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What has changed over 18 years? Future teachers' language use and attitudes towards multilingualism in the Basque Autonomous Community

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Abstract. Attitudes are learned and one's personal experience and social environment play a role in shaping them. Teachers in particular exert a significant impact on the formation of students' language attitudes.

This study targets prospective teachers. It is a replication of a survey whose data collection took place 18 years ago in the Basque Autonomous Community. It explores future teachers' perceived competence, habits of language use and attitudes towards Basque, Spanish and English. The sample consisted of 576 participants. Data collection was carried out by means of the same questionnaire and following the same procedure employed in the original study. Data were analysed using inferential statistics; significant results, with medium and large effect sizes were obtained.

Results indicate that Basque is mainly linked with the education domain, whereas Spanish is dominant in leisure time. Attitudes are highly positive for all three languages, as considered from both a monolingual and a multilingual perspective. While participants expressed the most favourable attitudes towards Basque, the most noticeable improvements were detected for English.

With this study, we wish to contribute to the discussion about multilingualism within a multilingual education system, where a minority language co-exists with a national majority language and a global lingua franca.

Keywords. Language attitudes, pre-service teachers, Basque, minority language, English, global language, multilingualism

Introduction

Attitudes are learned and one's personal experience and social environment play a fundamental role in shaping them (Garrett 2010). Teachers in particular, by means of their formal or hidden curriculum (Baker 1992), may produce a significant impact on the formation of students' language attitudes, so much so that attitudes developed under their influence can be difficult to change.

The present study targets future teachers, that is university students enrolled in study programmes geared towards a career in teaching. The inquiry is informed both by a traditional, *monolingual* perspective on language attitudes (i.e. one language at a time) and from a holistic, *multilingual* perspective (i.e. three languages together) (Lasagabaster 2005a), in line with the paradigm shift brought forward by the *multilingual turn* in language education (Conteh & Meyer 2014; May 2014).

This study is a replication of a survey whose data collection took place 18 years ago, in 2004, in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) (Lasagabaster 2007; Caruana & Lasagabaster 2011). It explores prospective Basque teachers' perceived competence, habits of language use and attitudes towards Basque, Spanish and English. In doing so, it wishes to contribute to the discussion about multilingualism within a multilingual education system, where a minority language co-exists with a national majority language and a global lingua franca. This contribution may thus be of interest for other researchers working in similar contexts, having language diversity as a common characterising feature.

Language attitudes

Attitude is a psychological construct that can be defined as "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" (Ajzen 1988: 4). Attitudes represent *evaluative orientations* towards social objects, languages among them (Garrett 2010). Especially when minority languages are concerned, such as the case of Basque in the Basque Country, "language attitudes held by both the majority and minority groups affect the success or failure of entire minority language planning strategies" (Ó Riagáin 2008: 329). Attitudes play a pivotal role in whether such languages survive, revive or just die out, whether parents cease to speak them with their children, and whether occasions for using these languages are bolstered or not.

Research on language attitudes in multilingual contexts

Research on language attitudes shows that they can exert an important influence on how language planning strategies are received. Studies reveal the link between fostering favourable attitudes towards languages with effective involvement of stakeholders and, thus, with successful language policy implementation (e.g. in Kenya: Jones 2012). At the same time, poorly implemented language planning initiatives may spark negative language attitudes and, consequently, fail (e.g. in Malaysia: Tan 2005; in Hong Kong: Lai 2011).

In Europe, Spain is one of the most lively research contexts as far as promotion of multilingualism is concerned. In this country, whose organisation into Autonomous Communities has been labelled as "one of the most decentralised in the Western world" (Mar-Molinero 2000: 92), research on language attitudes has been particularly fruitful. This is especially true for the Basque, Catalan and Galician-speaking communities, whose local languages are officially recognised by the Spanish Constitution and have a stable foothold in their education systems. The bilingual education programmes implemented there in the early 1980s are one of the most important factors responsible for reversing negative language attitudes that had developed during Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975). Research carried out in these regions has consistently confirmed that students enrolled in programmes where the minority language is used as a medium of instruction harbour significantly more positive attitudes than those shown by students learning these languages as a subject only (Lasagabaster 2005b; Ibarraran, Lasagabaster & Sierra 2008; Loredo Gutiérrez et al. 2007; Madariaga, Huguet & Janés 2016; Moratinos et al. 2019). This is linked both with the high status that is conferred to such languages but also with the higher proficiency that these students develop, which, in turn leads to more positive attitudes towards them (Dewaele 2005).

Studies carried out in the BAC in the early 2000s (Lasagabaster 2005b, 2007) found that the students' L1 had an important effect on their attitudes towards English. Those whose L1 was the minority language, i.e. Basque, held less positive attitudes towards English than students whose L1 was Spanish. Basque-L1 students displayed what Baker (1992) labelled as "bunker attitude", that is, the belief that the two international languages (English and Spanish) might pose a threat to the survival of the minority language. In a recent study carried out in an English-medium instruction (EMI), Lasagabaster (2016) found that Basque-L1 university students were more motivated towards learning English than those he had studied a decade before, and that their L1 ceased to exert significant influence on language attitudes. His conclusion was thus that more research is needed at different points in time to obtain a more accurate picture of a particular context.

Research on language attitudes in education

Attitudes are of paramount importance in language planning and, more specifically, in education, as they can function both as *input* for and *output* from action (Gardner 1985). The two most important sources of influence of language attitudes are one's *personal experience* and one's *social environment*, including family, school, work, media (Garrett 2010). "Through the formal or hidden curriculum and through extra curricular activities" (Baker 1992: 43), school plays a fundamental role in the formation of language attitudes. Children spend a large portion of their day at school, in direct contact with teachers, and attitudes developed under the influence of educators may prove to be hard to change. Students living in areas where multiple languages co-exist understand early on that school, family, and society at large all attribute different degrees of importance to these languages.

Starting from the theorisation of the Pygmalion and Golem effects in the field of educational psychology (Rosenthal & Jacobson 1968; Babad, Inbar & Rosenthal 1982), subsequent research in applied linguistics has shown that teacher attitudes significantly influence student attitudes and, in turn, student achievement (Lee & Oxelson 2006; Blanchard & Muller 2015). Given the substantial influence that teachers' attitudes and beliefs exert on students, exploring them is thus a particularly worthwhile endeavour. More specifically, focussing attention on prospective teachers (i.e. students training to become teachers) will allow us to understand how their life experience, their education and training path contribute to shaping their attitudes towards their languages. To pre-service teachers attention will now be turned.

Research on pre-service teachers' language attitudes

Recent studies on teachers' attitudes and beliefs embrace the multilingual perspective put forward in the *multilingual turn* in language education (Conteh & Meyer 2014; May 2014). In the few studies where pre-service teachers are in focus, attention has centred on these subjects' beliefs about multilingual education and related practices (e.g. Fischer & Lahmann 2020; Iversen 2020; Gartziarena & Altuna 2021; Gartziarena & Villabona 2022; Portolés & Martí 2020). These studies tend to agree on the fact that prospective teachers' beliefs about multilingualism are generally positive and welcoming, even if they sometimes co-exist with deep-seated monolingual beliefs.

Many of these studies nonetheless do not explore teachers' attitudes towards specific languages, neither individually (i.e. one language at a time) nor in contact (i.e. all languages together), but consider multilingualism and multilingual education as holistic concepts, without specifying which languages are included in the picture. The only language to which direct reference is made is usually English, as it is the most popular FL taught in compulsory education (e.g. Portolés & Martí 2020).

A recent study on teachers' beliefs about the value of individual languages as well as multilingualism in education is the one by Gartziarena and Villabona (2022). The two authors inquired into pre-service, in-service and university teachers' beliefs by looking at the value they attribute to the four languages (i.e. Basque, Spanish, English and French) characterising multilingualism in the BAC and Navarre (Spain). The study unearthed that when pre-service teachers were compared with in-service and university teachers, the former held the most positive attitudes towards Basque, which was perceived as the most valuable language. The authors suggest that this may be considered as evidence of the effectiveness of the revitalisation process and the efforts made by the Basque Government to promote Basque to boost its use in the educational system. Moreover, pre-service teachers valued French the

least but harboured positive attitudes towards English, which is the first FL they study at school from a very early age.

