## "BABEȘ-BOLYAI" UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY STUDIES

# CULTURAL VALUE POLICIES OF

# THE EUROPEAN UNION

#### - PHD THESIS SUMMARY -

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CLUJ-NAPOCA

2015

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*KEY WORDS: cultural space, European identity, European spirituality, cultural policies, cultural values, European values, European policies* 

The research of the European integration process and its spirituality has been an interdisciplinary topic for centuries, and Europe can be seen as an imaginary projection, an exclusive reality of ideas, its entire history, as a the project, emerging from the aggregation plans of Europeans in a spiritual-political formula. Knowing the stages and the formation process of the European identity and spirituality can help us in understanding the future of Europe. Europe's discourse has changed over time and expresses different meanings, even if the word remains the same: 'Europe'. Therefore, it is necessary to rebuild the idea of Europe's biography returning to both Plato's echoes (theory of ideas) and Hegel's objective idealism, trying to understand the stages of metamorphosis (transformation and aggregation). The political path of this idea has been discussed for about two centuries, while the cultural aspects are bring debated for more than two thousand years. The two major approaches are complementary for both, motivation and rational arguments of the European unification project; meanwhile the latest explores the dream of a united Europe as a modern political reason.<sup>1</sup>

Common elements of the European space, as past experience and historical memory, contribute in the formation of the European identity together with cultural, economic and historical data provided by local contexts, as Monica Sassatelli defines it, in the so called *Landscape*. In this way we can afirm that the European idea is characterized by diversity and the sense of belonging to this identity.<sup>2</sup> We can say that the concept of landscape, is a theme of reflection closely linked to the places of memory and identity and it is a part of a community foundation.<sup>3</sup> The project of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ovidiu Pecican, *Europa- O Idee în Mers*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p.26-30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Monica Sassatelli, *Becoming Europeans*. *Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy*, Palgrave, New York, 2009, p.174-5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Doru Radosav, "Editorial" în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală*, volum 5, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p.5-11

European integration is the logical consequence of an integrated history which brings together all those who share common values despite historical evolution. The central element of European spirituality revolves around deep cultural roots remembered and interpreted by many authors in literature.

The discourse about the genesis of the European identity profile can not ignore the contribution of the ancient Roman world and the 'latin' model - of the man in the society, in shaping the current European spirit. Aesthetic and cultural values of ancient Greece were taken into account and the idea of 'Beauty' has been accredited as a benchmark throughout Europe. Greek-Latin experience was wide-spread by the process of Romanization throughout the Roman Empire and created the cultural and artistic Europe which has been since then constantly reinterpreting the aesthetic and spiritual heritage of the ancient world. Literature, poetry, theater and architecture have shaped the spirit of Europe, always having new interpretations from the Middle Ages until the surrealism period. Ancient roman civilization heritage has provided to the cultural and identity profile of the European space all of its main components: work, health and illness, communication, social relationships, life and death. Roman culture takes these characteristics of human spirituality and strengthens them by inserting law and human rights in the harmony of the human traits. As a result, the construction of social life is guvernated by the property right, both in domestic life and external relations, human traits being harmonized with the rule of law and its construction land aspects of social life. Ancient Greek culture gives us the foundation precept that the individual is cultivating its identity, physical and intellectual traits, in the same time with building the inter-individual society through dialogue and valuing democracy design trough out the concept called *sociality*.

In the Roman Empire a new element appears that will become one of the fundaments of European spirituality and it will bring a new philosophy and humanistic vision, Christianity. In pagan Greek-Roman antiquity the concept of love together with the definition of man were serving the city through access to education and appeal to morality. In the new religion, Christianity, God placed man in the service of the human person and gives new meanings to the human beeing that

nurtures love for his neighbor and is equal to the others. Subsequently, the search for the *common good* by man, through generosity, is Judeo-Christianity intake, faith in God and love of the fellows becoming the morality of the whole man. Cultural contribution of Christianity is reflected in literature, art, history and architectural style, elements that will be perpetuated throughout the process of Europe's identity. But differences in the spirit, language and religion have created a division between the Western and Eastern Christianity, identified as early as the fourth century and afterwards has ended with the final break of the Great Schism of 1054. The contribution of Christianity to the development of European culture is a part of the cultural history of each nation through the tools and means that were created and facilitated for all related fields of science and art.

