

LANGUAGE POLICY FOR BASQUE IN EDUCATION

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by

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SUMMARY

The initial section of this submission discusses the leading role of education in language planning for Basque, clarifies administrative arrangements for the Basque Country, limits the focus of discussion to the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in Spain, gives the basic dimensions of the BAC primary and secondary educational system, briefly describes the development of the bilingual educational system and stresses differences with the system obtaining in Wales.

In the second section, on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the models, the models themselves and the issues arising from their definition are discussed first of all. Subsequently, the way in which the advent of bilingual (on occasion trilingual) education has affected a broad spectrum of school-internal issues is examined. Finally, the pedagogical results of the models are reviewed on a number of levels.

The third section looks first of all at the level of Basque required of teachers, before examining how teacher supply is ensured through initial and in-service training. The change in the Basque language competence of primary and secondary teachers over the last twenty five years as a result is then discussed.

The final section notes how the BAC Government has largely left decisions on pedagogical issues to individual schools and stresses the administrative and social advantages of a clear-cut system of bilingual teaching models. After considering the limitations of the school in reversing language shift, possible developments in the future of Basque in the BAC are mentioned.

An appendix looks at the situation of Basque language teaching for adults in the BAC, examining in turn the role of the Department of Education's Official Language Schools and that of the Department of Culture's *HABE* organisation, responsible for all other publicly and privately owned Basque-language schools for adults.

A bibliography lists relevant English language documents.

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1. KEY FEATURES OF LANGUAGE REVITALISATION AS THEY PERTAIN TO BASQUE IN EDUCATION

The Basque Country is a cultural unit, not a political one, which straddles the western end of the Franco-Spanish border. With regard to language policies for Basque in education, as in many other spheres of activity, three main administrative units may be distinguished: the French Basque Country (*Iparralde*) and the two Spanish regions of Navarre and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), both with extensive devolved powers. Brief descriptions of language planning for Basque can be found in Azurmendi *et al.* (2001), Cenoz (2001), Cenoz and Perales (2000) and Gardner *et al.* (2000) as well as Fishman (1991). (An earlier initiative –discussed in Zalbide, 1992– begun early in the twentieth century had been brought to an abrupt end by the 1936–1939 Spanish civil war.) The development of the bilingual educational system is discussed in Stuijt *et al.* (1998) for the French Basque Country, in Gardner (2000a) for the whole Basque area in Spain and in Gardner (2000b) for the BAC. Basque-language immersion education is discussed in Arzamendi and Genesee (1997). Observations on Basque in education in the present document will be confined to the activities of the Basque Government’s Department of Education in the BAC on the grounds that it is the most relevant to the Welsh situation, thus excluding both *Iparralde* and Navarre. Only English language documents are cited; however, relevant bibliographical references in other languages can be found in many of those documents.

Education has been the main motor of the present Basque revitalization initiative since the first clandestine *ikastola* (privately owned Basque-medium) schools were set up in the sixties to satisfy a need that the state did not contemplate. Although the presence of Basque in other sectors (particularly media, administration, cultural and leisure-time activities) has developed considerably over the past few years, education continues to be the most important and most successful sector of Basque language planning, in terms of volume of activity, numbers of participants involved, amount of Government funding available and gains in language maintenance and in reversing language shift. Indeed, the potentially excessive preponderance of the educational sector has been warned against on more than one occasion (e.g. Fishman, 1991: 368–80).

The historical development of the present Basque-language education initiative has been brief and intense. It is convenient to distinguish three main areas:

- schooling, including early years, primary, secondary academic and FE (0–18/19);
- university (18+); and
- Basque-language teaching outside the mainstream educational system, primarily for adults.

Only the first and third areas are discussed in the present document, the former in the main body of the document and the latter in the appendix. The special arrangements for SEN children, for adults completing primary or secondary education and for distance learning are not discussed.

The basic dimensions of the BAC school system for the school year 2001–2002 (unless otherwise stated) are as follows, with the corresponding figures for the 2000–

2001 school year in Wales, where available, taken from Jones, 2001: 10. However, definitions of concepts in both countries tend to vary slightly, so the comparison should not be taken to be more than a rough guide:

Primary students: 157,997 (Wales: 291,687)

Secondary students: 145,614 (Wales: 204,158)

Total students: 303,611 (Wales: 495,845)

Teachers (not necessarily engaged in classroom teaching): 26,625

Supply teachers (in addition to above): 7,326

School inspectors: 94

Number of schools: 873 (Wales: 1,889)

Teacher support centres: 18 with a total staff of 327

Other support services (except administration): 285

Budget (1999): £800 m. approx. (including part of funds for university education), constituting somewhat over a quarter of the total Basque Government budget. For the period 1995-1999 the Department of Education's budget has consumed between 3.6% and 3.9% of the GNP of the BAC.

Some features of the BAC primary and secondary educational system deserve specific mention so as to facilitate an understanding of its functioning from a Welsh viewpoint:

- The BAC Government acts as a unitary LEA throughout its territory, building, staffing and running its own schools as well as supervising the private sector. Responsibility of local councils is usually limited to provision of land for building, maintenance and cleaning;
- There is a large, subsidised private, mainly Roman Catholic, school sector in the BAC, which absorbs just over half the total school population and thus does not really coincide with the UK public school system. Teachers are often paid directly by the Basque Government out of the school's grant;
- Schooling is practically universal from age 3. Statutory schooling begins at 6 and terminates at 16 (primary: 6-12; statutory secondary 12-16), but a high proportion stay on at least until 18;
- The curriculum is partly determined in Madrid, partly by the BAC authorities and in some cases partly by the schools themselves: the percentage of school hours each is responsible for varies according to the level of study;
- Spanish-medium and Basque-medium streams often coexist in the same school;
- The expansion of Basque-medium education within the education system springs primarily from parental demand: the Government has never undertaken a campaign in favour of Basque-language education and limits itself to providing information about the different alternatives.

When discussing Basque-language education, a number of features of the system must be taken into account:

- **Belated planning:** the Basque Government did not expect change to be so rapid or so far-going. Even when it realised it was, it failed to take appropriate measures, leading to increased difficulties at a later date;
- **Falling rolls** have brought about first a welcome reduction in class sizes but more recently a surplus of teachers, particularly of monolingual Spanish speakers whilst hiring of new teachers has largely been curtailed;

- The **rigidity of the labour market**, particularly in the public sector (most public sector teachers have obtained tenure and cannot in practice be made redundant). Teachers from private sector schools which close down join a pool from which other private sector schools subsequently draw teachers;
- Teacher **trade union pressure** in defence of teachers' interests;
- The tense political situation has not infrequently led to a degree of **administrative paralysis**.

The main steps in the development of the BAC bilingual system of schooling are as follows:

- initially clandestine and later grudgingly tolerated Basque-medium schools (type 4a in Fishman's classification, 1991: 100) were set up by private initiative in the sixties and seventies toward the end of the Francoist dictatorship;
- under interim legislation, from the late seventies on, those schools began to obtain access to state funds, while pilot Basque-language and Basque-medium schemes were set up in the public and private (i.e. non *ikastola*) sectors (type 4a schools were thus rapidly replaced by type 4b);
- the declaration of Basque as an official language in the BAC in 1979 paved the way for the 1982 Law for the Normalization of the Use of Basque which in turn led to a 1983 Basque Government bilingualism decree establishing the present bilingual educational options in the primary and secondary spheres and in many ways confirming practice to date. Basque as subject was phased in for all pupils over a few years, whilst the opening of Basque-medium streams depended more directly on parental demand;
- since then, ever increasing parental demand has ensured the continued expansion of Basque-medium schooling in both state and private sectors;
- further measures have been taken to ensure an adequate supply of trained teachers and of teaching materials;
- in 1993 the Basque Parliament passed the Law of Basque Public Schooling which, as far as the presence of Basque in the school system was concerned, largely confirmed the 1983 decree;
- the same law put an end to the separate *ikastola* sector, with *ikastola* schools having to choose between entering the state or private sectors;
- that law was immediately followed by a second one on the non university education teaching *corps* in the BAC, which, with regard to Basque, modified the language requirements for public sector teachers;
- both 1993 laws have given rise to much subsequent secondary legislation.