Years before the study by Gartziarena and Villabona (2022), a large-scale inquiry on prospective teachers' attitudes towards specific languages was carried out in nine European multilingual contexts – BAC, Catalonia, Galicia, Valencian Community, Brussels, Friesland, Ireland, Malta and Wales (Lasagabaster & Huguet 2007). This study explored prospective teachers' habits of language use and attitudes towards languages in contact (i.e. the State national language, the local minority language and English as the main FL) adopting both a *monolingual* perspective (i.e. focussing on one language at a time) and a *holistic*, *multilingual* perspective (i.e. all languages together). The researchers found that the L1 and the linguistic model at school were the most important variables influencing future teachers' language attitudes in all the contexts investigated. Moreover, as far as the BAC and Malta are concerned, when comparing the data gathered adopting the monolingual perspective with those of the multilingual perspective, the significant differences observed depending on subjects' L1 in the monolingually-approached results disappeared once the data was analysed holistically (Caruana & Lasagabaster 2011). These results demonstrated that the adoption of *both* perspectives – traditional monolingual and holistic multilingual – can help to shed light on different, complementary aspects of the complex construct of language attitudes in multilingual contexts, aspects that cannot be explored from the standpoint of one perspective alone.

The aim of the present study is threefold. First, by repeating the survey carried out in 2004 (Lasagabaster 2007; Caruana & Lasagabaster 2011), it aims at eliciting updated information on prospective Basque teachers' perceived competence, habits of language use, and attitudes towards three languages in contact, as considered both from a monolingual perspective (Basque only, Spanish only, English only) and from a holistic one (multilingualism in Basque, Spanish and English). Second, by adopting the same data collection instrument, it aims at making comparisons between the situation described in the original study (2004) and the present one (2022) after 18 years. Finally, it intends to ascertain whether any relevant changes have taken place over this period.

The context: The Basque Autonomous Community (BAC)

The BAC, established by the Statute of Autonomy of 1979, is one of the 17 Communities that make up Spain. According to this Statute, Basque and Spanish are both official languages. After 1982, when the Law of Normalisation of Basque was passed, families in the BAC were given the right to choose the linguistic model where their children could be enrolled in compulsory education. Very briefly, the main characteristics of the three linguistic models are as follows:

- In *model A*, Spanish is the main language of instruction and Basque is only taught as a subject;
- In *model B*, both Basque and Spanish are used as languages of instruction;
- In *model D*, Basque is the main language of instruction and Spanish is only taught as a subject.

According to the Basque Institute of Statistics (EUSTAT), the highest number of primary school enrolments in the 2020/21 school year were in model D (78.4%). Model B was the second most chosen option (17.6%) and model A the least popular (3.2%). Basque plays a central role as language of instruction at university level as well. At the University of the Basque Country

(UPV/EHU), which is the largest and the only public university in the BAC, in 2020/21 44% of students were enrolled in programmes with Basque as the main language of instruction.

The educational system is the primary responsible for the constant increase in the number of Basque speakers in the BAC. According to the last sociolinguistic survey (Basque Government 2016), those who have the highest mastery of Basque are to be found among youngsters (71.4% in the 16-24 age range) and young adults (49.3% in the 25-34 age range).

As for additional languages, the Basque multilingual educational system foresees that students achieve a sufficient level of proficiency in at least one FL (Basque Government 2019). In the past, French used to be the most frequently taught FL, mainly due to the proximity of France and the close ties with the French-speaking Basque Country. Nevertheless, things have changed significantly in the last decades and English, especially due to its status as global language (Crystal 2003) and basic educational skill (Graddol 2006), is nowadays the first FL taught at schools. A relatively recent study carried out by the Basque Government (2017) found that in the 18-29 age range 89% of participants declared they could *speak and write* (78%), *just read* (8%) or *just speak* (3%) in English, whereas an overwhelming 80% declared having no competence in French (Basque Government 2017: 32). The last decades have witnessed an increasingly early introduction of English as main FL in the BAC; so much so that nowadays most children's first encounter with English is at kindergarten level at the age of four. Conversely, French is taught to a much lesser extent, it is usually the second FL and it is usually optional in secondary education.

Method

Following in the footsteps of Dörnyei, Csizér and Nemeth (2006), the present study adopted a repeated cross-sectional design, as the first data collection took place in September 2004 and the second in March-April 2022. The two data collections targeted the same population and the sampling of participants was basically identical; the project can thus be considered partially longitudinal in nature. It cannot be defined as a "panel study", in which the same participants are investigated, but it takes the form of a "trend study", providing information about changes over time within a particular population (Dörnyei, Csizér & Nemeth 2006: 22).

Research questions

In the present study, we addressed the following research questions:

R.Q. 1) What is the *perceived competence* in the three languages in contact of prospective teachers in the BAC nowadays? How do these findings compare with those obtained in 2004?

R.Q. 2) What are the *habits of language use* of prospective teachers in the BAC nowadays? How do they compare with previous findings (2004)?

R.Q. 3) What are the *attitudes towards the three languages in contact* of prospective teachers in the BAC nowadays? How do they compare with previous findings (2004)?

Data collection instrument

Data on habits of language use and attitudes towards the local minority language (Basque), the State majority language (Spanish), and the most-widely taught FL (English) were collected by means of the same questionnaire adopted in 2004, with minor modifications. The questionnaire was based on Baker (1992), it is rigorously anonymous and is divided into four sections.

In the first section, participants are asked questions about the languages they are in contact with, namely their L1(s), their perceived competence in the languages mentioned above, the age when they started learning them, whether they know other languages and whether they have ever visited any foreign country where the languages they know are spoken.

The second section is dedicated to language attitudes and contains a series of multi-item 5-point Likert scales, all made up of the same ten items but each targeting a specific language: one for Basque (Cronbach's alpha=0.862), one for Spanish (Cronbach's alpha=0.811), one for English (Cronbach's alpha=0.800) (Table 1).

Table 1. Items in scales on attitudes towards Basque, Spanish and English

I like hearing Basque/Spanish/English spoken.
Basque/Spanish/English should be taught in all schools in the Basque Country.
I like (or I would like) speaking Basque/Spanish/English.
Basque/Spanish/English is an easy language to learn.
There are few languages to learn that are more useful than Basque/Spanish/English.
I prefer that classes are in Basque/Spanish/English.
Learning Basque/Spanish/English enriches my cultural knowledge.
I would not mind marrying a Basque/Spanish/English speaker.
Basque/Spanish/English is a language that is worth learning.
If I have children, I would like them to be Basque/Spanish/English speakers (regardless of other languages they may know).

There is also an additional multi-item scale, of a holistic nature (Lasagabaster 2005a), where attitudes towards multilingualism in Basque, Spanish and English are investigated (see Table 4 for the list of items) (Cronbach's alpha=0.799). The five answer options for all scales range from *Totally disagree* (1) to *Totally agree* (5), with a central neutral option, *Neither agree nor disagree* (3). In line with the 2004 study, answer options in the attitudinal multi-item scales were codified as follows: the option *Totally agree* was recoded as 100, the option *Agree* as 75, *Neither agree nor disagree* as 50, *Disagree* as 25 and *Totally Disagree* as 0. Then, the mean score for the ten items related to each language was computed, an operation which allowed us to subdivide the sample into three distinct groups of participants. First, the group showing *Unfavourable attitudes* comprised participants whose scores in the scale ranged between 0.00 and 33.33. The second was the *Neutral attitudes* group, whose members had scores from 33.34 to 66.66. Finally, the third was the *Favourable attitudes* group, whose members had scores from 66.67 to 100.00.

