Svetlana Hristova, Thomas Knubben,
Katarzyna Plebańczyk & Pekka Vartiainen (eds.)

SHARING DIVERSITY

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Education and Culture DG
Lifelong Learning Programme

SOUTH WEST UNIVERSITY
"NEOFIT RILSKI"

HUMAK

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APPLIED SCIENCES

SHARING DIVERSITY

**Culture as a Resource for Future Europe.
Cultural Policy and its Dimensions in Four European Countries:
Bulgaria, Finland, Germany and Poland.**

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FOREWORD

The increased cultural exchanges within the European Union have created a strong demand for international academic experts in the field of cultural management. Enlargement and integration of the European Union is changing also the field of cultural management. The globalization, changes in the demography, changes in the cultural policy, changes in the financing of culture are all creating a need for updating the education for cultural management. European culture is open to international competition and this multicultural environment is creating new challenges for those who are working in the cultural sector. This especially increases the skills needed to recognize the factors influencing cultural policy and the capability to analyse them.

In order to face these challenges and to train students and teachers to cope with the coming changes, four universities from different parts of Europe, from the North, East and South, created a project where these could be tested. These four universities were: Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg, (Germany), Humak University of Applied Sciences (Finland), Jagellonian University in Cracow, (Poland) and South-West University Blagoevgrad (Bulgaria). The aim of the Intensive Programme (IP) *Culture as a Creative Resource for Future Europe. Cultural Policy and its Dimension in Four European Countries: Finland, Germany, Bulgaria and Poland*, was to start cooperation between the four institutes educating the future professionals in the field of cultural management.

The intensive programme was partly funded by the ERASMUS Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union.

The current national situation of cultural management and practices are very different in all the participant countries. All the participants are experienced researchers of the field. They have been researching the topic both nationally and internationally.

The theoretical background for this IP course comes from the applied sciences developed in close cooperation with working life organisations

and institution operating in this field. By combining the national experiences and practices in cultural management education in all four participating countries, coming from different "directions" within Europe, it was possible to develop modules which help the future workers in the field of cultural management to be able to operate in the common cultural market of the European Union.

Also, while students were working during the programme in mixed groups (BA and MA level), they had a chance to widen their perspectives depending on the students educational background.

The innovative aspect of the project was to integrate the distance learning into the intensive period. This was done by a student centred method where different pedagogical tools (open distance learning, group work methods, classroom teaching, dialogic teaching, student guidance, e-learning etc.) were put in to practice. Each partner contributed a different national approach to the subject in order to educate students to be active participants in the cultural policy.

One of the innovative aspects of the project was the possibility for student's to extend their national views of the cultural manager's future working field to a more international level. This was also one of the challenges of the project work done by students that was included into project's curriculum.

The pedagogical aims of project were to familiarise each other's experiences and knowledge; to exchange knowledge and experiences between the four partners; to discuss the cultural policy in four different societies with different social and political backgrounds. The pedagogical objectives of the project were to inspire students to analyse and compare the situation in the four countries; to inspire students to think about their chance to work abroad in the future; on the basis of discussions, to elaborate on a working model for further scientific testing and use.

All in all, over 100 students and 30 teachers and experts from four countries took part to the project during its three years duration. Courses were held in Finland (2010), Bulgaria (2011) and Germany (2012), scientific papers, online-meetings, cultural excursions, field trips and meetings with experts were arranged in all three countries. Besides the teaching ma-

terial, articles were produced under two publications. The first one – *United in Diversity. Cultural Policy and its Dimensions*. Edited by Svetlana Hristova, Thomas Knubben & Pekka Vartiainen – was published by PH Ludwigsburg in 2011 and the second one being the one you are reading at this moment.

In this book our intention is to give you an overall view on those topics that were discussed and processed during our meetings in Bulgaria and Germany. Culture under hybridization and globalization, crises, challenges and chances that our European culture is facing at this very moment are dealt with in several articles. While the central pedagogical starting point of the whole project was to keep student in the centre, this book contains also an appendix where this perspective is presented in two articles. In both of these student's innovative and active participant is to be heard.

More information of the projects aims, results, content of the meetings in different countries and third party evaluations can be read on our web page: http://culturalpolicyip.wordpress.com/. From there you can also find a list of participants without whom this all would not have been possible at all. To all of these people we like to offer our sincere gratitude.

April 2013
Editors

HYBRID CULTURE: CULTURE IN TIMES OF GLOBALIZATION

Katarzyna Plebańczyk

A Time of Change –
A Short Introduction

We are living in a time of change, the time when we overvalue defined terms, norms and standards. The characteristic feature of the present day is that these changes are taking place fast and dynamically. They surprise and concern almost each area of our lives. This speed causes the disappearance of the natural flow from one generation to another. Change needs fast reaction within the same generation, and it cannot be stated that – they do not influence us and that we can live by the rules accepted before. We have to constantly adjust to new surroundings to avoid being excluded. We have sentimental attachment to things and events that were the absolute novelty to us not long ago – first mobile phones or the beginning of the Internet.

The changes are both positive and negative. Globalization, The European Union and Facebook, Internet availability, all are putting pressure on innovation. All these cause the unique hybrid of the modern world, the hybrid of modern culture that together with other life areas are looking for new and attractive forms of media

Also, the culture audience is changing – it is more active, willing to participate and make decisions. It uses modern media to express its opinions or to specify its expectations in order to "correct" the culture and show that the ability of using new technologies is not enough just to be surprised.

This text is only an initial showing of the problem in the context of culture management. It focuses on:

- the showing / presentation of the evolution of the concept of culture and meaning of the term

- the attractiveness of modern forms of communication - the use of multimedia from the one side and the return to the roots of the other.

The modern understanding of culture, expanding the meaning of the term, hybridity - also in the understanding of the relationship between the sender and recipient of culture, has huge implications for the management and creation of cultural policy.

Culture – evolutions, re-definitions

Culture underwent the biggest evolution in the 20th century. There are as many definitions as there are people who have dealt with that problem – the encyclopaedia or other scientific sources give hundreds of possibilities. As a result, this defining a definition is a very ungrateful job as "there's nothing more undefined than this world's culture" (Herder 1962). The definition and the culture itself are something historical, something that as they develop they undergo different changes. Defining the culture is adjusted to times of trials and times of development of different fields of science. It is a distinctive feature for the function of the social life, and thus exposing more visible ways of evolution.

Starting with the primeval meaning of the word *colere* – tilling the soil, then *cultus* – faith as well as worshipping gods and ancestors, to *cultura animi* by Cyceron, the ancient history came up with the definition that is very close to this modern understanding. Cyceron named the spirit culture (*cultura animi*) philosophy that called people to social life, united them by the community of writing and speaking, taught good customs and traditions. "The man educating his intellect, caring for his intellectual development and cultivating, was becoming a 'cultural man', opposite to all those (...) who didn't want to brighten their minds" (Grad, Kaczmarek 1999).

The economy and social development were based on agriculture until around the 15th century. Geographical discoveries and travelling moved the borders as well as caused the development more based on trade and ex-

change that gave reasons to search and exploit new nature resources and thus outlets for these goods.

The Industrial revolution introduced crucial changes in society, economy and European politics and its beginning dates back between 18th and 19th century. The revolution was also supported by the invention of water wheels, weaving machines, the steam engine and as a result there came big furnaces to produce iron, production and assembly lines.

Gradually, the transition from craft to mass production was taking place. The development of mass production was becoming something natural, as well as the improvement of job methods and leaving agriculture behind to allow the industry development and the use of natural resources as products. It is important to state here that the result of those economic changes was also a social and cultural change, which introduced the definition of the industrial society, but also urbanization, systems of mass production, cheap labour and the heterogeneity of societies. The production had grown as well as the consumption; science was developing in the field of research allowing new technical solutions to become more common and yet, opening the doors for people to educate themselves.

The end of the 20th century brought many changes. Automation was becoming more common in production, it speeded up the whole process and as a result was slowly replacing man, that in the end forced people to move into the field of services, and thus increased the relation between a producer and a receiver who was no longer unnamed. The great industry was moving from one centralised production to small chains of manufacture being in relations with one another and connected by activities to meet the same needs (Silicon Valley in the USA). The service area was beginning to dominate in the creation of social prosperity and digital economy.

In that way, Ch. Jenks (1993) tried to organize understanding the culture by creating four categories:

- Mind cultivation and a way of thinking. Following the concept of Cyceron, the announcement of meanings for this definition appeared in a very similar figurative use, understood as a spirit-filled inside activity or as a group of products and norms. The cul-

ture became understood as a general condition of a mind. It connects with the idea of perfection, individual man's achievements, aims and aspirations or emancipation. Religion, metaphysics, and world view are included in that culture concept.

- Way of thinking. Culture in a social view is seen as people's way of life. This pluralistic and potentially democratic meaning of this definition is the subject of interest for sociologists, anthropologists, and particularly for the *culture studies* scientists. In this scope of culture, understood as a way of life, there should be included all elements important for the organization of a society such as law, authorities, customs, tradition and morality.
- Output and heritage. Culture as a descriptive and a precise category can be understood as a collective group of abilities and intellectual output as well as each society's material possession. Very often the culture is identified as a definition of institutions, devices or objects allowing for the promotion – culture infrastructure. The best examples here are knowing the nature i.e. technology and economy acquisition, as well as creative expression, literature and art, intellectual activity including cognition and science.
- Civilization. The word "civilization" comes from Latin *civis* and it means belonging to a group of specified properties which distinguished ancient from lower state of existence. This dominating European language convention levels the wide definition of culture and civilization, they are treated as synonyms. They can be used interchangeably as the opposition to something common, illiterate or fallen. The qualitative change of human possession. Culture includes everything that's outstanding (art, literature, music, unique personal excellence).

Social evolution in the context of culture development was summed up by Benedixen as "At first culture and economy were inseparably joined and dependant on each other. However, even then the signs of separation were becoming to be noticed. The descendant of young economy had already become independent. Today, the market economy has become a

scamp difficult to be controlled and yet, it is opposing the spirit that created it: middle-class society" (Benedixen 2001). It is this society that "on one hand, made rich cultural life possible, but on the other, considered the development and maintenance of market economy as fundamental for the existence", as a result the material prosperity had been systematically increasingly opposite to the spiritual development. Benedixen concludes that such social economic development separated culture and economy, but also the market economy created its own culture being focused on performance and using the same methods as a business activity and thus becoming profitable.

Recently, we have witnessed another change – the rapid development of the knowledge based economy. This definition is often used interchangeably with other popular and non-precise definitions such as: digital economy, chain economy, information society, digital, post-industrial or postmodern society, and many others. These definitions appear in the concepts of Beck, Giddens, Bauman or Castells.

This new economy – often called as one definition used by Florida "creative" – is something we can witness as it is evolving now. It is open, dynamically searching and using new solutions in different areas of life. It means leaving innovation understood only as a technique and moving it into other areas such as architecture, advertising, art, model manufacture, education, film, entertainment, monuments and buildings maintenance, museology, music industry, new media, art presentation, publishing, radio and television, software, tourism, development of chain services, etc.

Modern fusions of those elements, found in J.A. Schumpter's theory (1st half of the 20th century) with the dynamic development of new technologies and common access to them (internet, electronic media), present the economy based on the ability of using chances created by the dynamically changing environment. Thus, the relations between the culture and economy, culture and business are becoming more important.

