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Cover Page Footnote

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External Projection of the Basque Language and Culture: The Etxepare Basque Institute and a Range of Public Paradiplomacy

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1. Introduction

In some states, there exist organizations whose mission it is to promote and disseminate the language and culture of the given state beyond its borders. These missions presuppose that the standardized and officially recognized language and culture are firmly established so as to be worthy of external projection. Historically speaking, the origin of such organizations dates back to the late nineteenth century, when the Alliance Française was founded in 1883, followed by the establishment of the Dante Alighieri Society in 1889, the British Council in 1934, and the Goethe Institute in 1951. Today, the demand for such a mission is more significant than ever, as demonstrated by the consecutive establishment of organizations with a similar purpose at the turn of the twenty-first century: the Cervantes Institute (1991), the Camões Institute (1992), the Confucius Institute (2004), the Korean Cultural Center (2009), and so forth. There are certain nuances in the motivations for establishing these organizations, but most of them are private entities with a public character or public entities based on civil law, which either directly or indirectly receive a subsidy from the central government of their own state.

Recently, scholars have been inclined to understand the diverse activities of the above-mentioned organizations as existing within the framework of “public diplomacy¹,” which, to an extent, is related to the strategic concept of so-called “soft power” proposed by Joseph Nye in 1990.² Here the accent is put on the diffusion of cultural elements as a tool of diplomacy. Moreover, language is one of the most essential of cultural elements.

¹ One of the most quoted definitions of the public diplomacy is “a government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about an understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies.” (Hans N. Tuch [1990]: *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*, St. Martin’s Press, p.3) Under the public diplomacy, a given government addresses itself to overseas citizens, which is different from the standard diplomacy based on treaties or agreements between the central governments.

² Nye, Joseph (1990): *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, New York, Basic Books. His concept of “soft power” was later developed by his emblematic work in 2004: *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York, Public Affairs.

As for scholarly studies of the spread of a language from one country to other territories abroad, the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* contributed, in the special issues No. 95 in 1992 and No. 107 in 1994, to expanding the horizons of research in this field. In particular, with reference to the global dissemination of English, the book *Linguistic Imperialism* by Robert Phillipson (1992) aroused a great deal of controversy by revealing the historical process of colonialism and likening it to today's worldwide expansion of this language.³ What these nascent academic studies shared in common can be summarized in the following two points. First, they attempted to consider various activities of these organizations as diplomatic activities of the given country by inserting politico-historical aspects into cultural and linguistic activities that had often been apolitically treated. Second, the target language and/or culture of these investigations were the official language and culture of the given state in accordance with the nature of the mission of those organizations. At the Alliance Française, for example, French is the only language that is taught. Even if Basque culture is presented as an element of French culture, the working language is always French, and never Euskara (the Basque language).

Recently in Spain, however, not only the central government but also some sub-state administrative entities have been engaging in the diffusion of their proper language and culture beyond state boundaries; more precisely, the Ramon Llull Institute and the Etxepare Basque Institute are focusing on the Catalan language and culture and the Basque language and culture respectively.⁴ This phenomenon is unprecedented.⁵

This article highlights policy regarding the spread of the Basque language and culture overseas, as implemented by the Etxepare Basque Institute, which was founded by the Basque autonomous government in 2007. The next section will explain the legal demarcation of competence between the state government and sub-state entities in Spain. The third section will present a general description of the Etxepare Basque Institute according to the laws on which it was founded, which is then followed by further discussion on the motives and goals of the institute in section 4. Section 5 will examine what external projection presupposes, which includes examining what the actors carrying out this objective unconsciously differentiate between the "interior" and the "exterior." In that case, where do the boundaries between them lie? What are the criteria for their determination? And finally, in section 6, the influence of the Etxepare Basque Institute on

³ From the viewpoint of the relations between language expansion abroad and colonialism, it would not be fair not to refer to the pioneering work of Louis-Jean Calvet and his book *Linguistique et colonialisme, petit traité de glottégraphie*, 1974, though its main theme was not necessarily related to the diffusion of languages abroad.

⁴ The Ramon Llull Institute was founded in 2002 by a convention between the Generalitat in the Catalan Autonomous Community and the Government of the Autonomous Community of the Balearic Islands. The support of the latter depends on the political party in power because the Popular Party (PP) is skeptical about supporting the institute. In Galicia, there were attempts to establish a similar organization called the Instituto Rosalía de Castro. However, on account of the economic recession in 2008, all the projects to establish new public organizations were put on hold in 2009.

⁵ In European Union, for example, there is a network of the organizations in charge of overseas spread of language and culture: EUNIC (European Union National Institutes for Culture). All the member organizations are at the national level, except two Belgian institutes representing two linguistic communities in this state. Neither the Ramon Llull Institute nor the Etxepare Basque Institute take part in this network.

the activities and discourses of other similar organizations will be discussed, followed by a future perspective on the institute as a conclusion.