In the third section, participants were asked questions about their habits of use of the languages with regards to communication with people (e.g. family, friends, lecturers, classmates, etc.) and media use (e.g. television, radio, songs, etc.). As far as communication with people is concerned, six answer options were given: *Always in Spanish*, *In Spanish more often than in Basque*, *In Spanish and Basque almost equally*, *In Basque more often than in Spanish*, *Always in Basque*, *I can't answer (NA)*. To express habits of language use for media, answers could be chosen from the following eight options: *Always in Spanish* (1) */ Basque* (2) */ English* (3); *In Spanish, Basque and English almost equally* (4)*; In Spanish more often than in Basque, never (or almost never) in English* (5); *In Spanish more often than in English, never (or almost never) in Basque* (6); *In Basque more often than in Spanish, never (or almost never) in*

English (7); *In English more often than in Spanish, never (or almost never) in Basque* (8). After the questions on habits of language use, a multi-item 4-point Likert scale targeting participants' perceived importance of Basque follows. The scale was made up of 15 items, each portraying a specific everyday activity with regards to which participants were asked to express the importance they attached to Basque (see Table 5 for the list of activities) (Cronbach's alpha=0.925). Answer options ranged from *Not important* (1) to *Very important* (4).

In the fourth and last section, participants were asked general background information, such as age, gender, type of school and language model, study programme attended, future profile (e.g. primary education school teacher, or Physical Education teacher in secondary education), parental occupation, province and city of origin, province and city where they lived at the time (if different from those of origin). The treatment of answer options in the parental occupation question was in line with Lasagabaster and Huguet (2007). The highest answer, irrespective of whether it referred to the father's or the mother's job, was chosen and the answers were codified in three categories: *high* socio-economic status (SES), *medium* SES, and *low* SES.

While the 2004 instrument was paper-based, the one we used for this study was created and administered online, through the *EUSurvey* platform.

Analysis

Descriptive statistics have been computed with the aid of Microsoft Excel 2016. To ascertain whether any statistically significant differences existed between the results obtained in 2022 and those from the 2004 survey, a series of Chi-square tests for independence were carried out with the aid of the same software (see Appendix I for a summary of the results).

Participants

Participants in 2022 were 354 university students enrolled in study programmes geared towards a career in teaching. At the time of data collection, they were attending classes in Vitoria-Gasteiz, Bilbao and Mondragon. They came from the three provinces that make up the BAC, Álava (16.38%), Vizcaya (51.13%), Guipúzcoa (25.99%), and 13 subjects came from the neighbouring province of Navarre (3.67%), where Basque is also spoken.

The vast majority of participants were female, with a slightly higher percentage than in the previous survey (71.19% in 2022 vs. 68.50% in 2004). Their mean age was 20 years and 3 months, the youngest being 18 and the oldest 47 (93.2% of the sample was in the age range 18–26, with an average age of 20 years). In 2004 the participants were 222, and their mean age was 20 years and 4 months. Their specialisation ranged from Kindergarten education and Primary education to Secondary education.

As regards the L1 of participants, the whole sample can be divided into four main groups: those with Basque as L1, those with Spanish as L1, those with both Basque and Spanish as L1, and a very small group of participants whose L1 was different from Basque and Spanish. Table 2 shows the comparison between the 2004 and 2022 data collection.

Table 2. Participants' L1

	2004	**2022**
Basque	24.00%	25.71%
Spanish	65.80%	49.44%
Basque & Spanish	9.00%	22.88%
other	1.00%	1.98%

The most striking difference between the situation in 2004 and in the 2022 is detected in the Spanish-L1 and in the Basque-Spanish-L1 groups: in the last 18 years, the number of Spanish-L1 students has markedly decreased (from 65.80% to 49.44%), while the number of bilingual Basque-Spanish-L1 students has more than doubled (from 9.00% to 22.88%).

As for participants' parents' socio-economic status, 38.14% had high status, 30.79% had medium status and 28.25% low status in 2022. While the high-status group almost doubled (from 19.82% in 2004 to 38.14% in 2022), the low-status and medium-status groups decreased considerably (from 41.89% to 28.25% the former, from 38.29% to 30.79% the latter).

In 2022 the large majority of participants (72.32%) came from towns with less than 100,000 inhabitants, whereas 27.68% were born in bigger cities. The situation changed considerably from 2004, when more than half of the sample (56.40%) were from big cities. The majority of participants (68.08%) were from areas where Spanish is predominantly spoken. The situation has slightly changed from 2004, as a higher portion of 2022 participants came from predominantly Basque-speaking areas (from 24.10% to 30.51%). This circumstance may be explained by the fact that almost 65% of participants in 2022 are from small towns, of less than 50.000 inhabitants, and Basque is generally more frequently spoken there than in bigger cities.

As far as the language model that participants attended in compulsory school, 80.79% of them completed their pre-university studies in model D, 11.86% in model B and only 4.52% in model A. Our sample mirrors the distribution of model enrolments that is found in the BAC quite well, with a clear predominance of model D over A and B (as mentioned above). The difference between enrolments in models A and D in 2004 and 2022 is remarkable. While the number of model A participants has dramatically decreased (from 32.00% to 4.52%), model D participants have increased significantly (from 55.00% to 80.79% nowadays). No remarkable difference is detected in the number of model B participants (13.00% vs. 11.86%). More than half of the sample started to learn English before turning 6 (54.23%), whereas in 2004, 51.80% had started to learn English at the age of 8 or later.

Results and discussion

Perceived competence in the three languages in contact

Participants were asked to indicate their degree of competence in the three languages by choosing among four options, namely *None*, *A little*, *Good* and *Very good*. If we consider the sum between the positive options (i.e. *Good* and *Very good*), they declared the highest competence in Spanish (97.74%), followed by that in Basque (95.19%) and then in English (69.21%). Looking at the histogram in Figure 1, which shows the comparison of the data obtained in 2004 and in 2022, we notice that there is a number of important differences, especially as far as Basque and English are concerned.

[Figure 1 around here]

Figure 1. Perceived competence in Spanish, Basque and English (2004, 2022) (% data)

In the case of Basque, while those declaring *Good* and *Very good* competence have gradually increased in the last 18 years, those declaring *A little* competence or *None* have almost disappeared: if we consider the two categories together, the 2004 figure (19.50%) shrinked to one fourth (4.80%) in 2022. A Chi-square test for independence indicated that there is a

significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=31.03, p<0.001), with a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.23).

As for English, figures for *A little* (2004) and *Good* (2022) competence show that a remarkable improvement has taken place in the last 18 years: 59.50% declared *A little* competence in 2004 and basically the same percentage, 60.17%, indicated *Good* competence in 2022. Moreover, those that declared a *Very good* competence have quadrupled in the last 18 years (from 2.00% to 9.04%). Finally, we observe that respondents declaring no competence in English have almost disappeared in 2022 (from 4.10% to 0.85%). A Chi-square test for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=59.47, p<0.001), with a medium effect size (V=0.32).

Finally, as for Spanish, it can be observed that the percentage of those that declared *Very good* competence has decreased (from 78.00% to 64.12%), whereas those indicating *Good* competence have increased (from 20.70% to 33.62%). There were no participants with no competence in Spanish, either in 2004 or in 2022. A Chi-square test for independence indicated that the difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 is not significant.

As far as additional languages are concerned, a slight improvement could be detected from 2004. Participants' indicating *Good* or *Very good* competence in the second FL, i.e. French, were 6.21% (19 subjects), whereas the vast majority declared having no competence at all in the language (65.54%, 232 subjects). The third FL most mentioned by participants was German (31 subjects); however, the majority (21) indicated possessing *low* competence and only 5 participants *good* competence. Overall, 52.82% of participants (187 subjects) indicated having no knowledge of additional languages, other than Basque, Spanish and English. If we consider that in 2004 88.70% declared having no knowledge of additional FLs, an improvement has taken place over the last 18 years. A Chi-square test for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=79.19, p<0.001), with a medium effect size (V=0.37).

In response to our first research question, we can say that, as far as the perceived competence in the three main languages is concerned, the order has not changed from 2004: Spanish comes first, followed by Basque and then by English. What has changed considerably is the 'distance' between the three languages. The perceived competence in Basque is nowadays quite close to the one in Spanish (97.74% vs. 95.19%), a result that confirms once again that the Basque Government efforts at the Basquisation of society are producing good results. If we consider that in the general population the percentage of Basque speakers is 33.90% (Basque Government 2016), 95.19% is a truly remarkable result. Spanish, however, confirms its role of majority language: nobody declared having no competence in the language and only 2.60% said they know it just *A little*. As far as English is concerned, while in 2004 students showed a generally poor command of English (Lasagabaster 2007), the situation has markedly changed in 2022, when the distance from the two official languages has decreased substantially. A slight improvement could be detected in additional FL learning, as a higher percentage of participants declared knowing, albeit a little, other languages than Basque, Spanish and English. Nevertheless, English, which was already predominant in 2004, seems to have increased its position as the main FL.

