only non-Indo-European language in Western Europe, so far unrelated to any other language in the world). This makes us assume that “youngsters in the Basque Country experience intensely the tension between a perception of language as a means for constructing a national identity and a perception of language as a commodity which contributes to the socioeconomic promotion of the individual” (Cots and Martin-Rubió, 2008).

There has been an important shift of the language of instruction from Spanish to Basque since the creation of the co-official language status and the *Ley de Normalización Lingüística*.³ At the same time, the spread of English and the arrival of immigrants speaking other languages is causing a shift from bilingual schools to multilingual schools.

² Clandestine schools that continued to teach in Basque in spite of the Republican defeat in the Spanish Civil War and the illegality of using Basque both in public and in all educational institutions. At the present time, is a type of primary and secondary school that teaches in Model D and gives a prominent place to Basque language and culture.

³ This is the law regulating the presence of Basque in Basque public administration, education and media.

According to the last sociolinguistic survey carried out by the Basque Government, the Government of Navarre together with the *Euskarabidea* institution and *Office Public de la Langue Basque* (2016), among the citizens living in Basque-speaking territories older than 16 there were 223,000 more Basque-speakers than in 1991. Youngsters aged 16-24 are more Basque speaking than those in 1991 (55.4% in 2016 as compared to 22.5% in 1991). Within this overall trend there lie considerable differences among Basque regions. Overall, only 15.1% of the whole Basque population has Basque as their mother tongue with a similar percentage among those aged 16-24. Of 32.9% of the people that ‘know’ Basque, the percentage of *Euskaldunberri* is very high (54.3%).⁴ This demonstrates the paramount role of Basque language education in ensuring knowledge of Basque.

In 1982, with the *Ley de Normalización Lingüística*, three models of schooling were established (in the BAC). Models A, B and D differ in the language or languages of instruction, the linguistic aims and the intended student population. Schools’ decision on which models to choose inevitably responds to the sociolinguistic reality of each province and the linguistic demands of the families. Model A, Spanish-medium instruction: Spanish is used as language of instruction and Spanish, English and Basque are also language subjects. The aim of this model related to Basque is to acquire good comprehension skills in Basque. Model B, Basque and Spanish-medium instruction: Basque and Spanish are used as both languages of instruction and subjects. English is taught as a subject. The aim of this model related to Basque is to acquire good comprehension and usage skills in Basque. Model D, Basque-medium instruction: Basque is used as language of instruction with Basque, Spanish and English as subjects too. The aim of this model related to Basque is to strengthen not only individual competence in Basque, but also the Basque-speaking community. However, this model also

⁴ *Euskaldunberri* is somebody who learned Basque by means other than family transmission

demonstrates that the future of the Basque people is multilingual, because Basque, in order to survive, must become a normalized language in its linguistic area, but Basque speakers should speak other languages too. Model G; (only in Navarre) where the vehicular language is Spanish, and Basque is not taught as a subject. Model X; (only in *Iparralde*) where the vernacular language is French, and Basque is not taught as a subject. Nevertheless, due to the increasing number of Spanish-speaking students in Model D in recent decades, the use of English as language of instruction and the arrival of speakers of other languages, the boundaries between Models A, B and D designed in the early 80's are becoming blurred in the Basque-speaking territory.

2.1 Model D of education and multilingual proficiency

Model D was originally designed for Basque-speaking children and almost all children from Basque-speaking homes are enrolled in this model. However, many Spanish-speaking parents also choose Model D and not Model B. This makes Model D, the most popular model followed by Model B. Cenoz's hypothesis (2008) is that, on the one hand, parents may feel that speaking Basque is part of Basque identity, so although Basque has been lost in their family they would like their children to speak it properly. On the other hand, many parents are also aware of the practical advantages that Basque speakers may find when finding a job in the Basque-speaking territories.

It has been demonstrated that the linguistic model has a clear influence on the proficiency level of the students in all languages, and only Model D students gain proficiency in three or four languages (Cenoz, 2008: 21). Because of the unequal social situation of the three languages, only this model can help to achieve some balance. In other words, higher proficiency in the minority language in the context of the Basque-speaking territories is equivalent to more balanced Spanish-Basque bilingualism because of the extended social

knowledge of Spanish. Balanced bilingualism gives some advantages when acquiring English as a third language, and other L4s, that “can be explained as related to a higher development of metalinguistic awareness or learning strategies and it can also be linked to the fact that bilinguals have a wider linguistic repertoire that can be used as a basis in third language acquisition” (Cenoz, 2008: 21). Model D students, who receive their instruction in Basque, evidence higher achievement in English than do Model A students (Valencia & Cenoz, 1992). However, offering Model D in schools that are located in areas where Basque is socially practically absent or is not an official language (e.g Navarre and *Iparralde*) may generate a number of challenges and dilemmas.

2.2 Attitudes towards Basque and figures of language use

Developing positive attitudes towards language learning and use is desirable in any context, but there are differences between learning a minority language and a language of wider communication. Having a positive attitude towards Spanish or English brings little significant benefit to the learning process of these languages (compared to minority languages) as there already exist an imposed “motivation” or a reason to learn those languages (Martin-Rubió, 2004: 57). Not only is Spanish an official language, but as the Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution states “All Spaniards have the duty to know it. English, which is becoming increasingly global, is a useful language to possess in order to satisfy people's aspirations of applying for jobs worldwide, travel, or spatial relocation. By contrast, considering that in the case of minority languages one can always switch to the majority language, having positive attitudes (proactive motivation) towards Basque does make a drastic difference both in the process of learning them and mostly in relation to their use.

We can understand linguistic attitudes as evaluative reactions towards a specific language or a specific language group, or the activity of learning languages. These attitudes have been viewed as having three components: cognition, affect and readiness for action (Ajzen, 1988; Baker, 1992, cited in Cenoz, 2009:176). Linguistic attitudes and high levels of proficiency are bidirectionally related, and other people's attitudes (parents', friends', or teachers') can significantly influence one's attitudes.

Based on the same sociolinguistic survey mentioned in section 2, in the Basque-speaking territories, "favourable" attitudes towards Basque have increased by 8.3% while the "neutral" and the "against" attitudes have dropped. Related to age, 55% of youngsters claim to have a positive attitude towards Basque and 85.8% think that we should all speak both Basque and Spanish. Only 9.2% of the youngsters think that we should only speak in Basque. When considering people aged between 25-34, 57.7% of those who are parents responded that they would want to put their kids in Model D, even in cases where this model is not offered where they live.