As can be seen from the above list, it was several years before the Basque Parliament, set up by the 1979 Statute of Autonomy (the legal instrument creating the BAC and setting the devolution process in motion) got round to tackling an overall definition of BAC non university schooling. BAC language policy within education was integrated into those two 1993 laws, largely confirming previous practice. Development of policy has otherwise largely been in the hands of the Government. When the Parliament has shown interest in the language-in-education topic it has not infrequently been on matters which may be considered tangential to language-in-education policy in itself.

2. DIFFERENT MODELS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION: RELATIVE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

2.1. Description of the models

Until the end of the seventies each *ikastola* school organised its Basque-medium teaching as it saw fit and as availability of teachers and materials allowed. The expansion of Basque-medium education into the public sector led to an effort to typify the BAC bilingual educational models. The results were the three models A, B and D¹, which were subsequently officially sanctioned by the 1983 bilingualism decree and confirmed by the 1993 law of Basque public schooling. They may be summarised as follows:

- Spanish-medium teaching with Basque as a subject (model A);
- Basque- and Spanish-medium teaching with both Basque and Spanish as subjects (model B);
- Basque-medium teaching with Spanish as a subject (model D).

Models A and B were originally intended for children from Spanish-speaking homes, while D was for children from Basque-speaking homes. Model D, however, was from the start also popular with Spanish-speaking parents. Whilst it seems that native Basque speakers on the whole attend model D classes, children from monolingual Spanish homes can be found in all three models and frequently constitute a majority in model D classes outside hinterland areas. In the ensuing review of each of the models, the following features will be discussed after providing the 1983 and 1993 legal definitions: matters arising from the definitions, availability by age groups of the models and staffing arrangements, including differences between primary and secondary. Children not studying Basque even as a subject, whether as a result of exemption for late arrival or temporary residence appear in the statistics under the label X. Since the oil crisis of the seventies in-migration from other parts of Spain has virtually ceased, so such cases have been relatively few in number, though the number of foreign immigrants (primarily from Africa, particularly Morocco, and Central and Southern America) is starting to rise.

It is not easy to determine why parents choose the models they do. Anecdotal evidence suggests that beyond the obvious motives (mother-tongue education for native Basque speakers, integrative and instrumental motivation for monolingual Spanish-speaking parents), the model may not necessarily be the prime factor: reputation may well be more important. For example, a model B school with a good reputation in a given neighbourhood may well attract parents who would have preferred a model A for their children. On the whole, children change model relatively rarely within the primary or secondary years: changes normally occur on starting a new phase of their education. Model A children seem to carry out their whole schooling in model A. Children who have carried out their primary education in model B can end up in any model for their secondary education. Students transferring

¹ Foreign observers of the Basque situation frequently ask why there is no model C. The popular answer is that there is no letter C in the Basque alphabet. In fact, the real reason is that initially there was a model C which was rapidly abandoned, partly it seems for organisational reasons. The Basque alphabet does contain the letter C, though its use is restricted to foreign words, as the letter K is used to represent the similar sound represented in Welsh by the letter C.

to vocational training very frequently end up in model A classes because few model D courses are available.

So far distribution of children between models has been described as though parental demand were the only factor involved. It is the main factor but not the only one. With regard to the state sector, the 1983 decree put it as follows:

The Department of Education and Culture shall proceed with the implantation of the bilingual educational models B and D [...], on the basis of a petition or agreement of parents or tutors of pupils at a school sufficiently numerous for the latter to form at least one group according to the ratios established by the Department for the corresponding level and taking into account the possibilities of the staff and the Basquization plan established by the said Department.

By 1993, however, no mention was being made of the interests of school staff:

The Department of Education, Universities and Research shall assign the language models to be taught in each [state] school, taking into account the wishes of parents or tutors and the sociolinguistic situation of the district.

From the beginning the Department has been reluctant to leave choice of model in the hands of individual schools in the belief that this would prevent offer adjusting to demand. The main limitation to the satisfaction of parental demand has been that of attaining minimum numbers to open a new class-group or, frequently in the case of model A, to maintain a stream. Though the tendency is to establish streams of the same model right up through a school, there are exceptions depending on changes in parental demand. A second limitation, particularly in the early years, was availability of suitable staff. It does not seem that the local sociolinguistic situation has been much taken into account. Indeed, given the importance of parental demand, it is difficult to see how it could be. In the private sector, choice of model depends on the decision of the owners and subsequent governmental authorisation: insofar as private schools pursue the market and the market has demanded more models B and D over time, there has been a gradual expansion, more willing in some cases and less so in others, of the two models with Basque-medium teaching. The case of vocational training deserves special mention. The tremendous curricular diversity (21 'families' or areas of study, each with a number of levels) has made it more difficult to attain the numbers necessary to establish model D groups and to provide them with suitable Basque-language learning materials. In spite of these difficulties the Basque Government is frequently criticized for failing to make a greater effort to introduce model D at this level. At present a mere 18% of students receive whole or part of their vocational training through the medium of Basque, noticeably lower than any other pre-university educational level.

2.1.1. Model A

The full 1983 definition of the model for the primary level was as follows:

All subjects -except Basque itself- will be taught basically in Spanish. Basque will be treated in the same way as any other basic subject, with the number of weekly class-hours stipulated by the Department of Education and Culture.²

² For a brief period before and after the publication of the bilingualism decree the Department of Education (full title: Department of Education, Universities and Research) was renamed the Department of Education and Culture.

When students have acquired a suitable level of Basque, some aspects of other subjects may be taught in Basque in the upper levels of primary schooling.

The definition for secondary schools was slightly different:

All subjects, except Basque Language and Literature and Modern Languages will be taught basically in Spanish. Basque will be treated as an ordinary, compulsory subject, with the number of weekly class-hours stipulated by the Department of Education and Culture. With class-groups that have acquired a good level in Basque, some aspects of other subjects may be taught in Basque.

The 1993 definition was much briefer, but along similar lines:

[...] Model A, in which the curriculum will be taught basically in Spanish, though some activities or topics in it may be taught in Basque.

In the three models, Spanish language and literature, Basque language and literature and modern languages will each be taught primarily in the corresponding language.

Individual schools seem to have made some use of the option to offer some Basque-medium teaching. There have been calls for the Basque Government to introduce Basque-medium teaching in one or two subjects in model A on a wide scale in order to improve its efficiency as a route to learning Basque, but the Basque Government has not taken the matter further.

As for staffing, three stages at least can be distinguished:

- the initial concern in model A was to ensure that there were sufficient teachers able to teach Basque as a subject to the pupils in that model. In primary schools class tutors were expected to provide Basque language lessons for their class-groups. However, where tutors were unable to, the Government initially provided funding in the public sector for the necessary extra member or members of staff to do so. Such extra members did not have responsibilities as class tutors but provided language lessons in a number of classes. This arrangement not infrequently proved unsatisfactory: many such extra teachers did not have full civil servant status, had only had limited training and received little external support. Their lack of integration amongst regular staff often made their position uncomfortable. In addition, this measure proved unpopular with Basque-speaking tutors, as they saw their monolingual Spanish-speaking colleagues effectively having their working hours reduced, as the specialist teacher provided the Basque language lessons. In secondary schools the teaching of Basque has always been the responsibility of specialist Basque language and literature teachers;
- as the teacher per class ratio rose and a greater percentage of teachers became Basque-speaking, it became possible to ensure a sufficient number of qualified Basque speakers in primary schools to provide the language lessons without having recourse to the add-on figure;
- finally, a 1993 Decree established that of the fourteen teachers provided to staff the nine years of primary schooling (3-12) in public sector model A streams three should have achieved the level required to teach Basque or in Basque. For secondary schooling the situation remained unchanged: that level was only required of the Basque specialist.

2.1.2. Model D

The full 1983 definition of the model for the primary level was as follows:

All subjects -except the Spanish language- will be taught basically in Basque, with Basque itself being treated in the same way as any other basic subject, with the number of weekly class-hours stipulated by the Department of Education and Culture.

The definition for secondary schools was slightly different:

All subjects, except Spanish Language and Literature and Modern Languages will be taught basically in Basque. Basque, like Spanish, will be treated as an ordinary subject, in accordance with the programme and the timetable stipulated by the Department of Education and Culture.

The 1993 definition was much briefer, but along similar lines:

[...] Model D, in which the curriculum will be taught in Basque.

In the three models, Spanish language and literature, Basque language and literature and modern languages will each be taught primarily in the corresponding language.

