

**DANA IRINA**

Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy  
Université Libre de Bruxelles, CEVIPOL (Center for the Study of Politics)  
Email: dana.irina@ubbcluj.ro

## **REDISCOVERING CULTURE: THE UNEXPLORED DIMENSION OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC IDENTITY**

**Abstract:** A particular dimension of democracy has been deprived of attention in both theoretical approaches and empirical research: the case of culture as referring to arts and popular culture. Drawing on examples of how the political role of arts and other forms of culture was acknowledged and exploited at various moments in the history of European societies, the article discusses the ways in which culture is important to “democracy as lived experience” playing a key role in the functioning of democratic societies. Moreover, advancing the thesis that new sources of common identity, democracy and political unity can be found in the European culture, the paper represents a contribution to the framework that clarifies the role of culture – serious or popular – in the current process of forging a European identity. Finding theoretical support in the European literature, cultural policies elaboration, relevant official discourses and statistics elaborated at the European level, the article demonstrates that the answer to the question of European identity will be provided significantly by the European culture as an open space that must be constantly redefined.

**Key words:** culture, arts, democracy, European identity, political regime

## Introduction

Beginning with the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the legitimacy of nation-state as a modern, democratic state has associated the process of democratization with the construction of identity.<sup>1</sup> This relation between legitimate governance and identity is also true for the European Union. In December 1974 with the occasion of the Copenhagen Summit, the Foreign Ministers of the Nine at the moment underlined “the rich variety of the national cultures, the principles of representative democracy” and, the essential part, the very originality and dynamism of the European Identity: “the diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization.”<sup>2</sup> Since the European Identity Declaration almost 40 years have passed; since then, citizens and the identity of the European Citizens have gradually changed during successive periods of evolution, crisis and reforms. In the context of this growing diversity and the rigors of a more demanding form of unity, one question appears as unavoidable: to what extent does culture support and entrench a democratic structure?

A possible answer was anticipated by the very Jean Monnet, who late in his political career, is believed to have said: “Were I to begin European integration again, I would start with culture.”<sup>3</sup> Slowly but surely it was acknowledged that “if the European Union is to be durable, a greater emphasis must be placed on its cultural heritage”<sup>4</sup>; accordingly, the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, requested academics and politicians in several member countries to take into consideration the intellectual and cultural dimension of an European Union in an expansion phase, and, in particular, to analyze the importance of this intellectual and cultural dimension for the cohesion and democracy of an enlarged and redefined EU. Later on, both Prodi and Barroso, former and current President of the European Commission, have argued that “the EU has reached a stage of its history where its cultural dimension can no longer be ignored,”<sup>5</sup> and that what is needed is “A Soul for Europe,” a spiritual and cultural dimension of Europe.<sup>6</sup> All these demarches can be seen as proof of the fact that the idea of a common culture, often in the form of a shared heritage but also in the shape of common values, is progressively becoming more important to emphasize in the European Union discourse than the integration process has anticipated.

As a consequence, the idea of culture has been advanced to a more prominent position not only on the political agenda; questions concerning a collective cultural identity are especially topical today considering the fact that the European Union has increased considerably both in geographical and demographical size, and the number of Member States has risen from fifteen to twenty-seven in the last few years, mostly from Eastern Europe, leading to an increased diversity. Despite the fact that in academic circles it has been sporadically suggested that we are witnessing

today a “cult of heritage” or even “a heritage crusade,”<sup>7</sup> until recently, this particular cultural dimension of democracy has been lacking interest in both theoretical and empirical work.

Agreement is still needed upon the idea that “we have to search for new sources of democracy and political unity in the common European culture.”<sup>8</sup> Although “expressive culture” is evidently considered of vital importance in the processes of globalization and in the political project of the European Union,<sup>9</sup> with the exception of European cultural policies developed and implemented by the EU institutions alongside the appeal made to culture throughout official discourses encouraging the creation of a European identity, neither theoreticians nor empirical researchers in political sciences have focused specifically on culture. Although numerous recent works approached convergent issues,<sup>10</sup> the linkage between culture, a common European identity, and the establishment of democracy has not been so far thoroughly analyzed.

For this reason, the first part of the paper argues the importance of culture for democracy in a general way, supporting this idea with examples of how the political role of the arts and culture was acknowledged throughout time in various European societies. The second part conceptualizes notions such as “culture,” “European cultural heritage,” etc., preparing the theoretical ground for focusing – in the third part – on the particular case of the EU, advancing the idea that culture can be used to shape, to negotiate, and to enhance political unity.