In the European identity evolution, the ideas of Aristotle and Plato philosophy will acquire new meaning and will be resized starting with the XIII<sup>th</sup> century. On one side religion will be pursued but also there will be the prospect of exploring a universe that is not exclusively Christian, in which man guided by a progressive dynamic will discover the mirage of science. As a result, Aristotle's philosophy will be used to promote the exploration paths of knowledge and divine reality of humanity and the cosmos. With the delimitation and awareness of both worlds, real and spiritual, the modernization phase of the European spirit will commence.

The different visions of the church and state in Europe have affected its structure and spirituality and have produced ruptures between the value systems of each, but at the same time managed to be both concerned with the human condition in the world as a central issue of European spirituality. The common idea of a value system centered on the human being and its presence in personal and collective life, lead by Plato's values: Justice, Truth, Good and Beauty; has managed to create a connection between conservative ideologies that revolve around the concepts of tradition, family, order and balance, social and political beliefs. The humanist side of the European spirit needs to revive the values of truth and faith meeting the life model based on freedom offered by the universal nature of democracy.

Human cultural heritage should not be seen as a generic single entity, but as a

differentiated and diverse heritage. Common heritage is crystallized from numerous individual national cultures, each forming different ethnic and cultural entities, each with their own identity. The role of these nations and ethnic cultural religions in Europe provides a basis for political solidarity by the existence of a sense of "belonging". In respect to history and collective and common memory, these can be seen as drivers of European identity. What must be emphasized is the perception of Europeans on common history. Certainly historical facts, conflicts, victories, peoples' struggle for emancipation are referred to in various and different ways by each nation. A coherent understanding of the common history of Europe subsumed to cultural and educational purposes can create a proper mental attitude among Europe's citizens.<sup>4</sup>

The European spirituality, in addition to defining the role of the humans in society, should take into account the importance and evolution of the institutional arrangements by which European society has organized along history. The values of freedom and democracy, which have been cultivated by the European civilization, will provide consistency in its forms of organization. The values of liberal democracy are universal values, but it has been identified that the historical context of each country is giving these a different interpretation that can be seen in their own identity. Another vision in the differentiation from others is by confronting the negative past with the positive future, a less regulatory approach of Kohli. Asserting European identity is provided by the construction of identity that highlights the differences between negative past experiences and the positive projected future, for when the inner battle will commence between being 'European' or 'national'.<sup>5</sup>

In the millenary history of cultural landscape and human civilization, Europe's spirituality and identity can be considered a force that has influenced and shaped the creation of human thinking and behavior. We find this spirit in European cultural creations such as artworks and literature, music and architecture, in systems of social organization, including political ones. In the European conscience, achieving progress

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Vincent Price, "Democracy, Global Publics and World Opinion", in *Global Civil Society 2007/8: Communicative Power and Democracy*, Dage, London, 2008, p. 20. <sup>5</sup> Martin Kohli, "The battlegrounds of European identity" in *European Societies*, 2.2, 2000, p. 127

is considered only by respecting each area of spiritual creation, as culture reflects deep and essential components of the soul and is a result of spiritual creation.