Parents of children in model D in rural areas with a high percentage of Basque speakers have sometimes expressed concern about whether their children were receiving sufficient Spanish-language input at school: to answer this the Basque Government has provided extra Spanish-language tuition.

The second issue in relation to the definition of model D and which has not been addressed by the Government except on an *ad hoc* basis is that of whether it is appropriate to mix children from Basque- and Spanish-speaking homes in the same model D class. Some Basque-speaking parents have brought pressure to bear on the Government to obtain the setting up of separate class-groups of native speakers at least during the early years, especially where they would otherwise be in a minority in the class. The arguments in favour of so doing seem to be that it should thus be possible to preserve a better quality of Basque amongst those native speakers, avoiding the learning of Spanish before Basque has been duly strengthened and, more urgent still in the eyes of those parents, avoiding their children's Basque developing into what is derogatively termed *euskañol* (from *euskara* 'Basque' and *español* 'Spanish', on the lines of similar terms such as Spanglish and Franglais). The argument against has basically been that to separate children on the basis of language knowledge is socially divisive and, in any case, non native speakers need the benefit of native models. Basque-speaking parents retort that the non native speakers are frequently so numerous that it is they who provide an (inappropriate) model for the Basque speakers and that separate classes can hardly be considered socially divisive when children from different class-groups are likely to meet on many occasions outside school and can, indeed, become mixed further up the school.

One further difficulty arising from this discussion is that of deciding who is a Basque speaker and who not. Relatively few Basque-speaking children have had only Basque-speaking care-takers since birth. Many will have a non Basque-speaking grandparent, or even parent; others will have had non Basque-speaking carers from outside the family: the children of working parents are increasingly looked after by Central and South American monolingual Spanish-speaking immigrants. The result is that even by

the time children reach school there is already a broad range of differing levels of competence amongst so called native speakers. Conversely, many supposedly monolingual Spanish children may for different reasons (playschool, Basque-speaking care-taker, whether relative or no...) have had some modest contact with Basque.

It should not be forgotten that should an administration decide to promote, where possible, separate class-groups for native speakers, logistical problems can easily arise: native speakers may need to be bussed in together from a broader catchment area to ensure the creation of a class.

Discussion of when the Spanish language should be introduced as a subject in models D and B has recently come to the fore again. In many schools the tendency has been to delay the introduction of formal teaching of Spanish until the children reach the age of 8, on the grounds that this is beneficial to the learning/strengthening of Basque. Many members of the opposition in the Basque Parliament, however, were concerned that the law (Spanish should be formally taught from age 6) was being flouted. The then Minister of Education of the BAC recognised that this was so and gave instructions to the school inspectors to ensure compliance with the law, a decision based on political considerations more than technical ones.

Another much debated question is how to introduce native Basque-speaking children with a home dialect somewhat removed from the written standard to literacy. Should literacy initially be attained via the dialect or directly through the standard? A 1983 statement by the Department permitted both routes to literacy, stressing that ultimately they must (also) master the standard, but that this should be achieved without slighting children's oral performance. The choice of route was left to individual schools.

With regard to staffing the tendency has always been to require that all teachers be qualified in Basque. There have however often been doubts about what level of Basque to require of teachers of Spanish, English and (in exceptional cases) French, with the language requirement in those cases sometimes being situated at a lower level.

2.1.3. Model B

The full 1983 definition of the model for the primary level was as follows:

Both Spanish and Basque will be used to teach other subjects. In principle, Spanish will be used for subjects like mathematics and learning to read and write. Basque will be used for other subject areas: general science, art and movement in particular. In addition, both Spanish and Basque will be treated as subjects, with the number of weekly class-hours stipulated by the Department of Education and Culture.

No definition was provided for secondary schools as it was considered that children would then know enough Basque in most cases to transfer to model D.

The 1993 definition was much briefer, but along similar lines:

[...] Model B, in which the curriculum will be taught in Basque and Spanish.

In the three models, Spanish language and literature, Basque language and literature and modern languages will each be taught primarily in the corresponding language.

Model B is perhaps the model whose formulation raises most issues. The initial formula was so vague that it left many questions unanswered. The result was that, initially at least, it was more appropriate to talk of weak and strong model B classes. The following topics have been discussed over the years:

- *What language should children learn to read and write in?* As is clear from the 1983 definition the preferred route of the Department at that stage was via Spanish. Practice, however, has been varied;
- *Which subjects should be taught in Spanish and which in Basque?* Apart from the requirements of the 1983 definition, the answer to this question has largely been dictated by the availability of staff with the appropriate level of Basque. In some schools as more Basque-speaking staff have become available the proportion of subjects available in Basque has been increased well over the fifty per cent originally suggested;
- *Should teachers giving lessons through the medium of Basque also give lessons through the medium of Spanish or should children associate one language with one person?* The one-language one-teacher system became practicable where there were two model B streams side by side in the same school;
- *What age should model B be available up to?* It was originally thought that children who had spent their primary education (at that time from 6 to 14) in model B would switch to model D for their secondary schooling. This proved to be only partially true, as some students found it difficult to adapt to taking subjects in Basque which up till then they had only taken in Spanish. When the school leaving age was upped to sixteen and primary schooling was legislated to end at 12, the Basque Government decided to offer model B throughout statutory secondary schooling up to the age of 16;
- *How many teachers should be Basque-speaking?* The answer of pedagogues to this question is usually that all should be bilingual. The Department of Education's practice has however varied considerably over the years. From the start the Government has tended to promote a situation where rather more than half of the teachers would be qualified in Basque, though for a few years from 1986 on it decided that 50% of model B state sector primary staff would be Spanish-speaking. However, this rule was not always observed and in any case was later abandoned. The 1993 decree specifies that of the fourteen teachers assigned to the nine years of a preprimary plus primary model B in the state sector, 8 should be qualified to teach in Basque with two more to become qualified in the following five years. The overall tendency is thus to increase the percentage of Basque-speaking teachers as these become available. In the private sector the initial rule operates: anyone teaching Basque or through the medium of Basque must have the appropriate language qualification.

Discussions with practising teachers reveal that numerous local arrangements are in place. For example, one primary school teaches mathematics through the medium of Basque, but introduces Spanish terminology towards the end of the primary years as most of its students go on to a secondary model B where maths is taught in Spanish. Conversely, a primary school in another area has taught maths through the medium of

Spanish for many years, but introduces some Basque terminology to prepare students for the possibility of transferring to model D for their secondary schooling.

2.1.4. The conversion process

Though some entirely new Basque-medium schools have been set up in the public sector, whether in reconverted or custom-built buildings, the most commonly used procedure has been that of gradual reversion of an existing school. In the private sector some schools initiated a reversion process early on at least partly for ideological reasons; others simply wished to ensure a continuing flow of students, as parents opted for the Basque-er models. In the state sector reversion processes were initiated on the basis of predicted or proven parental demand. Where schools did not actively seek to establish a model B or D stream (a decision ultimately in the hands of the Government), school inspectors would sound school staffs out, pointing out the pressures on the educational system and the training possibilities for teachers. Thus a two-form entry model A primary school might accept a proposal to gradually change one stream to model B by opening a class for 6 year olds to accommodate children coming up from a feeder preprimary school in its catchment area. The school would therefore have just one model B class in the first year of the change, two in the second year and so on until the model B stream completely replaced the model A one. At best, there would already be a teacher with proven competence in Basque ready to take on the Basque-medium teaching in the new class, which would mean that a second teacher, perhaps with an intermediate level of Basque, would have a year or two to bring his or her Basque up to the level required through in-service training. Other teachers would train from scratch. Posts not held by teachers with tenure might need to be converted into posts for Basque speakers. This, however, is a fairly rosy example of a conversion process, with teachers eager to take part, with a certain Basque-language competence already present in the school and with solutions to satisfy everybody's needs and interests. The process is not always so comfortable: a school may have been approached for a conversion process on a number of occasions, only reluctantly accepting the inevitable late in the day; a larger school in the process of converting a model A stream into a B stream may find that it is now being pressed to open a second model B stream and to convert the present one into a model D; as a result teachers from the school may find during their language training that they are under tremendous pressure: either they pass the end of year examination or risk losing their post in their present school and risk being transferred elsewhere.