As the latest measurements of use of the Basque language demonstrate, since the beginning of the language revitalisation movement, both the percentage of the people who can speak it (*Euskaldun*) and the positive attitude towards Basque have risen. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily linked to Basque's actual use. Basque youngsters often do not consider themselves as fluent in Basque as in Spanish and speak less Basque outside of the academic context and the home environment. The low levels of Basque use among friends is probably the most alarming trend (EuskarAbentura, 2018a).

When it comes to the language ability and the fluency that a speaker may have, the same sociolinguistic survey reveals a clear change in the whole territory where Basque is spoken. In 1991 the percentage of Basque-dominant bilinguals and Spanish-dominant

bilinguals was very similar (34.6% in 2016 vs 37.8% in 1991). Nowadays, however, the percentage of the Spanish-dominant bilinguals is 18.5 points higher than that of the Basque-dominant bilinguals (26% vs 44.5%). Related to age the percentage of Basque-dominant bilinguals between youngsters aged 16-24 is very low (23.8%) compared to Spanish-dominant bilinguals (56.7%) and balanced bilinguals (19.5%). Finally, the most relevant data is that of the actual use of Basque given by the sociolinguistic survey of the street use of Basque carried out in 2016 (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2017). In the Basque provinces of the BAC and *Iparralde* there are fewer youngsters who speak Basque in the streets, compared to 2013 (12.3% vs 13.4% and 3.8% vs 4%) with Navarre being the only province where the use of Basque in the street is higher (5.7% vs 7.1%) among the youngsters.

In conclusion, the education system (compulsory education, universities, and *Euskaltegiak* (Basque literacy programs for adults) have formed the basis of the *Euskalduntze* process, that is, people gaining knowledge of the Basque language, and the results have been successful. However, Basque has new challenges related to better attitudes towards the minority language, and higher rates of use. These attitudes that are not necessarily the result of bilingual and multilingual schools, but they are rather the consequence of positive experiences while speaking the language in question within the family and the social network. Moreover, it is not enough to have positive attitudes towards Basque, with it also being of high importance that those positive attitudes translate into its actual use both in formal and informal contexts although some sociolinguistic realities might hamper youngsters from becoming active bilinguals. In this transformation from positive attitude towards Basque language into the actual use of it, the language revitalisation movements in the Basque Country play an essential role.

3. Language revitalisation movements in the Basque Country

Language revival is by its nature a process of calling into question the meaning of language for identity (Urla, 2012), but how is the Basque language important for Basque identity? Most scholars now agree that *Euskera*, and not race or descent, is the core of Basque nationhood in the twentieth century. This creates the possibility of being and becoming Basque through language learning, what Urla calls “practice-based view of Basque identity” (2012:73-75). The Basque language is a key tool for one’s integration into Basque society and for the cohesion of the society itself (Urla, 2012:67). She also admits that this pragmatic perspective on identity represents a challenge to all Basques, especially to nationalists who prioritise the use of Basque, but then speak in Spanish. Moreover, this practice-based view of Basque identity is clearly misunderstood (if not completely ignored) by many outside commentators that believe that Basque-language education is an “imposition” or describe language normalization as having created a “Basque dictatorship”. However, Urla stresses that in reality the grassroots movement has always been willing to ensure the teaching of Basque to all citizens, that the vast majority of jobs have no Basque-language requirements, and that employees typically receive paid-leave to obtain the level of Basque required for their job. Moreover, The Observatory of Linguistic Rights, *Hizkuntza Eskubideen Behatokia*, documents daily infractions of the legal right of Basque-language speakers to receive basic services in Basque.

Governmental language-revival legal frameworks as well as public policy and planning are supporting instruments and cannot reach all arenas of social life and ensure the positive attitudes towards Basque and its use. Therefore, the minority status of Basque in society cannot be completely counterbalanced by the work done by schools and it is necessary to pass the limited realms of the 1982 Law of Normalization. Efficient language “normalization” requires the restoration of a language, and its culture, to its “normal”

condition, placed at a level of equality among other languages. The question then arises of how Basque advocates can motivate people who have learned Basque to use it beyond the classroom and move beyond increasing language competence to the use of Basque in the everyday life of their own community. In order to make language revival a successful process, it is vital to create and sustain popular social movements.

3.1 A brief history of Basque activist movements

Basque language activism in the 60s was based on Txillardegí's understanding of activism.⁵ Heterogeneous combinations of many and diverse groups and activities were created, and the *Ikastola* movement was the core organization. The *Ikastolak* movement had been going on often clandestinely during repression of the Basque language during Franco's dictatorship.

Language revitalization movements in the 90s however, were inevitably affected by the expanded definition of ETA which installed fear and a hostile environment for anyone involved in nongovernmental activism or oppositional Basque media.⁶ Nonetheless, Txepetx, a Spanish linguist, specialised in the Basque language, historical linguistics and sociolinguistics, marked a turning point for the concept of language activism in the Basque Country. According to him, the agent of linguistic revival was thus not to be an *abertzale*, a person associated with the Basque nationalist political party, but a more community-based activism. He also defended that the Basque linguistic community should work across their ideological and political differences. Urla explains that this community-wide participation (*auzolan* in Basque) and sense of responsibility (*hitzarmen*

⁵ One of the most influential figures in Basque nationalism and culture in the second half of the 20th century.

⁶ Under the idea of "Everything is ETA" the Spanish government aimed to dismantle the individuals and entities that were considered to provide economic support or to disseminate the ideology of the armed group.

in Basque) method served to engage members of the community in the practice of language normalization (Urla, 2012:153-154).

In addition, Txepetx considered minority-language activism to be inevitably interwoven with other forms of socio-political inequalities and compared linguistic diversity with biological diversity. The vitality of Basque, Txepetx argued, depends on its having a diverse and sustainable range of natural “habitats”. Finally, he understood language acquisition as a combination of psychological/cognitive, emotional and behavioural elements that fall into three main categories: motivation, knowledge, and use. The key to motivation, he said, lies in expanding the social use of Basque to unrestricted and natural contexts (beyond the classroom) and the relationships forged in these spaces in this language.