2. Current Public Paradiplomacy in Spain

The concept of paradiplomacy, originating in the 1980s, refers to the official international relations led by non-central governments of subnational, regional, or local level, for the purpose of promoting their own interests. This reflects the incipient process of globalization, under which various nonstate actors began to engage in international activities. Paradiplomacy has a tendency to be implemented in such fields as culture and trade, which are often not included in the central state government's exclusive domains, for example defense, currency, conclusion of international treaties, etc. The range of paradiplomacy is different among each state, depending on the constitutional stipulations of the given state.⁶

As for today's Spain, Article 2 of the 1978 Spanish constitution, which is now in effect, prescribes the unique and indivisible Spanish state. However, the reality is that the actual country of Spain has almost federal characteristics, through the realization of 17 autonomous communities by 1982. Article 149.1 stipulates the exclusive competences of the state, whereas Article 148 enumerates the competences of the autonomous communities, which can be transferred from the state. Because the latter article stipulates the promotion of cultural activities and education in the language of the respective autonomous communities, it is understood that these activities are to be implemented by the respective autonomous community.

Therefore, Article 6.5 of the Basque Statute of Autonomy of 1979 stipulates the following: "Given that Euskara is the heritage of other Basque territories and communities, ... the Basque Autonomous Community will be able to demand that the Spanish government conclude and, if necessary, submit to the Spanish legislative assembly for authorization, those treaties and agreements that will enable it to establish cultural relations with the states where such territories and communities lie or reside, for the purpose of preserving and promoting Euskara." Article 6.5 has been considered as one of the grounds for the Basque government's commitment to the promotion of the Basque language and culture in the Chartered Community of Nafarroa, Iparralde (Basque Country in France) and other Basque communities scattered around the world.

Yet regarding the overseas dissemination of the language and culture of an autonomous community, a question arises as to whether this practice is ought to be conducted under the competence of respective autonomous communities because matters related to international relations are under the exclusive competence of the state government, as stipulated by Article 149.1.3 of the Spanish Constitution. Curiously, this constitution did not define the content of international relations. The lack of international sensitivity became quite apparent when Spain entered the European Community in 1986, and certain discrepancies became obvious between

⁶ Paradiplomacy is a subcategory of diplomacy. What is presupposed is that its actors are official entities or public sectors recognized by the given state. In this sense, actions taken by the governments in exile shall not be considered as those of paradiplomacy.

the state government and the autonomous governments regarding the demarcation of competences of a transnational dimension.

In this respect, the jurisprudence of the Spanish Constitutional Tribunal in 1991⁷ and in 1994⁸ was epoch-making in that the earlier ruling affirmed the co-competence of the state government and the autonomous governments with reference to the international diffusion of cultural values and cultural patrimonies in Spain, and the later ruling paved the way for the autonomous communities to engage in external activities by establishing their delegation offices outside Spain. A series of decisions by the Spanish Constitutional Tribunal distinguished “external actions” from “international relations.”⁹ The latter was determined to be the Spanish central government’s exclusive power to establish relations with other states and international organizations as regulated by international laws and treaties, whereas the competence of the former, which can be attributed to the autonomous communities, does not necessarily entail international obligations or the responsibility of the state.

Today, almost all the autonomous communities set forth laws and/or regulations that provide a foundation for their external actions, often with the aim of supporting their compatriots abroad. It is considered that the autonomous governments’ commitment to the spread of their proper language and culture overseas can be achieved through the sphere of external actions. This does not mean that such activities are entirely excluded from the state’s mission. Indeed, regarding the overseas diffusion of the Spanish language and culture, the Cervantes Institute has been in charge of this mission since its creation in 1991.

As can be seen in the case of paradiplomacy implemented by non-central governments in general, the mission of the Basque government as carried out through its external actions is in principle limited to the fields of cultural and economic activities. More concretely, these activities are roughly deployed in the following eight domains:¹⁰ (1) participation in the European Union, (2) multilateral inter-regional cooperation, (3) bilateral inter-regional cooperation, (4) transborder

⁷ STC 171/1991, de 31 de enero.

⁸ STC 165/1994, de 26 de mayo.

⁹ Palomar Olmeda, Alberto, “El título competencial del Estado en materia de emigración y su plasmación en la Ley 4/2006, de 14 diciembre del Estatuto de la Ciudadanía Española en el Exterior,” in Sempere Navarro, Antonio V. (dir.), Benlloch Sanz, Pablo (coord.) (2009), *El Estatuto de la Ciudadanía Española en el Exterior. Comentarios a la Ley 40/2006, de 14 de diciembre, del Estatuto de la Ciudadanía Española en el Exterior*, Cizur Menor, Editorial Aranzadi, pp.184–187.

