

The future of minority languages on the Internet and young prosumers. The Basque case

El futuro de las lenguas minoritarias en Internet en manos de los jóvenes prosumidores. El caso vasco

O futuro das línguas minoritárias na Internet nas mãos dos jovens prosumidores. O caso basco

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ABSTRACT | This article provides a diagnosis of the presence of Basque, compared to Spanish and English, in the creation and consumption of new Internet audiovisual formats among Basque adolescents, in the context of a bilingual society. The results derive from a survey filled out by 2,426 students of Secondary School (12-16 years old) from Guipúzcoa, and analyze the taxonomy of Internet media products that these adolescents follow and create. The use of language and geographic distribution locate these prosumers, in whose hands is the survival of Basque language on the Internet. The data obtained proves the existence of two crucial factors that geographically identify and locate young Basque prosumers, who play a strategic role in the survival of their language. The first is the main use of Basque over Spanish in their daily life, as well as in their academic and technological environments. This factor is directly related to the second factor: the coexistence of different sociolinguistic realities in the Basque Country. These young prosumers mainly come from inland Basque-speaking regions, with very few living in urban areas where Spanish prevails. This research lays the foundations for the implementation of an institutional program to create engaging online audiovisual content in Basque for young people.

KEYWORDS: adolescents; prosumers; Internet; YouTube; audiovisual consumption; audiovisual creation; minority languages.

HOW TO CITE

Fernandez de Arroyabe Olaortua, A., Eguskiza Sesumaga, L., & Lazkano Arrillaga, I. (2020). El futuro de las lenguas minoritarias en Internet en manos de los jóvenes prosumidores. El caso vasco. *Cuadernos.info*, (46), 367-396. <https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.46.1411>

RESUMEN | Este artículo ofrece un diagnóstico sobre la presencia del euskera, frente al castellano y al inglés, en el consumo y creación de nuevos formatos audiovisuales en Internet por parte de los adolescentes vascos, quienes viven en una sociedad bilingüe. Los resultados derivan de una encuesta realizada a 2426 estudiantes de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria de Guipúzcoa (12-16 años), y analizan la taxonomía de los contenidos audiovisuales que estos adolescentes siguen y crean. Los datos obtenidos evidencian que hay dos factores que permiten identificar y ubicar geográficamente a los jóvenes prosumidores en cuyas manos está la supervivencia del euskera. El primero es el uso preferente de la lengua vasca sobre el español en el entorno cotidiano, académico y tecnológico de los adolescentes. Este factor está directamente relacionado con el segundo, las distintas realidades sociolingüísticas que conviven en el territorio. Los prosumidores proceden sobre todo de las comarcas vasco parlantes del interior, siendo muy pocos los que viven en las zonas urbanas en las que prevalece el español. Esta investigación sienta las bases para la implementación, por parte de las instituciones vascas, de un programa de producción de contenidos audiovisuales atractivos en euskera, dirigidos a los jóvenes a través de Internet y las redes sociales.

PALABRAS CLAVE: adolescentes; prosumidores; Internet; YouTube; consumo audiovisual; creación audiovisual; lenguas minoritarias.

RESUMO | Este artigo oferece um diagnóstico sobre a presença do euskera, comparado ao espanhol e ao inglês, no consumo e criação de novos formatos audiovisuais na Internet por adolescentes bascos, que vivem em uma sociedade bilíngue. Os resultados baseiam-se em um inquérito realizado a 2426 alunos do Ensino Secundário Obrigatório de Guipúscoa (12 e 16 anos) e analisam a taxonomia do conteúdo audiovisual que estes jovens seguem e criam. Os dados obtidos mostram que existem dois fatores que permitem identificar e localizar geograficamente os jovens prosumidores em cujas mãos está a sobrevivência da língua euskera. O primeiro é o uso preferencial da língua basca sobre o espanhol no ambiente cotidiano, acadêmico e tecnológico dos adolescentes. Esse fator está diretamente relacionado ao segundo, as diferentes realidades sociolingüísticas que coexistem no território. Os prosumidores provêm principalmente de regiões de língua basca do interior, sendo muito poucos a viverem em zonas urbanas onde predomina o espanhol. Esta pesquisa estabelece as bases para as instituições bascas implementarem um programa para produzir conteúdos audiovisuais atraentes em basco para jovens através da Internet e redes sociais.

PALABRAS-CHAVE: adolescentes; prosumidores; Internet; YouTube; consumo audiovisual; criação audiovisual; línguas minoritárias.

INTRODUCTION

The acquisition and widespread use of the smartphone, along with access to the Internet and new technologies among adolescents, has transformed the model of consumption of audiovisual content. Beyond the coexistence of traditional and digital formats, the new paradigm invites the hitherto passive viewer to become a content generator (prosumer), which he/she shares and disseminates among his/her peers through new channels and platforms.

The level of audiovisual literacy and the function with which these productions are made divides them into two categories: on the one hand, those that replicate the new Internet formats followed by adolescents, such as youtubers and video tutorials and, on the other, frugal videos semi-automatically generated with the mobile phone in the framework of their informal communication. This is a global phenomenon that connects with another notorious trend: the increasing presence in the network of contents in hegemonic languages such as Spanish and English, to the detriment of others with smaller speaking communities. This situation raises a question about the future of minority languages on the Internet, which depends largely on consumption, but above all one regarding the production of content in those languages by young people. Its future is especially complex in bilingual societies such as Basque, where Basque coexists with Spanish and, to a lesser extent, with English.

The main objective of this work is to identify the presence of Basque with respect to these two hegemonic languages in the consumption and creation of new Internet formats by young people from Gipuzkoa. Beyond gender and age, we analyze the regional distribution and the use of the language, since we maintain a hypothesis common to both variables: the linguistic differences of each area and the affective use of the language have a direct impact on consumption and in the creation of content in Basque and Spanish.

Therefore, we posit the following research questions:

- R.Q.1. What type of new leisure audiovisual formats do adolescents consume in Basque, Spanish and English?
- R.Q.2. What type of new audiovisual formats for educational use do adolescents consume in Basque, Spanish and English?
- R.Q.3. What type of content do adolescents create in Basque, Spanish and English?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Multiscreen youth in a hyperconnected society

The arrival of the Internet has revolutionized the field of communication, giving rise to a *network society* (Castells, 1997) in which geographic barriers disappear completely. Castells defines it as a new social morphology, based on networks of production, power and experience. According to Barney (2004), these networks constitute the basic form of organization and human relationship. For Van Dijk (2012), the network society has a social network infrastructure that characterizes its mode of organization at the individual, group and social levels. There are two basic differences between Castells and Van Dijk's conceptions (Van Dijk & Hacker, 2018). Firstly, for Castells networks are already the basic units of contemporary society, while for Van Dijk it is a process that has not been fully developed. The second difference is that, for Castells, the social morphology of networks maintains a dominant position on social action, and, for Van Dijk, networks are configured in a dialectical interaction between structure and social action. In recent years, the debate around the network society has led to various reflections on its political and social character (Chadwick, 2013; Jenkins, 2013), and a marked skepticism among those, like Mozorov (2011), who distrust its nature.