Habits of language use: with people and in media

Participants still tended to prefer Spanish-only when speaking with their parents (58.76% with father, 50.56% with mother). The generational difference is evident when looking at the

language used with brothers or sisters, where 33.90% declared always using Spanish. If we compare these figures with those obtained in 2004 (Table 3), we notice that the percentage of those using always Spanish with their parents has decreased by almost ten percentage points in both cases, while the percentage of those using always Basque has increased (from 14.40% to 22.32% with father; from 15.30% to 20.62% with mother). Habits of language use with brothers and sisters were more varied: Spanish was still the most frequently used language, however the exclusive use of Basque was on the increase (from 17.60% to 21.75%). Chi-square tests for independence were performed considering three main groupings: i) those who indicated using always Spanish; ii) those who indicated using predominantly Spanish or Spanish and Basque equally; iii) those who indicated using always Basque or predominantly Basque. The tests indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 as far as language use with parents is concerned: father ($\chi 2$ (2, n=561)=9.98, p<0.01), mother ($\chi 2$ (2, n=565)=9.51, p<0.01), with medium effect sizes (V=0.19 and V=0.18, respectively). As for language use with siblings, the difference was not significant.

Basque is the language mostly used with lecturers at university: 59.32% declared using always Basque and 12.15% Basque more often than Spanish. If we compare the situation with 2004, the percentage of those using always Basque increased remarkably (from 44.10% to 59.32%), whereas the percentage of those using always Spanish decreased by more than half (from 34.70% to 13.84). A Chi-square test for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 ($\chi 2$ (2, n=573)=34.12, p<0.001), with a large effect size (V=0.35).

As for habits of language use with classmates and friends, Spanish appeared to be the most widely used language; however, the alternated use with Basque was gradually increasing. In fact, 51.41% declared using Spanish more often than Basque with classmates (they were the 11.30% in 2004), whereas those using always Spanish almost halved (from 33.80% to 17.51%). The exclusive use of Basque with classmates appeared to be on the increase as well (from 11.70% to 18.93%). As regards communication with friends outside the university, the relative majority (38.42%) declared using the two languages in the same proportion. While the exclusive use of Spanish has remained basically the same in the last 18 years, the trend towards an increased use of Basque – alternated with Spanish or alone – with friends seems evident. Chi-square tests for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 as regards language use with classmates size ($\chi 2$ (2, n=573)=25.37, p<0.001), with a medium-to-large effect (V=0.30). As for language use with friends, the difference was not significant.

Although a slight increase in the percentage of those using always Basque with neighbours was detected (from 10.40% to 13.84%), Spanish has remained by far the preferred language and its use has increased by more than 10 percentage points in the last 18 years (from 47.30% to 58.47%). Moreover, those using Basque and Spanish equally have disappeared in 2022. A Chi-square test for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 ($\chi 2$ (2, n=569)=21.46, p<0.001), with a medium effect size (V=0.27).

[Table 3 around here]

Table 3. Language spoken with…

As far as habits of language use when consuming media content, the use of Basque was minimal among participants, whereas Spanish appeared to be by far the language most habitually used (Figure 2).

[Figure 2 around here]

Figure 2. Use of Basque, Spanish and English with media (% data)

Listening to the radio was the activity that showed the highest percentage of use of Basque only if compared to all others (from 12.60% to 13.84%). However, it should be pointed out that the percentage of those listening to the radio in Spanish has significantly increased too (from 18.90% to 38.42%), a circumstance that could be explained with the important changes that the medium itself has gone through in the last couple of decades. Nowadays, in addition to traditional radio stations, there are also several other different ways of listening to informative content (e.g. web radio channels, podcasts, to name but a few), and the offer of such content is in all likelihood wider in Spanish than in Basque. Chi-square tests for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 as far as listening to the radio, listening to songs and reading are concerned; however, the effect sizes are small (see details in Appendix I).

Unlike the 2004 version, the 2022 questionnaire contemplated the inclusion of English in the answer options to the questions on language use in media. Figure 3 displays the data obtained when all three languages are considered. The most striking results regard listening to songs, for which an overwhelming 44.63% indicated that they used the three languages almost equally. Good proportions were also found of participants who declared using English more often than Spanish (13.84%) and English only (3.95%) when listening to songs. Moreover, worthy of note are findings obtained for watching television (e.g. movies, TV series, TV shows, documentaries): 13.56% declared using the three languages almost equally, 10.17% indicated English more often than Spanish and 4.24% English only.

[Figure 3 around here]

Figure 3. Use of Basque, Spanish and English with media (% data, 2022 only)

Interesting findings are obtained for surfing the internet, for social media use and for writing personal notes, three items that were not present in the 2004 questionnaire (Figure 3). As regards surfing the internet, almost a quarter of participants (24.58%) declared using the three languages about equally, whereas English only was used by 3.95% of our sample. As for language use in social media, Spanish remained the predominant language: 39.27% indicated that they exclusively used this language (not shown in the histogram), whereas 13.84% declared they used Spanish more often than English. However, 15.54% declared using the three languages equally, and almost 6% use English more often than Spanish (4.24%) and English only (1.69%).

In response to our second research question, we can say that the use of Basque has increased considerably especially in the education domain, with lecturers and classmates at the university *in primis.* A significant, albeit less strong improvement, is registered in exchanges with parents. However, Spanish remains the most frequently used language outside the university: while no statistical significant differences have been detected in language use with siblings and friends, its use has increased in exchanges with neighbours. The use of Spanish is

predominant for consuming media content, but the use of English is gaining ground and increasing its presence in participants' everyday life.

Attitudes towards the three languages in contact and importance attached to Basque

As in 2004, when we analyse the attitudes towards the three languages as taken individually (i.e. monolingual perspective), it emerges that the most favourable by far are those towards Basque (77.97%), followed by attitudes towards English (63.28%), and Spanish (62.43%).

If we compare the situation of 2004 with 2022 (Figure 4), we observe that the general trend is towards improvement for all three languages: favourable attitudes have increased, whereas neutral and unfavourable attitudes have decreased in all three cases. While Basque has gone through mild improvement, the most noticeable differences were found for Spanish and, especially, for English.

Neutral attitudes towards Spanish have significantly decreased (from 52.70% to 35.59%), while favourable attitudes have improved by more than 20 percentage points (from 41.90% to 62.43%). The most striking differences were found in the case of English. While neutral attitudes have decreased by more than half (from 72.40% to 35.03%), favourable attitudes have almost tripled (from 24.00% to 63.28%). Chi-square tests for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation both for Spanish ($\chi2$ (2, n=576)=24.88, p<0.001) and for English ($\chi2$ (2, n=576)=84.86, p<0.001). While the effect size for Spanish is medium-to-large (V=0.29), that for English is very large (V=0.54). No significant differences were found for attitudes towards Basque.

[Figure 4 around here]

Figure 4. Attitudes towards Basque, Spanish and English (% data)

As for attitudes towards multilingualism from a holistic perspective, we focussed on the individual items making up the scale and considered the percentage of positive responses (*Agree* and *Totally agree*) in each of them. Table 4 shows the data obtained on the two occasions. It should be pointed out that the percentages provided for items 2, 4, 8 and 11 (marked with an asterisk in Table 4) are those relating to the negative and neutral responses (*Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree*, *Totally disagree*). The reason behind it is that these four items were presented in *negative* terms; therefore, in order to detect respondents' *positive* attitudes towards multilingualism the four items had to be reverse coded.