Economic changes influenced the development of branches connected with the culture – branches that influence forming and receiving arts of culture, especially in the audiovisual sector. In the 1990s they received the

status of the culture industry. And again they influenced, in a very significant way, the attempts to define the culture.

The consequences of change

To meet the needs of the European Union Statistical Office, the Leadership Group (LEG) on Cultural Statistics that was formed in 1997, which in the year 2000 was changed into the European Statistical Office – EUROSTAT. The group created a definition of the cultural sector to meet the needs of EUROSTAT and pointed out eight areas and six functions – it presumed that activities in the cultural sector are connected with preservation, creativity, production, distribution, business and education in all cultural services.

In 1997, the Leadership Group on Cultural Studies (LEG) was established, which, in 2000, was changed into the working group of the European Statistical Office (EUROSTAT). The group created a definition of the cultural sector – an assumption was made that activities in the cultural sector are related to preservation, creativity, production, promotion, trade and education in all goods and cultural services in the following areas:
- Cultural heritage;
- Books and press;
- Visual arts;
- Architecture;
- Archives;
- Libraries;
- Performing arts;
- Audio and audiovisual media/multimedia (http://epp.eurostat. ec.europa.eu/).

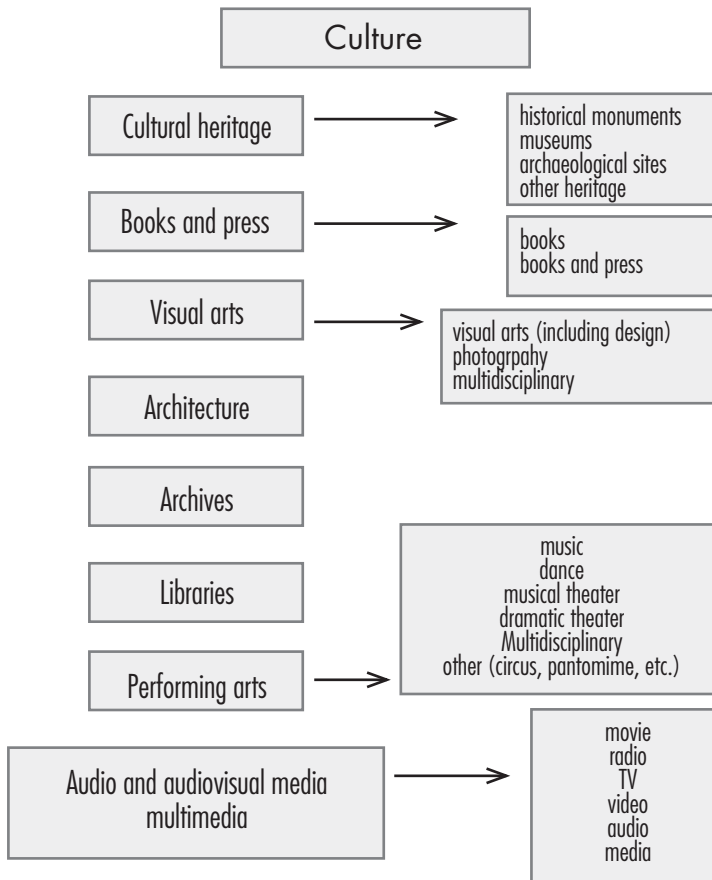**Figure 1: Cultural Sector**

This approach did not appear to be the most adequate, it did not include many areas earlier classified by UNESCO and thus caused big discussion as well as further attempts to find the best definition by the most significant subjects in this sector.

In 2006, the consulting company Kern European Affairs (KEA) was asked by the European Commission (Education and Culture) to do a

thorough study focused on the economic dimensions of the cultural sector in Europe. It was also to redefine the culture and measure the economic value of this sector. (KEA, 2006)

The KEA study, taking into account new "areas" of culture, introduced a division into:

- cultural sector – traditional areas of art and cultural industries, whose results are purely artistic, such as visual arts, performing arts, heritage, film and video, television, video games, music, books and press;
- creative sector – encompassing ideas and actions which use culture as an added value in production of non-cultural products; these are: architecture, design, advertisement and related industries (computers, mobile phones, MP3 players, etc.).

Culture definition

| cultural sector | → | visual arts, performing arts, heritage, film and video, television, video games, music, books, press |

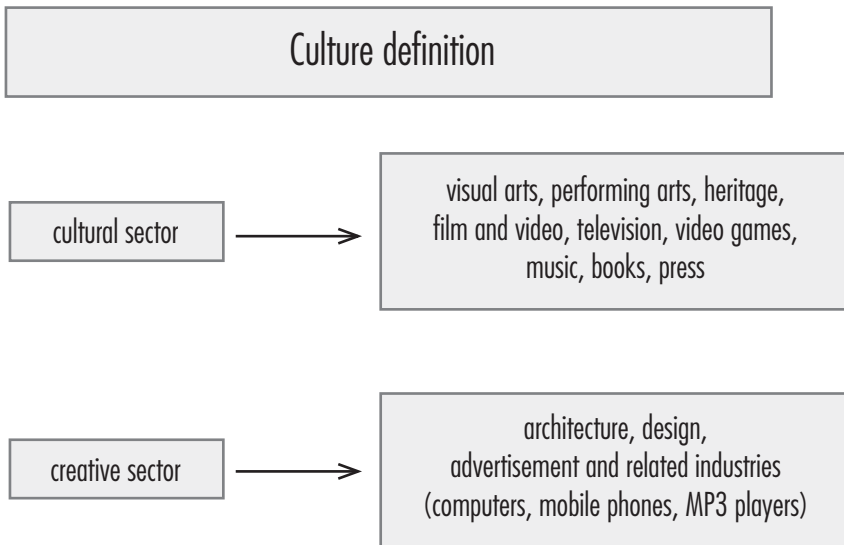| creative sector | → | architecture, design, advertisement and related industries (computers, mobile phones, MP3 players) |

Figure 2: Definition of Culture

Following this way of thinking, culture is characterized by:
- creativity
- references to the use of symbols
- property understood in many ways (Ginsburgh, Throsby 2006).

UNESCO (2009) identifies nine categories of cultural activity, which together equal culture in economic life. These are: heritage, printed materials and press, music, performing arts, audiovisual media, social-cultural activity, sport, games and the natural environment.

UNCTAD (2008) decided to polish up the creative sector and this includes four groups of definitions:
- Heritage – defined as the source of all forms of art and the basis for the creative sectors and the culture. There are two subcategories: traditional expression (i.e. craft, festivals) and cultural site (museums, libraries).
- Art – this group includes industries deriving directly from cultural activity and art. They are divided into: visual arts (painting, sculpture, photography) and performing arts (theatre, dance, music)
- Media – i.e. those that produce on the basis of their creative content. There are two subcategories: publishing and printed media as well as audiovisuals (film, television, radio)
- Functional creations – divided into three subcategories: design (interior design, fashion, graphic, jewellery, toys), new media (software, games), and creative services (architectural, advertising, recreational, exploratory)
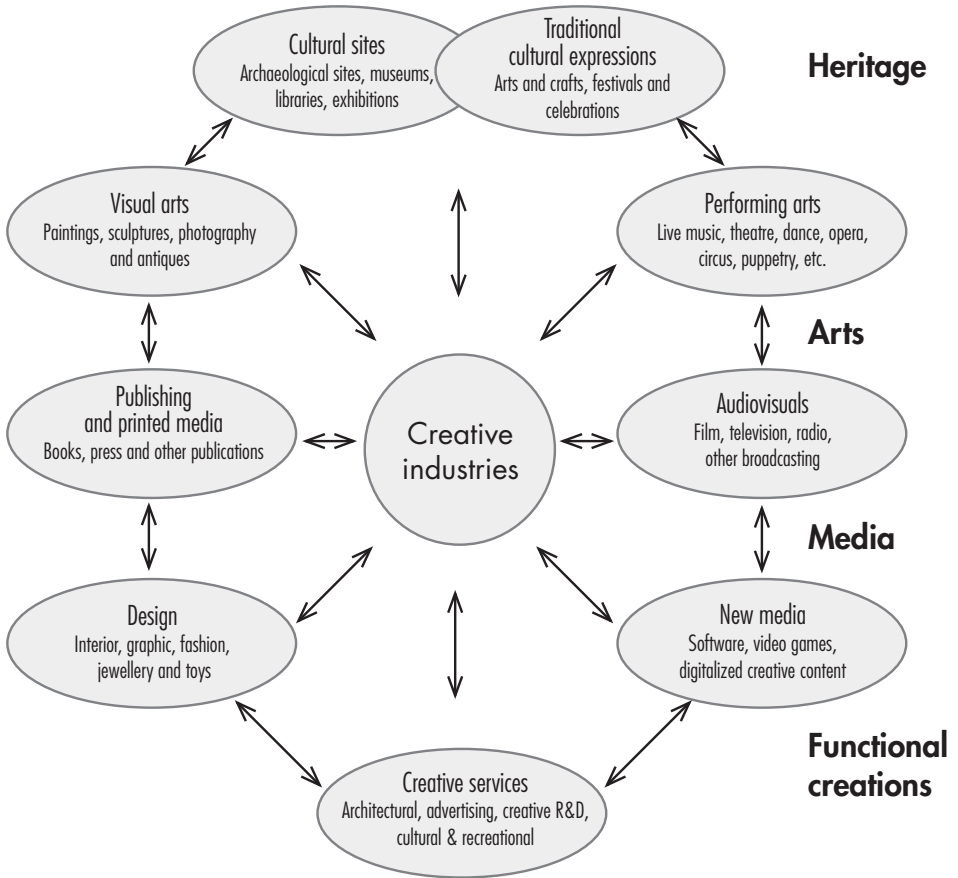
Figure 3: Classification of Creative Industries

Culture is everywhere. It functions in many areas of our lives, traditionally not associated with culture. The variety of an offer and an active receiver force us to view this whole sector a bit differently. The potential that the

culture brings in the economy has become noticed. The research commissioned by Kern European Affairs (KEA), apart from the attempt to redefine culture, analysed the measuring of the economic value of this sector. (KEA 2006). It showed that:

- In 2004 almost 6 million people worked in the sector, equivalent to more than 3 % of total employed population in EU25. Total employment in the EU decreased in 2002-2004, employment in the sector increased (about 2 %).
- The sector contributed to almost 3 % of EU GDP (gross domestic product) in 2003 – to compare:
  - Real estate activities accounted for 2 %
  - The food, beverage and tobacco manufacturing sector accounted for 2 %
  - The textile industry accounted for 0.5 %
  - The chemicals, rubber and plastic products industry accounted for 2 %.

The cultural offer - technology vs. a return to the roots

All culture definition attempts proved that other associated areas with the culture concern plenty of life areas and are impossible to be classified as one. Classification difficulties as well as the changes of pace show how difficult it is to form an objective analysis and to evaluate what we observe, above thoughts considering understanding the culture proved that very clearly. The problem of the culture marketing analysis, that shows how these who create that market find themselves in the present reality and how they participate in it, is as well difficult as finding the right definition for the word: culture. One of the most spectacular forms of today's culture is to invest in new technologies.