¹⁰ De Castro Ruano, José Luis, “La acción exterior del País Vasco: una práctica consolidada,” in García Pérez, Rafael (dir.) (2009), *La Acción Exterior de las Comunidades Autónomas en las Reformas Estatutarias*, Madrid, Tecnos, pp.329–334.

cooperation,¹¹ (5) cooperation for development,¹² (6) attention to external Basque communities,¹³ (7) external delegations,¹⁴ and (8) promotional visits abroad. The external projection of the Basque language and culture covers all of these eight domains. The authority of external actions or relations of the Basque Government is the General Secretary of External Actions under the Presidency.¹⁵

3. Outline of the Etxepare Basque Institute

The establishment of the Etxepare Basque Institute came about through *Law 3/2007 on the Creation and Regulation of the Etxepare Basque Institute* (hereinafter *Law on Creation*), dated April 20, 2007.¹⁶

This law is written in both Euskara and Spanish, and both texts are official. In the Euskara version, the name of the institution is stipulated as “Etxepare Euskal Institutua/Basque Institute,” while in the Spanish version, it is “Instituto Vasco Etxepare Euskal Institutua/Basque Institute.” In total, there are three official names of the institute—in Euskara, Spanish, and English. Interestingly enough, the Spanish denomination of the institute is not encompassed in the Euskara version of the law. The inclusion of the English denomination suggests that this institute is expected to have a worldwide scope, but the symbolic name of “Etxepare,” which seemed as if it might be unfamiliar to the English-speaking world, is not used—although the denomination “Etxepare Basque Institute” or “Etxepare Institute” is gradually becoming accepted in the English-speaking world.

Little is known about the life of Bernard Etxepare.¹⁷ The generally agreed upon view is that he was born in the latter part of the fifteenth century near Donibane-Garazi (St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port) in the actual Basque Country in France. Apart from his vocation as a rector, he had the self-confidence

¹¹ Most of these activities under the categories (1), (2), (3) and (4) are somehow related to the EU programs: participation in Atlantic Arc Commission, Conference of European Regions with Legislative Power, Forum of Global Associations of Regions etc. Details of the external actions of the Basque government, see a series of annual reports edited by J. L. de Castro Ruano and A. Ugalde Zubiri. (De Castro Ruano, J. L. and Ugalde Zubiri, A. [2012] : *Anuario sobre la acción exterior de Euskadi 2010*, Oñati, IVAP.)

¹² Basque Agency of Cooperation for the Development is established for the purpose of contributing to the fight against poverty and to the human development, based on the Basque Law of Cooperation for the Development in 2007.

¹³ On the basis of Law 8 of Relations with the Communities and Basque Clubs outside the Basque Autonomous Community in 1994, a total of 187 Basque Clubs in 25 countries are registered by the Basque government as of June 2013.

¹⁴ There are six external delegations of the Basque government: Madrid, Brussels, New York, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, and Santiago de Chile.

¹⁵ Regarding external actions of the first Basque government (1936-1939) and those of the Basque government in exile, see respectively Ugalde Zubiri, A. (1996): *La Acción Exterior del Nacionalismo Vasco (1890-1939): Historia, Pensamiento y Relaciones Internacionales*, Bilbao, IVAP, and Arrieta Alberdi, L. (2007): *Estación Europa. La Política Europeísta del PNV e Exilio (1945-1977)*, Madrid, Tecnos.

¹⁶ LEY 3/2007, de 20 de abril, de Creación y Regulación del Instituto Vasco Etxepare Euskal Institutua/ Basque Institute, BOPV no.89, jueves 10 de mayo de 2007.

¹⁷ There are variants of the spelling of his name (Bernard, Beñat, Bernat) and surname (Etxepare, Detxepare, Dechepare, etc.)

to write and publish in Euskara, and he published a book entitled *Linguae Vasconum Primitae* in Bordeaux in 1545. During the four centuries that followed, the significance of this book was not appreciated by more than a few linguists who were interested in archaic Euskara. But the contemporary emblematic value of this book resides in the following two points. First, this is the oldest existing book written in Euskara (except for the title in Latin and the colophon in French), a unique example of which is conserved in the National Library of France. Second, this book, comprised of a preface and 15 verses, owes its reputation to the final two verses that praise Euskara. In particular, the verse “*Contrapas*” became remarkably popular among ordinary Basques, thanks to the melodious recordings by a Basque singer–songwriter Xabier Lete and a folk band called Oskorri in the 1970s, with its famous refrain “Euskara, go forth into the street! Euskara, go forth into the world!”¹⁸ Thus, the name of Etxepare is most appropriate for an organization that is seeking to disseminate the Basque language and culture.

According to the exposition of the motive for the *Law on Creation*, the Basque Country in this era of globalization cannot exist independently. It needs to open its doors to the world. It is important that the Basque Country projects its positive images to the whole world. This projection can be most effectively implemented through the symbolic usage of Euskara, which is the cultural heritage of the Basque people as well as a fundamental element of the Basque identity. The public authority has the responsibility for modernizing Euskara, which will then function as a modern language in order to respond to the contemporary plurilingual society.