Finding theoretical support in the European literature, cultural policies elaboration, relevant official discourses and statistics, the article focuses specifically on demonstrating the major role of arts and culture in the process of forging a common European identity and thus reconstituting the democratic legitimacy. In addition, the paper is designed to contribute to emerging literature including international relations theory, completing recent efforts to bring culture, identity, and more individual-level analyses into international relations, EU literature on common identity issues, and philosophy of culture and social psychology, which in response to recent calls develop new methodologies of research in the area of culture and identity.

### **Culture as a political instrument**

It is largely consented that taking the political role of culture seriously will not only affect our notion of the cultural and the political but it may also alter our understanding of a democratic society. In Jostein Gripsrud’s opinion, by analyzing how culture influences the forming of public opinion and policies it is possible both “to elucidate the political system as such” and to better understand the modalities in which political democracy is tied to certain social and cultural conditions, discovering

that there is not only a relationship between culture and democracy but that “democracy is itself a cultural form.”<sup>11</sup>

We will start this argumentation by firstly admitting that “the strength and attraction of democracy lies not only in the advantages of its form of government but also in people’s daily sense of self-determination and meaning,” and that the governing of a democratic society will normally rely completely on its legitimacy in the eyes of citizens, i.e., their overall support of the system. In other words, this large support for the general social and political system in democracies is based on a widespread experience of qualities of life associated for instance with cultural pluralism and cultural activities, producing a sense of communality and involvement both for individuals and groups. Consequently,

...a pluralistic and dynamic musical, literary, theatrical and cinematic life should be seen as an important feature of democracy. A lively, many-sided cultural life, where all sorts of social experiences and opinions are represented and worked through – charming as well as disgusting, harmonious as well as conflicting, liberal as well as authoritarian – makes democracy something noticeable in daily life, in the very air we breathe.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, the potential of various forms of culture to persuade, seduce, indoctrinate, rouse, incite, or even silence listeners was acknowledged, still being used to advance agendas of power or protest. For example, music’s cultural, political, and historical scope was carefully explored, continuing to be employed to convey political ideology in very different times and regions of the Globe: from the Soviet Union to apartheid-era South Africa, from Mao's China, and modern day North Korea approaching topics from the propagandistic popular song to civil war-era USA; from hegemonic processes in the folklorization of indigenous dance in Mexico to postcolonial musical efforts to reclaim ethnic heritage in Serbia, Bolivia, and Barbados; from punk music as a means of establishing new cultural identities for women in the UK to the subversion of racial stereotypes through Trinidadian music in the USA; music was used as a tool of popular resistance in modern day Iran as its recording and broadcast was subjected to governmental control in pre-unification East Germany or to strategies of surveillance and power relations within audio technologies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>13</sup>

And this is only one example telling of arts’ importance for fundamental social conditions, in particular the formation of identities and social groups, ranging from teenagers to the working class, artists, intellectual elite and political leaders. As we have seen, the sociality of arts may of course also appear in directly political forms, as in political songs, hymns, literature, and poetry on the left or right. But arts as such function primarily in areas we first and foremost experience as existentially

important. And this is precisely where we find the most important and overlooked aspect of culture's social role; in this lies its enormous attractiveness and power.

On the other hand, culture is no longer "conflated with institutional norms, bracketed off as a variable or viewed as a vague umbrella term," but instead "traverses all parts of the social world – including state and society, being the source of consensus."<sup>14</sup> The role of culture in the trajectory of the national societies can be clearly observed and analyzed at the state level, where elites – the personification of their society's culture – have the chance to lead the society, moving from fragmentary, contradictory, uncritical everyday conceptions of the world in society to the opinions expressed and promoted by organic intellectuals – such as political parties, trade unions and employers' associations – who represented and stemmed from each social group. Gramsci, who in his *Cultural Writings* used to focus on culture as arts, in an earlier work perspicuously defined culture as being "the exercise of thought, acquisition of general ideas, habit of connecting causes and effects," describing the art of politics as the intermediary between everyday life and philosophy, which enables elite common sense to be relatively coherent and sophisticated without being abstract or disconnected from the "real world."<sup>15</sup>