The dynamics of culture development shows itself in different aspects, e.g. in infrastructure investments i.e. buildings and their fittings. With the general need of contributing, when applying for subsidies – whether those national or received for the EU (15 – 50 % of investment cost), it is seldom that the non-governmental organizations or private culture institu-

tions use that possibility – it mainly concerns countries where the political system has changed over these last 20 years, including Poland. Also, the change of the system allowed the non-public sector to develop. As a result, there appeared private companies with their own culture of business and the non-governmental sector has developed, similarly to other European countries. It is important to mention that this market is still being shaped and it is far from being stable. Making it possible to apply for a project subsidy for both public and non-public institutions, allowed by most of those countries to enter the European Union structures. Thus, it is easy to notice big public investments in the infrastructure of culture. One very interesting example is the Rynek Underground permanent exhibition, as it shows the meaning of the infrastructure, which has been discussed, and the admiration for modern technology and multimedia.

The latter ones are more present in the culture and...at the same time they give rise to controversy. In museums, it is discussed for example in the *theatricalization* phenomenon, where there is too much use of modern techniques. The artificially created world in Rynek Underground permanent exhibition dominates the real world discovered by the archaeologists. There are gadgets similar to those from James Bond films – virtual projection screens, an artificial fire of Krakow, portraits of kings winking their eyes. They are lots of fun but lack in authenticity. On the other hand, such a museum is more attractive for its visitors. Preparation of the Rynek Underground permanent exhibition and building it was very crucial for the city authorities, together with the considerable financial outlays and years of archaeological work. It caused a big discussion on the sense and need of spending public money to create this virtual world, similar to the idea of entertainment parks and, as mentioned before on the theatricalization. However, considering it from a different angle, it has become one of the most profitable culture projects, significantly funding the small budget of the museum itself (formally it was one of the many branches of the Historical Museum of Krakow).

Another example of the common use of new technologies is cinema. Across the whole world, there can be noticed this wide expansion of modern multi-screen cinemas called *multiplex*, which can usually be found lo-

cated near big shopping malls. At the same time, small traditional cinemas are being displaced.

Despite the global economic downturn following 2008, world feature film production increased. Indeed, production increased by 27,8 % between 2005 and 2009. In 2009, five countries had unmatched levels of production volume: India, Nigeria, the United States, Japan and China (in descending order), accounting for 54,4 % of world production (UNESCO 2012). And though Hollywood studios are not the biggest producer, they are still the most profitable in this business. But behind it there is a whole big industry, in a strong position, imposing their own rules onto others. Hollywood studios, though not directly, control the out coming product right from the beginning, i.e. from an idea to getting profits coming from all around-film activities (CDs, gadgets, costumes, using images, etc.). They control and impose their own standards. The owners of small cinemas think it is the result of dishonest competition e.g. restrictions put on small cinemas by film distributors, introducing films only in a digital form (most of big studios in Hollywood do that). Playing a movie using digital technology requires professional and expensive equipment as well as following set rules. The best examples are shown in the newest trends in using this new technology, i.e. cinemas that show films in 4D (often called 5D) where besides 3-dimentionality they allow to feel movement, smell and touch. Smart Seat is responsible for the most of them. There are very few films produced using this technology and they usually last only a few minutes.

Today the cinema itself has a hybrid form – we are witnessing the change of its function. i.e. only showing films – there is live broadcast and a re-broadcast of concerts, operas from the very well-known places in the world (e.g. New York Metropolitan Opera, Bolshoi Theatre), culture events, music, sport or religious events. The cinema is coming back to its roots as if to justify the use of technological possibilities - times when it copied a theatre offering complex services – film projections, restaurants and a widely understood social life.

New technologies are sometimes used in theatres. One of the examples is a Polish musical about Pola Negri, a famous actress who became popu-

lar in Hollywood in 1920s and 1930s. The musical is called *Polita* (a bit like the famous *Evita*, Andrew Lloyd Webber musical from 1977 and its famous film adaptation from 1996). It advertises itself as the first performance in the world to have used 3D technology. The stage scenery is alive, and we can watch the actress travelling by a real ship to America through the Atlantic Ocean, we see and hear the swoosh of surf, seagulls making their noise. The performance was staged by a private theatre, which spent a great deal of money on it. However, the situation is a bit different here than when we think of a museum or a cinema. Financial outlays and maintenance costs of a performance are too high and that was one reason why the theatre quickly fell into financial problems.

Traditional performing arts such as theatre, opera and the philharmonic use new technologies with a little bit of a distance, they rarely use them in such a spectacular way as in the example described above. The average receiver does not always notice this transition from traditional analogue technology to the digital one in the context of light or sound because they do not influence that much the final results of the performance. Modern technologies as a form of media undoubtedly make the receiving more attractive but at the same time arouse controversy. In present diverse and hybrid culture, we can notice quite the opposite tendency. The fans of the analogue world, with no computers, are becoming more active. Beside the admiration for 3D or 4D cinemas, more people are becoming fans of dusty analogue tapes. One of the reactions to the development of the Multiplex is the transformation of some cinemas into art-houses, with a very ambitious repertoire and films hardly ever to be found in multiplexes. Apart from widely accessible digital photography, there are also fans of taking pictures with the use of a traditional photographic plate, connected with this whole ritual i.e. such as the development of film in a darkroom and the authenticity of a product, unchanged by any computer programmes. This world is becoming a luxury with all its consequences – availability and price.

In opposition to this phenomenon there occurs the world where we go back to nature and our own roots. It is something that in a more attractive way builds up our own identity. Craft, sculpture, ceramics- pottery, paint-

ing, performance, folk groups, and authentic folk – all these are being used during different workshops, and promotes culture heritage. Workshops on how to make paper with the use of old methods are very popular among people. Also this is because of this aspect of authenticity. The true revival is taking place in open-air ethnographic museums or archaeological sites, which present human achievements and possessions but also use forms to make the receiving more alive and attractive – in open-air ethnographic museums there's tilling the soil, farming, gardening, harvesting and there are provided workshops for visitors, too. Archaeological sites make life simulations – often with the use of new technologies.

Concluding remarks

This close relationship between a producer-sender and a receiver make it possible to improve mutual relations, to know and to accept a new culture receiver, who wants to know, touch and feel, who wants to contribute and participate. The hybrid of modern culture would not exist without the present receiver, also.

The research results, as for the participation in modern culture, show that the culture receiver is also a hybrid. And it is not about people being hungry for mass entertainment – though that offer is very rich. The receiver wants everything – to go to concert halls, theatres and operas. People like modernity but also they search for traditional forms. They go to a football match and at the same time to a rock concert, shanties or visit a dinosaur park (Plebańczyk 2006). And then such a culture receiver draws Mona Liza with a moustache and sends it out into the world to make others laugh and get inspired. It is worth mentioning, that the conversion of other people's achievements is nothing new in the culture – for years, we have witnessed the work of artists and creators having been used by others, references, comments, disputes. The change, however, is that these works of arts are being converted, processed, by the receivers themselves with the use of new technologies. They do not do it because they need to create new works of art, they do it to show their own skills and so called know-how. Thus, the receiver is not easily recognized by those creating the cul-

ture. It is hard to recognize what kind of promotion and marketing tools adjust to him. The followed standards created in the 19th century model of a cultural man are no longer valid.

As a result of EU research, many governments have changed their approach to culture and cultural policy. The main objectives of cultural policy today are:

- Culture as a source of economic growth and employment
- Culture as a source of innovation and creativity
- Redesigning cultural policy.

Finally, the words of G. Hagoort from Utrecht University, which appeared in a book published in 1992 conclude best. They prove that the world is constantly changing and, as 20 years ago, so now it is difficult to analyse and assess phenomena:

> So far the most important task for the one managing the culture was to create basic conditions for the process of creativity. These days this task is changing and requires a thorough observation of the process itself, the process of managing the culture as well as to develop further the cultural – political vision that would again define the place of the culture in the constantly changing (world) society.

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Thomas Knubben

On Heterogeneity and Hybridism in the Cultural Context

The concept of cultural diversity as it is frequently discussed focuses on the idea of heterogeneity, i.e. on the perception of differences and specificities between people and social groups. Discussing cultural diversity as we do nowadays on all levels of cultural policies from the small municipalities to the national discourses and moreover to the biggest global organisations as e.g. in the UNESCO or the World Trade Organisation therefore means first to accept that there are indeed cultural differences between different groups of societies and that we are not only speaking about cultural or national stereotypes.

We can try to demonstrate this phenomenon what I would call the fact of diversity, which includes differences in perception, attitudes, value system and finally behaviour on the example of the political strategies of Great Britain in the European context. In the actual financial crisis, which has become also a crisis or at least a big challenge for the EU, we have become several times witnesses of fundamental differences between Great Britain and the EU. Britain's Prime Minister David Cameron did not only refuse constantly the idea of a fiscal union, i.e. a transnational system of rules how to deal with the national budgets and especially the national debts in Europe, he even promised his compatriots a referendum on the question of the henceforth membership of his country in the EU. At the end of the discussions in Brussels David Cameron and with him Great Britain has been isolated in the EU as seldom before.

The question for our subject is: Why has he become so isolated and why did he take this risk. The first answer could be: The ideas of the fiscal union are offending special interests of GB especially the important financial industry in London and therefore the Prime Minister was fight-

ing for the interests of his country. The problem hereby is: you can only fight for your interests if you are sitting at the table of discussions and not if you are leaving the room. The second answer could be: Mr Cameron knows about the advantages of the EU for his country, but he knows also about the deep reservations of his British fellows against the continent. This is not a question of actual financial interests but of cultural and national identity anchoring deep in the British historical and geographical past. Thus the *splendid isolation* of the British Prime Minister can be interpreted as a consequence of the fact of Great Britain being an *isola* (= island), which has never been conquered since 1066. This status of an island has also been the basis to become the most important naval power between 1588 and World War I, to conquer out of this position the most and most important colonies besides of Spain, to found the British Empire and not to neglect to develop special habits as driving the car on the left side, keeping the pound as currency and measuring in an own system of inches, miles or pints (see Knubben 2011). So, the first consequence in reflecting the question of heterogeneity and hybridism in the cultural context is to notice that there are differences between people and peoples and that they are deeply founded in different historical and political backgrounds, in different geographical, climatically and demographical circumstances, and different social systems.

The creation of homogeneity in societies and heterogeneity between societies

Heterogeneity however is not only a phenomenon of societies but of individuals. Everyman and every woman can be regarded as an autonomous subject with individual capabilities, individual ideas, individual wishes and performance. Everybody and everything is different from the other. You can compare, as Hegel pointed out in *The Phenomenology of Spirit (1807)*, all leaves of all trees in the world and you will not find one equal to the other. So we have to face an enormous heterogeneity not only between but also in societies. On the other hand, we have to stress: Nobody is an island. In order to survive man has to organize himself in society. He

has to communicate with the others and therefore he has to establish rules of communication in his language and in all other kinds of communication as in dancing (e.g. waltz or Harlem shake), eating (dog) or non eating (pork), in drinking (alcohol or not), in driving cars (on the left side or the right). These rules of communication are essential part of what we are calling culture.