The Etxepare Basque Institute (hereinafter Etxepare Institute) was established for the purpose of carrying out the tasks mentioned above. Its objective, as stipulated in Article 1 of the *Law on Creation*, is the promotion, diffusion, and reflection of Euskara and Basque culture outside the Basque Autonomous Community. More concretely, Article 3 enumerates six missions: (1) to promote Euskara worldwide in terms of education, research, and projection, (2) to contribute to knowledge about and the dissemination of Basque culture, (3) to bridge the Basque Country and the Basque compatriots abroad, (4) to support the international recognition of Euskara, (5) to improve the quality of the above-mentioned activities, and (6) to promote Basque studies in institutions of higher education.

The legal character of the Etxepare Institute is that of a public judicial personality based on civil laws, as prescribed in Article 2. The institute is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Culture of the Basque government, but its various activities encompass a broad framework of external actions, linguistic policy, and cultural policy.

The Etxepare Institute is composed of a Board of Trustees, a Council of Directors, and the Secretariat. The Board of Trustees is composed of 31 members: seven representatives from the Basque government (*Lehendakari* [president], Minister of the Department of Culture, and a representative from the departments of external actions, culture, education, linguistic policy, and budget); a representative from each of the three provinces that constitute the Basque Autonomous Community; 15 representatives from academia (*Euskaltzaindia* [Royal Academy of Euskara], *Eusko Ikaskuntza* [Basque Studies Society], University of the Basque Country, etc.); five representatives selected by the Basque parliament; and the Director of the Etxepare Institute. The Council of

¹⁸ Etxepare, Bernard (1995): *Linguae vasconum primitae (1545-1995)*, Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo, p.116.

Directors is made up of four representatives from the Basque government, two representatives recommended by the Basque government, and the Director of the Institute. The Secretariat, which is headed by the Director, has a few staff members. This reverse pyramid structure clearly indicates the organization's public character in spite of its being based on civil law.

The headquarters of the institute is located in Donostia--San Sebastián. For the time being, however, the Etxepare Institute has nothing more than a rented office. Most of its activities are implemented in collaboration with various cultural organizations and universities abroad on the spot.

As we have seen, the principal mission of the Etxepare Institute is to promote the external diffusion of Euskara and the Basque culture. This does not mean, however, that the working language in realizing these aims is limited to Euskara. Both Euskara and Spanish, the co-official languages of the Basque Autonomous Community, may be used in furthering the activities of the institute. Teaching Euskara via Spanish or English and supporting events related to Basque culture in languages other than Euskara are within the scope of the Etxepare Institute. This is different from the principle behind the Ramon Llull Institute, whose activities are implemented only in the Catalan language, even if it may sometimes be necessary to translate certain performances or activities from Catalan into other languages.¹⁹

The spread of a language and culture presupposes that the language to be disseminated is standardized and that there is a common understanding of the framework of the culture. As for Euskara, standardized Euskara, which is called *Euskara batua* (unified Basque), has been accepted and taught since its creation was proposed by the Euskaltzaindia in 1968. It is *Euskara batua* that should naturally be circulated abroad. Then, what about Basque culture? It is not an easy task to define the Basque culture. However, the Basque government promulgated a strategic plan called "Basque Plan for Culture" in 2004,²⁰ whereby a public administration tried for the first time in history to define this culture. According to this plan, the Basque culture shall be determined on the basis of the following three categories: (1) a proper culture transmitted from generation to generation, (2) originally a foreign culture but acculturated into the proper culture, and (3) a hybrid culture, particularly deployed in the metropolitan areas. Although the plan is vague, this rough official recognition of the Basque culture represents a future direction in the effort to spread the Basque culture.

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, external projection presupposes a distinction between "exterior" and "interior." We will return to this issue of boundaries in section 5 after discussing the concrete activities initiated by the Etxepare Institute.

¹⁹ Another probable rationale is that the Etxepare Institute was set up on the basis of a law that respects the co-officiality of Euskara and Spanish, whereas the Ramon Llull Institute is a type of consortium, and was established not by a law but by a convention and an administrative resolution (RESOLUCIÓN PRE/1128/2002, de 30 d'abril).

²⁰ Its action plans were for four years until 2007, and their indicators will continue until 2015. Zallo Elguezabal, Ramón (2005): "El Plan Vasco de Cultura: una reflexión," *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos*, 50 (1), p.30. Regarding the outline of the plan, see Eusko Jaurlaritza (2004): *Kulturaren Euskal Plana*, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia, Vitoria-Gasteiz.