The conceptualization of culture captures how the thoughts humans hold about the world are shaped and given content to, plus how national institutions are produced and reproduced over time. Moreover, in numerous European societies, markets are understood more in terms of the production and flow of signs than simply the selling of goods, and therefore cultural knowledge and skills are placed at the centre of both production and consumption. In fact it is argued that the extent of this sense of increasing "enculturation of markets" can be summarized through the term "dematerialization," a word that covers developments such as: a shift from the production of material to nonmaterial goods; the greater non-material consumption even of material goods, in the form of "commodity aesthetics" and "sign values" constructed through design and promotion; the increasing symbolic mediation of goods through objectified cultural forms (advertising, media, retail spectacles).<sup>16</sup> This integration of the cultural and the economic, be it through the culturalization of the economy, or the marketizing of the cultural, became a characteristic of democratic societies; differently put, the culture industries are instrumental in the culturalization of postindustrial societies. Generally conceived as inclusive of the arts – art, literature, theatre, music – the industries of mass media, cinema, radio, television, print, more recently the Internet and often sectors such as advertising,

marketing and product branding, are nowadays central to the production and reproduction of cultural signs, symbols and discourses.

Furthermore, democratic societies unanimously recognize the integral role of culture in the trajectories of national politics and economies, acknowledging also that culture is embodied in all human social practice and thus traversing all parts of the social world – including state and society. As Michael Richardson wrote, because culture “is the totality of all that characterizes us, it includes the structures and institutions we fashion [and] the concepts and ideas we develop.”<sup>17</sup>

However the perseverance of democratic societies cannot be taken for granted; for democracy to persist and become consolidated, it is usually not enough to enjoy favourable internal and external structural conditions; nor is it enough to skilfully engineer institutions. With the passage of years and an increasing body of empirical insight, it has become evident that it is difficult to understand the trajectories of democracy-building without considering not only political culture but everyday popular culture also. This hardly comes as a surprise because modern political science has been aware of a close interaction between democratic institutions and culture for several decades already. As Almond and Verba have argued since the 1960s, democracies are only able to persist if they enjoy a political culture which is congruent to and supportive of its democratic structures.<sup>18</sup> This congruence between democracy and culture has increasingly been acknowledged by analysts of democratic transitions and more precisely by the key actors of the European integration process. However, concepts such as *culture* and *democracy* are multi-dimensional and thus not prone to mere generalization. For example, according to Christopher Brewin, the attribute of culture can be divided into two parts: *Kultur* – what is difficult for political authorities to change, from cuisine, language, religion, music, sport, common experience of war, the recent commitment to democracy and the rule of law and *Bildung* – what political authorities teach through schoolbooks, or by (dis)incentives – such as knowledge of foreign languages, a view of history, participation in the political or cultural process, toleration, rights to health-care and education.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, national identity has often been forged, or manipulated through the work of “awakeners” and intellectuals, rather than coming directly from the people. The process, as described by Ernest Gellner, has involved the gathering together and interpretation of demotic culture, such as folk music and dance, folk costume and oral literature to formalize a nascent national culture.<sup>20</sup> This process of ethnification has been common throughout the region of Eastern and Central Europe since the 1820s. The role of intellectuals in forging identity based upon demotic culture remains an important phenomenon at the beginning of this new

millennium and can in the same measure be applicable to the process of forging a common identity at European level; this particular aspect will be analyzed in the next section of this article, focusing first on several theoretical conceptualizations.

### **Rediscovering culture as arts**

The conversation about culture that anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, lately politicians and European officials have conducted over the years and continue to carry out about whatever it is that makes culture necessary shows some sign of the importance of this concept. Moreover, given the different ways in which cultural arguments are used in the EU and culture's force, whether political, social or economic in shaping policies and public opinion in the EU, an assessment of its impact is timely.

The notion of *culture* is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for several important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several diverse and incompatible systems of thought.<sup>21</sup>

One classic definition of culture was provided by Edward Tylor in 1871 considering it as being "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."<sup>22</sup> Decades later, Kroeber and Kluckhohn stated that

...culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.<sup>23</sup>

The same emphasis on the internalization of historical conditions that are learned or being oriented towards characterises the definition of Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, who consider that culture has been distinguished from the other elements of action by the fact that it is "intrinsically transmissible from one action system to another by learning and by diffusion."<sup>24</sup>

Merely a generation ago culture was equivalent to the deeper and more complex expressions of high culture as art. In many circles this selective ambition still prevails: art represents the ultimate antennae, with the aid of which new mentalities and sensibilities are revealed. However,

the old division between high culture, middle culture and low culture is no longer valid and what previously used to be high culture has been “relegated to one of many subcultures while an amalgam of public mainstream culture has assumed the role of the all-encompassing popular culture.”<sup>25</sup>

The original meaning of *culture* as something unique and strictly related to one unique language has suddenly been transformed into a transnational meaning where the unique element is institution-bound rather than language-specific. This more open, trans-national and pluralistic view of culture is accompanied by the equivalence of cultural policy with other sectors of society in terms of usefulness. In this sense the arts are primarily a source of employment and only secondarily the means for bolstering the spiritual approach to any kind of productive activity. In parallel with this instrumental orientation of cultural policy to economic goals, we can observe a growing interest in the regional dimension of culture that emphasizes traditions and cultural heritage.