“The desire to participate in relationships generated in these spaces, he argued, are what give less able speakers the motivation to learn more. The regular usage also helps to sustain the identification with the language among those who already know how to speak it. The classroom might be a necessary starting point for language acquisition, but an emotional attachment to the language and motivation for use comes about when language learning takes place in the context of social activities or what he called ‘the grammar of a culture’, not just in the classroom” (Urla, 2012:147).

Along similar lines, in Sarasua’s opinion (Letona, Amonarriz & Irazustabarrena, 2003 cited in Urla, 2012:207) language revival has to reassess the goal of achieving equality with Spanish. Interest in speaking Basque, he said, will come from the richness and variety of the unique cultural worlds accessible through this language.⁷

4. The case of Basque Summer Camps and in particular the EuskarAbentura expedition.

⁷ Jon Sarasua is a university professor and a former *bertsolari* (a singer of improvised musical verses in Basque)

It is important to build on the hard work of Basque advocates and public investment made into Basque language-medium education in order to ensure that increased Basque proficiency is also reflected by its normalised use in all spheres of life. The minority status of Basque in society cannot be completely counterbalanced by the work done by schools. Relating language learning and use to enjoyable leisure activities in a non-academic context and social dynamics is what Txepetx's activism theory first proposed and what Basque summer camps have always targeted.

The first summer camps that aimed to expand the use of Basque outside the classroom, *Euskal Udalekuak* (Basque Summer Camps), shaped in the 60s. This initiative was created in the context of the *Ikastolak*. Children in the *Ikastolak* learned Basque during the school year, but since some parents and teachers noticed that the use of Basque among the students decreased during the summer, they decided to organise clandestine summer camps in different towns across the Basque Country, usually in very small towns connected to the nature and far from the more military-controlled metropolitan areas (Euskal Udalekuak, 2019). Nowadays, *Euskal Udalekuak* still take place every summer in the towns of Goñi, Bernedo and Abaigar and are open to *Ikastola* attendees as well as anyone who is able to understand Basque.

These summer camps are usually addressed at youngsters situated at what is understood as a "critical" age between childhood and adulthood. The experiences that one goes through in adolescence have a very relevant impact on oneself (EuskarAbentura, 2018a) and some of those teenagers have recently started taking important life decisions as well as recognizing the ways in which these decisions can influence their surroundings. However, when building their identity, teenagers sometimes also look for distinction and

that is why people often rebel in more formal and regulated places like the school or the family.

“One way of facing the identity crisis that Basque youngsters face is by articulating a “project identity” which is not felt as a reaction of resistance to something but as a movement which aims at transforming society as a whole...typical examples of project identity would be environmentalism or feminism, global “fights” that gather activists from very diverse backgrounds” (Martin-Rubió, 2004: 24).

4.1 Transition to EuskarAbentura

EuskarAbentura is a walking expedition that took place for the first time last summer (2018) where 121 boys and girls between 16 and 17 years old from the seven Basque territories and the diaspora (considered as the eighth Basque province) explored the Basque geography, culture and history. The language of communication in the camp is Basque. As explained in their website, “From July 1st to 31st, they completed 783 kilometres in 31 stages, 483 of them on foot. Following parts of different routes of the *Camino de Santiago*, they crossed Euskal Herria, from Maule to Getxo”. In addition, they visited places declared World Heritage by UNESCO. Several workshops and seminars of all kinds also enriched the experience and professionals working in different areas like musicians, sociolinguists, actors and actresses, dancers, writers, and sportsmen/women, would now and then join the expedition and share their knowledge with the young participants.

EuskarAbentura aimed to mix youngsters from very diverse linguistic, social, economic and cultural realities and its main goals are to (1) promote and normalise the use of Basque among young people by means of a positive, unguided experiences based on knowledge and sharing; (2) create and enrich a new network of young Basque speakers that lasts beyond the expedition; and (3) guarantee the transmission of the natural, historical and

cultural heritage of the Basque Country (EuskarAbentura, 2018a). Besides, experiencing EuskarAbentura implies (4) the acquisition of certain positive values, including gender equality, garbage management, coexistence, sustainable and healthy living habits as well as forms of sustainable tourism which implies interweaving minority-language activism with other forms of socio-political movements. In order to achieve these goals, the EuskarAbentura committee set particular actions and strategies (see Appendix 1).

The young participants would be called *jzioquitarrak*, (meaning those who stir the joy) in relation to the first glosses (annotations in a text) written in Basque, *Jzioqui dugu* (“we stir the joy”). To determine the number of participants coming from each province, the organization considered the proportion of the population of each of these territories with respect to the total population of the Basque Country (EuskarAbentura, 2019). In addition, two places were reserved for young people coming from the diaspora. All those who become a *jzioquitar* had overcome a previous selection process for which they had presented a project and a motivation letter. For the project, candidates had chosen a topic among three: Basque language and the fishing tradition, the role of women in Basque language transmission and Basque in your hometown. They had been able to choose among several formats for their project: Historical, literary, audio-visual, musical, plastic or digital. Along with the 121 *jzioquitarrak*, another 30 adults who make up the *urdinak* “The Blue Family” (because they wear blue shirts) completed the expedition group. They were instructors (also called “*The Sherpas*”), doctors, nurses, drivers, cameramen/women and journalists. The driving force behind this project is the non-profit committee with the same name. It consists of ten young people settled in different parts of the Basque Country that for almost three years have voluntarily worked shaping this initiative. Some of them participated years ago in the expedition *Ruta Quetzal*, and it was precisely from their experience that the idea of launching a Basque version of that

expedition was born.⁸ Likewise most language revival movements from the 90s, they searched for combining entrepreneurialism methods and language revival (Urla, 2012: 157). EuskarAbentura sought to be a serious, expertise-based language-revival project reliant on well-conceived plans, able to deliver results.