The ideal of European unity and the idea of peace are translated into concrete actions in the XIX<sup>h</sup> century, peace congresses being organized in Brussels in 1848, in Paris in 1849 and a year later in Frankfurt. Promoting the idea of a single European nation is brought up in 1878 through the International Society of Peace and Fraternity initiated by Ernnesto Teodoro Moneta Carlo Ramussi. This is the first time in history of international relations when the idea of moral obligation appears due to the Geneva Peace Conference from 1899 which promoted the project of a Permanent Court of Arbitration. Max Weber defined Europe as the only modern political organization enhanced within the nation state with the involvment of multiple and diverse identities. Therefore the definition of Europe receives the new meaning of a geographic area but also as a model of civilization, as a mechanism for economic and political vision, as a historical reality but also as a philosophical concept. From the point of vies of a political project this brings chalanges in the history of nation states in terms of sovereignty and political traditions being generated debates about forming a new identity. The history of every state along with the political modernization and economic development confirms the common European past. Member States are investing their efforts to prove their desire to 'live together'. In the history of European construction, it is initially developed only its economic dimension but subsequently for the development of the European states' cooperation within a functional mechanism, political, social and cultural dimensions will be added. In the European Union common actions and programs will be implementaed that directly or indirectly will contribute in supporting the four key principles of the European cultural policy: promoting cultural identity, respect for cultural diversity, supporting creativity and stimulate participation. Culture is a key element in the process of European integration, which is the link between nations and citizens who believe they have a common culture. A project based strictly on economic and political aspects that ignores the vitality of the national cultures' particularities and of European culture would not be viable, and along with the uniformization effect of globalization might lead to an imminent failure.

European spirit can be characterized by open communication and dialogue that has as a result the interest for other cultures that can be observed in both directions, of differentiation and assimilation. Searching and strengthening common European values, provides consistency, but more important is embedding all of them in the national identity as well as providing a reference backgroung with other cultures. Interacting, understanding and assimilating external cultures is a specific trait of the European spirit. Although the 'ancient citadel model' created in Europe has been forgotten for two millenniums, after the World Worlds period, European spirit revives and takes the form of the current European construction designed to develop a viable system for its citizens bound by the common spirit, culture and civilization of each member state through a combination of common institutions and policies.

The debate on European identity is a subject under discussion since the 50s, and now there are two main directions for understanding this concept, both in terms of scientific approach and public perception. On one hand it is considered the change into a supranational EU regime, which originated in 1992 with the signing of the Treaty of Masstricht when EU's self-perception was brought up. The second opinion in the development of these ideas was produced by the EU enlargement wave towards Eastern Europe in 2004 and 2007. This was the time when different approaches and definitions of the European identity concept have appeared, the main issue being how a nation can differentiate itself from the others.<sup>6</sup> National collective identity is certainly more profound than European identity could be, but an important issue is the relationship between these two, and how they can be understood in terms theorethicly and determined empirically. The two important variants that could characterize the relationship between national and European identity are either complementary or conflicting. Psychosocial theories see collective identities in modern societies as multiple identities, so the two types of identities listed can be compatible. Relevant empirical studies so far have shown that the majority of EU citizens have a multiple identity that positively connects the national one to the European one. But the scenario where European identity will be politicized, it may generate a conflict with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Dieter, Fuchs, Hans-Dieter Klingemann *Cultural Diversity, European Identity and the Legitimacy of the EU*, Cheltenha, Edward Elgar, 2011, p. 34

the national identity, a conflict that might erode the European one because of the more prominent elements of the national identity.<sup>7</sup>

European integration vision is investing in creating a unity of diversity, this direction being included in the preamble of the Treaty of Rome that is stating the foundation of a durable connection between European citizens. After the Cold War actions of European states to create an economic market were accompanied by the attempt to create an European society through the value of diversity. The union was built through common policies and the promotion of culture and identity. EU enlargement to 28 Member States has created an unprecedented social and political context characterized by diversity and new requirements and needs in terms of rights and recognition. But this diversity has been debated intensely and relatively for a long time in order to be accepted. Migrants citizens as well as the candidate states to the European structure were seen as socio-cultural and security risks causing a deep crisis in the European integration project at the same time with questions regarding European identity and the nature of European policies.