From a different perspective, culture is that part of national collective identities that makes them “thick” and durable. Collective identities can emerge and can be constructed in different ways. In Europe, the concept of the nation state is the predominant model of a political collective identity - and this identity is foremost a cultural one. The feeling of belonging of the individual citizen, the creation of a common identity has been achieved by the assumption of a common national culture. Thus, in Europe, collective identities are traditionally understood as cultural identities.

Europe is the region of the world with the highest diversity of different languages, ethnic groups and nations, cultures and forms of life to be found in what is, comparatively speaking, an extremely restricted area. All these factors contribute and have always contributed to the shaping of European identity, either in partnership or in conflict. Yet from ancient times until today, Europe has at the same time always perceived itself as a unit in cultural terms; As Ortega y Gasset so correctly and precisely observed in his major work *The Revolt of the Masses*,

...were we to take stock of our intellectual assets today, it would come to light that most of these assets stem, not from our respective fatherlands, but from our common European heritage. Within us all, the European by far surpasses the German, Spaniard or Frenchman...Four-fifths of our internal assets are common European resources.<sup>26</sup>

It is precisely due to the role of a common heritage that a contribution could be made to European identity, since (on a national level) the definition of a common heritage has been one of the classic instruments to manifest or build an identity.

Cultural heritage and cultural history provide the region with identity and a separate character. The EU has called the tune for this instrumental angle on culture by emphasizing its role in the renewal of the economic base. The significance of culture for employment, export and economic added value has been turned into a European Union doctrine making one thing certain: regardless of the instruments employed, a primary cultural policy goal at European level today is the creation of a shared cultural sub-stratum which is identified as European and as such helps foster the consolidation of a European identity. Following this line of reasoning, the approach in this third section of the paper – an empirical and a pragmatic one – focuses primarily on demonstrating the importance of culture for the emergent European identity.

### **Restating the role of culture in promoting European identity**

The European integration is no longer thought of as (solely) the rational by-product of economic prosperity and legal harmonization; rather it represents a political process, entailing “an element of identity or belonging.”<sup>27</sup> European policy-makers have also come to view European integration as a cultural process and culture as a political instrument for furthering the construction of European identity. As Shore notes, for different actors within the European policy community and intelligentsia, the European Union’s democratic deficit is “ultimately rooted in a deeper cultural deficit” and European identity should for that reason rely on “an open vision of culture as an ongoing process of dialogue, underlining the awareness of European elements as balancing both nationalism and globalization.”<sup>28</sup>

From this viewpoint, the references in Article 167 of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union<sup>29</sup> to a “common cultural heritage,” the “culture and history of the European peoples” and to “the cultural heritage of European significance” confirm the argument advanced in this article and acknowledged more and more by EU officials: an increased identification with a distinct cultural area fosters support for the EU as a political entity. As we have mentioned in the introductory part, the conviction that culture is capable of playing an integrative role has begun to find reflection in treaties, declarations or official Community documents. From the Council’s 2002 Resolution on the Role of Culture in the Development of the EU, stating that “the common dimensions and mutual knowledge of cultures in Europe, in a society based on freedom, democracy, solidarity and respect for diversity are essential components of citizens support for and participation in European integration,”<sup>30</sup> and continuing with the European Union Program *Culture 2007*, it is possible to formulate – adapting Jan Figel words – the reason for an increased emphasis on this notion: culture creates the conditions so that “the

peoples and countries of Europe fall in love again with the process of integration.”<sup>31</sup> And it is exactly on such shared cultural values or practices that a specifically European identity could be constructed. As Paul Kearns notes in the concluding chapter of the volume *Culture and the EU Law*, distinct European characteristics can be identified: in the arts for example European classical composers have always written to common rules of structure and harmony; European playwrights have regularly drawn on Greek drama; there have always been distinctively European visual-artistic canons.<sup>32</sup> In a similar way, Anthony Smith mentions a common European cultural heritage centered on “Roman law, Judeo-Christian ethics, Renaissance humanism and individualism, Enlightenment rationalism and science, artistic classicism and romanticism and traditions of civil rights and democracy.”<sup>33</sup>