5. Data description and methods of data generation

The main method that I employed to understand and compare the personal impact (especially the linguistic impact) that the EuskarAbentura expedition had on the young participants is the in-depth individual interview. Taking into account the nature of the work as well as my limited time, in my research I aim to use the analysis of five narratives to reveal to what extent the socio-political and socio-linguistic contexts in which EuskarAbentura participants live may influence them when putting into practice the values of the expedition itself and the language habit changes that they may have experienced. I also seek to compare the results of my interviews with those offered by the sociolinguistic surveys filled out by the youngsters prior to and following the expedition (EuskarAbentura, 2018b) and the final report of the EuskarAbentura committee (EuskarAbentura, 2018a). In these surveys the participants had rating-scale questions where they had to mark from one to ten their fluency and motivation when speaking in Basque and their actual use of the language. The surveys also contained closed-ended questions about language attitudes and habits. This type of quantitative survey can be very practical in terms of assessing in general terms if the main goals of the expedition were satisfied; however, certain dimensions are frequently left out.

Only one of my five interviews took place face-to-face, with the rest being carried out via telephone instead of via Skype, in order to avoid dependency on a stable and fast internet.

⁸ Ruta Quetzal was a one-month expedition through different Spanish-speaking countries where around 300 Spanish-speaker students would experience an intercultural exchange.

Telephone interviews as method of qualitative data collection include the challenges of establishing rapport, the inability to read body language and potential loss of contextual data. However, using the telephone to conduct my questionnaire was the only viable option for qualitative research with geographically-dispersed interviewees. Therefore, to avoid “cold-calls” and establish contact with the interviewees, I previously shared some messages and voicemails with them, and informed them of the purpose of my study as well as the importance of their contribution. The fact that I was also part of this expedition as an instructor helped me to establish a more personal relationship during the interviews. In the same way, my identity as staff member of the expedition and a Basque speaker may have impacted interviewees’ responses. They may have had the perception of me, as interviewer, belonging to a higher status group due to my age and my position on the expedition. As a result, they may have felt more pressure to give socially desirable and positive accounts of EuskarAbentura answers, thus casting doubt on the credibility of answers.

All interviews were conducted in Basque, with the possibility of changing the language if participants needed to express themselves better. Considering the limited space for my research work, quotations of the interviews will only be presented in English. The way I interviewed these five participants was fairly unstructured, favouring a more relaxed interaction, rather than a question-answer format. However, I used a specific outline with several key questions that helped me to define the areas to be explored (see Appendix 2). The interviewees Xune, Ohana, Carla, Manu and Aitor (all pseudonyms) were all participants or *jzioquitarrak* of the first edition of EuskarAbentura in July 2018. Although of a similar age (17-18), they all come from different cultural, educational, linguistic and social class backgrounds. I chose these five informants because I was interested in

analysing and comparing different individual interviews of youngsters living in significantly different socio-political contexts within the Basque-speaking community.

5.1. Individual language profiles

Xune's story: "The new generation may create a new reality by means of Basque"

Xune is from Tuteria in the south of Navarre, where Basque is not an official language and can be practically considered a Spanish-monolingual environment. However, she studied in a *Ikastola* where Model D was offered. Nowadays, she lives in Gasteiz, the closest city in which she had family members and where Model D schooling was offered.

When it comes to her language habits at home, she speaks Basque with her mother, her sisters, and her mother's family members. At school, in Tuteria she would only use Basque with the teachers and Spanish was the dominant language when interacting with all her friends. Now that she is living and studying in a much more Basque-speaking city, she claims that she has radically changed her language habits into Basque, and she is aware about how she adjusts her linguistic habits depending on where she is. He had already been to the summer camps organized by *Euskal Udalekuak* 11 times and in the summer of 2018 her plan was to go again. Although the walking aspect of the expedition scared her, after the particularly "cool and attractive" promotion presentation that a member of EuskarAbentura did at their school, she decided to sign up for EuskarAbentura and "try something new".

Ohana's story: "I will definitely be part of the expedition again, next time as an instructor"

Ohana is from Tolosa (Gipuzkoa) with most of the population using Basque in their daily lives. She is studying in an *Ikastola* which only offers Model D and taking into account that Basque is her mother tongue, she uses it in all the sphere of her life. She had

previously participated in summer camps organized by the provincial council of Gipuzkoa and the leisure group of her school, but due to age restrictions, she was not able to participate anymore and claimed to be “disappointed” as she could not find an alternative plan. After the expedition was announced in her high school, she was not very convinced about it since it was the first edition, she did not know what to expect. Ohana managed to finish the required project to participate the night before and she confesses; “I did the task, just in case, so until I knew I was accepted or not I had leeway to change my mind”.

Carla’s story: “It was not only a physical journey; it was also a journey to rediscover oneself”

Carla lives and studies in Berango (Bizkaia) and although she attends a Model D class, her high-school also offers Model A and B. As a result, Carla’s group of friends is linguistically very heterogeneous. Taking into account that it is impossible for Carla to have a “sesquilingual conversation” due to her friends coming from Model A, who barely understand Basque, they tend to speak in Spanish.⁹ She only speaks Basque with one of her classmates. At home, Carla’s parents do not speak Basque, and although her little brother also knows Basque, they would always use Spanish for family interactions. Just like Xune and Ohana, Carla has also participated in summer camps, but the linguistic aspect was not the focus; “only instructors would speak in Basque”. Carla considered participating in EuskarAbentura as an opportunity to meet new people.

Aitor’s story: “Now I have a completely different view of the Basque Country”

⁹ Term proposed by Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera when referring to a conversation where people speak different languages but still understand each other. This is a quite common phenomena in bilingual contexts like the Basque Country.

Aitor lives in Baiona (the capital city of the province of Lapurdi), the west part of *Iparralde*, and his case demonstrates the blurred boundaries between the linguistic models mentioned in Section Two, as the model that he is in does not fit into any of the mentioned models. At high school, Aitor has chosen the Basque-bilingual option where they devote three hours per week to Basque language as well as other aspects of the Basque Country and two hours per week to Spanish and English language, with the rest of the classes being in French. Aitor only speaks Basque at home with his dad, who is also from Baiona, and his two sisters. His mom is from Haiti and at home they use both French and Creole for common family interactions. At school, he only speaks Basque during the Basque classes where incidentally the teacher is his dad. He admits that he uses very little Basque outside the school, and French is the dominant language of interaction. In the case of Aitor, it was his dad, the only Basque teacher of his high-school, who informed him about EuskarAbentura. Aitor had never been in a summer camp and he was particularly attracted by the possibility of getting to know other provinces of the Basque-speaking territory and “speak with those of the south”; referring to the people in the BAC and in Navarre.