The core of cultural policy is the concept of cultural diversity that includes both national and minority communities diversity; ethno-racial and linguistic diversity and generation differences. Each such group has its own cultural identity, which we can find at national and international level along with the cultural diversity, throughout multiculturalism and inter-culturalism. Ensuring compliance with these two concepts is a tool against exclusion and offers the social-cohesion prospect. Paradoxically, diversity is extensively discussed both ways- as threat but also as a threatened concept. Enlargement has brought its territory undesirable elements and a possible future widening of it, particularly the inclusion of Turkey, will bring threats even to the foundation of European identity, Christianity. Some believe that this legacy is an essential part of European identity and therefore must adapt Europe's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dieter Fuchs, "European Identity and Support for European Integration", în *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union. Interdisciplinary Views*, ed. Sonia Lucarelli, Furio Cerutti, Vivien A. Schmidt, Routledge, London și New York, 2011, p. 55-76

policies to marginalize Islam and Muslim citizens, more over to redefine the notion of immigrant correctly, as non-Europeans. Contrary to this view, there is the group that rejects any kind of exclusion and define European values around human rights, advocating for diversity through inclusion of all individuals irrespective of religion, ethnicity or sexual orientation. Regarding the threat of diversity, discussing the possible effect of globalization and of technocratic confidence related to the European integration, these will produce uniformity and homogenization of cultures and national traditions, as happened economically.

This cultural, religious and sexual diversity created controversies in shaping the policy of European integration as it balances the extent to which European identity is threatened. These disputes brings up the acceptable degree of these differences and if the call to solidarity with different peoples can reduce the gap. The biggest progress in relation to their identity were made on the issue of gender difference, that managed to normalize the discourse of European states the outcome being a more flexible labor market through the policy of 'reconciliation of work and family' and the integration of women into the workforce. Minority groups are distinguished by their natural or social status, so it is necessary to invest in different areas of the EU and its normalization and cooptation mechanisms in order to create 'unity in diversity'.<sup>8</sup>

The concept of diversity in the context of European Union policy envisages firstly cultural diversity of Member States commitment that we find in Article 6.3 of the European Union Treaty "The Union shall respect the national identities of the member states". States besides safeguarding cultural diversity with reference to their identities also need to maintain a balanced environment. The European Union is an international organization with legal and political structure of which national identities are protected, thus making efforts to maintain a balance between the parts of the whole, between unity and diversity, between coordination and autonomy. In The European Union Treaty wee can find some of the measures that support these goals, including: all official documents are translated into all national languages recognized,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mieke Verloo, "Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union" in *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13.3, 2006, p. 211-228.

the existence of mutual recognition of technical standards for goods and services (instead of standardizing their), the political mechanism of the EU is multi-centered, fragmented and complex to prevent power of a single political authority, is open bith inner and outer political entrepreneurs, the European Council voting procedure prevents the formation of alliances between powerful states at the expense of the weakest.

EU institutions and agencies involved in the Community's cultural actions are the European Parliament, Committee on Culture and Education Council of the EU, European Commission, Europe Creative Committee, Committee on Education, Youth, Culture and Research, EU Agencies and the Executive Agency for Education Audiovisual and Culture, which foster cooperation between cultural bodies in the Member States and guarantee compliance with the exchange of cultural goods and the revision of the treaties agreed by all Member States. Open Method of Coordination is the key instrument in developing the European social model agreed at the Lisbon Summit in 2000 as a coordination mechanism between EU states and in the policy elaboration process for combating social exclusion, by using common objectives and indicators, strategic national reports, by creating guidelines for public policies and joint assessing strategies and monitoring reports. This enables cross-sectorial policy coordination at national and European aiming for a close intergovernmental collaboration. Attention is paid to the participatory aspect and the wide public consultation on important social issues and social inclusion, being applied the principle of subsidiarity.<sup>9</sup>