The plight of monolingual Spanish teachers deserves special mention. In addition to the stresses common amongst teachers elsewhere in Europe (loss of prestige of the profession, curricular change, reorganisation of the system, increasing disciplinary problems...), they have had to adapt to a change from a monolingual system to a bilingual one. Their options, theoretically at least, were numerous: carry on teaching in Spanish regardless of the expansion of Basque-medium education; transfer to a Spanish language non-teaching post within the education system (administration, inspectorate, teacher support centres, counsellor-advisor...); transfer to a teaching post in another part of Spain; change careers or, finally, learn Basque and transfer to teaching partly or wholly through the medium of Basque. In practice, options have been rather more restricted: teachers who in the early eighties showed no interest in learning Basque had frequently started to learn it by the nineties as they saw their opportunities of continuing to work in the classroom in the location they wished being

reduced. As the Basquisition process has moved forward, there has been increasing demand for the services provided by non-teaching posts to be provided in Basque, thus limiting opportunities for non Basque speakers there too. In the early years some teachers moved elsewhere in Spain, but falling rolls there too have much reduced the opportunities for mobility. And given the very high unemployment in the Basque Country until quite recently, changing careers was not an easy option either. Whilst the Basque Government has become increasingly generous in its offer of in-service retraining to teach in Basque it has largely failed to implement other avenues (early retirement packages, transfer (in the case of public sector teachers) to posts in other sectors of the administration... It should be noted that many of the alternative measures discussed within the Department turned out to be subject to what was named the *scissor effect*: if, for example, to provide more posts for Spanish speakers one were to decide to provide all headteachers with an assistant or schools of a certain size with a librarian, this would inevitably bring a parallel increase in the need for Basque-speaking teachers in those schools which functioned wholly or largely in Basque. Similarly, an early retirement package would for non-discrimination reasons have to be open to speakers of Basque as well: the system would thus be paying to shed teachers it would better have kept. The in-service training option is dealt with in detail in the next section. Finally, the Department has failed to deal adequately with the human dimension of what is clearly an extremely stressful situation: a counselling network for such teachers to help face change would have been and would even now be useful, helping them to talk through their crisis and decide on a course of action and reducing the degree of tension within the system. Even a successful period of language training does not bring an end to the stress: teachers, particularly of secondary school academic subjects, feel hampered by their limited linguistic competence, uncomfortable in the face of students who in some cases may be native speakers of Basque. The pedagogical support provided in this latter case is discussed in section three.

2.1.5. Integration of the models in school life

So far issues relating to individual models have been discussed in isolation. Over the years, however, a number of pedagogical and organisational issues have arisen which concern the bilingual school as a whole:

- initially, school bilingualization seems to have been seen purely in terms of establishing the models and teaching the school subjects according to the **curriculum**;
- that initial approach is still maintained in some schools, while others have felt the need to establish as part of the document that reflects the school's educational project a specific language project: at its best, the **language project** tries to specify a single set of methodological coordinates for the teaching of the two official languages and the other modern languages offered in the school. The object is to ensure that all the language teachers are pulling in the same methodological direction. The document should clarify the role of each of the school's languages. In the case of model B streams the project may also make public information about the school's response to the various pedagogical issues mentioned above;
- in addition, primary schools are increasingly offering an **early start in English**, which leads to a redistribution of school time, especially where English is used as medium for some activities. Discussion of this topic can be

found in Cenoz (1998), Cenoz and Jessner (2000), Cenoz and Lindsay (1994), Cenoz and Valencia (1994) and Cenoz *et al.* (2001);

- further, since 1993 all state schools are required by law to adopt ‘the positive measures necessary to contribute to [Basque] language normalization’. Many schools do this by adopting a **Basque language normalization project**. These projects have arisen from a widespread awareness that schools need consciously to revise their language behaviour to ensure that all possible stimuli are being provided to pupils not only to learn the language, but to use it. A detailed discussion of these plans will be available later this year in Aldekoa and Gardner (2002);
- finally, it should be noted that schools often have higher **levels of staff** qualified to teach in Basque than the norms for single models listed above might lead one to suppose. There are at least three reasons for this:
 - in schools with several streams it is common practice (sanctioned by Government decree in 2000) to make up the hours of individual teachers by requiring them to teach in more than one model – they may thus give some classes in Basque and some in Spanish but they are of necessity qualified to teach in Basque;
 - secondly, in the civil service entry competitions for Spanish-speaking posts, candidates are given extra points for knowledge of Basque with the result that some of the Spanish-speaking posts are occupied by people with a certain level of Basque;
 - thirdly, in some such competitions one trade union has encouraged its Basque-speaking members to apply for Spanish-speaking posts, so as to increase the overall Basqueness of the teaching profession.

In short, what was initially presented as a very straightforward choice between three choices of the relevant weight of the two official languages as the medium of teaching has gradually come to affect a broad spectrum of aspects of school organization.

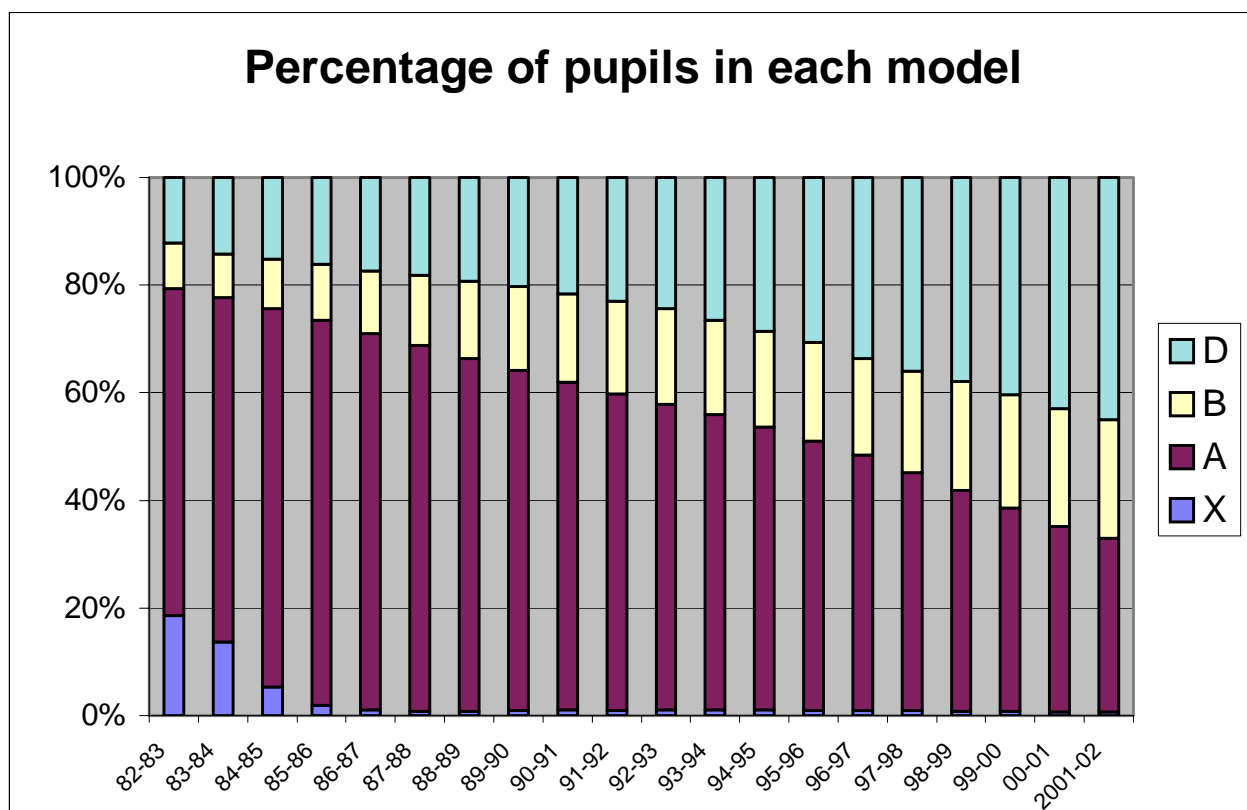
2.2. Evaluation of the models

The development of Basque-language schooling in the BAC over the last forty years is usually seen by other minority language communities as a runaway success story, perhaps because observers tend to look first and foremost at enrolment figures. A fuller evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the different models should perhaps include at least the following questions:

- How attractive are the models to parents/students?
- How successful are they in teaching the two official languages, Basque and Spanish, to students?
- What do students achieve in other academic subjects?
- Do the students use the minority language?