Manu’s story: “EuskarAbentura was a combination of many things that have changed my life in so many aspects”

Manu lives in Portugalete, a town lying to the west of Bilbao, and as he claims several times during the interview; “here everybody speaks Spanish”. He attends Model A and he would only use Basque when addressing his Basque teacher. His parents are both from Andalusia and they never learnt Basque, and at home they always speak Spanish. He implicitly associates language use with identity, and he would like to be able to use Basque more often, but at the same time he simply accepts the socio-linguistic reality that he lives at. At the very beginning of the interview he seemed to be a little worried about

having to speak in Basque: “Sorry my Basque is completely out of practice”, but he easily managed to do the whole interview in Basque with some cases of code-mixing. When asked for the reason why he decided to participate in the expedition, he hesitated and explained: “although I barely speak in Basque, I really like the language. I wanted to participate in EuskarAbentura to improve my Basque and to get to know the Basque geography” and he insisted, in this case in Spanish, “I don’t know why, but I like Basque” which reflects an inexplicable attachment to the language. The fact that other two classmates were also coming to the expedition pushed him to participate.

6. Data analysis

As mentioned in the previous section, I seek to use the analysis of these five narratives to better understand the impact that EuskarAbentura has had on participants coming from different socio-political and socio-linguistic realities within the Basque-speaking territories. I aim to discover the difficulties and the advantages that the interviewees may have experienced after the expedition when implementing in their respective hometowns some linguistic and social habits acquired in the expedition. To achieve this, I compare the data resulting from the five bibliographical interviews with the final report obtained by the EuskarAbentura organization at the end of the expedition of 2018 (EuskarAbentura, 2018a, 2018b). I focus my analysis on the specific goals the expedition sought to achieve.

6.1 Encouraging the use of Basque among youngsters

The five participants’ storytelling reveals that they all speak more Basque, and more fluently, after EuskarAbentura, with the exception of Ohana who claims to have the same language habits as before: “I speak in Basque to everyone, just like before”. Both Aitor and Manu seemed eager to let me know about the language improvements they

experienced after the expedition, something that I could personally perceive from the very beginning of the interview. Manu seems to be especially surprised about this improvement: “I am not sure to what extent I have improved my Basque, but people keep telling me that I speak much better”. Manu’s narrative is especially relevant because although he mainly speaks Spanish in his daily basis, when asked whether EuskarAbentura has changed his linguistic habits or not, he laughs and explains: “I don’t have anyone to talk to in Basque, although I recently got a dog and it is true that I talk to him in Basque”. What is also very meaningful is that he proudly tells me about his participation in *Euskaraldia*: “I was *ahobizi*, well I still am... some teachers also participated, I saw them wearing the badge of *ahobizi*, and I didn’t even know they spoke Basque. During *Euskaraldia* I tried to interact more in Basque with them”.¹⁰

When discussing the linguistic heterogeneity of the groups Ohana admits that: “some of us, we came from much more Basque-dominant backgrounds, and we naturally influenced the language habits of the rest”, “since the first moment when they picked us up in the buses, the instructors encouraged us to mingle” explains Xune. Along similar lines, Aitor jokes about not having any other option but to speak in Basque as he barely knows Spanish. These last statements by Ohana, Xune and Aitor may reveal the carefully engineered nature of language-learning and choice in non-academic contexts such as that of EuskarAbentura.

When asked about the languages they use in social media, they all agree that since they started sharing the social media content produced by EuskarAbentura, it is more common and practical to produce Basque content. “When people post pictures from the expedition

¹⁰ Euskaraldia is a project in which people in all seven provinces in the Basque Country are encouraged to speak more Euskera. Over an 11-day period people either commit to be an Euskera speaker, *Ahobizi*, or an Euskera listener, *Belarriprest*, represented by an specific badge that they wear.

or with other *jzioquitarrak* after EuskarAbentura, all the titles and comments are in Basque, obviously” clarifies Xune. In addition, Carla’s discourse is highly emotional as she demonstrates her desire to explain how EuskarAbentura has changed the way she uses social media: “When following EuskarAbentura on social media, I found a youtuber that posts all her videos in Basque, I also do most of my Instagram stories in Basque, and I have changed my profile description into Basque”. Manu also shared a small anecdote with me, although he considers it irrelevant and laughs when I show interest: “I changed my Instagram name into Basque. Before I would use the expression in Spanish “*yo qué sé*” (meaning whatever) attached to my real name, and I decided that it could be funny to put it in Basque: “*Ez dakit zer*”). I also changed my phone language into Basque”.

In conclusion, as EuskarAbentura’s end-of-expedition sociolinguistic assessment revealed, the five participants interviewed developed, or maintained, the habit of speaking in Basque mainly with friends they met in EuskarAbentura and in some cases in other social spheres such as the family, school and group of friends, and some consider themselves to be more fluent now. The interviewees’ discourses confirm that the idea of creating mixed groups according to the origin of the participants has been very efficient when encouraging them to interact in Basque. In addition, they recognized producing and consuming more Basque content on social media even if it is something very symbolic like adding one Basque word to their Instagram profile, as is the case of Manu.

6.2 Creating a Basque-speaking youngsters’ network

All interviewees appear to be content to discuss the friendships they developed during and after EuskarAbentura, with this probably being the most affective part of the interviews. Xune and Ohana, who had already participated in other summer camps, emphasize the geographical heterogeneity of the participants: “Other summer camps do

not usually manage to gather youngsters from all of the seven provinces and the diaspora” says Xune. Ohana also jokes about one specific advantage she got from her widened network of friends: “The mere fact of being able to attend all the town festivities at EuskarAbentura’s friends’ hometowns made the expedition worth it [laughs]”. In addition to the interprovincial relationships, some participants also stated that they built local-based relationships with people they only knew by sight. This is the case of Xune: “Josu is from my father’s hometown and although I would go there every week, I never had friends there. I knew Josu by sight, but we had never talked to each other. Getting to know Josu was one of the most considerable personal contributions of EuskarAbentura”. The type of relationships built due to the physically and psychologically demanding aspect of the expedition have been mentioned several times by the participants. “It is a whole month, 24 hours with the same people sharing both good and bad moments” explains Ohana and Xune adds “because of the walking part of the expedition, we would discuss between us while walking for around 6 hours per day and in this way you get to know people much deeper... most summer camps have a very fixed planning with lots of activities and not much time for informal interactions”.