Culture in this sense is limiting heterogeneity in its individual performance and it is creating homogeneity and heterogeneity at the same time. It is creating homogeneity inside the society by limiting individual manners of behaviour and feeling and thinking. This is what Norbert Elias has called the *Process of Civilisation*. But beside of creating homogeneity inside the society culture is also creating heterogeneity in comparison to other cultures which have established their own rules and their own systems of communication. So homogeneity and heterogeneity appear as a dialectical and moreover as a dynamic couple in two dimensions: In the dimension of time, because no language and no other form of communication are fixed for all times, they are instead result of various evolutions in history and future. And in the dimension of space in the meaning of perspective, because there is an enormous difference, whether we are regarding cultural phenomena from inside or from outside a society, a group, a milieu or a political constellation. Being faced to different societies, e.g. in taking part at an Intensive Programme of the EU, we may tend to group ourselves first in national categories whereas in other contexts we may do it following sexual or political categories or cultural preferences (e.g. attending classic music or jazz or rap or world music).So, up to now we have reflected the basic reasons why we are forced to a certain manner of homogeneity inside groups and societies and how we are creating at the same time heterogeneity between groups and societies. And that we can change our positions inside this dynamic and dialectical system. Whatever we do, we are always choosing our individual position in a system of different options. And we are doing this in a mixture of individual preferences and social obligations. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, American psychologist and anthropologist, brought this phenomenon quite early to the point in the paradox: "Every man is in certain respects (a) like all oth-

er men, (b) like some other men and (c) like no other man" (Kluckhohn/
Murray 1948:35).[1]

The emergence of the idea of purity in the age of enlightenment

It belongs to the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Horkheimer/Adorno 1944,
English publication 1972) that at the same moment when we are trying
to be most rationalist we are often establishing new irrational ideas. We
can see this effect in the emergence of the idea of purity in the age of en-
lightenment which contrasts not only the fact of heterogeneity inside so-
cieties but also of the commonly mixed genetic derivation of individu-
als.Up to the end of the 17th century people and cultures have been de-
scribed and characterized in terms of the holy bible. It did not know and
did not use words as *race* or *species.* The term *race* came up from the Arabic
language in the 13th century. Originally it had no ethnic connotation but
just described the ancestry from a certain family or house in the mean-
ing of noble (Sommer 1984: 137). In was not before 1684 that in the
"Journal des Sçavans" in France the first article was published which was
describing mankind according to different "natural" criteria as colour of
skins, hair, form of faces and body. It suggested distinguishing four human
races according to Europe, Africa, Asia and Lapland (!). Later on in the
18th century this system was changed to the scale of five colours of the skin
(white, yellow, red, brown and black), which is known and somewhere
common until today (Münch 2011:431f.). Originally it was intended just
as a phenomenological description without any ranking or social classifi-
cation. But it is clear that just the fact of measurement and classification
as it was invented and developed in the age of enlightenment in searching
for the elements of life in chemistry, physics and biology already lead to a
change of perception of the world. After Carl von Linné has created the
binomial nomenclature of species and even more after Charles Darwin has

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1   Read transferred into an inclusive phrasing : "Every human person is in some respects
(a) like all others, (b) like some others and like no other."

published his brilliant ideas on the "Origin of Species" a dog was no longer just a dog who was characterized by its capacities for example to keep sheep but instead it was classified according to its genetic derivation which could be estimated to be more or less *pure*. And for sure purity has become very fast a criterion of appreciation and an indicator of quality. The closed system of the noble society has shown it since a long time: It was easy to get out by disreputability or marriages non befitting one's rank but it was not possible to compensate the lack of 32 ancestors who have already been nobles. The National Socialists in Germany used this classification as malicious system in the persecution of Jewish people by asking every family to proof their 'Arian' origin in presenting a so called "Ahnenpass" (pass of ancestors) which had to contain all registered information on ancestors four generations back.

The classical concept of single cultures after Johann Gottfried Herder

The idea of collecting, measuring, segmenting and classification in the age of enlightenment became not only a leading paradigm in natural sciences but also in philosophy and the humanities. And one of the most important authors in our context became the German author and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). In his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind", first published in the years 1784 to 1791, he tried to describe the variety of cultures in space and time and developed the concept of different, closed and autonomous single cultures. The idea was revolutionary and most influentially. It was revolutionary because it demanded an "eigenvalue" of all ages and all cultures independent from the observer and independent from all universal, idealistic or dogmatic views. The concept was characterized by full tolerance versus all phenomena of cultures, which seemed for him to be "big non-weeded gardens full of herbs and tares". It was most influentially because it became the theoretical basis not only for historism in the 19th Century but also for modern ethnology, for cultural geography, for folk culture, romanticism and finally fundamental for national conceptions lasting until today.

From the early beginning Herder's idea of single cultures was connected with the idea of nation which he considered as a unity of one folk and one culture in one closed territory. If we had to bring this concept into a plastic image it could be the metaphor of a '*closed ball*'. It is, as Wolfgang Welsch pointed out, characterized "by social homogenization, ethnic consolidation and intercultural delimination" (Welsch 1999, 124). The classical concept of single cultures is unifactory because it makes every individual a member of one culture and it is separatory because it excludes everyone who and everything which is not fitting to ones own culture.

Facts of cultural exchanges and interference

Facing this idea of 'closed balls' in Herders concept of cultures we have to reflect whether it is fitting to modern society of today, or perhaps whether it has ever fitted to historical empiricism. When we are thinking about historical societies before 1800 we normally have in mind the idea of a static and almost immobile society. This may be correct in a relative sense, in comparison to today. But if we are regarding the big lines in history, the emergence and decline of the Roman Empire with its incredible movements of soldiers and tradesmen, if we are remembering the big migration of people in the 5th and 6th century, the crusades and the pilgrims travels in the middle ages, the conquering of the new worlds in the age of renaissance, the traffic in trading by thousands of ships, the craftsmen and armies marching through whole Europe all the time, if we are thinking on all these migrations, we have to stress: European society has been static only for small periods and some more or less isolated regions, but the main experience of every day life has been not only mobility in regional dimensions but also for long distances because of many different purposes. Connected with mobility has always been contact and more or less exchange with other people, other customs and other cultures – also in the direct sense of sexual contacts and sexual reproduction. And nowadays there is no doubt that within the process of globalisation which has its origins already deep in the last centuries, geographic mobility and cultural exchange in which kind whatever have become the signature of our time,

not only to be seen in the number of travels, the number of academic exchanges or the number of immigrants to the different countries of Europe in the last decades.

As consequence of all these movements and exchanges we have to take in mind that the percentage of people characterized by a so called migrant background in Germany is increasing more and more. The actual number in Stuttgart is 39 %. People having a father or a mother, a grandmother or a grandfather coming from abroad, from other countries in Europe or other regions of the whole world, are no more minorities, they are becoming the majority. This is not only a fact for Berlin or Hamburg or other big cities, this is more or less typical for whole Germany and it is a trend for whole Europe at least in the borders of the European Union.

Intercultural, multicultural, transcultural concepts

There is no doubt that all the cultural contacts and exchanges consciously or not have lead and are leading further on to changes of perception and to new forms of "puzzled" identities. The classical concept of social homogenization as it has been considered paradigmatically by Herder never fits any more and – in a historical sense – probably has never fitted. Therefore the classical concept has been substituted by intercultural, multicultural and finally by transcultural concepts (Welsch 1999).

In opposite to the traditional idea of single cultures which was dominating national policies in most countries of Europe in the 18th and 19th century and until to the Balkan wars in the end of the 20th century the concepts of interculturality and multiculturality suppose to overcome the problems of homogenization of the heterogeneous and separation of the foreignness. The concept of interculturality seems to accept the existence of different cultures not only at the same time but also in the same space. It demands a relationship between different cultures and declares the wish of mutual comprehension. But in insisting on different entities of cultures, as Wolfgang Welsch pointed out, it remains in fact on the idea of cultures as islands and the image of closed balls. But systems with the character of lonely islands or closed balls are not able to communicate, they do insist

basically on their own more or less homogenous identity and therefore are structurally unable to understand and recognize one another.

It is pretty similar with the concept of multiculturality. It also accepts different cultures in one society. It stresses its positive effects of "colourful life" and "enriched experiences". It seems to be progressive. But cultures in this concept remain also seperate with particularistic identities. They lead often to ghettoization and provoque even regressive tendencies of people feeling threaten. The fundamental question hereby is not whether these concepts are thought to be idealistic or not or whether they are considered offensive or not. The question is whether they are able to describe and to understand the constitution of individual and collective identities and their interaction today. And the answer is: rather not. The idea of cultures as islands or closed spheres does not fit any more. It is factually incorrect and normatively deceptive and dangerous. Cultures have no longer the character of homogeneity and separateness. Since a long time they are characterized by mixes of traditions, experiences, performances and by permeation. They end no longer at the border of national or cultural frontiers. They are *transcultural* insofar as they pass "through classical cultural boundaries" (Welsch 1999). They resemble more a network or a patchwork than a closed ball.

This it is due to the complexity and inner differentiation of modern societies which offer generally spoken every member to construct its own identity on the basis of a countless number of different and ever changing life styles. And it is due to the fact that these fuzzy cultures and open societies (as far as they are open in a communicative not necessarily political sense) are connected globally. Therefore "there is no longer anything absolutely foreign. Everything is within reach. Accordingly, there is no longer anything exclusively 'own' either. Authenticity has become folklore" (Welsch 1999).

Phenomena of Hybridism

As a consequence of economic and cultural globalization with all its implications of migration and communication, of dynamics and dominations

we are not only facing the question of cultural diversity as a question of how to protect cultural heritage and cultural minorities but also the phenomena of new hybrid cultures which are emerging every day.If we want to describe the difference between intercultural and transcultural-hybrid phenomena we can do it in a mathematical description. In the mathematical system intercultural exchange can be described in the term 1 + 1 = 2. A menu with a German sausage dish and an Italian pizza give us the possibility to choose between two dishes. Hybridity however means 1 + 1 = 3. Bringing together the meat of German sausages with herbs and spices from India or Morocco means to create a new dish, a fusion kitchen of its own taste and flavour. The idea and the fact of hybridism are not new. They are deeply founded in the history of societies and in the experience of individual and cultural exchange. But what has become new is the fact that hybridism is going to be a main tendency, a mega trend, a sort of leading idea and leading system in all spheres of life – not only despite of but including regional traditions and social differences.Let us have a look on some examples of hybridism in past and present. Whether we face an ancient Greek pottery with the image of a centaur, combining the behind of a horse with the upper part of a man or a mermaid on a romantic painting, an amphibian vehicle or a modern car with hybrid engine, the "Demoiselles d'Avignon" of Picasso or the comic paintings of Roy Lichtenstein, the I-phone as multifunctional device or any piece of so called world music – we always are confronted to hybrid subjects and the inventions in all these fields have just begun.

Consequences of the idea of hybridism in the view of cultural management

What are the consequences of this development and our awareness to them? I would like to propose three consequences in reflecting the question of cultural hybridism today. They concern the problem of discourse, the problem of analysis and the problem of strategy.

First: New discourses

For a long, long time, until the millennium, the official statement of the government and the parliament in the political discourse of Germany has been: *"We are no country of immigration"* and this despite the fact that there have come millions of people from all over the world to Germany since about 1960. They came from Turkey, from Italy, from Portugal, from Greece, from Vietnam and from many other countries where wars and dictatorships and sometimes of course also the elementary hope to get as better life abroad forced them to leave their countries.