2.2.1. How attractive are the models to parents/students?

As the new intake in schools has much reduced over the years as a result of falling rolls, percentages of students in each model provide a better indicator of the overall attractiveness of each model to parents and students than absolute numbers can do.



It should be noted however that take-up of each model is not evenly distributed. There are differences according to Aldekoa and Gardner (2002):

- geographically (not surprisingly, areas with a greater percentage of Basque speakers have a higher percentage of children in Basque-medium programmes);
- by type of ownership of the school (the state owned half of the system having a higher proportion of Basque-medium programmes than the private half);
- by level of education taught (fewest Basque-medium programmes available in vocational training);
- by age (the younger the student, the more likely s/he is to have experienced at least some Basque-medium education, heralding a continuing transformation of the education system).

The latter point is best illustrated by comparing percentages of students in each model in the initial year of each level of teaching in the present school year, 2001-02:

| Initial year of: | Age | Model A | Model B | Model D | X |
|-------------------------|-----|---------|---------|---------|---|
| Preprimary | 3 | 9 | 30 | 60 | 1 |
| Primary | 6 | 12 | 32 | 55 | 1 |
| Statutory Secondary | 12 | 30 | 25 | 44 | 1 |
| Non-statutory Secondary | 16 | 62 | 3 | 35 | 0 |

All percentages rounded to nearest whole number

Even taking into account that there is a slight flow away from B and D to A as students grow older, it is clear that percentages of students in the Basque-er models will continue rise over the next few years.

2.2.2. How successful are the models in teaching the two official languages, Basque and Spanish, to students?

There are several published studies on pupil achievement in the official languages, some available in English (Gabiña *et al.*, 1986; Sierra & Olaziregi, 1989, 1991). As one might well hypothesize, these suggest that model D is more efficient than model B which in turn is noticeably more efficient than model A in ensuring knowledge of Basque. The same studies suggest that, on the whole, Spanish language competence is unaffected. However, the most recent of those studies is now ten years old; none goes beyond the end of the primary level. They also fail to take into account the home language of the child before schooling, thus making it impossible to determine how much of model D's success in this sphere is due to the home, bearing in mind that most native speakers are now schooled in model D. It would seem probable that the best predictor of language competence in Basque is in fact coming from a Basque speaking home, with the model being the second most influential factor and IQ the third.

Results from an independent Basque-language examination by the name of *Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria - EGA* (of a level one higher on the European scale (i.e. C1/ALTE level 5: see www.alte.org) than the Welsh *Defnyddio'r Gymraeg Uwch-DGU*) suggest that only about a quarter to a third of those attempting the examination at the end of their schooling actually pass it.

Observation suggests a very broad spectrum of Basque language achievement at school. Model A students may end their formal schooling with a virtually nil command of the language. More commonly, model A students have a relative command of the receptive skills, listening and reading. Their speaking and writing achievements are on the whole very limited. Model B and D students, in addition to an acceptable level of achievement in the receptive skills, have very varied command of the so-called active skills, speaking and writing. These results are a clear reminder that the importance of the school in reversing language shift should not be overrated: one study has calculated that Basque-language classroom contact hours constitute a mere 3% of a child's waking hours in model A, about 8% in model B and 14% in model D.

2.2.3. What do students achieve in other academic subjects?

Although some research has been carried out, none has been published in a way to permit full evaluation. It would seem, if we look at predictors of academic achievement, that for most school subjects other than Basque itself, discussed above, and English, mentioned below, the best predictor of performance is IQ, with either bilingual model or type of school ownership (private school children obtaining better results than state school children) being the second best predictor, depending on the subject. Parental sociocultural and socioprofessional levels also seem to be fairly high on the list of predictors and, indeed, in the case of English, socioprofessional level

seems to be the number one predictor of achievement. These observations are nevertheless tentative: interpretation of results is in any case not easy as many other factors, including for example the urban-rural divide, affect school performance.

2.2.4. Do the students use the minority language?

The language planner's ultimate question is concerned with use of the language. Two aspects can be cited:

- one is more immediate: do the children use the language?
- the other is more directly concerned with ethnolinguistic continuity: what language do those children use when they grow up and, most importantly of all, what language do they transmit to their own offspring? In other words do they help maintain intergenerational language transmission?

Native speakers of Basque in model D classes seem on the whole to use Basque inside and outside the classroom, but as they grow older their behaviour becomes increasingly dependent both on the dominant language of the environment and on peer group behaviour. Second language learners in model A rarely achieve active use of the language. The degree of use of the language by model B children seems to depend on the quality of the teaching initially; later on they may become consumers of Basque language cultural products, but Spanish usually continues to be their dominant language; active use depends principally on social pressure, which is not always present. Second language learners in model D have a variety of outcomes, depending on the dominant home language of the other members of the class-group, the dominant language of the out-of-school peer group, the local presence of Basque and the presence or absence of a school language use normalization plan. Nevertheless, in many BAC schools with models B and D outside hinterland areas the dominant language of the playground is Spanish.

With regard to the second question, census figures show a clear upturn in the proportion of younger speakers of Basque, a change which is widely attributed to the effects of schooling. Whilst a claim of knowledge of a language is not necessarily proof of competence or of use, there is no doubt that at least a proportion of such claimants are competent users. It is also evident that native speakers and to a certain extent non-native speakers are transmitting the language to their own offspring, even where only one partner is Basque speaking.

In summary, the models seem to have contributed substantially to language maintenance in the case of native speakers and to language acquisition in the case of non native speakers, even if the degree of achievement is not that which was perhaps over-optimistically hoped for when the models were set in place.

3. TEACHER RECRUITMENT AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

A shortage of teachers competent in a language newly introduced in a massive way to an education system is a common problem worldwide. There are basically two routes to overcoming that shortage:

- hiring new teachers competent in the language; or
- retraining teachers presently in the employment of the educational system in question (via literacy and second language learning, depending on the individual's previous knowledge of the newly introduced language or lack of it).

The choice of one or the other has in the BAC case largely been dictated by external factors. When the Basque Government was founded there was a huge and rapid expansion in the number of teachers at a time when politicians and civil servants had little idea that the spread of Basque-medium education was going to be as rapid as it has been or that falling rolls were going to turn into one of the major factors conditioning the development of the bilingual system. Thus, alongside the gradual reconversion of the teacher training colleges/university, the in-service training system came to have more and more importance as the possibility of hiring new teachers with an appropriate Basque-language competence became more remote. The Basque Government deemed that it was possible to ensure maximum use of the new hiring route over retraining by insisting that privately owned schools receiving aid to cover the cost of supply teachers while the post holder was studying Basque in *IRALE* should hire only Basque-speaking teachers thereafter: the measure was however declared unconstitutional.

There is no scientific route to establishing suitable linguistic objectives for teachers. The ideal would clearly be competent native speakers with highly developed literacy skills; on the other hand, parental pressure (expressed in the early eighties through frequent demonstrations) meant that teachers were urgently needed to satisfy the demand for schooling through the medium of Basque. On the whole, in the early years the Basque Government tended to lower the language requirement and even the initial teacher training requirement in order to ensure a sufficient supply of teachers.

The first major change occurred in 1983: the bilingualism decree specified that to teach Basque as a subject or through the medium of Basque, teachers had to:

- a) be qualified as teachers;
- b) hold *EGA* or a recognised equivalent OR have specialised in Basque in their university/teacher training college. Two exceptions were established: teachers already teaching Basque or in Basque or demonstrating a satisfactory interim level during retraining through departmental courses would have a five year period to satisfy condition b); and
- c) fulfill any other condition the Department might establish.

All these points require further explanation: some of the teachers taken on in the early period had not in fact completed their initial training as such, so a) was not an otiose requirement. Part-time training opportunities were offered to such unqualified teachers. Considerable effort was expended by the Department on drawing up a broad list of acceptable equivalents to *EGA*, so that teachers who had already passed an examination of a suitable level would not have to sit another one. Point c) was subsequently developed in regard to secondary teachers: in addition to the general

competence in Basque represented by *EGA*, they were also expected to prove suitable oral ability in their academic discipline via a second purely oral examination with options for Arts, Sciences and Technological subjects. Finally, the five year exemption rule created a considerable pool of candidates for further training, at the same time that it saved the system from major disruption, by ensuring a suitable supply of teachers at the same time it permitted a gradual tightening of the language requirement.