4. Motivation and Goals of the Etxepare Institute

The 2007 *Law on Creation* set out only a general outline of the Etxepare Institute. Details on the implementation of the institute were provided by Decree 88 in 2008 and Decree 221 in the same year,²¹ which established the initial date of the institute's activities, which were to begin on January 7, 2009. However, almost no essential activities were initiated before the year 2010. One of the rationales for this delay was the political change in the Basque government in May 2009, which was the result of the Basque parliamentary election held in March 2009 that brought to power the non-Basque-nationalist party, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), for the first time in the 30-year history of the Basque government.²² Further, in December 2012, power returned again to the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), which has engaged in re-evaluating the external projection of the Basque language and culture. It would therefore be a bit too early to analyze and assess the activities of the Etxepare Institute. Nevertheless, its practices during the last three years are sufficient for us to deduce some tendencies of the institute in its various activities.

First, there is a campaign to internationally promote the visibility of the Basque language and culture. The Etxepare Institute has assumed the initiative to organize campaigns, but it mostly participates in other events organized by third parties. An example of such self-organized projects is the "*Euskara Mundiala*" (Universal Euskara) program, which is accessible through the Internet. The official website of Euskara Mundiala offers recorded everyday terms and tongue twisters in Euskara. Visitors to this site can hear these phrases translated into the language(s) they choose (mostly English, Spanish, and French). Visitors also can record and upload their short utterances of these phrases. Moreover, they can request a translation of simple phrases from their own language into Euskara. The aim of this program is to offer an opportunity for people throughout the world to become familiar with Euskara whether or not they have any knowledge of this language.

However, a majority of the activities of the institute are implemented by the way of subsidy through an open call and in collaboration with third parties. It is estimated that approximately 60% of the annual budget of the institute is allocated to such collaborative programs, partly initiated by the institute itself and partly after being put through an open call.²³ In any case, the principal partners are (1) equivalent organizations whose mission is the external projection of their language and culture (Cervantes Institute, Ramon Llull Institute, etc.), (2) Overseas Basque communities represented by "Basque Clubs" (*Euskal Etxeak*) (Basque National Week in Argentina, the USA, Mexico, etc.), and (3) *Euskaltzaindia* as an advisory organization. Apart from these partners, the institute almost regularly participates in international linguistic-cultural fairs: book fairs (Frankfurt, Istanbul, Guadalajara, etc.), language fairs (Expolangue, International Mother Language Day, etc.), cinema festivals, literary forums, and so forth. The institute takes advantage of these occasions to introduce Basque authors and literary works and cultural events in Euskara.

²¹ CORRECCIÓN DE ERRORES del Decreto 88/2008, de 13 de mayo. DECRETO 221/2008, de 23 de diciembre.

²² The PSOE had had the experience of coming to power in an alliance with the PNV. But this was the first time that the non-Basque-nationalist parties, including the PSOE, came to power alone, although the PSOE relied on the parliamentary support of the Partido Popular (PP).

²³ See the web site of the Department of Treasury and Finance, Basque government.
<http://www.ogasun.ejgv.euskadi.net/r51-8173/eu/>

The most outstanding example of collaboration between the institute and entities is the support for Basque studies in higher education institutions in the world. As of the academic year 2013-14, there were a total of 37 signed agreements with universities in 15 countries.²⁴ The content of these agreements varies from one university to another. In general, the terms of validity of the agreement are three years, which can be renewed after evaluation. The Etxepare Institute provides financial support to the contract university, and these subsidies are allocated toward the cost of instructional materials and the salary of the professor(s) who is/are in charge of lectures on Euskara and/or Basque culture. The contract university hires the professors, sets up an infrastructure, and pays for the commodities, the electricity, and heating expenses. In case there is difficulty in finding an appropriate professor, the Etxepare Institute may select and send a visiting professor to this university. The eligibility of the professor is up to each contract university, but the minimum condition is that he or she should hold a bachelor's degree. If that is not the case, he or she is required to hold a certificate of EGA: *Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria* (Certificate of Basque language ability).²⁵ At the University of Chicago and the City University of New York respectively, there is an endowed chair under with the names of Koldo Mitxelena, a Basque philologist, and Bernardo Atxaga, a respected author of contemporary Basque literature.²⁶ Moreover, in 2011, the first summer seminar called "Excellence in Basque Studies," sponsored by the Etxepare Institute in collaboration with the University of Basque Country, was held in Donostia-San Sebastián with the aim of encouraging future professors to incorporate Basque studies into the curriculum.

Furthermore, what is the purpose of the Etxepare Institute? In general, organizations that promote the external projection of language and culture have several types of aims, which can be classified into four categories: linguistic-cultural, social, politico-diplomatic, and economic.