They came to Germany (and also to other countries in Europe) but they were not supposed to stay. The basic idea for many so called *guest-workers* has been to stay in Germany for a certain time, to earn money and to go back to their native country after some time. Therefore the first years they stayed in German separated from their families coming back to them only for few weeks in holidays. Later on they did not want to accept this way of life any longer and they asked their families also to come to Germany. This has been already the second step on their path to emigration from their home country and to immigration in Germany. The third step following was to stay in Germany for the whole life because they did not want to be separate from their children and their families who often were born here and felt Germany to be their native country. And they could not go back because they already felt a big distance to the circumstances of life and the customs and the communication in their native countries. I think we can say: they had to struggle with the fact that they were living a hybrid existence and in the end they had to accept this fact. The decision had to take: either to accept the fact of hybridism or to become dishonest and unhappy.I think we have the same choice on the scientific and political level. Or we accept the facts of living in a mobile, multi-optional and hybrid society, characterized by globalisation, open exchange of goods and ideas, free movement (apart of certain visa restrictions) and therefore intercultural exchange and transcultural self-conception – or we cheat about the facts of the basics of our existence which can no longer be described and managed in traditional categories of isolated cultures because everybody and everything is connected with everything and every-

body in the world. There is a saying that it needs only a line of seven other people to find a relationship between two people wherever they may live in the world. Certainly there may be a third option apart of acceptance of hybridism or cheating or self-deception. This option is to get back in the caves and igloos at home no longer using Facebook, no longer drinking Coca Cola or French wine, eating Italian food, hearing gipsy music, dancing finish tango and so on. This might be the alternative of purity.

So in consequence: we have to change the discourses. It should be no longer the question whether we like transcultural phenomena or not as it is no longer the question in our societies whether women are allowed to wear trousers or to drive cars or to vote for the parliament – despite of the fact that it is not so far back that they were not allowed and it has been Finland as the first country in the world, in 1909, that asked woman to vote.

The idea of national identity has had an enormous influence on European and world history in the last two hundred years and it has in many dimensions especially in times of crises until today. But we have to face it more than ever, not as an anthropological constant but as a historical construction, as an ideology and psycho-political instrument, which fits no longer to the individual and social reality of our lives today. It is just one category to define our origin and some of our neighbours, beside many other categories such as sex and social impacts, education and preferences in life style as media use, or being vegetarian or doing paragliding and so on.

Second: New analysis

This leads me to another necessity. What we need second are new analysis of how we are living together and what are the main influences on our social and cultural existence. We do not know much and very exactly how things are working in our societies. For Germany it has been a big shock – the so called Pisa Shock – about 10 years ago, when for the first time the national systems of education were evaluated in an international survey. The shock has been that the country of Goethe and Schiller, of Leibniz and Einstein was not very good in teaching the pupils how to read and

write and count. Suddenly Finland has become one of the best models of education for schools. Thinking of new models means to do research on the phenomena of hybridism and how things work together today: how to deal with heterogeneity in the class room (see Merz-Atalik in this volume), how to integrate different social groups into cultural life (most participants of cultural activities do still belong to the upper classes), how to organize scientific exchange at universities (the Bologna process has not yet lead to the golden age in university education). And we have to analyse how patterns of power are still influencing our discourses.

Third: New Strategies

Three years ago the Chief of Siemens, one of the biggest German enterprises, declared: The management of Siemens seams to him to be "too male, too German and too pale". That's might be the point. If we want honestly face the facts and therefore want to change the systems we also have to change the structures. It is hard to accept any longer what has been called in the United States of America - *PPPP*. The 4 P's did not stand as usual for the marketing mix of product, price, promotion and placement but instead for *pale patriarchal penis people*. It is true that the history of people was mostly written and the performance of cultures was largely dominated by either a Eurocentric or white Anglo-Saxon perspective. In times of global exchange this reduction of perception will not be consistent any longer. Open space has to be given to other points of view without forgetting the inventions of the own traditions in order to redesign narratives more appropriate to the reality (Hughes 2001). Concerning the structures in the cultural systems on the high-end level we can already recognize some first steps. They are especially concerning the plastic art and music sector, which might be not so surprising because they are not so much linked to language as an exclusive means of expression. Music is commonly considered to be a world language and so the international music circus is organized to some extend already transcultural with the effect that the director of the Berlin philharmonic orchestra, Simon Rattle, comes from Great Britain, that one from the Munich orchestra, Mari-

iss Jansons, from Sweden and Simone Young, chief of the Hamburg Opera house, from Australia.

We could continue. Taking the example of the Documenta in Kassel as the world's most important oncoming art exhibition the last artistic director coming from Germany was chosen in 1987. Since then it has been managed by directors coming from Belgium, France, Nigeria, Austria and Italy. But speaking from Italy in the case of Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev seems however wrong. Looking at her curriculum vitae we can recognize not only a modern nomadic, but indeed a hybrid life as an 'italo-american art historian from Bulgarian origin'. Born in Ridgewood, New Jersey, with parents coming from Italy and Bulgaria she attended a French school in Washington DC, studied in Italy and worked as a curator all over the world before becoming chief of the Documenta in 2008. Such a hybrid identity may not be the last explanation for some of her specific ideas proclaimed at the Documenta 13 as rights of voting for dogs and tomatoes as a consequence of a 'post-humanistic' point of view (Christov-Bakargiev 2012).

In the end it will not be enough to change just the top of the business. Both, the idea of diversity and the knowledge of hybridism have to permeate our society - not just as an idealistic or romantic idea but as a consequence of the character and factual consistency of modern life.

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Kerstin Merz-Atalik

Diversity and Transculturality in Education - The German Educational System on the Way to Inclusive Education

"It's not the things that worry us, but our opinion about things." (Seneca).

Diversity in the German Society and the Education System

Migration and transnational mobility have had a huge and growing influence on societies all over the world. In 110 of 182 Countries the quota of cultural minorities is over 25 %, in 42 countries it is between 10 and 25 % and only in 30 countries the quota is under 10 % (UNDP-United Nations Development Program; Merz-Atalik 2008). In Germany the quota of people with a non-German nationality is around 13 %, the current quota of citizens with a migrant background will be around 25 % (in the capital of the federal state Baden-Württemberg Stuttgart it is even higher with about 30 %). Germany has a long history of migration, but since the economic boom of the 1960's, with the immigration of so-called "Gastarbeiter" (*migrant-workers)* it has gained a recognizable quantitative level.

Most of the migrant families today derive from three remarkable phases: The first during the 60's with families from Yugoslavia, Portugal, Italy, Spain and Turkey, the second phase in the 70's and 80's from the former German Democratic Republic (DDR) and other former communist countries and the third in the 90's with migration from Croatia, Serbia, Albania, etc. Most of the migrants from these three phases have already

lived in Germany for more than 10 years and the annual migration-quota has been declining over the last years. Today we have to consider, that for example more than 15% of our university students at Ludwigsburg University of Education (Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg) have a diverse national, ethnic and/or cultural background because of migration. All our students have broad experiences in living in a multicultural society.

The mobility of people is another factor, which causes a new kind of diversity in the societies worldwide. For example in the European Union with the strong migration from the eastern to the western States. The political change and the reunion of the two German national states at the end of the 80's also had a great influence on the "cultural diversity" in our society. Since the opening of the labour market in the European Union many people from other European Countries have been coming to Germany for career opportunities or because of private relations. They are very often not changing their principal residence as a new inhabitant of our country and keep border crossing.

Besides these effects from the *import of diversity* to Germany, the economic situation in German families is getting more and more diverse, there is a growing gap between the rich and the poor in German society and the middle-class is no longer a guaranty for a lifelong consistent living standard any more. The level of education is one of the fewer factors, which seem to be a guarantor for participation in the society. So the global mission of the education-systems worldwide in the growing diverse societies of the future is to recognize benefits and chances of internationality, multiculturalism and diversity and to collaborate in global goals, to reduce the drawbacks of the growing diversity and develop strategies for equality in education and in an inclusive society.

The situation today is characterized by the growing heterogeneity and diversity in our society, on the other hand inclusion seems to be a provoking challenge (see figure 1) that has not been taken for granted by politics, but which would have to be accepted as an over-all-strategy for a modern coherent society. The chances and the advantages of diversity and inclusion have to be reflected, realized and tackled more actively.
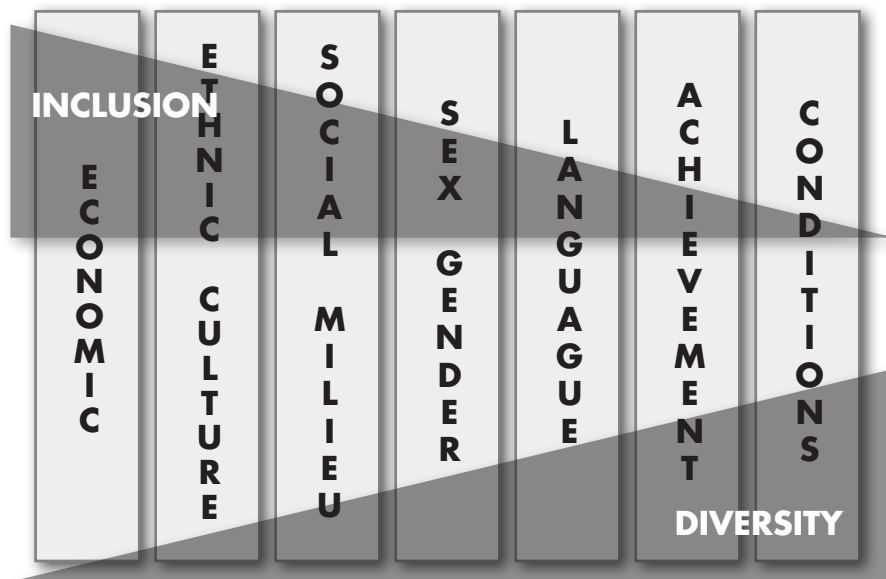
Figure 1: Diversity and Inclusion. A contrary development?

An exemplary story about the recognition of (cultural) diversity in our society

A few years ago I went by fast train ICE (target Paris) from Stuttgart to Mannheim. A conductor came and checked my ticket. In the centre of his nameplate on the service jacket was his family name, beside it the logo of the German Railway and in the corner a very small Turkish flag. A few minutes later, another conductor came along, she also had the same name-etag, but with a small French flag in the corner. Just before arriving in Mannheim I met Mr. Yildirim[1] again. I asked him whether this *flagging* of the staff has been an initiative of the Federal Railways. I was positively surprised and stunned about the developed strategies of Managing Diversity

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1   The name has been amended to anonymize.

in the German Railways. But honestly, Mr. Yildirim had to confirm this, he reported that the recognition of the competence to have a solid command of a second language applies only to the languages French and English, as he got to know by his employer. Despite the rather modest foreign language skills in the respective languages of his colleagues, his own first language skills in Turkish would not be recognized as a competence or a qualification for his job. He decided to include himself into the concept, by asking his nephew to print a small Turkish flag and he himself tucked it on the name-tag, because his "…Turkish language skills are very much profound as a native speaker and to his perception there are much more Turkish-speaking passengers on this train than Englishman", he said.

This experience is a representative example for the strategies to inclusion of migrants in our society. It is expected, that they learn our language as fast and competent as possible. Their own languages are not recognized as a cultural value and a gift for our society, more often the multilingualism is seen as an obstacle for their integration[2]. But it is clear, on the one hand you can´t measure the willingness to integrate and the success of integration only by measuring the language-skills in the target language of the majority. But we can measure the inclusion approach of a society and its institutions by reflecting these traditional concepts for integration.