The next major change did not occur until 1993, as a result of the Law of Basque Public Schooling: for public sector teachers a new system was established in line with requirements (language profiles) for other civil service posts. All teaching posts were assigned one of two language profiles, *HE2* (roughly equivalent to *EGA* in level, but theoretically at least more job-specific) for teachers teaching Basque or through the medium of Basque and *HE1* (a rather lower level) for all other teachers. Each teaching post was in addition assigned a date when achieving the language profile become compulsory: immediate in the case of almost all *HE2*; much delayed or even today not assigned in the case of *HE1*. Again, a transitional period was established in some cases. The 1983 system was maintained without change in the private sector. The reason for the creation of *HE1* was to permit teachers teaching through the medium of Spanish to deal with students speaking Basque and, on predominantly Basque-speaking staffs, to be able to understand school activities (staff meetings...) carried out in Basque.

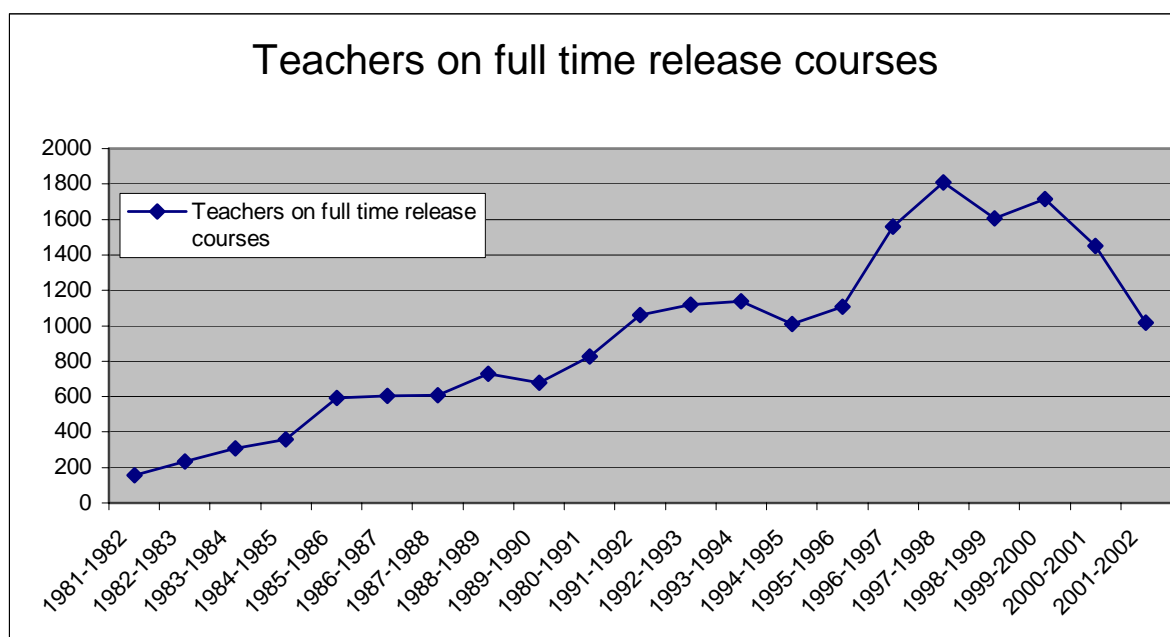
Though lacking full legal backing as yet, a separate level, *HBLEM*, is required of non-teaching SEN staff. In rough terms this requirement is equivalent to *HE2* in oral skills, but *HE1* in written skills, reflecting the lower written skills usually required of SEN pupil helpers.

3.1. The Basque language in initial training

Teacher training for the primary sector consists of a three year diploma course, while secondary teachers are expected to have a degree plus a one year part time teaching qualification. The first changes in initial training were made at the end of the seventies: a new private teacher training college was set up by the Basque cooperative system with training provided as far as possible through the medium of Basque. Other private teaching training colleges in the BAC introduced some Basque-medium options. The three state teacher training colleges introduced Basque language classes initially and then gradually developed full Basque-medium curricular options. Where Basque-medium primary teacher training courses have provided evidence via examination of a suitable level of achievement in Basque, students' training certificates are accepted as equivalents of the *EGA* and *HE2* requirements mentioned above. Change at the university degree level has been slower and more complex. Depending on subject availability university students can take a gradually increasing part of their first degrees at the local universities in Basque. With the exception of those students who have specialised in Basque language and literature, however, equivalence with *EGA* and *HE2* is not awarded: secondary teachers have to sit one or other of these examinations in order to qualify to teach in Basque.

3.2. In-service language training

The Basque Government established in-service training for practising teachers at the beginning of the eighties (literacy classes for native speakers and second language courses for others). It rapidly became a major feature of the Department's in-service training options under the name of *IRALE*. In the 1982-83 school year *IRALE* offered a term of Basque language training with full-time release from ordinary schoolwork to a few dozen teachers with a high proven level of Basque, in order to assist them to start working in Basque. At roughly the same time the Basque Government began to subsidise the enrolment fees of teachers with a lower level of Basque who studied in their spare time. That modest initial retraining offer has expanded enormously since then. Teachers in both the state and private sectors can now obtain up to three years of full-time leave on full pay to learn Basque up to *EGA* or *HE2* levels. Teachers who have passed *EGA* or *HE2* also have access to a further three month full-time release course to improve their Basque language skills. All such full-time courses consist of 5 hours of class per working day morning plus homework to be carried out in the students' spare time. The final part of the course usually includes a period of teaching practice through the medium of Basque. Such courses are usually non-residential; temporary provision has sometimes been made in areas far from the main centres of population. Besides the full-time options listed above, the Basque Government continues to subsidise spare time learners' enrolment fees whether study is carried out during term-time after school or during the summer holidays. In such cases, students are expected to attend a minimum of ten hours of classes a week. The numbers involved have expanded considerably.



It should be noted that numbers are not strictly comparable as the duration of full time release courses has increased from an initial three months to the whole school year during the period under consideration. These numbers do not include teachers on three month courses after passing *EGA/HE2* (444 in 2001-2002).

Over the past few years a gradual drop in the numbers can be observed in the graph: the fact is that there do not seem to be that many more teachers willing to learn Basque from scratch. Lack of new hiring in the public sector means that the average

age of staff (well over 40 in the case of teachers with tenure) continues to rise, with success in language training clearly related to age: the younger the teacher the more likely s/he is to attain *HE1* or *HE2*. On the other hand, increasing numbers of teachers are attending the three month post *EGA/HE2* courses. In addition to full-time enrolments there are over three thousand teachers on part time courses during the 2001-2002 school year and nearly 850 on courses in the summer of 2001.

Full-time release courses at the lower levels are usually given by private sector language schools whose services are obtained through *HABE* (see appendix). Higher levels where possible are taught at one of the department's own language schools for teachers (four at present with a total staff of 88 teachers). Thus, in-service language training costs include the following:

- students' course enrolment fees on spare time courses (there are minimum progress requirements in the case of part-time courses) (2002 budget: £1.2 m.);
- students' course enrolment fees on full-time release courses other than in the Department's own language schools (2002: £0.9 m.);
- salary of replacement teacher while a teacher studies Basque full-time (in the case of private sector teachers the Government pays a grant to the school covering around 80% of the cost) (2002: £18 m. (public sector); £2.9 m. (private sector));
- own language school staff, buildings and running costs (2002: £0.16 m. for latter only).

The most conflicted issues in connection with the *IRALE* programme have been related to entry and exit from the programme. With regard to entry, two matters have arisen:

- *from what level should teachers be granted full-time release to pursue their Basque language studies?* The Government's initial answer was a single term, which rapidly became a whole school year: a pass in an entry examination was required for teachers to be considered for admission. Over the years the offer has gradually been extended, partly out of the Department's need to ensure the supply of teaching staff but largely under trade union pressure, to a total of three years for teachers starting from scratch;
- given that the number of places available was until relatively recently systematically smaller than the number of applicants, *who should have priority?* Government response on this question has also varied: initially, the unit running the service made decisions on a series of parameters including civil servant status, urgency (according to the needs of the conversion process described above) and proven level of Basque of the candidate. Subsequently, representatives of the inspectorate were included on the deciding body and, later still, again excluded and replaced by representatives of the Department's provincial offices and of the trade unions. Once the language profiles were in place in the public sector (1993), the date a teacher had to achieve his/her profile by was introduced as a criterion for selection. On the whole, in the earlier years a higher proportion of places was reserved to primary teachers, with the proportion reserved for secondary teachers gradually increasing in recent years.