They all agree that constant online catch-ups as well as physical meetings, and even informal encounters between the teenagers and staff members have taken place and have later on been “proudly” shared in social networks in Basque. When asked about the “official” encounters organized by EuskarAbentura, Xune and Ohana consider them as an event for catching-up with the *xerpak* and the staff members “It is easy for us to organize activities in order to meet up friends from EuskarAbentura” explained Ohana. Nevertheless, Manu, Aitor and Carla agree on the practicality of the official encounter which makes it easier for them to meet up some of their EuskarAbentura friends who live far away.

At the end part of each interview, I asked them if they would recommend the expedition to other youth as EuskarAbentura aims to keep taking place and to expand the Basque-speaking youth network. Surprisingly three of them teased me by responding with a “no”. This reaction reveals that for them this question did not make much sense as they would without doubt recommend this experience. “Me and another 4 people from my school, who also participated last year, we have done an active informative campaign at our school, with several presentations” explains Ohana. “Soon my 15-years-old sister will be able to participate, and of course she will” says Aitor. Finally, when asked about their plans for this summer they explained me that in order to get to know the *jzioquitarrak* of the second edition, they are planning, together with the staff members, to join the expedition for few days.

In conclusion, apart from the heterogeneous expedition group as an essential condition to create a wide Basque-speaking youngsters’ network, already mentioned in the final conclusions reached by EuskarAbentura, after my interviews the nomadic and the adventurous nature of the expedition also appears to be vital. On the road, in the peace of mind of walking and the constant contingencies taking place, participants may become more vulnerable and find very little pretence which make participants rely more on one another and build trust, respect, and companionship. Moreover, the fact that EuskarAbentura encouraged the participants to keep in touch by creating a general WhatsApp group, made it practical for the participants to interact and maintain the relationships created during the expedition, once this was over. In relation to the encounters, the fact that most participants attended them justifies their utility to preserve the mentioned network.

6.3 Deepening knowledge of the Basque Country

In relation to this goal, interviewees mentioned diverse aspects of the expedition and the meaningful knowledge they acquired from them. Carla appear to be especially concerned about youngsters not knowing the Basque territory: “Although we live in the Basque Country, we know very little about it”. Ohana stresses the geographical knowledge she gained because of the itinerary itself: “It is hard to visit different part of the Basque Country for no particular reason... and EuskarAbentura gave us that opportunity... also, it was exciting when we passed by our hometown, so we could show around the rest of the participants”. “Our high school even welcomed the expedition group to sleep one night in the school installations [laughs]” she adds. When discussing the itinerary of the expedition, Manu also points out to me one specific town which made an impression on him: “I loved the town of Zerain, I don’t know exactly why, but I am looking forward to going back, perhaps this summer”.

The more formal or academic parts of the expedition were easily identified by all interviewees as one of its main sources of knowledge. Aitor narrates with great enthusiasm the opportunity he had to meet one of his favourite Basque comic strip writers as part of the EuskarAbentura cultural program/schedule: “These encounters with Basque cultural idols were very enriching... we had the opportunity to meet and directly interact with someone who is very well-known”. “I knew this artist before, and I especially liked his both comics and film...when I met him in EuskarAbentura I could ask him about the ways in which he draws his characters and the reason for it”. Xune underlines the activity where they got to know about the local currency of *Eusko Moneta* particularly active in *Iparalde*: “This speech was especially interesting because I didn’t know about the existence of local currencies and their utility... even less that they could exist in the

Basque Country”. Finally, although she struggled to choose one activity that she liked the most, Carla ends up choosing the visit to the *Ikastola* in the town of Argantzu: “I had no idea that within Araba there was a little territory belonging to another autonomous community that still has an *Ikastola*”.¹¹

Furthermore, Xune also considered the diversity of the expedition group itself as a very enriching source of knowledge: “The knowledge contribution of the speeches and the workshops was rewarding, but simply by interacting with other people in the expedition I learnt so many things about the Basque Country. For example, a participant from *Iparralde* explained to me that they use the word “*erran*” (meaning the verb ‘to say’) instead of “*esan*”, and this was something I had never heard of”. Likewise, Aitor, who speaks in *Nafar-Lapurtera* dialect, shared with me how he discovered other dialects of Basque, as well as the unique opportunity he had to interact with people in *Batua*:¹² “A *jzioquitar* from Iruñea taught me some *Batua*...I realized that people in the south (referring to the BAC and Navarre) used more *aditz trinko*”.¹³ During the interview with Aitor I asked him an specific question about the peculiar name of his group in EuskarAbentura. He was surprised by my question and after laughing for a while he explains: “Oh yes...our group name was *apo armatuak* (meaning turtle). I thought everyone would know that word, but then I realised we only use it in *Iparralde* and everyone in the expedition would say *dortoka* (also meaning turtle). Due to this anecdote everyone in the expedition learnt this word”. Finally, Manu’s discourse is another example that demonstrates the way the expedition group itself encouraged youngsters to share their knowledge related to Basque culture, as he started listening to more Basque

¹¹ Part of the territory of the province of Burgos, but completely surrounded by the territory of the Basque Country province of Araba

¹² Standardised version of the Basque language, developed by the Basque Language Academy in the late 1960

¹³ Verbs made up with one single word contrary to compound verbs

music due to the Basque music taste of his friends in EuskarAbentura: “ I only knew two songs by the group Gatibu before EuskarAbentura, but now I know all their songs and I also started listening to other Basque music groups”. In relation to the encounters, I find it interesting to mention that Aitor and Manu both expressed clear contentment for having attended the second encounter which took place during the Durangoko Azoka.¹⁴ A cultural event they did not know before and EuskarAbentura offered them an excuse to participate in the event and get to know many Basque cultural references.