Other authors have reduced complexity, subsuming “the endless wealth” of our common “internal assets,” of what we have in common intellectually and culturally under two complexes: the common Christian origins of European ethics and culture, and our common intellectual history (*Geistesgeschichte*), history of political ideas and constitutional history.<sup>34</sup> It is generally approved that the common Christian and intellectual heritage of Europe is an inescapable reality, determining our ethics and everyday morals; nevertheless it is still necessary to achieve a better understanding of the meaning of European culture and to give it a political reality. A simple list of European common values is not a satisfactory basis for the European unity, even if the Charter of Fundamental Rights contained in the Constitutional Treaty of the Union gives this impression.

The essence of the cultural argument is that communities united by a shared language or history ought to rule themselves as political entities. Culture can be used to promote either unification or secession, and the unification of Germany justified in terms of *Kultur* (a single language and literature, music and art) stands as example. Bearing this in mind, I argue that European identity, hence unity, must be based on a common culture and I am not referring here neither to the argument of a common family of Indo-Europeans languages that excludes Hungarians, Basques or Finns, nor to identifying Europe with Christianity since there are more Christians outside Europe and some 15 million Muslims in the EU alone, but to high as well as popular, everyday culture. The data of the 2011 Eurobarometer reveals first of all that more than half (53%) of the Europeans surveyed feel attached to the European Union and second of all that democratic values, common history and culture are noticeably the leading elements that shape the common European identity. As shown in the table below, the most important component, each mentioned by around a third of the respondents, are the euro (36%) and democratic

values (32%), the next two defining elements being geography and common culture (each mentioned by 22%).

*In your opinion, which of the following are the two most important elements that make up a European identity?*

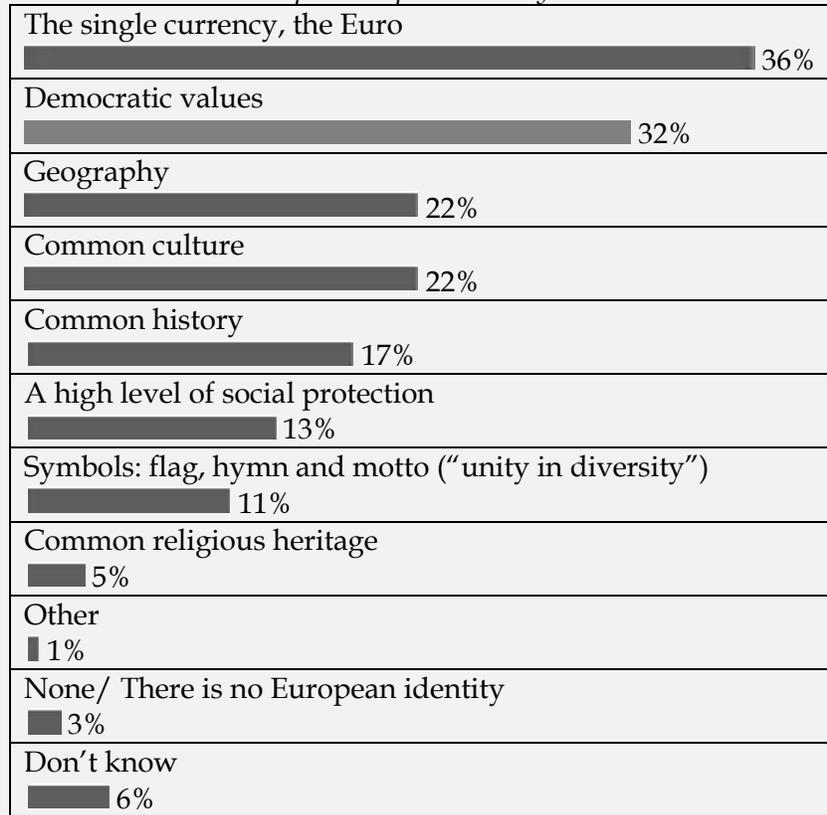


Figure 1: Special Eurobarometer 346 -New Europeans- April 2011

Culture is an important determinant of the European identity, representing the opportunity to learn second languages, to travel, to interact with people in other member countries and thus to be more open to the EU.<sup>35</sup> As culturalisation levels rise and education increases generally, people will be more interested in the cultural story of being with other Europeans, or, as Fligstein formulates in *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe*, while the number of educated people increases, the European identity becomes more widespread. From this angle, what defines Europe is a long-term pluralistic cultural project without any established borders with other civilizations, "free to borrow from and interact with cultures emanating from the Maghreb, Latin America, the Mali-Senegalese axis, or Eastern Mediterranean regions without compromising or diminishing any established image of a European cultural dimension."<sup>36</sup>