This new digital context has, in turn, caused a profound transformation in the leisure and education of the new generations, who are born and live surrounded by screens. These young people have found in technology an excellent way to enjoy leisure, interact with their peers or acquire knowledge (Castellana, Sánchez-Carbonell, Chamarro, Graner, & Branuy, 2007; Buckingham & Martínez, 2013).

There are multiple denominations for this permanently connected population, whose consumption and audiovisual creation is articulated under the following premises: multiscreen, multitasking, social and mobile (Méndiz, De Aguilera, & Borges, 2011; Viñals, Abad, & Aguilar, 2014). At the end of the 20th century, the academic world spoke of a Net Generation (Tapscott & Williams, 1998), of the popular Millennials (Howe & Strauss, 2000) or of digital natives (Prensky, 2001). In the new century, the proliferation of devices further increased the digital divide, creating a generation linked to social networks and smartphones baptized as digital residents (White & Le Cornu, 2011) or App Generation (Gardner & Davis, 2014).

Despite the fact that these adolescents progressively abandon the television screen in search of greater freedom and interactivity, it maintains its dominance (Gewerc, Fraga, & Rodes, 2017) and gender stereotypes continue to be perpetuated in the content they watch (Masanet, 2016). This is in line with the opinion of the digital media expert Carlos Alberto Scolari, who recovers the concept of liquid modernity from Zygmunt Bauman (2003) to refer to the new "liquid audiences"

that stop “being still in front of the screen”. I.e., they maintain a high audiovisual consumption, but they expand their devices to simultaneously see “different things, in different media and with different consumption modalities” (2013, pp. 221-222).

Thus, the traditional model of sequential programming ends in pursuit of *hypertelevision* (López-Vidales, González-Aldea, & Medina de la Viña, 2014, p. 4), characterized by on-demand consumption through new platforms such as YouTube, streaming channels or television on demand. In addition, the viewing frequently crosses the screen to move to social networks, where there is a “social television” in which adolescents interact with broadcasters very naturally (Teso & Piñuel, 2014, p. 14).

In this regard, the implantation of social networks like Facebook or Instagram among young people is an indisputable reality. The data from the Basque Youth Observatory (Observatorio Vasco de la Juventud, 2016) indicate that practically all (99%) of the population under the age of 30 use them daily, with a striking increase in applications such as WhatsApp (98.2%). The report follows the line proposed by former studies (Livingstone, 2008, 2011; Boyd, 2014), confirming this majority penetration.

In short, young people show themselves as a differentiated audience with their own media uses and habits (Fernández-Planells & Figueras, 2014, p. 89), mainly through the smartphone. This is discovered as a “multipurpose and interactive” medium that centralizes social relations (Méndiz et al., 2011, p. 78), and exploits its ubiquity and portability to the maximum in terms of consumption and audiovisual creation (Sádaba & Vidales, 2015).

Initially linked to the world of gaming (video games), the YouTube digital video platform is one of the most followed in Europe and the United States, accumulating millions of views on channels that share video tutorials or videoblogs on various topics (Chau, 2010; García, Catalina, & López-de-Ayala, 2016). Consequently, young audiences leave passivity aside to define themselves as “prosumers”, i.e., they are part of the creation of their own audiovisual products (García-Matilla & Molina, 2008, p. 89).

The concept of prosumer was introduced by futurologist Alvin Toffler in his work *The Third Wave* (1980) to describe the link between the traditional roles of producer and consumer. Alberto Scolari (2013) recovers it to reflect the new digital scene of these young viewers, who appear as “full-fledged prosumers who do not hesitate to create new texts and add them on the network to further expand the borders of the narrative world” (2013, p. 42).

The action of these prosumers extends to areas such as politics (Cabalín, 2014), social participation (García, Del Hoyo, & Fernández-Muñoz, 2014) and culture

(Fernández Castrillo, 2014). Likewise, recent research mostly stresses the need to foster a critical education that promotes the figure of prosumer among the youngest (Pérez Rodríguez & Sandoval, 2013; Aguaded & Urbano-Cayuela, 2014; Bujokas de Siqueira & Rothberg). As Scolari himself argues, to form free citizens it is essential to “consolidate their role as critical prosumers” (2015, pp. 24-26).

Media literacy, an urgent need

Considering what was mentioned above, young people have evidently the most advanced technological means at their disposal to consume and create audiovisual content. However, from the academic field, the importance of improving media literacy for these new generations is highlighted (Jiménez, Ramírez de la Piscina, & Basterretxea, 2011; Aguaded & Sánchez Carrero, 2013; García, Gozávez, & Aguaded, 2014).

These studies show that young people are far from the foundations of audiovisual language, being incapable of constructing a structured discourse that allows them to critically explain the world that surrounds them (Jiménez et al., 2011, pp. 162-163). Thus, this group of Basque researchers warns of the need to include media literacy education as a subject in the educational curriculum. In the same vein, other voices (Aguaded & Sánchez Carrero, 2013; García et al., 2014) point out that the production and critical analysis of media content contribute to forge in adolescents a new way of thinking and acting. The authors therefore claim to establish media literacy education in the school environment, complementing it in the family and media environment.

This symbiosis between the spaces outside and inside the classroom is essential because there is a clear link between adolescent audiovisual consumption and creation and leisure areas (Gabino, 2004). Nowadays, information and communication technologies (ICTs) are increasingly present in schools, providing students with easy access to complementary sources of information (Eynon & Malmberg, 2011; Solano, González, & López, 2013; Ciampa, 2014). Wikipedia is most likely the most common main reference for information search (Salmerón, Cerdán, & Naumann, 2015; Tramullas, 2016; Valverde & González, 2016).