In conclusion and in line with the conclusions drawn by the EuskaraAbentura sociolinguistic surveys and final report, the expedition successfully achieved its third goal; to increase and reinforce the knowledge of Basque language, its dialects, the Basque territory, its culture and the history behind among the participants. The actions taken in order to achieve this goal, which have been later demonstrated to have worked efficiently thanks to this research work, are the following: the itinerary itself, excellent to enhance knowledge concerning the geography of the Basque Country; the programmed cultural and historical activities; the heterogeneous group where everyone was an active figure to share their knowledge; and the post-expedition meetups carried out during Basque cultural events

6.4 Transmitting positive values

As part of my interviews, the five young people were asked about the values that they believed EuskarAbentura aimed to convey as a summer expedition. The reaction of the majority was one of amazement, which suggested the unawareness of this premeditated aspect of the expedition. However, once I gave them some clues about the values of the expedition that meant to provide a general guideline for group conduct and

¹⁴ The biggest and most well-known Basque book and cd exhibition, which is considered to be the most important Basque cultural event of the year.

establish some norms, they all recognized them and came up with plenty of related anecdotes. According to Xune “In fact, all the values were implicit: you (referring to the instructors) never told us “okay, today we will work on this value”, but we indirectly worked on them through the expedition... perhaps in a slightly more conscious way than we are used to”. However, Carla interestingly points out that although those values were transmitted in an indirect way, when relevant, the instructors would make clear and explicit reference to them; “I remember during one activity where each group had to select a spokesperson, and they all ended up being boys, one of the *jzioquitarrak* underlined this detail, and then a debate was promoted by the staff members about gendered nature of some spaces”. Related to gender equality, Aitor claimed: “I was really impressed, and I particularly liked it when the professional women’s *sokatira* (tug of war) club Badaiotz came, because I thought that was only a kids’ game and not a professional sport with women’s clubs”. Concerning the recycling and the garbage management protocol put into operation and discussion about the possible impact that this could have had on them, Xune and Carla shared their personal stories with me. Xune has lately encouraged her friends to use plastic containers instead of aluminium foil for their snack. Carla’s family, on the other hand, started recycling after the expedition. After I congratulated her for this action, she is eager to let me know that she has also joined the “FridaysForFuture” movement and even encouraged me to search for similar initiatives in the city I live in. ¹⁵

In relation to the physical and mental health habits that EuskarAbentura intended to promote, all informants agree that the physical aspect of the expedition (around 500 km walked) empower them to practice more sports in contact with nature. From this perspective, Manu tells me “It’s true that after EuskarAbentura I now try to take the dog

¹⁵ An international school students’ movement who do not attend classes and instead take part in demonstrations against global warming and climate change

for a walk on the mountain or at least in a more nature-like place”. In the case of Ohana, when talking about the occasion where she met up with people from EuskarAbentura she mentions: “Most of the times I have organised an activity with people from EuskarAbentura it has had to do with an activity in contact with nature”.

EuskarAbentura also aimed to consider *jzioquitarrak* as adult citizens with rights and responsibilities towards themselves and the expedition, a guiding principle that might have an impact on the lives of all interviewees. The group tasks that would shift among all the small groups and aimed to raise awareness about the importance of combining each one’s autonomy and community work were mentioned by all the interviews. Manu explains, “At the beginning it was truly annoying to be in charge of those tasks, but by the end it became part of the daily routine and you realise that splitting the tasks is a must for communal living”. Related to community work, Carla also explains that she had a particularly rewarding feeling after the community service in Auritz where several *jzioquitarrak* cleaned the local river accompanied by the environmental technician of the town. Finally, Xune’s and Aitor’s discourses demonstrate that EuskarAbentura helped them develop their independence and open mindedness. “The expedition taught me not to have prejudices about people that you don’t know, and this year when I moved to a new high school, I found it easier to openly interact with new people” explains Xune. Lukas, on the other hand, started to be more confident when street drawing: “In EuskarAbentura I got in the habit of bringing a little notebook with me and to draw public places as well as the people on the street”. Finally, one last value that EuskarAbentura aimed to transmit was that of sustainable tourism. When discussing this specific aspect of the expedition, I joked with Ohana about the fact that in the expedition we only had three uniform t-shirts which were essential for basic needs, she makes a reflection on how the lack of conveniences during the expedition helped her question modern dependency

on physical possessions. Moreover, Carla explains that, not having the possibility to participate in EuskarAbentura again, this summer she will participate in a work camp: “I am going to Mallorca by myself and in this work camp I will carry out gender equality activities with kids as well as some hiking expeditions”. A clear example of sustainable tourism that at the same time includes most of the values that EuskarAbentura aimed to promote.

In conclusion, both the official final report and my biographical interviews coincide in mentioning that values were significantly embraced by the *jzioquitarrak*. Although they might have a more indifferent attitude towards these specific values at the beginning of the expedition, all the interviewees have mentioned positive and enriching personal stories and experiences related to EuskarAbentura.

7. Discussion and conclusion

Although these five narratives cannot be representative of all the young participants of EuskarAbentura in 2018, the results of my study coincide with the outcomes of the sociolinguistic surveys (EuskarAbentura, 2018b) and the final report (EuskarAbentura, 2018a) carried out by EuskarAbentura committee as well as the recently published review of the expedition (Irureta, 2019). Participants speak more Basque after the expedition, they keep expanding their Basque-speaking personal network, are more familiar with the Basque Country and its culture, and they embrace the core values that EuskarAbentura aimed to transmit. My study has been useful not only to confirm, by means of participants’ testimonies, what the EuskarAbentura committee had already suggested, but also to analyse more deeply certain aspects of the expedition that the committee had over generalised or simply left out.

According to my study, the linguistic impact of the expedition has been varied depending on the socio-political and socio-linguistic context of the participants. Surprisingly, although those from less Basque-speaking contexts admit facing more challenges when trying to put into practice the linguistic habits gained in the expedition, their narratives are optimistic, and they express willingness to keep on trying to find opportunities to speak Basque. Moreover, my interviews bring to light the weight of the adventurous and nomadic nature of the expedition in creating unique strong relationships and supporting the Basque-speaking youngsters' network. The final report of the EuskarAbentura also fell short of mentioning the role of the expedition in deepening the relationships already established before the expedition and making these bonds Basque-dominant. Finally, participants' testimonies reveal another significant phenomenon that the general report fails to compile. EuskarAbentura encouraged young participants to become active figures and share their linguistic, historical and cultural knowledge during the expedition and back in their hometowns. These five narratives also show that the expedition inspired them to actively embrace other local and even international environmental, language-revival and sustainable development movements.