The linguistic-cultural aim has to do with increasing the number of speakers of the given language as well as expanding the language community or sphere. Here exists a high valuation of the given language either by primordial emotion or by rational justification. In this category, an end goal is often set for fostering specialists in the given language and its culture as well as establishing a language ability certification in terms of quality assurance. The social aim tends to drive external projection as a means of supporting external compatriots so that they can maintain their identity with their native land and enhance their repatriation. Sometimes, such support is offered to external non-compatriots who wish to integrate into the host country. Improvement of the image of the society where the given language and culture are rooted is also intended as an element of this social aim. When these two types of aims become politicized, external projection emphasizes strategic aspects so that the international presence of the language and culture will be highly appreciated. In the past, colonialism was the most extreme expression of this type of aim. Today, these types of external activities are frequently related to lobbying backstage in the

²⁴ Six universities in Spain, four each in Chile, Germany, and USA, three in Italy, two each in Argentine, France, Hungary, Mexico, Poland and the UK, and one each in Czech, Finland, Russia, and Uruguay. As for the academic year 2013-14 a total of 1,714 students are enrolled at these 37 universities as of September 2013 (data from the Basque Etxepare Institute).

²⁵ The level of the EGA is equivalent to the C1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

²⁶ These two chairs were established in 2011. In 2013, a chair crowned with the name of Eduardo Chillida, world famous Basque sculptor, has just been opened at the Goethe University Frankfurt in Germany.

international arena. Fostering promising young compatriots and friendly non-compatriots who live abroad is one of the most important missions under the heading of social motivation. Their support might be critical, for example, in the event that the Basque Country should take concrete steps toward political independence in the future. As for the economic aim, it has been discussed very little thus far. However, the inclination toward this aim on the part of countries is growing increasingly conspicuous today because people have come to realize the economic benefit of the cultural industry (language schools, cultural performance, cultural tourism, and so on). For example, in the field of higher education, the British economy benefits from this industry by £11 billion directly and a further £12 billion indirectly (British Council), and the British government is seeking to expand this by 8% per year between 2004 and 2020.²⁷ In another case, in Spain, it is estimated that in 2007, approximately 3.3% of GDP was produced by Spanish-language-related cultural industries.²⁸

Currently, the Etxepare Institute's activities are mainly derived from linguistic-cultural and social aims. However, this does not exclude the possibility that its undertakings in the future will come to be influenced by political or economic strategy. Indeed, since 1997, the presidency of the Basque government has been carrying out the "*Gaztemundu*" (World of Youth) program with the objective of fostering promising future Basques abroad. Moreover, the recent economic recession may cause the Basque government to turn its attention toward the economic aspects of public paradiplomacy. Whatever the prospective direction, there still remains, nonetheless, the problem of the boundary between "interior" and "exterior."

5. Ethnic and Territorial Boundaries

As mentioned in the previous sections, external projection of the Basque language and culture presupposes an unconscious differentiation between "interior" and "exterior" on the part of those who disseminate these elements. In the case of the Etxepare Institute, we can understand where this boundary is located by examining the attributes of the target consumers of the Basque language and culture, such as students, readers, audience, and so on. Similar to the two principles of granting a citizenship (*ius sanguinis* and *ius loci*), which determine eligibility for membership in a state, it seems reasonable that the demarcation between "interior" and "exterior" should be based on the concepts of ethnicity and territoriality.

From the perspective of ethnicity, those who maintain a certain Basqueness are considered as "interior" or "we." One of the most salient and objective expressions of this Basqueness is blood lineage, and that of subjective expressions is a will to be a Basque. These people can be categorized under the term "Basque compatriots," as opposed to "non-Basque compatriots" as "exterior" or "others." From the perspective of territoriality, however, the frontier of the Basque

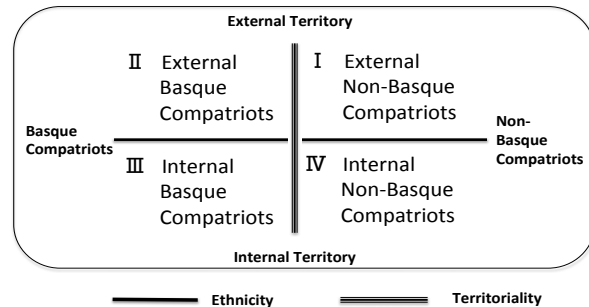
²⁷ Phillipson, Robert (2012): *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*, New York and London, Routledge, pp.4–5 and p.85.

²⁸ Instituto Cervantes (2010): *El español, lengua global. La economía*, Madrid, p.216.

Autonomous Community coincides with the boundary between “interior” and “exterior” because Article 1 of the *Law on Creation* stipulates “projection outside the Basque Autonomous Community,” and because this law is naturally valid within the autonomous community.

If we cross these two principles of ethnicity and territoriality, we will have four quadrants, as shown in Figure 1. The target participants in the activities of the Etxepare Institute are on the first and the second quadrants. They are either non-Basque compatriots outside the Basque Autonomous Country or Basque compatriots outside the Basque Autonomous Country. In accordance with the mission of the institute, relative priority in terms of target consumers of the Basque language and culture is given to the former, who are not necessarily familiar with Basque language and culture. In this regard there seems to be no lack of clarity.