Languages consumption in the digital context

Research on ICTs in youth leisure and education does not usually consider language as a determining factor when analyzing its cultural consumption. Authors like David Crystal (2005) are in favor of the integration of languages as an effect of the Internet arrival, revoking the thesis of those who maintain that English occupies a preferential place. Others, such as Jim Erickson (1998), warn of the threat of English hegemony in its positioning as a global language on the net. In this regard, Andrés Kornai (2013) refers to the *digital death* of minority

languages, since currently the percentage of languages with Internet access is less than 5%. Regarding Basque, the Europe's Languages in the Digital Age report (Rehm & Uszkoreit, 2012) warns of a high risk of extinction in the digital universe.

Basque coexists in Basque society with Spanish and English, the predominant language in the audiovisual field. The data of the VI Sociolinguistic Survey (Gobierno Vasco, Gobierno de Navarra, & Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa, 2016) show an increase in the number of Basque speakers in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country: one in three over 16 years of age is Basque-speaking (34%), 19% are passive Basque speakers and 47% speak only Spanish. Likewise, linguistic models B and D¹ are the majority in Gipuzkoa, the territory of this research, while model A is residual.

These data contrast with 70% of Basques who prefer to use mostly Spanish daily. The use of Basque maintains its growth in recent years, although it is notoriously less than its knowledge (Mujika, 2012; Iurrebaso, 2012). In other words, there is no full correspondence between linguistic competence and the use of Basque. The same occurs in teaching where, even though model D is the majority, the knowledge of Basque is far from its use. The Arrue Project report: Use of Basque by students in the school environment of the C.A.P.V. (*Proyecto Arrue: Uso del euskera por el alumnado en el entorno escolar de la C.A.P.V.*) exemplifies this “trend towards convergence with the social norm of using the language prevailing in the environment” (Martínez de Luna & Suberbiola, 2017, p. 130). In other words, young people tend to use Spanish outside the classroom, a circumstance that undoubtedly influences their cultural and media consumption habits.

Latin American minority languages facing the digital challenge

The *Sociolinguistic Atlas of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America* prepared by UNICEF (n.d.) in 2009 shows a rich and heterogeneous panorama of 420 minority languages of different ethnic groups; about 25% are cross-border languages that are used in two or more countries and are divided between a few *large* languages, with

1. To educate their sons and daughters, citizens can choose between the three linguistic models offered by the Basque Country's educational system and which vary according to the percentage that Basque and Spanish have as vehicle languages of the content. The vehicular language of model D is Basque; in model B, the contents are taught 50% in both languages, Spanish and Basque, and in model A, the vehicular language is Spanish. English is the compulsory foreign language in all these models, which also offer some subjects in this language. Also, French is an optional foreign language.

several million speakers, and many *small* languages, with only thousands or hundreds of speakers.

Although the situation of the Basque language cannot be extrapolated to the reality of the minority languages of Latin America, the diagnosis, in line with Kornai's theses, is common. Quechua, the most widely spoken indigenous language in Latin America –it has around 10 million speakers in Chile, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia– is also included in the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (UNESCO, 2010). The risk is the same for Basque and Quechua, Guaraní, Aymara, Nahuatl, Mapudungun, and other minority indigenous languages: to succumb to the push of hegemonic languages such as Spanish and English. And that danger is even more real in the digital age.

Since the end of the eighties, most of the constitutions of Latin American countries have been reformed to preserve the rights of indigenous people. The constitutions of Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, for example, recognized their multicultural composition and granted indigenous populations cultural and linguistic rights (López & Callapa, 2019). This change was also experienced in countries where the indigenous population is a minority, as is the case, for example, of Chile. Although the official language is only Spanish, the 1980 Magna Carta includes this right, which is developed in the Indigenous Law 19,253 of 1993 (Lagos & Espinoza, 2013). Despite this general recognition, the reality of minority languages is very different depending on the type of policies developed in each country. In fact,

for indigenous languages to be integrated into the linguistic repertoire of individuals in a real way and to be valuable by being collectively used, it is necessary to establish policies [...], stop thinking that such small linguistic communities can do it 'by their own means' and allocate public funds to increase areas of language use through institutional arrangements..." (Pou, 2011, p. 20).

In this regard, in recent years intercultural bilingual education plans have been implemented in many Latin American countries. Returning to the previous example, in 1996 the Chilean Ministry of Education launched the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program, whose drive was reinforced by the creation of the National Corporation for Indigenous Development, which since 2013 has held Mapudungun workshops in different cities (Lagos & Espinoza, 2013). There is a wide debate (López & Küper, 1999; Sichra, 2005; Sartorello, 2009) about diversity and intercultural policies in classrooms and the way forward. But how can indigenous minority languages face the digital challenge from teaching?

Far from interpreting the digital challenge as a threat, there is a current trend in vogue that considers that the use of ICTs is relevant for the development of linguistic competences in the case of indigenous minority languages. In line with the foregoing, María Luisa Guerrero and Francisca Dote (2012) consider that the new tools of ICTs may be adequate to “revert, restore and revitalize” (p. 22) the original languages in the educational context. Leonor Slavsky (2007) follows the same vein in her article on the Argentine project *Information and Communication Technologies for Mapuche Youth*, which consisted of creating a webpage whose primary objective was “to achieve the appropriation of ICTs by the communities of the Mapuche people in order to strengthen, resignify and transmit their traditional knowledge and promote the management of their own development”(p. 150).

The biggest question is whether the curricular integration of ICTs in the teaching of minority indigenous languages in Latin America will be enough to ensure that young prosumers ignore the attractiveness of hegemonic languages and produce, consume and disseminate digital content in their native language in the environment of new digital media, thus guaranteeing the digital survival of indigenous minority languages.

METHODOLOGY

This article presents part of the results of an extensive study that analyzes in depth the incidence of the Basque language in the consumption and creation of audiovisual content on the Internet among adolescents from Gipuzkoa. The approach is mixed and combines in-depth interviews and a quantitative survey. The range and heterogeneity of the items analyzed are materialized in a questionnaire of 100 questions (57 with multiple answers, 28 with single answers and 15 with open answers). This paper analyzes the data from two of the six blocks into which it is divided: audiovisual consumption and content creation.

In-depth interviews

In order to obtain information to design the survey, we conducted 16 previous in-depth interviews (September-October 2016) that maintain gender balance (eight boys and eight girls), year (four students for each compulsory secondary education –ESO, by its Spanish Acronym– course), linguistic model (eight of B and eight of D) and geographical distribution (four regions have been selected that represent the different socioeconomic and sociolinguistic profiles of the territory).