I hope my research will prove useful for further studies of the expedition and looking into the ways in which adventurous leisure strategies, like summer camps in the Basque Country and in particular the EuskarAbentura expedition, can boost young people's acquisition of Basque as a language actively used in as many social spheres as possible. Moreover, future research should further develop and confirm these initial findings by conducting ethnographic research where researchers (preferably external members of the expedition to avoid bias in research) observe and/or interact with participants during the expedition. Another line of research in grassroots language-revival activism in the Basque Country is to explore what social actors in the EuskarAbentura movement understand

themselves to be doing and the implicit and explicit assumptions that seem to guide these practices. Finally, examining the actual use of Basque for new types of communication (emailing, chatting, texting, etc) is also a promising research field.

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Appendix-1: The actions taken in order to achieve the four main goals of EuskarAbentura

First of all, to encourage the use of Basque among young people during the enrolment period, special attention was paid to participants coming from those areas where the situation of the Basque is not that good. All participants were divided into 11 different groups according to their province of origin and gender trying to mix those who came from most Basque areas and those who did not across different groups. The content created on social media was all in Basque, and was later shared by the participants, which inevitably encouraged the use of Basque also on social media. Workshops and talks with professional sociolinguists as well as special “guests” or Basque “idols” in each province also aimed to create positive attitudes towards Basque, and therefore, encourage its actual use.

Secondly, in order to create a wider Basque-speaking network across the seven provinces and even in the diaspora, the expedition worked towards gathering youngsters from different origins, dialects, socioeconomic contexts and uniting them by means of the Basque language. In order to ensure that *jzioquitarrak* could stay united and even foster this unity. Moreover, two encounters were organized by EuskarAbentura during the next months where youngsters and the staff members were invited to come. The idea is that these youngsters become active “promoters” in their respective hometowns.

Additionally, in order for the new generations to promote, use and love the Basque language, EuskarAbentura considered it necessary to deepen the knowledge about Basque language, its dialects, the Basque territory, its culture and the history behind in a more non-formal and leisure-like context. In order to achieve this goal, the expedition visited

the seven historical provinces on foot along the three different *Caminos de Santiago* discovering or rediscovering the Basque Country. Moreover, as the expedition group passed by most participants' hometowns or places that they may know very well, everyone in the expedition became active figure of knowledge transmission all along the journey. In addition, some more "formal" activities, usually hosted my special "guests" were organized in the places that they passed by in order to delve into Basque history, as well as to collect testimonies of the local cultural associations etc. Some of these "guests" were clear Basque culture "idols", however, a special emphasis was placed on less-known grassroots organizations, like Basque dance clubs or farmer Trade Unions, which they considered equally important in order to get a more general idea of the Basque reality. Apart from offering such a complete cultural programme, EuskarAbentura also wanted to encourage these new generations to be part themselves of the Basque cultural production. Therefore, they received training in five different performing arts with professionals in those fields and at the end of the expedition each group was encouraged to present a creativity project out of the knowledges gained.

Finally, EuskarAbentura wanted to take advantage of the one-month period in order to transmit and embed into the daily routine of the expedition the values that the staff members considered fundamental for the contemporary societal well-being. First of all, related to gender equality a balanced percentage of both genders was kept. Moreover, a prominent place was also given to Basque women figures that work and participate in culturally more masculinised fields. When it comes to recycling and garbage management, a specific protocol was created and the waste that the expedition members produced every day was separated, weighed, noted, and taken out by the group responsible for this task. Physical and mental health awareness was another of the values that the expedition wanted to transmit: The importance of taking care of oneself during

the expedition like eating properly, sleeping enough, or taking measures to prevent injuries. In addition, *jzioquitarrak* were considered as adult citizens with rights and responsibilities towards themselves and the expedition group that were represented in different group tasks (serving the food, cleaning the places they sleep at...) that would go shifting. Finally, EuskarAbentura wanted to raise awareness about sustainable tourism. Participants walked around 15-25 km every day as a way of distancing a little from the profoundly sedentary way of living and demonstrating that with the minimum resources, it is possible to travel for a month. Informing participants about the culture, politics, and economy of the communities visited and anticipating and respecting local cultures, expectations and assumptions were also other ways in which the expedition worked on the value of sustainable tourism.

Appendix-2: Questionnaire

1. The interviewee before EuskarAbentura

- a. Province/area or origin, education model,
- b. Which are your language habits in daily basis (at home, at school, with friends)?
- c. Why did you decide to participate in EuskarAbentura?

2. The interviewee after EuskarAbentura

- a. How would you explain EuskarAbentura to an alien?
- b. Do you think EuskarAbentura managed to encourage the use of Basque among the participants? *(How? Could you give me an example? What about in your case?)*
- c. Do you think EuskarAbentura managed to create a Basque-speaking youngsters' network? *(How? Could you give me an example? What about in your case?)*
- d. Do you think EuskarAbentura managed to deepen the knowledge about Basque language, it's dialects, the Basque territory, it's culture and the history *(How? Could you give me an example? What about in your case?)*
- e. Do you think EuskarAbentura managed to transmit some positive values? *(How? Could you give me an example? What about in your case?)*
- f. Would you recommend EuskarAbentura to other youngsters? Why?

3. The interviewee in the future

- a. What are you going to do this summer?
- b. Which are your future plans related to your studies?

Appendix-3: Consent Form



Consent Form

Investigation for the BA dissertation (2019)

Topic: Language attitudes, habits and use among the participants of the EuskarAbentura expedition.

You have been invited to participate in this investigation. Your participation is completely voluntary. In order to obey the ethic codes, the complete name of the participant will be confidential, and pseudonyms will be used instead. Moreover, any information that can lead to identifying the participant will also be avoided or replaced. As mentioned before, all the data collected during the investigation will be confidential. This data will only be used for scientific purposes and only the investigator (Izaro Arruti Aguirreurreta) and her thesis tutor (Eva Codó) will have the right to collect and analyse this input.

If you have any questions or comments you can contact the investigators of this study:

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Eva Codó	Tel. 935812302	eva.codo@uab.cat

Complete name of the participant	Date	Signature
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(In case of minor participants)

Complete name of the parent or the legal tutor	Date	Signature
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Complete name of the investigator	Date	Signature
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