In connection with the exit level, the initial tendency of the Government was to raise it: introducing first the *EGA* requirement for all teachers and subsequently the oral ability requirement for secondary teachers. From the late eighties, however, the

Government has been under considerable pressure to reduce the requirements. The introduction of a continuous assessment element in the *HE2* examinations for teachers who had undergone in-service training through *IRALE* was regarded by some Basque language loyalists as an attempt to lower the level.

An obvious further way to promote the quality of teachers' Basque is to offer them the usual non-linguistic in-service training courses through the medium of Basque. The Basque Government has on the whole given rather less importance to this aspect, but it is clear that a thorough language training policy should aim at expanding the in-service training options through the medium of the minority language.

3.3. Degree of teacher Basquisition

Evaluation of teacher Basquisition, like that of the bilingual educational models, needs to be tackled on more than one level. Here four will be considered:

- numbers qualified to teach in Basque;
- quality of teachers' Basque;
- use of the language by teachers; and
- their contribution to overall language planning objectives.

In 1976 a survey of state primary teachers in the BAC and Navarre calculated that a mere 5% of practising teachers knew Basque. Teaching through the medium of Basque was practically confined to the *ikastola* schools which at their height probably never constituted more than about 10% of the system. The degree of success in terms of teachers qualifying to teach in Basque is remarkable: here are the figures for teachers with tenure at the beginning of the present calendar year:

| Level taught | Percentage of teachers with tenure qualified to teach in Basque | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---------|------|
| | State | Private | All |
| Primary (3-12) | 77.3 | 67.8 | 73.2 |
| Statutory secondary (12-16) | 76.9 | 60.3 | 66.1 |
| Post statutory secondary (16+) | 59.6 | 45.7 | 54.3 |
| All teachers | 68.8 | 56.3 | 63 |

The category 'all teachers' also includes primary and secondary teachers for adults, support services (except administration), some SEN workers and so on.

Not all such teachers necessarily teach in Basque though most do for at least a part of their working day. In addition, almost another 7% have achieved the *HE1* level. Figures for supply teachers are usually a few percentage points higher in each category.

As to the quality of teachers' Basque a broad range of competence can be observed: alongside teachers who are native speakers (or, even, exceptionally, non-native speakers) with excellent mastery of the language can be found native speakers with limited command of the more formal registers and numerous non-native speakers with a command ranging from moderately good to frankly poor, often weakest in informal registers (Aldekoa & Gardner, 2002).

As to the use of the language by teachers with *EGA/HE2*, it seems that by and large they speak in Basque to their students, but that in some schools use of Basque in the staff room is rather more limited.

The contribution to overall acquisition planning objectives by the teachers is evident from the figures in the previous section. Nevertheless, the considerable degree of reliance of the school system on non-native speakers must, of necessity, have some limiting effect on the results. No figures are available on whether teachers are native or non-native speakers nor on their learning itineraries (home, *IRALE*, schooling, other or a combination...).

4. EVALUATION OF PRESENT POLICY AND LIKELY DEVELOPMENTS

Are the models a satisfactory way of channelling demand for bilingual education? Within the BAC they have been questioned almost from the start, amongst other things because their centrally planned nature runs counter to the growing belief in and push towards increasing the autonomy of the individual school at the economic, pedagogical and organisational levels. In any case, it seems that departmental intervention in pedagogical aspects of the models, beyond establishing basic coordinates, has become very limited indeed, leading to considerable variation in practice, particularly in model B.

However, the administrative and social value of a relatively clear-cut system of models cannot be overstressed:

- it has provided a flexible system to respond to parental demand, within the limitations mentioned above, thereby assisting in the reduction of tension. As such it is a basically democratic system;
- even allowing for the variation in model B, it is a system that can be explained with relative ease to the parent-consumer;
- its centrally planned nature means that parental demand can be fully taken into account, something less likely to occur if decisions were to be left to individual schools, readier especially in the past perhaps to give excessive weight to the interests of practising monolingual teachers;
- it is a system whose operational conditions can be defined to the degree deemed necessary (more and stricter definition initially in the case of the BAC when resources were short), whether a matter of language criteria for staffing ratios, definition of subjects to be taught in one or other language, minimum numbers required to open a class...;
- it is a system that can be planned (calculations of expected student distribution; degree to which models can be made available to parents, where and when; calculations of teacher shortage by subject; organisation of language training of teachers...);
- model B is of particular importance as a halfway house for monolingual Spanish parents who wish their children to obtain Basque-language skills but are, quite reasonably, unwilling to send their children to model D until they are absolutely sure that they are not prejudicing their children's future. As confidence in model D has increased, model B has virtually ceased to grow.

These advantages tend perhaps to be passed over by teachers, often more concerned with problems of a more immediate pedagogical nature.

The benefits overall of a bi-, sometimes tri-, lingual education system have gradually become visible. Student achievement in the languages, though not perhaps as high as the number of participants might at first glance suggest, is substantial. Considerable numbers go on to become fully integrated members of Basque-speaking society, thereby contributing to the continuing survival of the language. Basque has its first fully literate generations, a necessary step in the fight for survival in the very literate western European context, which has led to a great expansion in reading matter available in Basque. The expansion of a Basque-medium education sector has given rise to a considerable number of direct teaching jobs and indirect posts in the service sector: such an increase in the jobs specifically open to Basque speakers represents a

welcome improvement in the societal reward system which helps to sustain the language.

Weaknesses nevertheless clearly exist in the BAC language planning initiative for education, for example:

- the excessive reliance on speakers with a command of the language falling short of the maximum desirable;
- the failure to develop a full Basque dimension to the curriculum;
- the non-availability of model D in many vocational training subjects;
- the lack of academic evaluation of many of the initiatives undertaken; and
- the dearth of mechanisms above the level of the individual school to improve quality in delivery of the bilingual system.

One of the greatest sources of dissatisfaction of participants in the initiative comes from awareness of the fact that pupils simply do not use the language to the degree that was initially (and perhaps over-optimistically) expected. But it is easy to forget that whilst school-internal reward systems may be very effective with younger learners, older pupils become increasingly aware of the fact that the adult-world, society-wide reward system on the whole promotes the use of Spanish above all and, in specific cases, the use of English, whilst the social, fiscal, political and even religious rewards connected with Basque are modest indeed. The school alone cannot reverse language shift and in the BAC case many of the other elements necessary to do so are still in their infancy.

Criticizing with hindsight is of course all too easy. We should not forget just how rapidly the face of education has changed in the BAC in just over twenty years. In addition to the bilingualisation of primary and secondary schooling, it has had to cope with the extension of compulsory schooling, a major curricular and organisational upheaval and falling rolls, as well as many other more minor developments. It is hardly surprising that a system undergoing such rapid and to some degree unexpected change should encounter the problems mentioned as a consequence of the resultant improvisation. The problem is compounded by the relative lack of local expertise and tradition in the relevant academic disciplines. Therein lies a substantial difference, I suspect, in comparison to Wales: to an outside observer like myself, the introduction of Welsh to the education system seems to have been much more gradual, offering thereby the opportunity to lay better foundations and to avoid the degree of improvisation and the tensions one can glimpse in some aspects of the BAC case. Appropriate expertise also seems to be more readily available in Wales.

Parental demand for the Basque-er models continues to increase. But that demand could change: much no doubt depends on their being able to deliver the academic goods as efficiently as through Spanish. And Basque language planning as a whole is perhaps more directly dependent on the political situation than is Welsh in Wales. As the consensus between centralisers and local (Catalan, Basque and, to a lesser extent, Galician) nationalists which led to the devolutionary Spanish constitution of 1978 is gradually dissolved, the possibility of a down-turn in the fortunes of Basque should not be minimized. Already central government is seeking to increase its powers in the area of curriculum design and textbook authorisation. Other factors too may turn out to be important: immigration from abroad on an unprecedented scale in the last few years seems likely to continue, as Spain has become as attractive an immigrant destination as other EU countries; the continuing spread of English as *the* language of

wider communication is also clearly noticeable throughout Spain. All that said, however, there are no immediate signs of major change. The BAC bilingual educational system needs to concern itself primarily with the pursuit of quality in services already being delivered. And BAC language policy as a whole needs to strengthen and develop those other policy elements essential to successful language planning, paying particular attention to ensuring that all feed back into strengthening intergenerational language transmission. There can be no doubt about the determination of most native Basque speakers and not a few second language learners to contribute to the ongoing survival of a language they treasure: the school will continue to have an important role to play in that context.