The structured interview has 40 detailed questions, 12 ask about exhaustive aspects of the consumption of traditional audiovisual content (fiction, television programs, sports, current affairs, music, videoclips and videogames), social

networks and online platforms. The remaining 28 refer specifically to new audiovisual formats and content (youtubers, video tutorials, virtual communities, and alternative sources to those of formal training, such as Wikipedia, etc.). It should be noted that no taxonomy has been detected on the new audiovisual formats that young people consume and create, so the information obtained in the interviews is unpublished and constitutes a capital contribution to the detailed design of the questionnaire. The results of the study confirm the validity of the information collected in the in-depth interviews.

Quantitative survey

The research universe is made up of 28,817 male and female model B (50% in Spanish and 50% in Basque) and model D students (entirely in Basque) of the four ESO courses (12-16 years) in the 108 centers of the province, distributed in seven regions: Tolosaldea, Goierri, Debabarrena and Debagoiena (interior), and Donostialdea, Urola-kosta and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa (coast). To meet the research objectives, we conducted a cluster sampling, stratified by proportional allocation, considering the geographical distribution of the centers in Guipuzcoa and the educational levels. In fact, the sample unit has been the group. Consequently, the sample is made up of a random selection of 60 centers, with a total of 120 groups, 30 for each course, which maintains gender parity and totals 2,426 cases. The maximum sampling error is +/- 1.90% for the whole of Guipuzcoa and does not exceed +/- 7% in any of the regions. The statistical confidence level is 95% (in the worst case of $p=q=0.5$). The treatment of the data was conducted applying statistically significant differences χ^2 (CHI square) with a minimum confidence level of $p<0.05$.

The gender, the course, the regions, and the use of the language are the four variables on which this work focuses. Knowledge of Basque is practically uniform throughout the region, but its use is not, so the regional distribution makes it possible to clearly establish the presence of Basque, Spanish and English in consumption and content creation, considering the existing linguistic differences. Likewise, the use of language is the factor that measures the emotional relationship between adolescents and these two languages, Basque and Spanish. English has not been considered because it is not a language of daily use. Its specific weight in the audiovisual market and on the Internet, as well as the interest of adolescents to learn it, justify its presence.

The self-filling survey was completed in the classroom under the supervision of an investigator between the months of December 2016 and January 2017.

RESULTS

Before analyzing the results, we must the detailed taxonomy of the consumption and creation formats on the Internet established from the interviews.

Regarding consumption, two categories are distinguished with their respective formats: leisure content (youtubers, video tutorials and virtual videogame communities) and educational resources, divided into written material (Wikipedia, online texts and webpages with notes), audiovisual (video tutorials and documentaries), and forums.

The contents created by adolescents are distinguished into two categories based on their technical and narrative complexity. The first is the content that replicates what they consume. There are two types: youtubers and video tutorials, and videos of complex audiovisual production that tell a story.

The second group are formats of little technical difficulty: frugal photographs, montages, and videos that they make semi-automatically with their smartphones. These are products of rapid consumption and inherent in the way they relate to each other, so they should not be considered creations in the strict sense. There are three categories: videos about the group's friendship relationships, music-related productions, and informal memes with humorous features.

Overview of adolescent audiovisual consumption

The new Internet formats have not displaced traditional audiovisual content since they still clearly prevail over the first in their consumption among adolescents. This comparison shows that youtubers are the new brand favorite format; they are the third most viewed content after movies and series. And Internet videos are the second format with most followers, occupying the sixth position. The rest have a lower incidence among young people.

Despite accumulating high percentages in both formats, boys consume more youtubers (83.9%) and online videos (74%) than girls (77.3% and 63.6% respectively, with $p < 0.05$)², while girls watch more video tutorials (46.4%) and web series (23.1%) than boys (32.8% and 17.5%, with $p < 0.05$). The follow-up of youtubers and Internet videos increases considerably with age, reaching the highest percentages among third year ESO students (83.3% and 69.7%, respectively, with $p < 0.05$). No significant differences were detected between the different regions of Guipuzcoa or in relation to the use of the language ($p > 0.05$).

2. We applied an χ^2 of each data and not of table; likewise, the significance of each percentage has been highlighted with a probability $p < 0.05$.

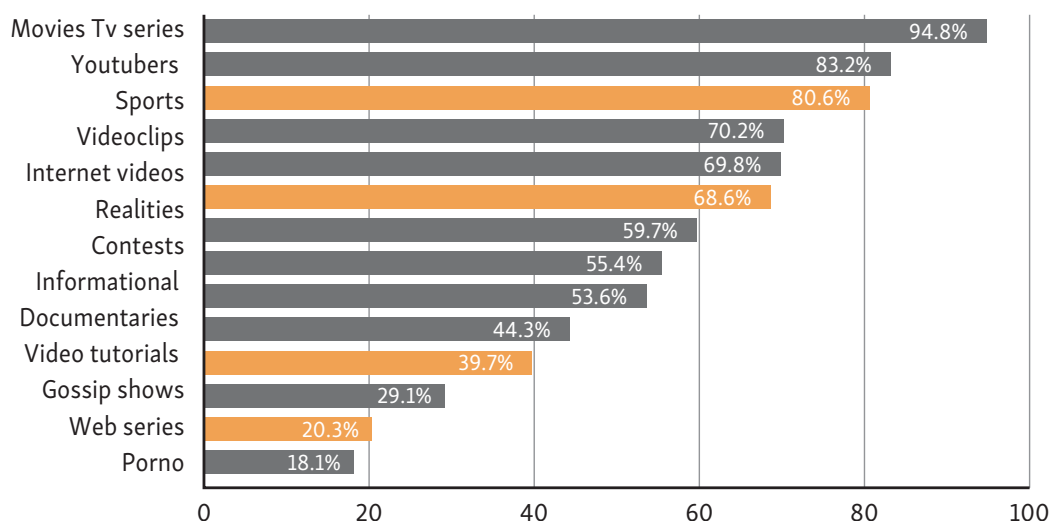


Figure 1. Adolescent consumption of traditional content and new online formats (%)

Source: Own elaboration.

Lastly, it should be noted that the general consumption of audiovisual content in Basque represents only 19.96% of the total. Productions in Spanish (70.17%) lead at a great distance and English occupies a minority position (9.87%).

Consumption of new formats in Basque, Spanish and English

The offer of Internet formats in Basque (leisure or educational use) is very limited compared to that of Spanish or English, so it is not surprising that the data points to a moderate consumption of content in Basque on the Internet.

Consumption and leisure

Youtubers are the most popular entertainment format for adolescents, who mostly choose channels in Spanish. Basque is a minor option: only two of the twelve channels on the closed list (see table) are in Basque, and English is non-existent. In fact, the respondents do not mention youtubers in English or add references to channels in Basque in the complementary open question. In short, the five most followed youtubers in Spanish on the closed list are gamers, i.e., their main theme is video games. *Auronplay*, the most mentioned in the open question, comments on the most popular videos on the Internet (19.4%).