Globalization has led to identity diversification and cultural democratization throughout the progress brought by modernity. The role of individuals in society and the differences created in each country are due to 'cultural cooperation magic triangle'. The elements that make up this triangle develop a relationship of interdependence. Culture is a mixed combination process between the similarities and differences between individuals, which is rooted in diversity and develops into an interactive,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV:em0011, [access 20.05.2015]

dynamic, pluralist and democratic environment. The second element is the policies, formed out from all cultural policies and political culture, that refers to social cohesion and political will that are creating the cultural development frame through the two axes of inclusion and exclusion. The 'identity' element enables paradigm development and allows free affirmation of its roots, originating in moments of history that have created value. The cultural power of this model is represented in the form of a six-pointed double star given by the secular foundations of the European culture. Inside this model both consensus and conflict manifest through the negation processes and the dialogue's communication power. Tensions between fundamental and cosmopolitan elements within are considered to be productive. Development of cultural policy is based on a set of three common objectives: cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and culture as a vital element in international relations and a catalyst for creativity. In EU vision, culture becomes an indicator measuring quality of life, and it becomes an important factor in social development as well as a decisive social cohesion factor.

As a dynamic component of society and civilization, culture, as well as the strategies and policies are closely linked to the social, political and economic changes. In the current pattern of 'knowledge society', culture has a double role, being its foundation as well as shaping it, acquiring new forms and ways of expression. Currently, globalization, a phenomenon that has strongly influenced society by the rapid development of trade, investment and technology, has an effect on culture and identity. Different theories associate globalization with respect to identity and culture, as a risk factor, but there are supporters of the idea of development benefits and opportunities of the cultural sector through globalization. By harmonizing legislation, institutions and government to produce a degree of homogenization of ideas, ideals and social practices, later on these will become threats for the local cultures by importing American Western models. On the other hand, global competition through diversification and outlining the specificity of cultural products, heterogeneous cultural occurs by increasing the variety of cultural products. In this way the importance of traditional cultures, values can be rediscovered and hence the multicultural community. We can bring up in this topic a third valence of globalization, which is to create a hybrid form of culture by the emergence of mixed forms of creative practices and cultural expressions.

Throughout cultural policy practices individual's cultural rights are recognized, protected and promoted and in the same time there are created the conditions for free and unhindered exercise thereof. The right of access to culture along with the participation to the cultural life are the basic cultural rights of a citizen offering a sense of belonging to a community, regardless of race, sex, age, nationality, etc. and enriches the cultural identity thus supporting social inclusion and integration. Participation in culture represents the participatory dimension of cultural rights, which involves creating a specific context for freedom of expression and conducts creative activities in various forms at individual and community levels. The two basic cultural rights, which are indivisible part of the civil, political, social and economic rights, were added a series of extensive rights and principles that need to be included in the cultural policy of each country; respect for cultural identity, access to cultural heritage, protection of creative activities, access to arts education and education through art, freedom to conduct cultural activities, intellectual property protection, mobility of artists and artistic goods, and the right of the individual to identify with a cultural community . From this perspective, every state has the obligation to recognize and protect cultural and linguistic diversity, to guarantee the individual's right to participate in the cultural life of the community and hence to meet their cultural rights, all of these as an essential dimension of a person's dignity and development.

At the end of 2014, the European Council has developed an action plan for 2015-2018 that manages to incorporate past experience and results of action plans implemented since 2007, the recommendations and the new needs of the European context. Thus in general the new plan will include subjects with a clearer added value, it is taking into account the internal value of culture and the arts in order to support cultural diversity, is further promoting the cultural and creative sector recognizing its contribution to Europe 2020 policy regarding the growth and economic development, culture and integration. The priorities that were included in this program will be

clearer and easier to implement: accessible and inclusive culture, cultural heritage and creative sector, creative and economic innovation and promoting cultural diversity and culture within the external relations of and mobility the EU.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Conclusions of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on a Work Plan for Culture (2015-2018) în *Official Journal of European Union*, C463/4, 23.12.2014, [available online] http://eur-lex.europa.eu, [access 23.05.2015]