Transculturality as part of a postmodern concept of diversity and inclusion

> Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the `meaning´ of other people's behavior. (Helen Spencer-Oatey 2000, 4)

There are many different definitions of culture; there is no agreement amongst anthropologists regarding its nature. The difficulty lies in the dif-

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2   Integration related to the concept of assimilation.

ferent meanings, the different semantics and usage depending on political or ideological agendas. Spencer-Oatey (2000) points out: Culture is learned, not inherited. Within the computer analogy it is the *operating system,* which determines one's physical and basic psychological functioning. Geert Hofstede (1991) also proposed a set of four layers, each of which includes the lower level or is a result of the lower level. According to this view "culture" is like an onion that can be peeled, layer-by layer to reveal the content. Hofstede sees culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another."

Spencer Oatey sees the manifestations of culture on different layers of depth (see figure 2):

1. The first layer: Artefacts, rituals and behaviour (gestures, ways of greeting, ceremonies) or products (e.g. food, clothing) are the aspects of culture we can recognize while we are travelling to foreign countries. Even they are physically visible, Hofstede makes the important point, that "their cultural meaning lies precisely and only in the way these practices are interpreted by the insiders." You need to know the cultural script behind them, to understand the meaning for and in a society.

2. The second, less explicit layer includes the systems and institutions (education, government, law and order). They are the guarantor of the basic assumptions and values in a society. For example the justice system and laws. As a tourist you will rarely get in contact with them, because there are not many situations that are influenced by them. To get to this layer of a culture you need to have a deeper perspective into a country or state.

3. The third more implicit layer consists of the beliefs, norms and attitudes (e.g. religious and moral beliefs, concepts of 'polite' and 'impolite' behaviour) of a society. You only get to know these in a deep contact or a long-lasting stay and living in another cultural surrounding. Even if you have the idea of understanding the attitudes

of a different culture, you are not able to get to the fundamental concepts and basic meanings, without getting acculturalized.

4. The core of most implicit aspects of culture is the fourth layer, the basic assumptions and values (e.g. power difference, respecting tradition, the right to pursue personal pleasure). They are unconsciously influencing our communication (message and perception), they are determining the communication rules and the non-verbal communication and often they are reasons for miss-understandings in intercultural situations.

Artifacts & Products

Systems

Beliefs, Norms

Basic
assumptions
& Values

& Attitudes

& Institutions

Rituals & Behaviour
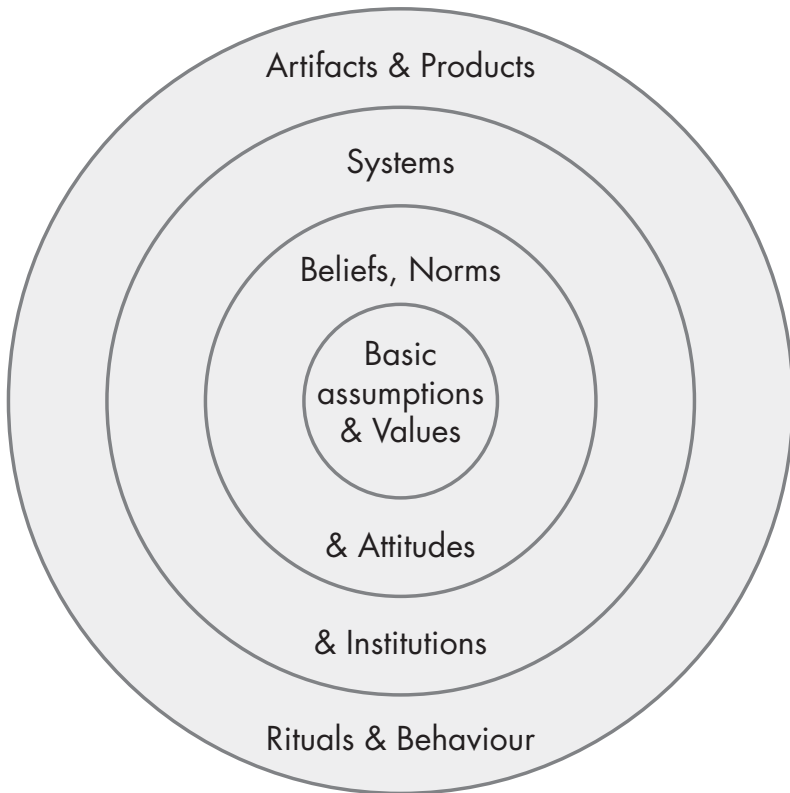
Figure 2: The concept of culture in layers by Spencer-Oatey (1999)

Hofstede refined three levels of uniqueness in human mental programming: human nature, culture and personality (See figure 3). For Example: All people on earth need to eat (this is human nature), the French people are taking more time to enjoy their dinner or lunch than the British or American people, they spend more money in exquisite food and food has a higher value in their live-style (depending on the culture). But even in England we can meet people with a high demand of quality in food. So culture is not like a *one-way-street*, every human being can actively react on the cultural norms and values, on the institutions and laws and develop a personal cultural script and attitude. That's what we do call a *patch-work-identity* (Patch-Work-Identität).

Specific to Individual,
inherited and learned

Personality

Specific to group or
category, learned

Culture

Universal,
inherited

Human Nature

Figure 3: Three levels of uniqueness in human mental programming (Hofstede 1994)

The term *multicultural* describes the situation in our young immigrant society (pluralism of cultures) in Germany, it focuses on 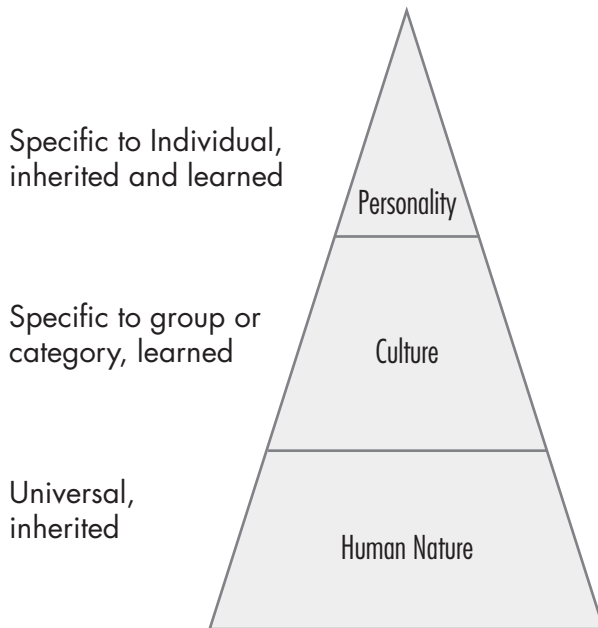intercultural encounters and understanding between the different cultures and it is kind of a lifestyle in the young adult generation (especially in global cities) today.

The *Hype* of cultural differences

G. Clotaire Rapaille[3]published a book about the *Culture codes* of products on the international market (2006), like for example food, cars, coffee and the values of these products (for example the different selling strategies for cosmetics depending on the meaning of woman's sexuality in different cultures[4]). He is very famous and highly paid in his field. He has contracts with big companies and global corporations like Nestle or BMW. These companies are interested in the cultural codes of their products for foreign markets. For example: to sell coffee in Japan. He found out, that there is no culture code for coffee in the Japanese society. People in Japan had no psychoanalytically detectable associations with the product coffee so far and he recommended to initiate the development of a code by the company. Rapaille told them to produce and sell a children's pudding with coffee-flavour to let the next generation *learn* a code for coffee with a positive value, comparative to the culture code in the central European countries. His ideas are based on the concept of clear and accurate cultural differences (by region or nation) related to the theory of a mono-cultural code in countries or nations.

In other words: Cultural differences today are to promote sales! In the field of daily life culture for example represented through cinema movies about cross-cultural relations and experiences (*My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, 2002; *Eat, Pray, Love* 2010), in the travel-market by long-haul travelling with structured cultural experience-programs or pre-paid, secure adventures and in the food market with international and even modern transcultural cooking.

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3   A French Psychologist and Anthropologist, living and practicing in New York (United States).

4   In his inquiry into the purchase motivation towards a shower-gel for woman in different countries, he found out that in France the commercial should directly relate to woman sexuality, in other countries this wouldn´t be a selling point the same way (e.g. USA).

In recent years, we can find some kind of a boom in seeking for *cultural differences* and in discussing them, not only in the quotidian culture, in the media, also in education. Auernheimer (a German Professor of Education) considered that many publications are based on a "…reduction to the problem of differing cultural patterns" (2002, 183) and he recognized a "…return to culturalization" (ibid.) in the educational theories. In cultural anthropology, philosophy, sociology, economic sciences, and among others in education the perspectives attempt to identify cultural differences and draw implications for the cooperation, interaction and communication. An explicit discussion of a trans-cultural, hybrid concept of culture is still carried out only rarely in educational publications and theories, or they remain on a superficial level. With the *detection* of cultural differences, we can consider an identification of negative consequences for the educational development (by documenting the disadvantage of diverse groups) and development of regulatory and classification systems, classified according to those cultures that seem to differ significantly from the majority society. Still, the group of children with an Islamic family background seem to be the most different to our own culture with a very negative stereotype of teachers (see Lanfranchi 2007) and this leads to the highest level of disadvantage in the educational system in the German speaking countries. For a peaceful and harmonious coexistence in a multicultural diverse community we have to see the risks of these stereotypes, the concept of integration and the classification systems.

Transculturality as a concept for an inclusive society

Cultural scripts and programs are also differing *in* nations or regions, not only between them. Each person is defining his/her cultural belonging and identity based on the personal position towards the concepts in the majority in his living environment. We do find as many *intracultural differences* than intercultural ones in our societies (see figure 3). The personal cultural script of any individual is related to the levels of culture (in the concept of culture as an onion), but we have to consider: it is learned, it can be advanced and individualized in contact with new cultural inflows through

migration from one country/ cultural region to another, through a drift from one social group to another (for example: From the cultural scene of a student at the University to the cultural scene of a worker in a company or institution) or through deep experiences in multicultural relations (like bi-national marriages, or multicultural living communities).

A transfer of the different basic concepts and a reflecting process takes place, which is leading into a *fluid and transcultural identity*. Migrants in Germany are often asked: Do you feel more like a Turk or a German? This question is expressing the concept of a mono-cultural identity, based on the personal experience of someone who had his "Lebensmittelpunkt[5]" biographically in one area without a deeper impact of other ethnic cultures. The majority in our society has to learn about the new concepts of hybrid and transcultural identities, to realize their impact with the interaction towards the self-concept of the next generation, especially the teachers and educators. You cannot only be German *or* Turk, you are not half German and half Turkish, you can be both.
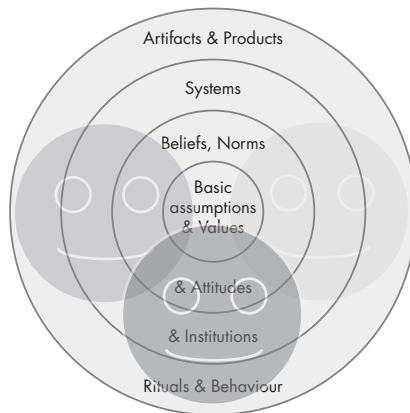
Figure 4: The concept of different layers and the idea of intra-cultural diffe-rences or transcultural influences on personal identities. (based on the con-cept of Spencer-Oatey 1999)

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5   There is no equivalent term in English. Lebensmittelpunkt is the place where you live the main time.