The presence of youtubers girls is scarce; *Yellow Mellow* and *Bolli* have general issues channels, while those of Patry Jordan and Dulceida –female channel of reference of the open question (7.3%)–, are dedicated to fashion and makeup. Finally, the Spanish channels of Telmo Trenado and Julen Hernández³ –*Hola*

3. Hernández has collaborated with *Gu ta Gutarrak*, a favorite program among minors, that was broadcast in Basque on the first autonomous television channel in the Basque Country (ETB) in 2016.

Julen-, despite being from Gipuzkoa and known in this environment, do not attract many young people.

Unlike youtubers in Spanish, there is no male presence on the channels in Basque. *SuperTxope* and Maitane Segurola are female channels with diametrically opposite characteristics. The case of *SuperTxope* is noteworthy, since it is an experiment by the Gipuzkoan producer *Hiru Damatxo*, commissioned by the *Sortu* political formation for the 2016 electoral campaign. This party set itself the objective of connecting with the youngest electorate through a close format to transmit the change in their political discourse⁴.

Actress Nerea Arriola played the character of *SuperTxope*, the fake youtuber who posted an elaborate weekly video in which she satirically criticized aspects of the *traditional abertzale left* (Basque nationalist left). In her latest video, she confessed to her followers that she was actually an actress and that her channel was one of *Sortu's* communication tools during the electoral campaign. To date, *SuperTxope* has been the most successful Basque youtuber (1,396 subscribers). Likewise, the video titled *Ezker Abertzalea Fashion Ranking* (Fashion Classification of the Nationalist Left) had 27,000 views. Obviously, these figures are meager if we compare them with those of the most followed youtubers in Spanish⁵, but they are of great importance in the case of Basque.

Figure 2. Youtubers in Spanish and Basque most followed by adolescents (%)

Source: Own elaboration.

There are no significant differences in the profile of the followers of this youtuber ($p > 0.05$). They are mainly boys, second- and third-year students, from the regions of Urola Kosta and Donostialdea⁶. It is surprising that students who need support classes in Basque, probably foreign to a Basque-speaking environment, follow her more than the rest.

On the other hand, the beauty and fashion channel of Maitane Segurola, presenter of children's programs on ETB1, is residual (316 subscribers) and has a mostly female audience.

4. Despite the fact that *Sortu's* main target is potential voters over the age of 18, attracting the youngest audience represented by the respondents is essential in the medium term to make themselves known and present their renewed image among an age group that has not experienced the vicissitudes that led to a radical change in the political position regarding the use of violence for political purposes.

5. As of June 10, 2019, Elrubius has 34,889,601 subscribers.

6. This data is striking, since the demarcation of the Gipuzkoan capital, along with Oarso-Behe Bidasoa, is one of the areas in which the consumption of products in Basque is minimal.

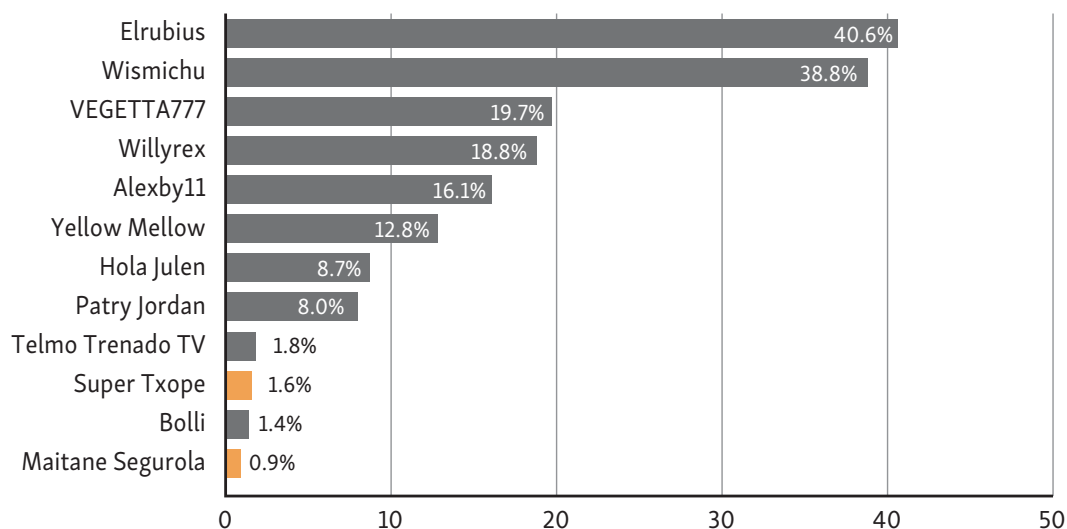


Gráfico 2. Los youtubers en castellano y euskera más seguidos por los adolescentes (%)

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

As the study shows, the video tutorials are very popular among adolescents in the last years of ESO and their consumption is largely determined by gender. Boys follow them more and prefer video games, sports, and technology, while girls watch fashion, hair and makeup, and travel. The consumption of tutorials on how to make a movie is the only even between genres.

However, we also obtained significant data on the consumption of video tutorials in Basque, Spanish and English. Adolescents consult them mainly in Spanish (95.3%), then in English (23.8%), and finally in Basque (10.8%), far from the rest. There are relevant differences in age, regions and use of Basque. Contrary to what happens with the general consumption of video tutorials, which increases with age, 1st-year ESO students are the ones who view the most creations in Basque of this type (14.6%, compared to 2nd with 10.3%, 3rd with 9.5%, and 4th with 9.4%, with $p < 0.05$). Likewise, Tolosaldea (20.8%) doubles the rest of the regions and these videos are the least viewed in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (5.3%) and Donostialdea (6.7%), with $p < 0.05$. In addition, minors who live and use technology in Basque watch more videos in this language (15.3% and 15.8%, respectively). And those who follow them the least are those who live and use technology in Spanish (3.3% and 3.4%), showing a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.05$).

Videogames are the favorite activity of adolescents, who spend an average of 76 minutes of their leisure time playing them. Therefore, this work investigates the use of *Game Erauntsia*, a virtual community on video games in Basque founded in 2014. Only 9.2% know it, reflecting the scant appeal of this type of offer in Basque.