[Table 4 around here]

Table 4. Favourable attitudes (*Agree* + *Totally agree*) towards multilingualism in Basque, Spanish and English

The overall situation remains encouraging in 2022: positive responses were obtained in virtually all items for at least 40% of the sample. More specifically, Chi-square tests for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 for 11 items (out of 19); however, in the majority of cases effect sizes are small (see details in Appendix I). The items in which the biggest improvements and the highest effect sizes were obtained are as follows:

- item 11 (reverse coded), i.e. Speaking the three languages is *not* more for younger than older people ($\chi2$ (1, n=576)=34.96, p<0.001), which registered a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.25);

- item 7, i.e. Speaking the three languages is not difficult ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=18.03, p<0.001), with a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.18).

Conversely, significant deterioration in attitudes can be noticed for the following items:

- item 3, i.e. Knowing the three languages makes people cleverer ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=21.69, p<0.001), with a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.19);
- item 5, i.e. Knowing the three languages helps to get a job ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=18.46, p<0.001), with a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.18), but the percentage (92.09%) remains still very high.

As far as importance attached to Basque is concerned, findings from 2004 are generally confirmed in 2022 (Table 5). The activities for which Basque was deemed as more important in 2022 are getting a job (96.89%), passing exams (90.68%), living in the BAC (88.14%) and educating children (85.31%).

[Table 5 around here]

Table 5. Perceived importance of Basque

Chi-square tests for independence indicated that there is a significant difference between the situation in 2004 and in 2022 for 6 items (out of 15) but, in the majority of cases, effect sizes are small (see details in Appendix I). The items in which the most notable improvements were obtained are the following:

- item 11, i.e. To pass exams ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=22.75, p<0.001), with a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.20);
- item 14, i.e. To speak with lecturers ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=19.71, p<0.001), with a small-to-medium effect size (V=0.18).

The importance of Basque is especially linked to education, the domain where Basque is stronger. Conversely, a slight decline is registered in the perceived importance of Basque for living in the Basque Country, however, this difference does not reach statistical significance. Instead, a significant, albeit small (V=0.10), deterioration was found for watching TV ($\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=6.07, p<0.05).

In response to our third research question, we can say that attitudes towards the three languages when approached individually are more positive in 2022 than in 2004: in all three cases, participants' favourable attitudes are predominant in contrast with both neutral and unfavourable attitudes, which almost disappeared. The most noticeable improvements were detected for English, which seems to be widely accepted today. As already pointed out by Lasagabaster (2016, 2017), the situation for English nowadays stands quite in sharp contrast with the one depicted in studies carried out in the BAC in the early 2000s. While at that time a general "bunker attitude" (Baker 1992) was registered especially among Basque-L1 speakers, this posture seems to have disappeared today. Indeed, while attitudes towards English have radically improved, attitudes towards Basque have registered no significant change since 2004. As far as perceived social importance of Basque is concerned, the overall trend that emerges is that it is steadily, albeit slightly, improving: perceived importance has increased from 2004 virtually in all activities. It seems therefore that the belief according to which the three languages "can live together in the BAC", that was explored in the scale on attitudes towards multilingualism in the three languages and endorsed by almost 80% of participants, is nicely mirrored in the results obtained.

Conclusion

The aim of the present study was to collect updated information on prospective Basque teachers' perceived competence, habits of language use and attitudes towards three languages in contact, while making comparisons with results obtained in a similar survey carried out 18 years ago.

With regards to perceived competence in the three languages, we found that the 'distance' between them has changed considerably, as the perceived competence in Basque today is quite close to the one in Spanish, whereas the perceived competence in English has increased substantially in the last 18 years. These results seem to indicate that the educational system in the BAC, which places Basque at its core, is exerting a great influence on future generations' competences in the minority language as well as on the main FL, i.e. English, while competence in Spanish has not been negatively affected.

While the use of Basque has increased considerably especially in the education domain, Spanish remains the most frequently used language outside the university. Furthermore, Spanish is predominant for consuming media content, where the presence of English is noteworthy too. This seems to indicate that Basque is mainly linked with the education domain, whereas Spanish is dominant in participants' leisure time, as is also the case in other minority language contexts (e.g. in Catalonia: Bernaus, Moore & Azevedo 2007; Newman & Trenchs-Parera 2015). These results are in line with findings from a recent sociolinguistic study carried out in the BAC: especially for young adults the use of Basque appears to have reached a standstill, as the opportunities they have for using the language – e.g. in social media, music, sports – are rather limited (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2022: 41).

Attitudes towards the three languages are more positive than ever for all three languages, as considered both individually and from a holistic perspective. In line with findings by Gartziarena and Villabona (2022), participants expressed the most favourable attitudes towards Basque. The most noticeable improvements, however, are detected for English, which seems to be very well accepted nowadays. Moreover, while attitudes towards English have radically improved and those towards Spanish too, albeit less dramatically, attitudes towards Basque have registered no significant change since 2004. If we look at these results statically, as if watching a snapshot of the situation in a specific moment of time, they seem to nicely mirror the belief according to which the three languages "can live together in the BAC", that was explored in the scale on attitudes towards multilingualism. However, if we interpret these results through a dynamical lens, that is, referring to findings from 2004, they seem to confirm that Basque finds itself in a standstill situation, as far as young adults are concerned (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2022).

As for additional FL learning, our results reveal that a slight improvement has taken place in the last 18 years, as a higher percentage of participants declared possessing a little knowledge of languages other than Basque, Spanish and English. Nevertheless, it appears that other FLs are being upstaged by English, which seems to have further increased its position as the main FL worth learning. Preserving linguistic diversity and encouraging positive attitudes towards its many languages has become a major goal in Europe, where young citizens are expected to learn two European languages in addition to their L1 (Commission of the European Communities 1995). However, the steady rise of English as a lingua franca and its increasing presence in all education systems, seems to be related to students' lack of motivation to learn other foreign languages (Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh 2006; Henry 2011). This state of affairs may

pose a challenge to the promotion of multilingualism, as learning languages other than English – local languages included (e.g. Basque) – might be perceived as a pointless endeavour (Phillipson 2003).

Research on habits of language use and attitudes is of the utmost importance. It is even more so when the population under scrutiny is that of future teachers, such as the participants in this study, who will exert great influence on future generations of students (Lee & Oxelson 2006; Blanchard & Muller 2015). If, on the one hand, our results show that the overall situation in the BAC is positive *today*, on the other hand they warn us that continuing to monitor its evolution over time is indispensable: if any deterioration should occur, it will allow timely interventions, both at policy and at practical level. Research studies (e.g. Dooly 2005; Jeoffrion et al. 2014; Szecsi et al. 2015; Fischer & Lahmann 2020) indicate that pre-service teachers are those who are most likely to renegotiate their initial beliefs and attitudes towards more favourable understandings of linguistic diversity. Targeted interventions, in the form of teacher education and training for example, will help them reflect on and become aware of their own ideas and beliefs about languages and the value of language diversity; such awareness will likely be passed on to their future students. Therefore, the role future teachers will be able to play does not stop at teaching content; with their own example, they will be active promoters of the value of multilingualism and language diversity in their classrooms.

As for future research directions, it would be interesting to repeat the present survey in different multilingual contexts and see how different socio-educational backgrounds may impact on participants' language use and attitudes. Moreover, understanding how future teachers' language attitudes vary based on relevant parameters (Lasagabaster 2005b) will also be of interest, as it will allow us to shed light on the effects exerted by variables such as gender, SES, school model attended, L1 and language mainly used in the family.