Relatively new to the discussion is the term "transcultural" which dimension goes beyond the previous one, by sensing approaches, hybrids and hybrid transformations. While the concepts of multi- and inter-culturally are based on a traditional understanding of culture determined by internal homogeneity, ethnic foundation and a clear difference in line to the outside, the concept of "transculturation" (according to Welsch 1994; in: 2011) describes linkages, mixtures and mergers in the cultural identity of individuals or groups (see figure 4). The traditional former concept of culture (culture as islands) is expanded in a trans-cultural and flexible understanding, people can feel at home in different cultures without having to make a decision for one or the other explicitly. They develop *individual biographical imprints on the basis of different cultural influences* in their lives.

Earlier and active collective experiences are always effecting the perception and the behavioural expectations in communication. The same hold for historical experiences and occurrences for example during wars, because of the colonial history, etc.; situated or individual experiences etc. are mainly traced to the nationality or the ethnic mentality. "*Russians are criminals*", "*Turkish men are not accepting emancipated women*" etc. Also collective experiences with a positive meaning, like „*Blacks are good musicians*", "*South Americans are good dancers*", the "*Turks are hospitable*", e.g. are based on stereotypes and lead into miss-understandings in communication. Individual experiences (even if only a minority ever had actively such experiences) are widely generalised and led back on the cultural background. They are leading into images of strangeness, which are increased by the media. Stereotypes and prejudices are created; strangeness is being expected in the contact to cultural minorities and it effects the communication. The image of strangeness coins our expectations and the situation. In educational situations the dimension of power under-lays the communicative situation, for example a counsellor, a teacher, a social worker etc. is the personification of the institution (school, social welfare organisation, state etc.) and the majority (the residential group, the Germans). In the communication we have to develop a grade of awareness about this effects and we should try to analyse the meaning of all this aspects on the relationship with the "*others*".

Diversity and the Inclusion Approach in the educational system

In a report (UNESCO 2005) the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization recognized, that mainly in their educational systems Countries and States all over the world try to face the challenges of diversity with:

- Special programs (like language-achievement-programs for Migrant children in special classes, Classes for children with special needs, …)
- Special institutions (like schools for gifted children, schools for children with special needs - in Germany we do have more than 10 different types of schools depending on the classification of special needs and about 6 % of all children are visiting the special schools)
- And specialist educators.

All these special treatments are based on a classification as a minority, a fringe or a disadvantaged group in our society or in the institutions of the society (for example Special Educational Needs, Migrants, Multilingual students etc.). These concepts are on the one hand based on the idea of integration via assimilation. The integration-concept is still focusing on *who* may be integrated *how* and *where*. We do offer special German-Language-Courses (German as a second language) to enhance the learning-process of the children, but their native language is conventionally not being promoted in the German school-system. The UNESCO concluded:

> Current strategies and programmes have not been sufficient to meet the needs of children and youth who are vulnerable to marginalization or exclusion. In the past, efforts have consisted of specialized programmes, institutions and specialist educators. The unfortunate consequence of such differentiation, although well intended, has often been further exclusion. Achieving the EFA and Millennium Devel-

opment Goals by their assigned partners. Education must be viewed as a facilitator in everyone's human development and functionality, regardless of barriers of any kind, physical or otherwise. Therefore, disability of any kind (physical, social and/ or emotional) cannot be a disqualifier. Inclusion, thus, involves adopting a broad vision of *Education for All* by addressing the spectrum of needs of all learners, including those who are vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion. (UNESCO 2005, Page 9)

For the German education system we have to consider:
- Diversity is a growing phenomenon.
- Diversity is often still defined as a deficit or negative condition in the educational system and for the personal academic outcome.
- The educational system is trying to face diversity with classification (Special Needs), separation (in Special Schools) and selection in special programs.
- The educational system is acting on the level of affirmative concepts (Pre-schooling for children with a migrant background).
- Separation and selection in the educational system are not leading into equality and there is a high risk of underachievement, discrimination and exclusion from society.

A.M. Cummings has defined four levels of meeting diversity (According to: Boie et al. 2007; see figure 5 below). In the educational institutions we are still on the level of the affirmative action. We are mostly working on the reduction of the discrimination and disadvantage of special groups and minorities. Still the different cultural or ethnical backgrounds and the multilingualism of the children are mainly seen as a deficit, an obstacle and a problem for their education. The results of surveys since the early 80th on participation of migrant-children in the German educational system are showing a dramatic under-representation in the higher educational level schools (Lower or Higher Secondary schools) with a higher academic level/ *Gymnasium*) and on the other hand a remarkable, relatively

stable over-representation in the schools with a lower school leaving certificate (Secondary schools with a lower academic level/ *Hauptschule*; Special schools for special needs in learning/ *Sonderschule mit dem Förderschwerpunkt Lernen*).

Level	Definition
1	Affirmative Action
2	Valuing Diversity
3	Managing Diversity
4	Inclusiveness

Figure 5: Levels of action in Diversity Management (A.M. Cummings)

In some ways we are recognizing the values of diversity in our society and also in the educational system. So these days our government in Baden-Württemberg is promoting to extend the quota of migrant students in the teacher-training program. In a special recruitment-program we try to attract pupils with a migrant-background or young male students to be a teacher, to raise the amount of teachers with a migrant background and of males in general. This is part of the affirmative action; we have recognized the under-representation of migrants in the teacher training. The valuing of their multilingualism and their experiences with living in a transcultural situation and in diverse cultures has started, because the Ministry has realized that these teachers could have a positive impact on the educational advantages of children with a migrant background in our schools. But still the strategy is to reduce the effects of learning problems by offering special programs, not by accepting the diverse learning capacities by acting through individualization of the regular programs in a comprehensive school system, by accepting diversity in learning and curricula.

This would mean we have to rethink our ideas of learning, teaching and performance assessment[6]. Today we can say that the valuing of diversity has started, but we still have to work on changing to a not only respectful way of diversity, but also an appreciating way. This has to lead into new concepts for the teacher training programs (Franzkowiak/ Merz-Atalik 2011) and for educational trainings in other fields.

We should recognize the first language and all language-skills of all children as a potential to live and act in a multicultural and multilingual society of the future. The languages of migrants (for example Turkish as the most often spoken language under migrants in Germany) should be taught as a subject in our schools. Migrant pupils should get the possibility to use their special competences in culture, language and ethnic backgrounds for their personal academic achievement and career opportunities in a global world. Since today only very few schools are offering the opportunity to learn Turkish as a second language. We should recognize the different languages and also the transcultural competences of the new generation as a *fundamental capital* for our society, in all fields of every-day and business-life. This could and should lead into strategies of welcoming and actively managing diversity in our educational system, based on inclusiveness as a goal.

Inclusiveness would mean the level of which we are able to benefit from diversity. Inclusiveness does not select on dualistic classifications, like female and male, majority and minority, handicapped and non-handicapped, migrants and native, ... Inclusiveness is based on the belief in a heterogeneous individuality and equal rights in the shared society. Inclusion would be seen as a:

> …process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modi-

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6   About 5% of pupils have to repeat one grade in our educational system during their biography. The grading system is still mainly based on a normative feedback in relation to the average, very few schools in primary education changed it to a individualized assessment.

fications in content, approaches, structures and strategies, with a common vision which covers all children of the appropriate age range and a conviction that it is the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children (UNESCO 2005).

"All different, all equal – Be the change we want to see![7]"

The next steps we have to take in education are:
- To develop an inclusive curricula, with cohesive transition and articulation of the curriculum between early childhood, primary and secondary education are key factors in preventing dropouts from level to level and ensuring retention, curricular changes in order to support flexible learning and assessment (UNESCO 2009).
- To reform the teacher training programs (at the Universities of Education and Departments of Education at Full Universities) for pre-service and the in-service-training (in different institutions). They have to be "reoriented and aligned to inclusive education approaches in order to give teachers the pedagogical capacities necessary to make diversity work in the classroom and in line with reformed curricula" (UNESCO 2009, 17).
- To train all education professionals, including members of the community to support an inclusive school and society.

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7 The slogan on a t-shirt I did get as a generous gift from students at the University of Helsinki.

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Pekka Vartiainen

Whose Folk Culture is it, anyway?

Culture today is becoming global. Everywhere in the western world and beyond, we are facing culture that is more and more a combination or mixture of transnational elements. Chain stores, big multinational companies and their headquarters, popular culture, fashion business, even people's social behavior have certain similarities in every spot in the world. At the same time there is a strong cultural movement towards originality, locality and individualism. People are looking for homemade cooking, smaller producers of goods, ecological consumerism, pop-up restaurants or shop-around-the-corner -type of solutions where you want to have a confrontation of your own set of values and what is being offered for you.

Culture has a way of bringing these two "megatrends" together. As a consumer of popular culture, for example, you are at the same time an individual and a part of a larger community of individuals and persons sharing the same kind of taste in culture. While listening to Michael Jackson or Lady Gaga or playing *Gears of War* or watching the latest *James Bond* movie you have a personal touch on things that you share with others. Pleasure or desire comes as a ready-made package.

When speaking of folk culture we tend to use terms like "folk" or "culture" in a loose way. We have adopted a certain viewpoint on certain kinds of cultural phenomena that have been labeled as "folk culture". Usually these kinds of labels are attached to performances that have certain "folkish" characteristics: dancers wearing old, traditional costumes, musicians playing songs and lyrics from the past, using traditional or old instruments. We can even say that our perspective on folk culture is an automatic response to those kinds of happenings that have non-modern features in it.

This is also true in respect of tradition or history. Concepts like "folk" or "tradition", or even "history" are being produced for us, and they all bear certain meanings that we have adopted. Our social, historical and lo-

cal background has been rooted in these concepts, although we are not always aware of it. In a similar way there is a stream of another set of concepts, or historical traits that guide our understanding of the present and cultural or other kind of actions. The "Enlightenment", the ideological, philosophical and moral movement that shaped Europe in the 18th century, has its role to play in our minds; we tend to respect reason over emotions. In addition, while we are all part of the "modernity process", living inside a modern way of looking at the surrounding reality where several social, psychological and instructional processes are in ferment, our perception of world is framed, limited and restricted.

All of what I have just noted above is actually lucky for us, because without these kinds of frames it would be hard for us just to get by. Usually, the concept of "folk" relates to "common people", "men", "tribe" or "multitude". "Tradition" in this sense is a ritual, belief or object that has been passed down within a society. It is still maintained in the present but has its origins in the past. Those legends, music, oral history, proverbs, jokes, popular beliefs, fairy tales and customs where the tradition of our culture has been uploaded, belong to a genre we call "folklore". So, to speak of folk culture, means that we are touching the ground where a group of people are behaving in a certain way, producing certain cultural forms which have a link to a past that we all share.

Folk culture, following from this definition, is social, individual and traditional. And at the same time, it contains significance which makes it understandable for us in a given time. Every age has to find its own folk culture. Our age, which has been labeled as postmodern, has a certain viewpoint on reality and on the ways it can be understood. Usually postmodern societies have been seen as part of the bigger historical shift in which industrial societies have been changed into information societies. We have been moved from mass production towards decentralized individualized production. Also, the decline of western hegemony, globalization, cultural and semantic heterogeneity and multivocality has been seen as the central parts of this historical shift. In our age we tend to question positivistic universalism, absolute truths and the existence of universal structures. In our postmodern society time is always at stake, histo-

ry does exist but it is more like a narrative narrated by someone or some group than a definitive story coming from a universal source.