In opposition to several authors who consider that the common cultural heritage of Europe and its unity of ideas, to which European politicians so gladly allude, are evidently insufficient to breathe life into

the European Union in terms of political union, this article suggests that even if the cultural identity of Europe does not in fact lead to a political identity, it anyway promotes a unity of action capable of fostering a European identity. The main arguments reside in the obvious Europeanization of everyday cultural trends, fashions, in arts, sports, music and leisure-time activities. The lifestyles, clothes, consumer behaviour and the everyday standards of the French, the Swedes, the British, the Germans and the Greeks are becoming increasingly indistinguishable and a common European everyday life culture is unmistakable. This is particularly evident among the younger generations for whom the dismantling of national borders throughout the EU no longer represents an achievement, but the natural starting position for their individual freedom of movement throughout Europe.

Cultural identity once preceded the formation of the plethora of European nations with national identities and appears today as a necessary precondition within the current process of European political integration. In opposition to Veen,<sup>37</sup> who regards it as a paradox that the much disputed thesis of a cultural identity will give rise to a specifically political identity for Europe, our consideration is that the identity of Europe is not only rooted in history, but it is also a living reality in our high-culture as well as in everyday culture.

### **Conclusion**

The common European cultural space cannot be formally defined and delimited; as a series of authors suggested in the volume *La dimension spirituelle et culturelle de l'Europe*, its boundaries are "necessarily blurred," not because of our ignorance, but because the European culture, and in fact Europe itself is not a *fact*, it is a *mission* and a *process*.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Europe and its culture depend on a constant confrontation with what is new, what is different, what is foreign and possible answers to the question of European identity will thus be significantly provided by the European culture, an open space in constant need of redefining.

Nowadays more than ever, the identity of Europe is a matter to be negotiated by its citizens and institutions, to be culturally and politically constructed. In this sense it is necessary that the EU and its citizens acknowledge the role and the influence that culture exerts on political and democratic conditions so that they maintain and impose their values as the basis of a common identity in the face of a constantly changing world. Following this line of thought, the current article represents a step forward in advancing one major thesis: the new sources of common identity, democracy and political unity can be found in the European culture. At the same time, the aim is to find implicit answers to a more general question: what is the role that culture and cultural values play in

the creation of European identity? What is European culture? What is European identity? These are questions that should always be restated. As long as Europe will be part of the present, such questions will never find a definitive or certain answer.

*Acknowledgements:* Investing in people! Ph.D. scholarship, Project co-financed by the Sectoral Operational Program for Human Resources Development 2007 – 2013, Priority Axis 1, “Education and training in support for growth and development of a knowledge based society,” Key area of intervention 1.5: Doctoral and post-doctoral programs in support of research, Contract no.: POSDRU/88/1.5/S/60185 – “Innovative doctoral studies in a Knowledge Based Society,” Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Michael Bruter, *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity* (London: Palgrave, 2005), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> According to Jerome Bourdan, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” in *International Communication Gazette*, 69 (2007): 263-280; See for example Council of Ministers, “Informal meeting of the Ministers of Culture, 26 and 27 June 2005, the Luxembourg Presidency” (press release).

<sup>4</sup> Kurt Biedenkopf, “Making Culture count,” in *La dimension spirituelle et culturelle de l'Europe*, ed. Kurt Biedenkopf et al., (Vienne/Bruxelles: l'Institut de Sciences Humaines, 2004), 23-24.

<sup>5</sup> José Manuel Barroso, “Europe and Culture,” Opening Address, Berliner Konferenz für europäische Kulturpolitik, 26 November 2004, 12, accessed December 4, 2011,

[http://www.berlinerkonferenz.net/uploads/media/Jose\\_Manuel\\_Barroso\\_President\\_of\\_the\\_EU\\_Commission\\_Portugal.pdf](http://www.berlinerkonferenz.net/uploads/media/Jose_Manuel_Barroso_President_of_the_EU_Commission_Portugal.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Romano Prodi, “Address by Mr Prodi to Parliament, 14 September,” in *Bulletin of the European Union*, 9 (1999), 2.2.1, accessed December 5, 2011, <http://europa.eu/bulletin/en/9909/p202001.htm>; José Manuel Barroso, “Europe and Culture,” 2; EurActiv, “Barroso highlights Europe’s ‘cultural dimension,’” 20 November 2006, accessed December 5 2011, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/opinion/barroso-highlights-europe-cultural-dimension/article-159838>. The idea of “A Soul For Europe” is not new though. It was for example expressed by French philosopher Ernest Renan in the late 19th century.