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Appendix I

Chi-square tests for independence (only significant results are reported)

Perceived proficiency in Basque, Spanish and English in 2004 and in 2022 (2 categories: None+A little, Good+Very good)	
Basque	χ2 (1, n=576)=31.03, p<0.001, V=0.23
English	χ2 (1, n=576)=59.47, p<0.001, V=0.32
Knowledge of languages other than Basque, Spanish and English in 2004 and in 2022 (2 categories: Yes, No)	
	χ2 (1, n=576)=79.19, p<0.001, V=0.37
Habits of language use with people in 2004 and in 2022 (3 categories: Always in Spanish, In Spanish more often than in Basque+In Basque and Spanish about equally, Always in Basque+In Basque more often than in Spanish)	
father	χ2 (2, n=561)=9.98, p<0.01, V=0.19
mother	χ2 (2, n=565)=9.51, p<0.01, V=0.18
classmates	χ2 (2, n=573)=25.37, p<0.001, V=0.30
lecturers	χ2 (2, n=573)=34.12, p<0.001, V=0.35
neighbours	χ2 (2, n=569)=21.46, p<0.001, V=0.27
Habits of language use in/for media in 2004 and in 2022 (2 categories: Always in Spanish+In Spanish more often than in Basque, Always in Basque+In Basque more often than in Spanish)	
to read	χ2 (1, n=395)=5.34, p<0.05, V=0.12
to listen to songs/music	χ2 (1, n=206)=6.94, p<0.01, V=0.18
to listen to the radio	χ2 (1, n=442)=5.04, p<0.05, V=0.11
Attitudes towards the three languages in 2004 and in 2022 (3 categories: Unfavourable, Neutral, Favourable)	
Spanish	χ2 (2, n=576)=24.88, p<0.001, V=0.29
English	χ2 (2, n=576)=84.86, p<0.001, V=0.54
Importance attached to Basque in 2004 and in 2022 (2 categories: Not important+A little important, Important+Very important)	
to watch TV	χ2 (1, n=576)=6.07, p<0.05, V=0.10
to get a job	χ2 (1, n=576)=7.14, p<0.01, V=0.11
to go shopping	χ2 (1, n=576)=6.04, p<0.05, V=0.10
to pass exams	χ2 (1, n=576)=22.75, p<0.001, V=0.20
to be accepted in social environment	χ2 (1, n=576)=7.86, p<0.01, V=0.12
to speak with lecturers	χ2 (1, n=576)=19.71, p<0.001, V=0.18

Attitudes towards multilingualism in Basque-Spanish-English in 2004 and in 2022 (2 categories: Agree+Strongly agree, Neither agree nor disagree+Disagree+Strongly disagree)	
It is important to be able to speak Spanish, Basque and English	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=9.62, p<0.01, V=0.13
Knowing Basque, Spanish and English makes people cleverer	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=21.69, p<0.001, V=0.19
Children get confused when learning Spanish, Basque and English (*)	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=5.23, p<0.05, V=0.10
Knowing Spanish, Basque and English helps to get a job	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=18.46, p<0.001, V=0.18
Speaking the three languages is not difficult	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=18.03, p<0.001, V=0.18
People know more if they know Basque, Spanish and English	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=10.99, p<0.001, V=0.14
People who speak Basque, Spanish and English can have more friends than those who speak one language	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=6.16, p<0.05, V=0.10
Speaking Basque, Spanish and English is more for younger than older people (*)	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=34.96, p<0.001, V=0.25
Basque, Spanish and English are important in the future of the Basque Country	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=4.81, p<0.05, V=0.09
All people in the Basque Country should speak Basque, Spanish and English	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=14.14, p<0.001, V=0.16
Basque, Spanish and English can live together in the Basque Country	$\chi 2$ (1, n=576)=12.00, p<0.001, V=0.14

Figures and Tables (to be inserted in the manuscript)

Table 1. Items in scales on attitudes towards Basque, Spanish and English

I like hearing Basque/Spanish/English spoken.
Basque/Spanish/English should be taught in all schools in the Basque Country.
I like (or I would like) speaking Basque/Spanish/English.
Basque/Spanish/English is an easy language to learn.
There are few languages to learn that are more useful than Basque/Spanish/English.
I prefer that classes are in Basque/Spanish/English.
Learning Basque/Spanish/English enriches my cultural knowledge.
I would not mind marrying a Basque/Spanish/English speaker.
Basque/Spanish/English is a language that is worth learning.
If I have children, I would like them to be Basque/Spanish/English speakers (regardless of other languages they may know).