Activity	Total	Boys	Girls	Sig.= χ^2
I don't watch video tutorials	37.6%	39.9%	35.5%	p>0.05
Typology	Total	Boys	Girls	Sig.= χ^2
Videogames	28.1%	46.5%	10.3%	p<0.05
Sports	17.9%	25.4%	10.8%	p<0.05
Fashion, hairdressing, and makeup	25.8%	3.1%	47.9%	p<0.05
Technology	19%	25.5%	12.6%	p<0.05
How to make a movie	9.1%	8%	10%	p>0.05
Travel	12.9%	5.4%	20%	p<0.05

Table 1. Consumption of video tutorials according to gender

Source: Own elaboration.

Educational consumption

As a starting point, it should be noted that the consultation of sources in English is lower than that of Spanish and Basque, because it is a foreign language whose learning is consolidating among the youngest.

In the case of Basque, the sources of written information are the most consulted, although the percentage of followers of Wikipedia, of the specific texts online and of the notes or works completed in this language is similar to that of Spanish. The data shows that the initiative to promote Wikipedia in Basque is a success, and that the materials written in this language are the resources that adolescents mainly find on the Internet. In Basque, forums occupy the second position and audiovisuals, third. In fact, the consumption of these materials in both Basque and English is much less than in Spanish. Video tutorials and documentaries lead the hierarchy of queries in Spanish, ahead of forums and written materials.

There are no significant differences in gender and age (p>0.05), but there are some in the regions and the use of language (p<0.05). The adolescents from Debagoiena and Tolosaldea make greater use of complementary sources to regulated education in Basque. In both regions (Debagoiena, 73.6% and Tolosaldea, 70.6%) Wikipedia is most consulted in this language. In contrast, Donostialdea (46.9%) and Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (18.1%) are the areas where this virtual encyclopedia is least consulted in Basque. Lastly, it should be mentioned that those of Debagoiena (45.5%) are the ones who see the most documentaries in Basque to complete their studies (18 points above the average).

Written material	Basque	Spanish	English
Wikipedia	58.8%	65.5%	13.7%
Specific texts online	52.1%	56.8%	8.9%
Webpages with notes or finished works	48.1%	56.4%	9.2%
Forums	Basque	Spanish	English
Forums	30%	71.2%	10.4%
Audiovisual	Basque	Spanish	English
Documentaries	27%	73.3%	11.8%
Video tutorials	15.1%	82.9%	12.5%

Table 2. Distribution of formats for educational use according to language

Source: Own elaboration.

The same happens with video tutorials in this language: Debagoiena (25.8%) and Tolosaldea (24.7%) are the regions in which they are watched the most. The latter (8.4%) registers a marginal percentage of video tutorial consultations in this language.

Both affective and technological use of Basque is directly related to consulting sources of information in that language. Students who live (68.4%) and use Basque for technological management (68.7%) consult Wikipedia in Basque ten points above the average, while those who communicate in Spanish (41.9%) and use technology in this language (43.2%) do so around twenty points below ($p < 0.05$). Likewise, adolescents who live in Basque-speaking contexts are those who most consult the other sources of information in Basque (63.7% specific texts online, 55.1% notes and finished works, 36.6% documentaries and 20% video tutorials) and participate more in the forums (36.6%). Contrary to those who communicate in Spanish, who watch far fewer documentaries (12.6%) and video tutorials (7.9%) in Basque, and whose participation in forums in this language is lower (21.1%). All these data show a statistically significant difference $p < 0.05$.

Creation of content in Basque, Spanish and English

Currently, adolescents have all the facilities to create content, because most have the necessary devices and skills. 96.2% own a smartphone, 82.4%, a laptop, 62.4% a desktop computer, and 77.9%, a tablet. In terms of technical skills, only 24.3% admit not having any knowledge to make videos, so around three out of four are capable of generating content to a greater or lesser extent: 31.5% say they know how to record images with a camera, edit them on the computer and

create a coherent narration; 20.9% record images with the mobile phone, and 19.3% effectively manage both the camera and the editing programs.

However, the data reveals that adolescents in Gipuzkoa are more consumers than content creators. In fact, content production is the activity they spend the least amount of leisure time on (28 minutes on average).

Creation of new formats and elaborated videos

In line with the low fondness for creating audiovisual content, 85.6% of adolescents affirm that they are not a youtuber or have a channel. Among those who are, there are more boys (12.1%) than girls (2.6%), and it is the 4th ESO course students (4.9%) who are more dedicated to this activity ($p < 0.05$). Spanish (12.3%) is the dominant language, the bilingual option ranks second (7.8%) and Basque has a much lower presence (4.5%). Despite the fact that these data remain in all the regions, the areas in which there are significant differences ($p < 0.05$) with respect to youtubers in Basque are Urola Kosta (11.8%), Oarso-Behe Bidasoa⁷ (8.3%) and Debagoiena (7.1%). Furthermore, the bilingual option is majority in Goierri (20%). In fact, adolescents who live in Basque-speaking contexts (15.7%) and use technology in this language (14.1%) are the ones who create the most bilingual channels, twice the average (7.8%), with $p < 0.05$.

As with youtubers, teens hardly create video tutorials. Boys are the ones who produce them the most, mainly in Basque and Spanish, especially about videogames, sports, technology and how to make movies. The girls focus on fashion, hairdressing and makeup, and on travel, being the ones who do more bilingual videos with more use of Basque than Spanish.

The tutorials are developed mainly in 2nd ESO course (15.3%) and their production is minimal between students of 4th ESO course (9.1%), with $p < 0.05$. The highest percentage of video tutorials in Basque –thirteen points above the average– is found in Urola Kosta (23.3%). In Tolosaldea (21.6%) and Goierri (23.1%) they create more bilingual videos in which Basque prevails over Spanish and, conversely, bilingual tutorials in which Spanish has more weight than Basque are majority in Urola Kosta (33.3%) and Debabarrena (27.6%).

Finally, young people who take Basque remedial classes (22.2%) and those who live in a Spanish-speaking environment (16.7%) are the ones who create the most tutorials, mostly in Spanish (79.3%) and less in Basque (6.9%). Conversely, Basque speakers create more in Basque (17.6%) and less in Spanish (43.1%). All these data present a significant difference of $p < 0.05$.

7. The data from Oarso-Behe Bidasoa is particularly interesting, since it is a region with low consumption of content in Basque.