<sup>7</sup> Jonna Johansson, *Learning To Be(come) A Good European: A Critical Analysis of the Official European Union Discourse on European Identity and Higher Education* (Linköping: Linköping Studies in Arts and Science, 2007), 130-156.

<sup>8</sup> See Biedenkopf et al., *La dimension spirituelle et culturelle de l'Europe*.

<sup>9</sup> Jostein Gripsrud, "The Cultural Dimension of Democracy," in *Media, Democracy and European Culture*, ed. Ib Bondebjerg and Peter Madsen (Bristol: Intellect Ltd, 2008), 197-213.

<sup>10</sup> Riva Kastoryano, *An Identity for Europe. The Relevance of Multiculturalism in EU Construction* (New-York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Elisabeth Prügl and Markus Thiel, *Diversity in the European Union* (New-York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe*, 2008; Leonidas Donkis, *Troubled Identity and the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Gripsrud, "The Cultural Dimension of Democracy," 198.

<sup>12</sup> Gripsrud, "The Cultural Dimension of Democracy," 199.

<sup>13</sup> These examples are largely explored in Annie J. Randall, *Music, Power and Politics*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), a work that presents thirteen different cultural perspectives on a single theme: the concept of music as a site of socio-political struggle.

<sup>14</sup> Ian Bruff, *Culture and Consensus in European Varieties of Capitalism: A "Common Sense" Analysis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 9.

<sup>15</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 331.

<sup>16</sup> Don Slater and Fran Tonkiss, *Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 179-180.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Richardson, *The Experience of Culture* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2001), 2.

<sup>18</sup> Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

<sup>19</sup> Christopher Brewin, "European Identity," in *Why Europe? Problems of Culture and Identity, Volume 1: Political and Historical Dimensions*, ed. Joe Andrew et al. (Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), 55.

<sup>20</sup> Ernest Gellner, *The Psychoanalytic Movement: The Cunning of Unreason* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), 58-62.

<sup>21</sup> Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 87.

<sup>22</sup> Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: Gordon Press, 1974), 1.

<sup>23</sup> Al Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 357.

<sup>24</sup> Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *Toward a general theory of action* (New York: Harper and Row), 1951, 159.

<sup>25</sup> Liana Giorgi et al., "The European Union as a Community of Values," in *Democracy in the European Union. Towards the emergence of a public sphere*, ed. Liana Giorgi et al. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 149.

<sup>26</sup> Jossé Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1930), 148.

<sup>27</sup> Giorgi et al., "The European Union as a Community of Values," 150.

<sup>28</sup>Christopher Shore, "The cultural policies of the European Union and cultural diversity," in *Differing diversities. Cultural policy and cultural diversity*, ed. Tony Bennett (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2001), 109.

<sup>29</sup>Former 151 of the EC Treaty; for the post-Lisbon consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU see Marianne Dony, *Les nouveaux traités européens* (Bruxelles: Editions de l'ULB, 2008).

<sup>30</sup>Council Resolution of 21 January 2002 on the Role of Culture in the Development of the European Union, OJ [2002] C 032/2.

<sup>31</sup>Jan Figel, quoted in CEC, "Love Again with Europe, says Figel," accessed December 7, 2011,

[http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/events/current/cult\\_launch\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/events/current/cult_launch_en.htm).

<sup>32</sup>Paul Kearns, "Culture and European Union Law: The Exploration of an Interface," in *Culture and European Union Law*, ed. Rachael Craufurd Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 385-406.

<sup>33</sup>Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1991), 11.

<sup>34</sup>Christopher Brewin, "European Identity," 55-73.

<sup>35</sup>Fligstein supports his thesis on a simple and common sense example: the creation of a European football league would spark more Europe-wide interest in games being played across Europe. Players from all countries would be playing on the different teams. Games would be televised, people would have the opportunity to watch their favorite national players even when they played on foreign teams, and they would travel more to support their teams.

<sup>36</sup>Giorgi et al., "The European Union as a Community of Values," 149.

<sup>37</sup>Veen, "Towards a European Identity: Policy or Culture?" 42.