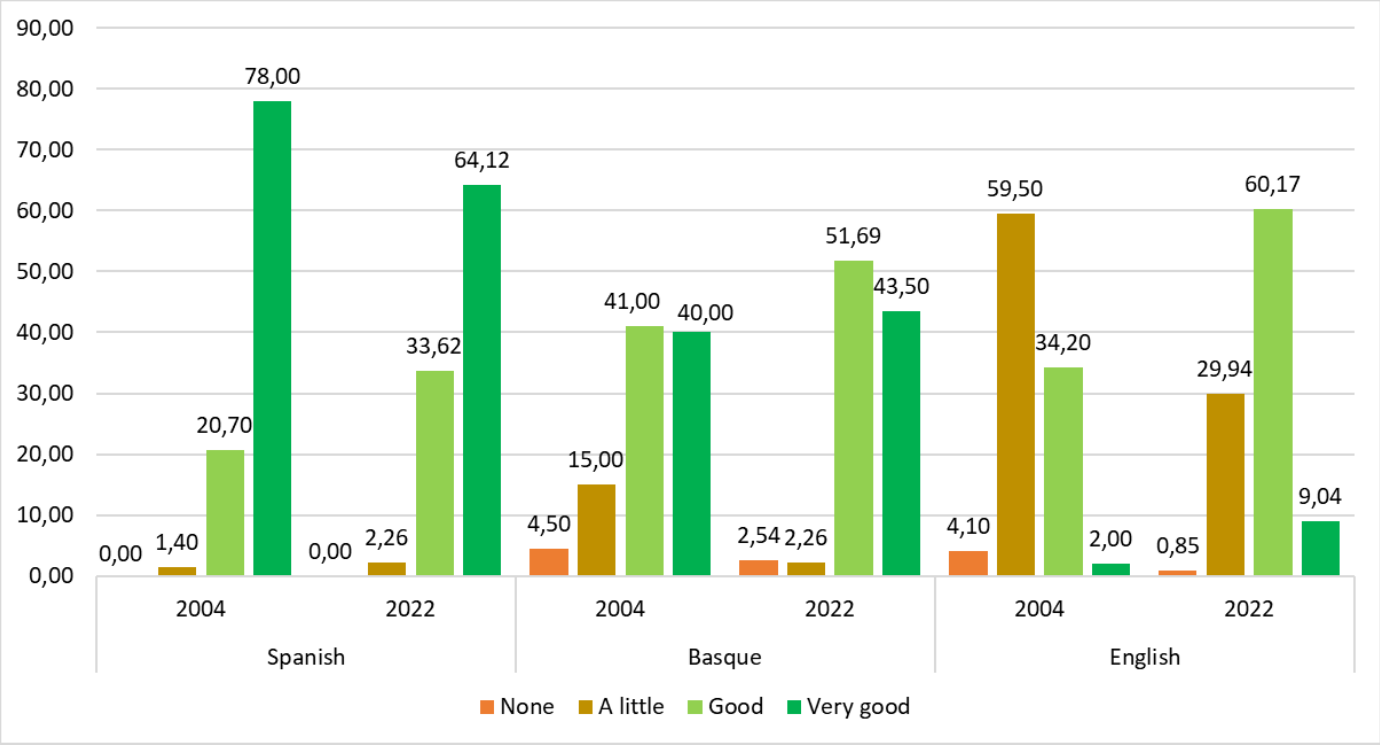


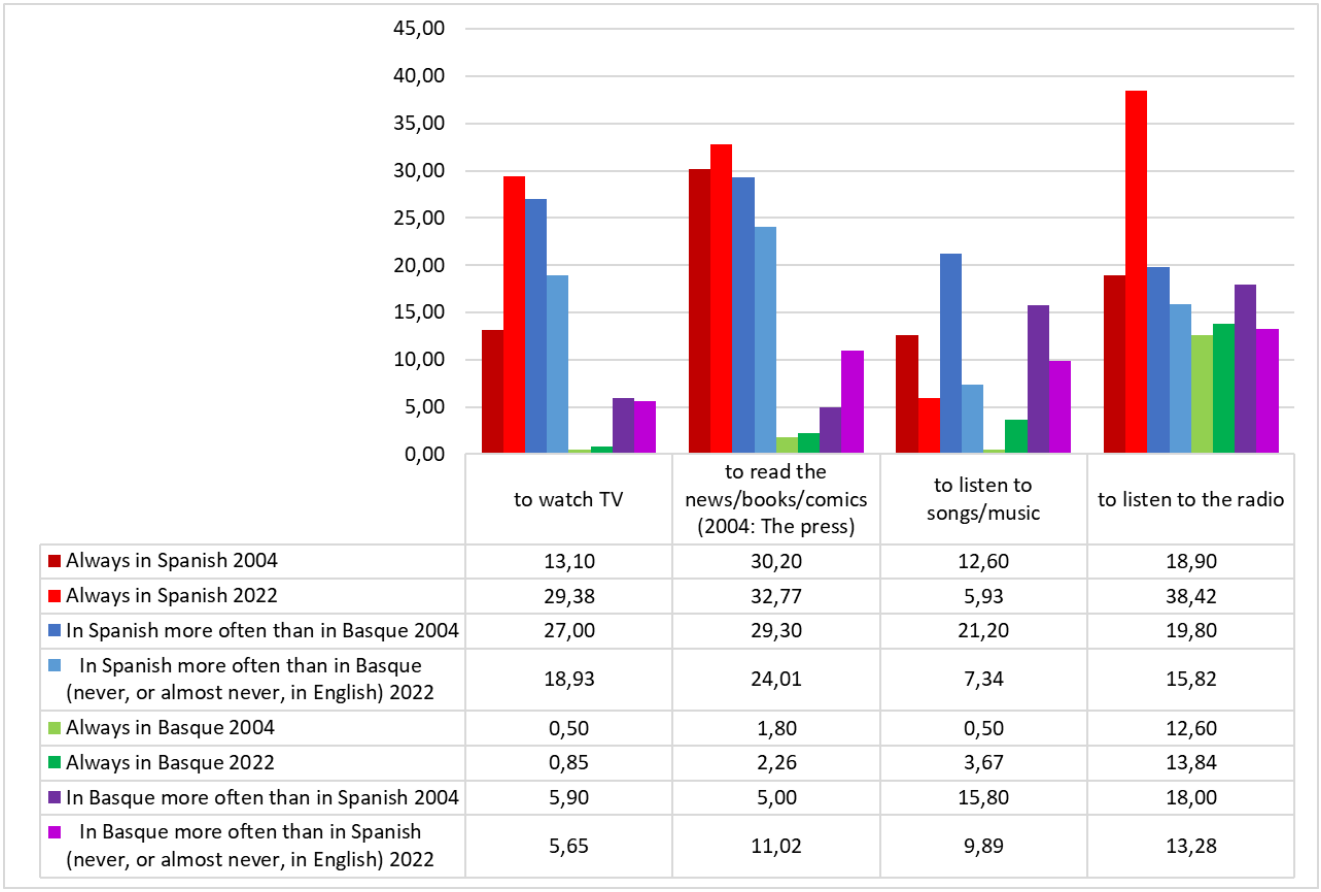
Figure 1. Perceived competence in Spanish, Basque and English (% data)

Table 2. Participants' L1

	2004	2022
Basque	24.00%	25.71%
Spanish	65.80%	49.44%
Basque & Spanish	9.00%	22.88%
other	1.00%	1.98%

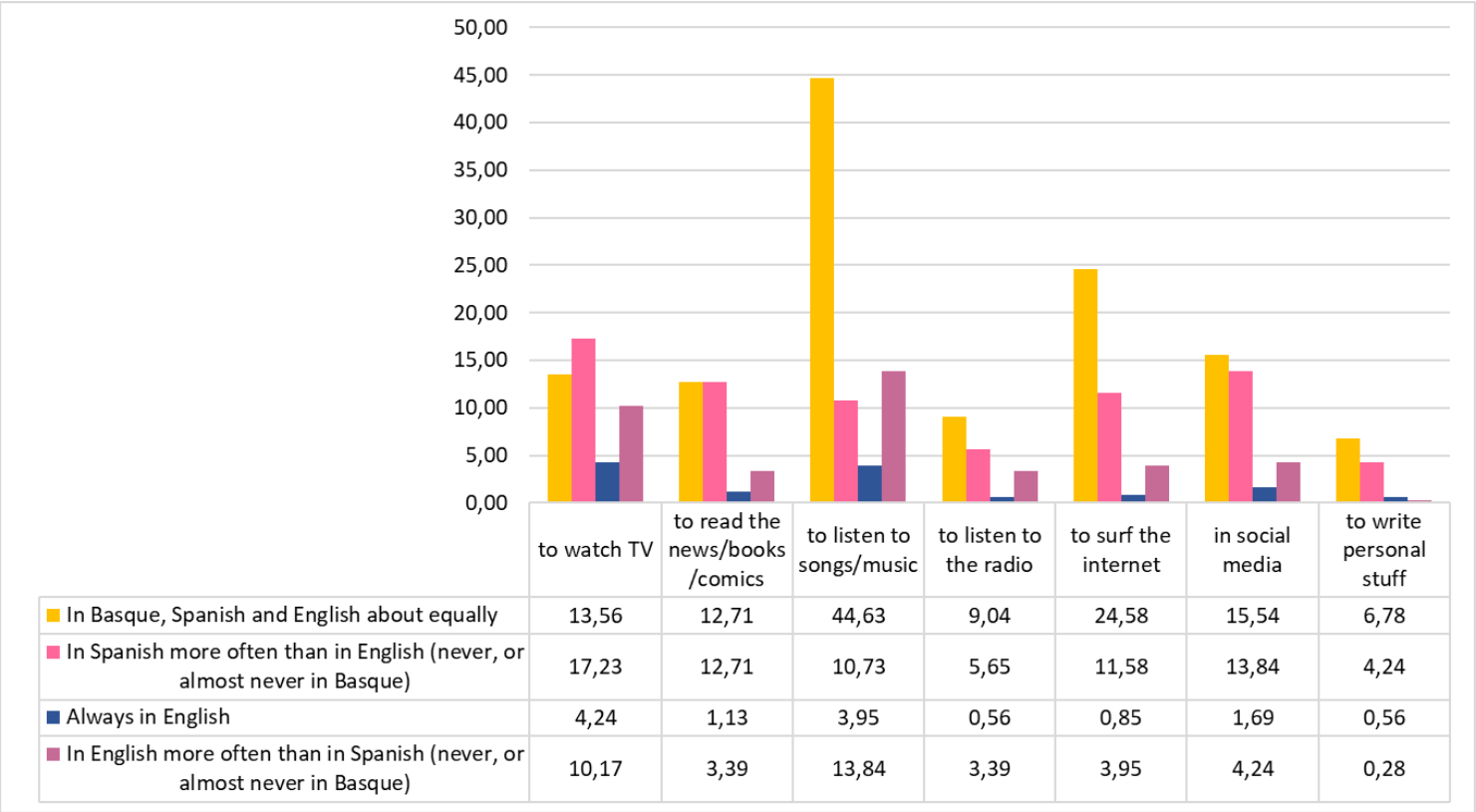
Table 3. Language spoken with…

	Always in Spanish		In Spanish more often than in Basque		In Basque and Spanish almost equally		Always in Basque		In Basque more often than in Spanish		(no answer)	
	2004	**2022**	**2004**	**2022**	**2004**	**2022**	**2004**	**2022**	**2004**	**2022**	**2004**	**2022**
father	68.50%	58.76%	6.80%	10.45%	5.90%	0.00%	14.40%	22.32%	2.30%	5.65%	2.25%	2.82%
mother	64.90%	50.56%	11.70%	0.00%	2.30%	19.49%	15.30%	20.62%	5.40%	6.50%	0.45%	2.82%
brothers and sisters	32.00%	33.90%	18.00%	24.86%	15.30%	0.00%	17.60%	21.75%	4.50%	4.24%	12.61%	15.25%
classmates	33.80%	17.51%	11.30%	51.41%	22.10%	0.00%	11.70%	18.93%	20.70%	11.58%	0.45%	0.56%
friends (out of the University)	35.10%	36.44%	20.30%	0.00%	25.20%	38.42%	8.60%	16.38%	10.80%	8.47%	0.00%	0.28%
lecturers (except for with those of languages)	34.70%	13.84%	6.30%	0.00%	3.60%	13.84%	44.10%	59.32%	11.30%	12.15%	0.00%	0.85%
neighbours	47.30%	58.47%	18.00%	17.80%	17.10%	0.00%	10.40%	13.84%	6.80%	8.19%	0.45%	1.69%



	to watch TV	to read the news/books/comics (2004: The press)	to listen to songs/music	to listen to the radio
Always in Spanish 2004	13,10	30,20	12,60	18,90
Always in Spanish 2022	29,38	32,77	5,93	38,42
In Spanish more often than in Basque 2004	27,00	29,30	21,20	19,80
In Spanish more often than in Basque (never, or almost never, in English) 2022	18,93	24,01	7,34	15,82
Always in Basque 2004	0,50	1,80	0,50	12,60
Always in Basque 2022	0,85	2,26	3,67	13,84
In Basque more often than in Spanish 2004	5,90	5,00	15,80	18,00
In Basque more often than in Spanish (never, or almost never, in English) 2022	5,65	11,02	9,89	13,28