Activity	Total	Boys	Girls	Sig.=χ^2
I create video tutorials	12.3%	15.1%	9.5%	$p < 0.05$
I don't create video tutorials	76.7%	71.2%	82.1%	$p < 0.05$
Typology	Total	Boys	Girls	Sig.=χ^2
Videogames	51.7%	75%	16.2%	$p < 0.05$
Sports	32.6%	41.7%	17.9%	$p < 0.05$
Fashion, hairdressing, and makeup	29.5%	8.9%	60.7%	$p < 0.05$
Technology	26.2%	35%	12.8%	$p < 0.05$
How to make a movie	18.1%	22.2%	12%	$p > 0.05$
Travel	15.1%	11.7%	19.7%	$p > 0.05$
Languages	Total	Boys	Girls	Sig.=χ^2
Basque	10.4%	15.6%	2.6%	$p < 0.05$
Spanish	60.7%	61.7%	59.8%	$p > 0.05$
Bilingual with greater importance of Basque	9.7%	9.4%	9.4%	$p > 0.05$
Bilingual with greater importance of Spanish	12.8%	8.9%	18.8%	$p > 0.05$

Table 3. Creation of video tutorials based on gender*Source: Own elaboration.*

Creating elaborate videos that tell a story is rare. The majority language of these videos is Spanish (36.5%), the double than Basque (14.2%), and those in English are minimal (2.8%). Asked about the use of subtitles in this type of production, seven out of ten young people (69.8%) affirm that they do not use them. However, videos made in Basque use more subtitles in Spanish (14.3%) and those produced in Spanish use fewer subtitles in Basque (10.9%). The low incidence of English subtitles is surprising, since their presence facilitates international consumption. In this case, the videos in Spanish that use subtitles in English (7%) are the double than those in Basque (3.9%).

There are no significant differences in gender and ESO course ($p > 0.05$), but there are in the regional distribution and in the use of language ($p < 0.05$). The young people of Debagoiena (25.5%) and Tolosaldea (23.4%) are the ones that produce the most elaborate videos. The latter (20.4%) and those from Goierri (15.4%) more frequently use Spanish subtitles for these works. On the contrary, in Donostialdea there are fewer narrations of this type in Basque (8.7%) and there are more videos in Spanish subtitled into English (12.4%). The use of language clearly conditions the making of this kind of audiovisual material: adolescents living in Basque-speaking contexts are the ones who create them the most (21.3%), while those who use Spanish in their daily lives hardly produce them (3.4%).

Making content with the mobile phone

57% of those surveyed affirm that they do not create any content of this type in Basque –there are no significant differences between boys and girls–, while only 14.2% say they do not do so in Spanish (17.2% boys and 11.2% girls) and 11.5%, in English (14.8% boys and 8.6% girls). In other words, Spanish is the dominant language in this type of creations and there are significantly more girls who do it, both in Spanish and in English ($p < 0.05$).

The presence of Basque is low compared to that of Spanish, and that of English is residual. The format best placed in Basque are videos of activities with friends, only seven points below those in Spanish. The leisure and music content represents half of that of Spanish and, in addition, in this case, videoclips and karaoke videos in English outnumber Basque. There are some significant differences in terms of gender and ESO course ($p < 0.05$). Girls create more videos of friends in Basque (12.5%) than boys (8%), and more karaoke videos (5.9%), as well as photo and text montages (3.4%) in English than boys (2.8% and 1.6%, respectively). The latter are produced more in the 4th ESO course (4.1%) and the videos of concerts in Basque in the 3rd ESO grade (9.5%), although the highest percentage is found in the Spanish video clips on first ESO course (21.9%).

The division of the regions into two blocks shows the interest in the creation of these contents in Basque in five of them –Tolosaldea, Debagoiena, Goierri, Urola Kosta and Debabarrena–, and contrasts with the manifest disinterest in the other two, Donostialdea and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa, as evidenced by significant differences ($p < 0.05$). Thus, videos among friends in Basque are the most popular in Urola Kosta (18%), Debabarrena (16.9%) and Debagoiena (14.8%), but minority in Donostialdea (4.7%) and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa (3.5%). The same happens with concerts and parties in Basque, which obtain a high percentage in Debabarrena (12.4%) and residual in Donostialdea (4.3%) and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa (3.5%). Those of karaoke occur more in Debabarrena (9%) and Urola Kosta (6.7%) and very little in Donostialdea (2.3%) and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa (1.7%). Finally, videoclips are more popular in Tolosaldea and Goierri (8.7% in both) and less in Donostialdea (2.1%) and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa (1.9%).

Table 5 shows that the adolescent production of content in Basque is directly related to the use of the language. Young people who live and use technology in Basque create more in this language and, conversely, those who communicate and use technology in Spanish are the ones who produce the least. Lastly, Basque and the bilingual option share the same percentage of use of subtitles in this type of content (27.1%) and, surprisingly, the use of texts in Spanish is a minority (7.3%), with a significant difference $p < 0.05$.

Videos	Basque	Spanish	English
Videos of activities with friends	10,3%	17,3%	1%
Leisure and music	Basque	Spanish	English
Concerts, parties they attend	7,3%	14,7%	3,4%
Videos of their musical performances	4,7%	9,4%	3,8%
Recordings of the songs they perform	4,6%	10,4%	4,1%
Videoclips	4,7%	17,9%	6,5%
Karaoke videos	4%	11,6%	4,4%
Informal communication	Basque	Spanish	English
Photo and text montages	4%	12,6%	2,5%
Memes	2,3%	14,1%	2,5%
Jokes and pranks	5,9%	15,3%	1,4%

Table 4. Audiovisual formats made with the mobile phone depending on the language

Source: Own elaboration.

Audiovisual formats created with the mobile phone		Daily use of Basque			Use of technology in Basque		
		Yes	No	Sig.= χ^2	Yes	No	Sig.= χ^2
Videos	Videos of activities with friends	15,4%	1,1%	$p<0,05$	15,5%	1,9%	$p<0,05$
	Concerts, parties they attend	9,8%	2,8%	$p<0,05$	10,4%	2,3%	$p<0,05$
Leisure and music	Videoclips	6,7%	1,3%	$p<0,05$	6,9%	1,4%	$p<0,05$
	Karaoke videos	5,3%	1,7%	$p<0,05$	5,5%	1,7%	$p<0,05$
	Videos of their musical performances	6,1%	2,1%	$p<0,05$	6,6%	1,6%	$p<0,05$
	Recordings of the songs they perform	6,2%	1,6%	$p<0,05$	6,4%	1,6%	$p<0,05$
Informal communication	Photo and text montages	5,3%	1,6%	$p<0,05$	5,8%	1,1%	$p<0,05$
	Memes	3,3%	0,6%	$p<0,05$	3,2%	1%	$p<0,05$
	Jokes and pranks	8,6%	0,9%	$p<0,05$	8,5%	1,7%	$p<0,05$

Table 5. Contents created with a smartphone depending on the use of the language

Source: Own elaboration.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, the presence of the Basque language in the consumption and creation of audiovisual content online among Basque adolescents is scarce. Spanish becomes the dominant language and English occupies a marginal position, although in specific cases it surpasses Basque. Therefore, the future of this minority language depends, to a large extent, on promoting consumption and creation among the new generations according to the strengths and weaknesses identified in this work.