APPENDIX

BASQUE LANGUAGE TEACHING FOR ADULTS

Leaving aside *IRALE*, specifically designed to cater for the teaching profession, Basque language teaching for adults is available through two very different routes in the BAC, via Department of Education Official Language Schools or via the *euskaltegi* (Basque language school) network under the aegis of *HABE*.

Government-owned language schools are common throughout Spain. They offer a five year course of studies in a number of modern languages (English, French and German are the most popular, with Spanish for foreigners a relatively recent addition), with examination success at the end of the third and fifth years of study leading to an official certificate. Students can attend classes for about 4 hours a week on payment of a modest fee, sitting the appropriate examination at the end of the school year, or, on payment of an examination-only fee, sit one of the two certificate examinations. Passing the fifth year examination in Basque is regarded by the Basque Government as equivalent to passing the *EGA* or *HE2* examinations. Class-groups tend to be large, often around 25 at the beginning of the school year and competition for places intense. Staff have a status similar to that of state secondary school teachers and are recruited by open examination. Even before the creation of the Basque Government one such school existed in Bilbao and in the mid-seventies it obtained permission from Madrid to offer Basque alongside other modern European languages. The Department of Education of the Basque Government has increased the number of schools to eight and in the BAC Basque is second only to English in the number of students taking classes and first in the number of students sitting the final examinations only. Here are the figures (1999-2000):

| Official Language School enrolments in Basque in the BAC | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------|
| | Classes + examination | Examination only |
| Year 1 | 1,327 | - |
| Year 2 | 1,095 | - |
| Year 3 (Lower cert.) | 979 | 6,188 |
| Year 4 | 1,037 | - |
| Year 5 (Higher cert.) | 610 | 3,548 |
| Totals | 5,048 | 9,736 |

The numbers involved are thus substantial but the role of the official language schools in connection with the teaching of Basque to adults is often passed over in the bibliography. The learning conditions (large classes, limited number of hours per week) are probably less conducive to success than the formulas promoted by *HABE*. Nevertheless, the schools clearly satisfy a need, as the number of students in such Basque classes has more than doubled in the five years from 1994/95 to 1999/2000. The Government budgeted about £4.8 m. for running costs in all languages in 1999. Only a modest part of the total cost of the service is recouped through charges to students.

Basque had been taught to adults, however, for a long time before the Official Language Schools began to offer it. Initially, the offer was more oriented towards native speakers obtaining literacy, but that function has clearly been a very minor one for a number of years now and is likely to decrease further in importance as young native Basques become increasingly literate in their home tongue through schooling. Like primary and secondary schools, the first 'night schools' as they were then called lacked official support. Even so, by the end of the seventies a number of private language schools offered a variety of courses and there were already some full-time teachers of Basque to adults. Many of the early schools worked in the name of the Royal Academy of the Basque Language (*Euskaltzaindia*), later forming a separate organisation known as *AEK*. For the year 1976-77 *AEK* reported a total of 30,000 students for the whole of the Basque Country. There are now over one hundred such private schools in the BAC of which well over half belong to *AEK*, which has been active in publishing teaching and learning materials, including a magazine for learners, and providing teacher training. From the early eighties on about 40 local councils have also set up their own publicly owned language schools. At the present time about a quarter of students (2000-01 total: 37,141, the first time in several years that the total has fallen below 40,000) come from the civil service or teaching sectors and they (and perhaps others) are presumably taking classes with the object of passing a language requirement examination for a post in those sectors.

The Basque Government, through its Department of Culture, decided shortly after its creation that it would intervene directly in this part of the Basque language market in order to promote and professionalize it. In 1981 the Department of Culture set up *HABE*. In 1983 a Basque law gave *HABE* the status of *autonomous institute*. This figure provides a certain independence from standard governmental organisation, but is far from quango status. Heads of such institutes have the status of director: all are political nominees reporting to the corresponding Minister. The annual budget is determined in discussions with the Department, with all income going directly to the BAC treasury; all posts are included in the civil service. Internal organisation has varied over the years, but basically *HABE* is overseen by a board containing the nominees of a number of relevant official bodies and representatives of staff and of the public sector schools. Day to day running depends on the director, who is assisted in pedagogical matters by an academic committee which includes members of staff and relevant representatives from both public and private sector language schools.

HABE (2000 budget: about £15.3 m.) has contributed to Basque language teaching for adults in several ways:

- it has itself provided lessons for Basque language learners through its own network of four pilot language schools;
- it has promoted the professionalization of the network for the teaching of Basque to adults;
- it has helped finance adult learners of Basque; and
- has increasingly become the Government's organisation for buying in Basque language teaching for the public sector.

These four roles are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Provision of classes

Initially, *HABE* set up four schools, one in each of the three provincial capitals of the BAC (Bilbo, Donostia and Gasteiz) plus a residential centre near the French border. Increasingly bitter antagonism between teaching staff and management over a number of issues including working conditions and the right of staff to be identified as authors of work subsequently published by *HABE* led first to a court case and threats of strike action by staff and then to closure of the schools by *HABE*.

Professionalization of the teaching of Basque to adults

This part of *HABE*'s activities is particularly rich and varied.

- *HABE* has established (and subsequently substantially revised) a curriculum for adult language learners to be followed by all language schools except those of the Department of Education (i.e. the Official Language Schools mentioned above and *IRALE*);
- it has established methodological guidelines. At present, particular stress is being laid on task-based learning;
- it has promoted the creation of learning materials, including a set of thirty half hour TV programmes, classroom materials and a magazine for learners;
- more recently, the creation of a dedicated web-site has facilitated access to many of its services for students. In addition, the site contains an intranet service between all the language schools it oversees;
- it has fixed basic standards for the professionalization of Basque language teaching to adults (minimum characteristics of buildings used for teaching; requirements to become a teacher, size of class-groups...). This point, among others, led to a long lasting confrontation with *AEK*;
- it has assisted in the training of teachers, by offering courses, by publishing original works on language teaching or translating appropriate texts, by publishing a professional journal, by creating a library of relevant reading material;
- it has also offered a number of related services, for example, stays in Basque speaking families.

Grants towards costs of learning Basque

HABE is the main source of public funding towards the costs of adults learning Basque, though some town councils offer additional support. Grants are paid to schools on the basis of their compliance with *HABE*'s professionalization parameters. Courses subsidized also have to satisfy requirements with regard to duration, intensity (usually a minimum of ten class-hours per week) and class-group size (usually around 15).

Outsourcing for the Basque Government

In recent years *HABE* has increasingly become the organism whereby Basque Government bodies buy in Basque-language training services, rather than contract them directly. Thus, *HABE* is now responsible for securing provision of Basque-language classes for civil servants in general; it also provides a similar service to *IRALE* in respect of teachers on full-time release.

HABE is a somewhat unusual official agent in the Basque language planning panorama. It has been dynamic, even aggressive in the pursuit of its policies and has not been afraid of confrontation. It has on the whole maintained a higher profile and more politicized role than other agents, taking excellent care of its public image. It has made a major contribution to the coordination and improvement of the offer of Basque language teaching to adults.

One pedagogical issue is common to all the different routes to learning the Basque language: how long does it take? Answers given by teaching organisations have varied considerably, generally increasing over the years. It is widely accepted in Basque society that a pass in the *EGA* examination or equivalent marks the end of the process of basic Basquisition. To achieve that level, *IRALE* now offers teachers starting from scratch in in-service training a total of 2,700 classroom contact-hours over three years; the Official Language Schools offer a mere 600 or 700 hours, spread over five years; *HABE* suggests that a minimum of 1500 to 1800 class-hours on courses offered within its framework is necessary. It is essential, however, to distinguish the ideal teaching itinerary proposed by these organizations from the itineraries really followed by individual students. The limited number of hours given in the Official Language School itinerary, for example, is often complemented by further classes elsewhere, visits abroad in the case of foreign languages and frequent repetition of whole courses, not to mention low pass and high drop-out rates. No promises can be made to prospective learners, as some of the most important variables in the learning process (motivation, degree of dedication...) are largely or wholly in the hands of the learners.

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