Figure 2. Use of Basque, Spanish and English with media (% data)



	to watch TV	to read the news/books /comics	to listen to songs/music	to listen to the radio	to surf the internet	in social media	to write personal stuff
In Basque, Spanish and English about equally	13,56	12,71	44,63	9,04	24,58	15,54	6,78
In Spanish more often than in English (never, or almost never in Basque)	17,23	12,71	10,73	5,65	11,58	13,84	4,24
Always in English	4,24	1,13	3,95	0,56	0,85	1,69	0,56
In English more often than in Spanish (never, or almost never in Basque)	10,17	3,39	13,84	3,39	3,95	4,24	0,28

Figure 3. Use of Basque, Spanish and English with media (% data, 2022 only)

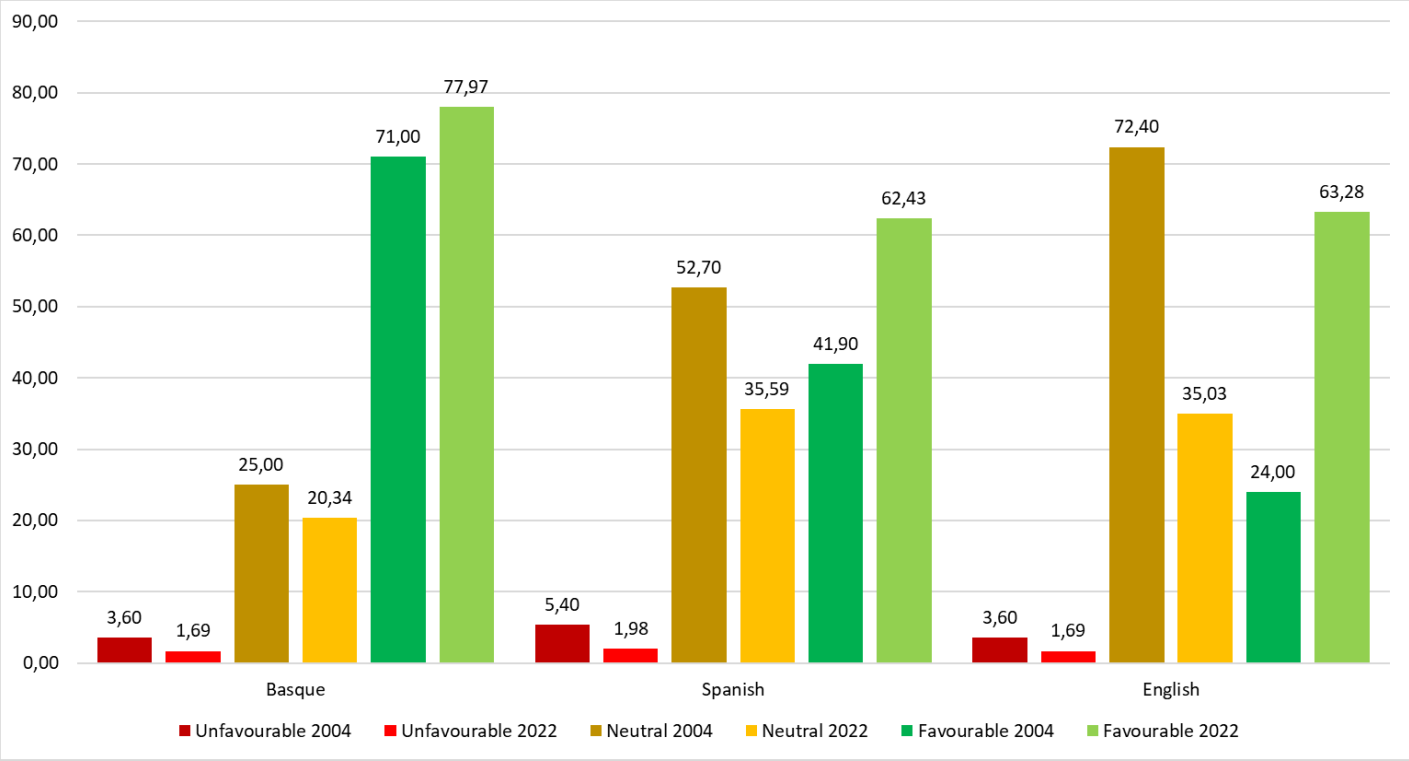


Figure 4. Attitudes towards Basque, Spanish and English (% data)

Table 4. Favourable attitudes (*Agree* + *Totally agree*) towards multilingualism in Basque, Spanish and English

	2004	**2022**
It is important to be able to speak Spanish, Basque and English	95.90%	88.42%
To speak one language in the Basque Country is all that is needed (*)	74.90%	75.99%
Knowing Basque, Spanish and English makes people cleverer	58.00%	38.14%
Children get confused when learning Spanish, Basque and English (*)	71.70%	62.43%
Knowing Spanish, Basque and English helps to get a job	100.00%	92.09%
All schools in the Basque Country should teach pupils to speak Basque, Spanish and English	82.60%	82.20%
Speaking the three languages is not difficult	28.30%	46.05%
Knowing Basque, Spanish and English gives people problems (*)	80.30%	86.44%
People know more if they know Basque, Spanish and English	28.40%	42.09%
People who speak Basque, Spanish and English can have more friends than those who speak one language	30.70%	40.96%
Speaking Basque, Spanish and English is more for younger than older people (*)	21.90%	46.33%
Young children learn to speak Basque, Spanish and English at the same time with ease	72.60%	73.73%
Basque, Spanish and English are important in the future of the Basque Country	66.70%	75.14%
People can earn more money if they speak Basque, Spanish and English	53.90%	58.47%
I would like to be a speaker of Basque, Spanish and English	91.30%	93.22%
All people in the Basque Country should speak Basque, Spanish and English	27.40%	42.94%
If I have children, I would want them to speak Basque, Spanish and English	91.30%	91.24%
Basque, Spanish and English can live together in the Basque Country	67.10%	79.94%
Given the new European context (UE, euro, free movement of people/goods, etc.), it is important to speak Basque, Spanish and English	78.10%	81.36%

Table 5. Perceived importance of Basque

	1 Not important + 2 A little important **2004**	1 Not important + 2 A little important **2022**	3 Quite important + 4 Important **2004**	3 Important + 4 Very important **2022**
to make friends	47.30%	44.35%	52.30%	55.65%
to read	27.50%	25.71%	72.50%	74.29%
to write	28.40%	23.45%	71.20%	76.55%
to watch TV	43.70%	54.24%	56.30%	45.76%
to get a job	8.10%	3.11%	91.18%	96.89%
to be liked by people	75.20%	69.77%	24.80%	30.23%
to live in the Basque Country	10.00%	11.86%	90.10%	88.14%
to educate one's children	15.40%	14.69%	84.70%	85.31%
to go shopping	81.10%	72.03%	19.00%	27.97%
to make phone calls	65.30%	60.45%	34.70%	39.55%
to pass exams	23.40%	9.32%	76.20%	90.68%
to be accepted in one's social environment	68.50%	56.78%	31.60%	43.22%
to speak with friends at the university	41.90%	39.27%	58.10%	60.73%
to speak with lecturers at university	33.40%	17.23%	66.60%	82.77%
to speak with people out of the university	59.00%	58.19%	41.00%	41.81%