<sup>38</sup>Biedenkopf et al., *La dimension spirituelle et culturelle de l'Europe*, 10.

## References:

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Barroso, Jose Manuel. "Europe and Culture." Opening Address, Berliner Konferenz für europäische Kulturpolitik, 26 November 2004. Accessed December 5, 2011.

[http://www.berlinerkonferenz.net/uploads/media/Jose\\_Manuel\\_Barroso\\_President\\_of\\_the\\_EU\\_Commission\\_Portugal.pdf](http://www.berlinerkonferenz.net/uploads/media/Jose_Manuel_Barroso_President_of_the_EU_Commission_Portugal.pdf).

Biedenkopf, Kurt. "Making Culture Count," in *La dimension spirituelle et culturelle de l'Europe*, edited by Kurt Biedenkopf, Bronislaw Geremek et Krzysztof Michalski, 23-24. Vienne/Bruxelles: l'Institut de Sciences Humaines, 2004.

Bourdon, Jerome. "Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul," in *International Communication Gazette*, 69 (2007): 263-280.

Brewin, Christopher. "European Identity," in *Why Europe? Problems of Culture and Identity, Volume 1: Political and Historical Dimensions*, edited

- by Joe Andrew, Malcolm Crook and Michael Waller, 55-73. Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000.
- Bruff, Ian. *Culture and Consensus in European Varieties of Capitalism: A "Common Sense" Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Bruter, Michael. *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, London: Palgrave, 2005.
- Bugge, Peter. "A European Cultural Heritage? Reflections on A Concept and A Programme," in *Rethinking Heritage – Cultures and Politics in Europe*, edited by Robert Peckham Shannan, 61-73. London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2003.
- Donkis, Leonidas. *Troubled Identity and the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Figel, Jan. quoted in CEC, "Love Again with Europe, says Figel." Accessed December 7, 2011.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/events/current/cult\\_launch\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/portal/events/current/cult_launch_en.htm).
- Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Gellner, Ernest. *The Psychoanalytic Movement: The Cunning of Unreason*. London: Fontana Press, 1993.
- Gill, Graeme. *Democracy and Post-Communism: Political change in the post-communist world*. London/New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Giorgi, Liana, Niki Rodousakis, Marisol Garcia and Martin Peterson. "The European Union as a Community of Values," in *Democracy in the European Union. Towards the emergence of a public sphere*, edited by Liana Giorgi, Ingmar von Homeyer and Wayne Parsons, 135-156. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from Cultural Writings*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Gripsrud, Jostein. "The Cultural Dimension of Democracy," in *Media, Democracy and European Culture*, edited by Ib Bondebjerg and Peter Madsen, 197-213. Bristol: Intellect Ltd, 2008.
- Johansson, Jonna. *Learning To Be(come) A Good European: A Critical Analysis of the Official European Union Discourse on European Identity and Higher Education*. Linköping: Linköping Studies in Arts and Science, Dissertation No. 417, 2007.
- Kastoryano, Riva. *An Identity for Europe: The Relevance of Multiculturalism in EU Construction*. New-York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Kearns, Paul. "Culture and European Union Law: The Exploration of an Interface," in *Culture and European Union Law*, edited by Rachael Craufurd Smith, 385-406. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

- Kroeber, Al and Clyde Kluckhohn. *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963 [1952].
- Oquendo, R. Angel. "Deliberative Democracy in Habermas and Nino," in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 22 (2002): 189-226.
- Ortega Y Gasset, Jossé. *The Revolt of the Masses*. New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1930.
- Parsons, Talcott and Edward Shils. *Toward a general theory of action*. New York: Harper and Row, 1951.
- Prugl, Elisabeth and Markus Thiel. *Diversity in the European Union*. New-York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Richardson, Michael. *The Experience of Culture*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2001.
- Ross, Marc Howard. "Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis," in *Culture and Politics*, edited by Lane Crothers and Charles Lockhart, 39-70. New York: St.Martin's Press, 2000.
- Shore, Christopher. "The cultural policies of the European Union and cultural diversity", in *Differing diversities: Cultural policy and cultural diversity*, edited by Tony Bennett, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2001.
- Slater, Don and Fran Tonkiss. *Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity, 2001.
- Smith, Anthony. *National Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.
- Tylor B. Edward. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*. London: Gordon Press, 1974.
- Veen, Hans-Joachim. "Towards a European Identity: Policy or Culture?" in *Why Europe? Problems of culture and identity*, edited by Joe Andrew, Malcolm Crook and Michael Waller, 41-47. Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.