Figure 1. Target participants according to the ethnic and territorial boundaries



When it comes to the principle of territoriality, the territorial “interior” is habitually identified as a “homeland.” Here the question of the “Basque homeland” arises, concerning which there is no common understanding so far because for some people the Basque homeland is, in conformity with the Law on Creation, limited to the actual Basque Autonomous Community, whereas for others its geographical range extends not only to the Basque Autonomous Community but also to Chartered Community of Nafarroa in Spain and Iparralde (Basque Country in France). In response to this problematic question, Aizpea Goenaga, Director of the Etxepare Institute, offers a careful explanation.²⁹ According to her, the range of external projection by the institute shall be “outside the Basque sphere” (*euskal esparrutik kanpo*). Indeed, the institute implicitly avoids direct support for those who live in Nafarroa and Iparralde,³⁰ as if these two areas were not “exterior” to the Basque homeland. What frequently occurs is that the institute provides financial support in a wider sense to a group outside the Basque homeland, in which people from Nafarroa and Iparralde participate. Thus, they are able to obtain indirect support from the institute.

With regard to territoriality, the name of the Etxepare Institute itself is quite suggestive. Such organizations with similar duties to those of the institute are generally crowned with the name of a most distinguished person of letters, who contributed to the establishment and/or refinement of the national language and literature: the Goethe Institute, the Dante Alighieri Society, the Camões Institute, the Cervantes Institute, and so forth. What is common among these personalities is

²⁹ Discussion with Aizpea Goenaga, Director of the Etxepare Basque Institute, held in Euskara, on December 14, 2012, in Donostia-San Sebastián.

³⁰ This fact is recognized by a public officer of the Presidency of the Basque government. Oregi, Benan (2009): “Euskal Kulturaren Transmisioa Diasporan XXI. Mende Hasieran,” in *Euskonews* 493 zk., 2009/07/03–10.

that their native land was situated within the framework of the actual state territory, where these institutions are located. However, the case of Bernard Etxepare is different because his native land is located in Iparralde, the actual French Basque Country, outside the legal sphere of the institute.

From these facts we can deduce, regarding the demarcation of “interior” and “exterior,” preponderance of the principle of territoriality over that of ethnicity, and the inclination of the Etxepare Institute to recognize the Basque homeland in its broadest sense, including Nafarroa and Iparralde, although the *Law on Creation* defines these two areas as target areas of external projection.

6. Interactivity with Other Organizations

The Etxepare Institute is not the only organization under the jurisdiction of the Basque government that is in charge of the external spread of Euskara and Basque culture. In fact, the Basque government has been engaged in the dissemination of Euskara and Basque culture in various ways since the 1980s.³¹

Early in 1983, the government established a public organization called HABE (Institute of Alphabetization and Relearning of Euskara for Adults).³² Its main objectives are to promote alphabetization and to relearn Euskara for adults. In pursuing these aims, HABE engages in tasks such as (1) coordinating collaboration among the *euskaltegis* (Basque language schools for adults), (2) elaborating and homologating instructional materials, (3) evaluating education-learning processes in Euskara, and (4) cooperating with Basque cultural associations. HABE’s target consumer are mostly those who want to be a public officer or teacher in the Basque Autonomous Community (quadrant III in Figure 1) because a sufficient ability of Euskara is required to find a post in these métiers.

However, because HABE-related laws and regulations do not specify the territorial scope in which its activities are to be implemented, HABE, in the year 1989/90, undertook to develop its support for alphabetization and the relearning of Euskara in South America, at the eager request of the Basque communities in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile.³³ This support became institutionalized in the program “*Euskara Munduan*” (Euskara in the World) as it extended its geographical range into North America and Australia in the early 2000s. In terms of external language diffusion, the target students of HABE are largely overseas Basque compatriots (quadrant II in Figure 1), who gather together in Basque communities abroad, under the overall term “*Euskal Etxeak*” (Basque Clubs), which are registered by the Basque government. Thus, as for the demarcation of “interior” and

³¹ It should be reminded that the Basque nationalists had deployed external actions since before the establishment of the actual Basque Autonomous Community in 1979. See the footnote 15.

³² Helduen Alfabetatze eta Berreuskalduntzerako Erakundea (HABE). LEY 29/1983, de 25 de noviembre, de creación el Instituto de Alfabetización y Reeskaldunización de Adultos y de Regulación de los Euskaltegis.

³³ This program was called “Argentinan Euskaraz” (In Argentine in Euskara). See the brief description of this program in Verónica Domingo (2010): “ARGENTINAN EUSKARAZ’ 20 urtez Diaspora euskalduntzen,” *Guregandik, Revista del Centro de Estudios de la Cultura y el Nacionalismo Vasco “Arturo Campion,”* No. 6, pp.111–134.