Although they have the necessary skills and devices, young people from Gipuzkoa continue to be more consumers than creators of new formats. Furthermore, as the first research question asks, the priority audiovisual consumption is still that of traditional television content that can also be watched on the Internet. Regarding the two types of formats generated by these young prosumers, it is concluded that the videos produced are directly related to their technological and audiovisual language knowledge, and that their production is equal between boys and girls.

The same happens with the relationship between the possession and massive use of smartphones and the making of frugal content, although in that case girls are the majority creators. In both cases, Spanish is clearly superior to Basque, and the same happens when subtitles are used in one or the other language. Videoclips and karaoke are an exception, because English has more weight than Basque, which is reasonable considering the magnitude of the music industry in this language in the world.

The relationship between the digital formats that adolescents consume and create in Basque is notoriously uneven. I.e., in the case of youtubers there is no correspondence between one area and another, something that does happen in the video tutorials. In general, it can be affirmed that adolescents prefer the most successful youtubers in Spanish, mostly boys. The female youtuber *SuperTxope*, however, is an example that there is a niche for Basque on this digital platform, because despite the fact that the channel is a fake, it deals with an unprecedented subject that differentiates it: a satire on a political tendency.

In the format of video tutorials (leisure and educational use) there is a parallelism between consumption and creation. The most popular themed videos are also the ones that are most produced and, in addition, the genre of consumers of each type is the same as that of the creators. In other words, boys dominate this realm, particularly videogames, sports, and technology. The latter is the only area for educational use, apart from the videos on how to make a film, in which viewing and creation are equal. Girls, by contrast, outperform boys in fashion, hair and makeup, and travel.

As for the research questions asked, the consumption and creation of all of them are mostly in Spanish. It is true that English is ahead of Basque in follow-up, but it is non-existent in creation, where the bilingual option stands out, but with a greater weight of Spanish. The consultation of formats for school use also occurs mainly in Spanish, although the Basque Wikipedia reaches very high percentages that corroborate the success of promoting it in this language. It is surprising that, with the exception of specific cases, no significant differences were detected regarding the course year that mark any trend in this regard, as it is an important variable.

Focusing attention on the territory of Guipuzcoa, it could be pointed out that the echo of the Basque language on the Internet is geolocated. Thus, in line with the common hypothesis initially proposed, the regional differences show a territorial division in this regard. In the regions of Tolosaldea, Debagoiena, Goierri, Urola Kosta and Debarrena there is a manifest interest and a proactive attitude towards the consumption and creation of content in Basque. On the contrary, Donostialdea and Oarso Behe-Bidasoa show a clear disinterest towards it, being noteworthy that Donostia and Irún are the most populated cities in the province. Likewise, the use of language is indisputably linked to the presence of Basque on the Internet. Consequently, young people who live and use technology in Basque are the ones who create and consume the most content of this type, contrary to the Spanish-speakers who use technology in this language.

DISCUSSION

The results presented in this article, along with the data obtained in the research from which they derive, have laid the foundations for the Basque institutions to launch a program for the production of new audiovisual content in Basque that is attractive to young people (see Acknowledgments/Funding) and that promote the consumption and creation of this type of format in the Basque language. YouTube and its link to social networks are an unbeatable example of the possibilities provided by this digital era.

In the school environment it is necessary to implement the use of tools with guaranteed success, such as Wikipedia in Basque, and to promote others such as video tutorials, thus turning young people not only into consumers of this type of content that complement and enrich their knowledge but also into generators of knowledge for their peers (Scolari, 2013).

In line with previous studies in this field (Jiménez et al., 2011; Aguated & Sánchez Carrero, 2013), it is urgent to incorporate media literacy at school, so that young people are closer to audiovisual language. Devices and technological skills are sufficient to

create frugal content, but it is necessary to go further to generate reflective thinking and a critical capacity with which young people learn to look at their environment.

The repetition of this study in the medium term has some limitations because it is a still photograph. Although the design and conduct of in-depth interviews has been revealed as an indispensable tool to tackle a liquid space, the speed at which devices advance and the voracity with which new audiovisual formats, platforms and social networks to consume them emerge require the conduction of a previous survey as described in this study.

Another drawback is the effort and high economic cost of a survey with a sample like this. The study analyzes a paradigmatic change in the way in which content is consumed by young people that affects the language. Until recently, Basque television was the benchmark for consumption in the Basque language, but technology has categorically opened the scene, and this work analyzes the changes that have occurred in the field. Finally, this research represents a model that in the future may be implemented in other territories with minority languages, because in addition to offering a diagnosis of the situation, common patterns referring to these languages can be detected.

Despite the fact that the situation of minority indigenous languages in Latin America is far from that of Basque in the Basque Country, the effective management of the Internet and new technologies by educational institutions in these countries, along with the use of minority languages in the new media by young speakers, can become a key tool for their recovery. Therefore, the production and dissemination of audiovisual content suitable for teaching/learning indigenous languages, the editing of a Wikipedia in these languages or the establishment of virtual forums and communities, can universalize their access and contribute to their intergenerational transmission. The future of this virtual community depends on its ability to attract indigenous or non-indigenous youth who want to be part of the project and who can do so through digital devices such as smartphones, whose access today seems unstoppable worldwide despite the sociocultural and economic differences.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS/FUNDING

This work presents part of the results of the research *La presencia del euskera en los hábitos de consumo, creación y difusión de contenidos audiovisuales de los adolescentes guipuzcoanos (12-16) en Internet* (The presence of the Basque language in the consumption habits, creation and dissemination of audiovisual content of adolescents from Gipuzkoa (12-16) on the Internet), funded by the Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa within a *Etorkizuna Eraikiz* collaboration agreement collaboration with the Universidad del País Vasco (UPV/EHU), which awarded the work to the consolidated research group of the Basque Government, *Mutaciones del Audiovisual Contemporáneo* (IT1048-16). This study has been the seed for the creation of *2deo*, the laboratory for the creation of audiovisual content in Basque in *Tabakalera*, International Center for Contemporary Culture (Donostia/San Sebastián). The full report is available in Basque on the Provincial Council's website and researchers from the group have published two articles on this in international impact journals such as *Comunicar*, *Communication & Society* or *European Public & Social Innovation Review* (EPSIR).

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