“exterior” in the activities of HABA, preponderance of the principle of ethnicity over that of territoriality is obvious.

It seems that the target participants of the Etxepare Institute and HABA overlap (quadrant II in **Figure 1**). With regard to the Euskara Munduan program of HABA, it is implemented at an elementary level at the *Euskal Etxeak*, where maintenance and transmission of Basque traditional value is intended. As of June 2013, almost 70% of the 187 *Euskal Etxeak* in 25 countries were located in Spanish-speaking countries. In contrast, the Etxepare Institute’s target participants are generally external residents (quadrants I and II in **Figure 1**, with preference to the former) enrolled in higher education institutions, and its support for various performances and events related to Basque culture is mostly contemporary and metropolitan oriented. This tendency toward different preferences between the two institutes became more obvious with the conclusion of an agreement, at the beginning of 2011, between the Etxepare Institute and the Cervantes Institute, which has approximately 80 overseas branch offices exclusively in non-Spanish-speaking countries.

At the time of the establishment of the Etxepare Institute, there seems to have been an argument about whether or not the functions of HABA related to external projection (quadrant II in **Figure 1**) should be integrated into the institute. Legally speaking, the mission of the Etxepare Institute is to be deployed in the field of culture, whereas that of HABA in the field of language learning, although culture and language learning are closely related. Indeed, these two organizations are equally under the jurisdiction of the Department of Culture of the Basque government. And this demarcation of function between the two organizations seems to be fluctrant. For example, HABA is in charge of issuing a certificate of ability in Euskara called EGA based on language proficiency tests. The venues of this test were traditionally within the Basque Autonomous Community. However, in 2012, it was implemented in a locality of an *Euskal Etxea* in Buenos Aires, which was the first time this occurred outside the Basque Country in the wider sense.³⁴ It is quite plausible that the venues will be expanded in the future, just as the Spanish Ministry of Education implements the DELE (Diplomas of Spanish as a Foreign Language) test in collaboration with the Cervantes Institute throughout the world. In a similar way, collaboration between HABA and the Etxepare Institute still has room to become closer in the near future.

Such cooperation between the Etxepare Institute and the Cervantes Institute not only enlarges the territorial range of activities organized by the former but can also effect a gradual transformation of the discourse of the latter. According to the *Law on the Creation of the Cervantes Institute* promulgated in 1991,³⁵ the main mission of the institute is to universally promote the instruction, study, and usage of Spanish (Article 3.1). Moreover, the Cervantes Institute received the Prince of Asturias Award in 2005, together with five other similar institutions,³⁶ for the very reason that they contributed “to preserv[ing] and diffus[ing] throughout the continents European cultural patrimony: respective national languages, literary and artistic tradition, and ethical and humanistic values that are the substratum of the occidental civilization.”³⁷ Today, the Cervantes Institute offers courses in the Basque, Catalan, and Galician languages if there are enough students who

³⁴ This test is given in Nafarroa and Iparaldea.

³⁵ LEY 7/1991, de 21 de marzo, por la que se crea el Instituto Cervantes.

³⁶ Alliance Française (France), Dante Alighieri Society (Italy), British Council (UK), Goethe Institute (Germany), and Camões Institute (Portugal).

³⁷ Quotation from the *Acta del Jurado* of the Prince of Asturias Awards in 2005.

wish to enroll, and organizes cultural events in these co-official languages in autonomous communities in Spain. The Cervantes Institute has come to be associated with linguistic diversity or pluralism as a salient characteristic of its identity because no other similar institute advocates that the plurilingualism of their own country should be diffused worldwide.

7. Conclusion

Less than 10 years ago, the external projection of the Basque language and culture was strategically initiated by a public entity. Behind the founding of the Etxepare Basque Institute, which is under the jurisdiction of the Basque government, there existed the aim of establishing a standardized Basque language (*Euskara batua*) and achieving official recognition of the Basque culture (Basque Plan for Culture), both of which would be diffused worldwide. The concept of external projection suggests ethnic and territorial boundaries between “interior” and “exterior,” but legal differentiation and emotional differentiation do not necessarily coincide.

For the time being, the motives and goals of the Etxepare Institute’s activities are mostly socioculturally driven. However, the experiences of other similar institutions show us the possibility that the future activities of the Etxepare Institute might become more politically and/or economically oriented under certain circumstances. The institute’s collaboration with such institutions may contribute toward eliciting synergic effects on the affirmation of the proper value of language and culture.

Different from a civilization, which has an inclination toward universality, a culture tends to be valorized by its particularity and originality, which are closely related to the proper identity of those who practice the given culture and language. Euskara, once looked down upon and labeled as a lesser-used minority language by “civilized” language speakers, is now entering in an era of globalization, the international arena, and being embraced for its positive particularity, which is backed up by a universal value of cultural diversity and plurality. That is what Bernard Etxepare himself chanted with conviction more than 450 years ago.

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