From this perspective it is quite easy to see that when we try to understand cultural phenomena like folk culture, our task is not simple. One way to define it is to see folk culture as something by which traditional modes of behavior and expression are transmitted from generation to generation (by firsthand interaction) among a group of people. To put it more frankly: folk culture is part of a communication system where our social behavior is at work. Seen from this perspective, concepts like "nationhood", "national culture" and, most of all, "nation-state" hangs about us like blankets of mist. To speak of tradition and the ways it can be transmitted further, is to speak of nation and its ways to express its nationhood. And for the present cultural activity that is called (for whatever reason) folk culture, the goal is to make everything open, visible, audible, sensible, understandable.

These kinds of cultural discourses are connected with cultural policy, which gives a nation a way to preserve activities that it sees as essential.

In Finland, cultural policy is closely linked to our national identity. Policy statements are made based on the idea of a modern, European state with a tradition of its own. In a way there is a question of cultural protectionism lying behind cultural policy and the ways it is put into practice. Although cultural policy itself has been changed from time to time – during the 1970's there was a shift from arts policy to cultural policy, from subsidizing cultural activities over products, and back in the 80's a policy that focused on cultural services and the customer's view of activities – the basis of cultural policy has always been the same: preservation of Finnish language, culture and a certain Finnish way of life which finds its expression in the arts.

It is actually impossible to define or even speak of folk culture without touching these points of ideological, political and historical roots, even in the brief manner I have done above. These pictures I have showed you (a Finnish maiden waiving the Finnish flag, Sibelius, national writer Aleksis Kivi, painting that takes as its starting point our national epic poem, a picture of a landscape with seas and islands) tells us a story that bears com-

mon features in it. It is a story where Finland is seen from the outside and at the same time a story where we take an inside look at Finnish people, the folk and its culture.

We bear in mind these kinds of pictures when we practice something that can be called "culture talk". It is, as Pertti Alasuutari in his article on "Art, Entertainment, Culture, and Nation" stated, an activity that can be traced back to those situations where we use the concept "culture" based on our assumptions of what culture is. In this sense culture talk or public debate on culture is concentrated on some specific issue such as the economy, intellectual activity, education services, art and the audience, nationalism and public image of culture as a tool to keep us all on the side of "civilized Europe".

What this means in Finland is that every time we start to have a public discussion of culture's role in a present day society, at some point we use arguments that are linked to topics just mentioned above. Very common are points where you see culture as part of economic policy. The key question will then be on what grounds culture should or should not be subsidized. Closely related to this is the opinion that culture is good for your mental health, which means that the state should support people's cultural activity because it helps them to be creative and intellectually active. Also, culture seen from this point of view implies that our educational services should be planned and offered in a way that people have easy access to cultural services.

A very intensive debate is often centered on the division between high and low art. By the former is meant artistic expression that is not intended for the larger public or market, although these are not necessarily excluded from its production. From time to time the cultural sector faces sudden surprises where a low budget film or aesthetically demanding piece of a play will become a bestseller or make a good profit at the box office. But in culture talk we tend to make comparisons between high art and poor interest of audience and low art where the number of the audience is high. Based on these assumptions, the taste of the general public and the form of language of high culture, official cultural policy has its challenges and possibilities.

Patriotism has a key role in the debate where we talk of state-subsidized art. In favor of support we see art as an important part of treasuring our

national identity. With economic support we express our appreciation for Finland and Finnish culture and its heritage. By national identity is meant something that is understood as belonging to our national being, something that divides us from "others". In this process of formulation of culture to become "Finnish" art plays a central role. Certain artistic artifacts and artists are associated with the idea of our national identity.

The concept of culture is always hierarchic. As Alasuutari puts it: "Culture refers to the sophistication of our customs; it is synonymous with civilization." This is to say, that we use the word "culture" to strengthen our sense of national identity, and in this it is usually art that we refer to. But the situation is not that simple. As Alasuutari notes:

> [---] culturespeak is used to promote a distinct national identity. Mixed with this meaning of culture is talk where culture actually refers to certain artifacts, such as work of art. When the word culture is used in this way, the national particularity emphasis is often played down, because art and culture are seen as a field of competition. It is assumed that that domestic art and other cultural products should live up to international standards. When culture is used in this way, there is also the underlying assumption that high culture and "cultural activities" worthy of state support are instruments that can improve specific mental or behavioral attributes of the general population.

Speaking of culture is a matter or words and meanings we put into these words. These meanings are always instrumental and not dependent only on our own assumptions. Culture and art serve as a symbol of the state-centered and expert-dominated society and provide at the same time legitimacy for that society.

To go back to folk culture, or something that we tend to call (for some reason) folk culture. If the concept of culture is as complicated and ambiguous as I have suggested, the situation is the same with folk culture as well. I would like to suggest that folk culture in a sense exists on the border

of pre-modern and post-modern societies. Today, when we look at those cultural artifacts where we can see some folkish elements performed in a very modern way or imitating some traditional modes, this living on the boundary line comes true. In Finland, for example, postmodern versions of our traditional novels (like Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers* from 1870) or the epic poem *Kalevala* (1849) live next to those original ones. Together they build a bridge from the past to the present, where both are dependent on each other. Folk culture can be called folk culture because of this: it takes us back to our history, our past. But without a certain touch of the present day we wouldn't be able to connect it to those structures that lie underneath all cultural production.

When we hear and see bands like *Sielun veljet* or *Värttinä* singing songs that have their roots in old Finnish children songs or eastern folk stories, there are certain cultural binary oppositions that they represent. Tradition comes alive together with modern attitudes, national ideologies shake hands with global musical trends and rhythm, local meets international in performance's gestures and clothing, product and production are put in a place where they are inseparable, and seriousness exists with playfulness, irony with satire. This is postmodernism in practice, postmodernism in action, and it is postmodernism by its nature.

Folk culture is never just folk culture, or culture for the people, by the people. Folk culture is our vision of cultural production that bears a certain label. This label tells us whose folk culture it is, anyway, at a given time.

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Rosemary Statelova:

Chalga: Local Popular Culture in Times of Global Communications

The subject of my study is a phenomenon of popular music in Bulgaria that caused the word *chalga* to reenter our speech in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century. Etymologically the word "chalga" means popular entertainment music, once played in Bulgaria towns during the Bulgarian Revival by ethnically mixed instrumental bands; the so-called "chalgii" (The Bulgarian Revival refers to a period in the 18th and 19th centuries when Bulgarian nationalist movement became active with the goal to secure independence from the Ottoman Empire. Independence was achieved in 1878). But at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries in Bulgaria *chalga* has not only acquired a new meaning, but also has a different emotional context. It is this context that interests me, not the chalga itself. I place the term *ethnopop* as a subtitle of my study to refer to a broadly defined notion of a whole array of modern popular music phenomena – so I will use both "chalga" and "popfolk" as contextually equivalent for this notion – in which, going against globalization in the sphere of popular music, the local and the ethnic are the dominant factors marking the product.

After a lifetime of studying popular music, here once again I identify myself as a popular music researcher. I could, but I have not done the much-needed work of writing a history of Bulgarian entertainment music. And I have not done this because of my keen interest in another sphere which – as I see now – "swallowed" all the forty years during which I had been working as a researcher of popular music: the daily, the ordinary, the low, and its musical manifestations. As is clearly seen, chalga is not a genre of music, but rather a dimension of culture, which, for reasons not quite clear to me, awakens my intuitions (but not my liking of it). At the Begin-

ning of the 1980s I started a large-scale study called "Toward a Theory of the Entertaining" and it was there – at that time more from a psychological and a psychoanalytical perspective – that I tried to clarify my idea of the phenomenon as one of the ways for us to go back to the primitive and pre-cultural. My theses argued against the educational pathos of socialism, but after its collapse my work was buried in the drawer of my unpublished works.

Naturally I like M. Bakhtin`s work on Medieval and Renaissance carnival culture very much and – following him - liberally but only in oral presentations developed theories about bodily openings and their relation to the entertaining. "My" understanding of the low, however, is different from Bakhtin`s since he tries in one way or another to connect joyful festive recreations with "the world of the high goals of human existence". My understanding of the person having fun excludes the high and is focused downward on the basement of values looked at from above. And looked at from below upwards? This is an irrelevant question since in human conceptions low does not have a bottom, in the same way in which high has no top. That is why – already in the 1990s – I created the methodological metaphor of the "reversed pyramid" of cultural values[1]. One walks on the terrain as in "Alice in Wonderland" or in the film "The Matrix"; one hangs upside-down, staring at the unfolding landscape below. What you can see, you see. The rest is sounds and words that are usually taboo higher up the pyramid.

Meanwhile Bulgaria entered a transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Many barriers fell and a reign of anything-goes began, or, in the words of social anthropologist Haralan Alexandrov, a time of giving in to primary dissipation. This did not happen step by step, like it did "in the West" by creating a mass culture for decades, but rather quickly. What happened was that exceptionally many and exceptionally different projects were started as if in a wild uncontrolled zone. It was the end of guarding art in its status as "high". "Opening the floodgates for mass culture was de

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1   See Statelova, R. 1993. The Reversed Pyramid. Aspects of Popular Music. Sofia: Edem`21.

facto opening the floodgates for the "low" – to a certain extent this was more than normal," says Violeta Decheva[2]. Thus, the phenomenon that I observe – let's call it entertainment – was left to the chaos of its internal logic and had the time of its life. I will put it in more concrete terms: If it's temporary, historically changeable genre features are erased, the phenomenon in question essentially reproduces a very old and always new inter-personal situation in which one individual, performing music, pleases another individual. This is done in the form of a (preliminarily constituted) aural-kinetic service, which has a particular purpose and symbolic content and which evokes a particular emotional response, ranging from excitement to relief. This is, in my opinion, what the so called popular music genre is all about: sound-rhythm (songs, music playing) and gesture-movement (dance) have had the power to entertain from the very beginning of the (human) world. The entertained and the entertaining (clients and musician) create the contour of one of the oldest cultural situations, criss-crossed by a multitude of aspects and relations concerned with music, dance, communication, markets, production, and power. I would like to illustrate this service and this "musician – client – relation" with the story which was told to me by an informant of mine: the tambura and guitar player Peter. I met him in the luxury chalga club BIAD in Sofia in November 1999. He was playing in a nine-member band.

> PETER: "We haven't always worked in luxury places. We have worked in ordinary places for ordinary people: taxi-drivers, personnel from others restaurants… They come to our place to have a drink and to give to us a bit of their meager and hard-earned salaries. We used to work in the village of Gorublyane (on the outskirts of Sofia). They liked us very much because we were modest. We were all from Vidin. We worked like mules, playing for eight or nine hours straight. And the waiters they had been serving at a wedding and afterwards took a walk around Pancharevo, had dinner,

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2   Decheva, Violeta. 2002 . "Theatre in Mass Culture in Bulgaria." *Kultura* 14:8.

drank something, and passed by here on their way home. They saw that the place was lit up, that music was playing, so they said: "Hey, let's have one last drink. What will you have?" You see, he has ten leva, five he will keep for tomorrow, and the rest he`'l give to you. And you show your respect for him by playing. You play especially for him and he gets sucked in and becomes a permanent customer. Once he likes it, the second time he will say: "Let's go there again." So for these people we play absolutely the same music, but for less money."

Ancient or not, this cultural situation is not free of problems. To use the rhetoric of Freud, the principle of pleasure moves across its full range, unstopped by any corrective principles of reality. The client pays, the artist gives, and on it goes ad infinitum… in the wild uncontrolled zone. The following example, given by anthropologist Asen Baliksi at a seminar in visual anthropology at the Institute of Art Studies in the mid-1990s, illustrates this. The scientist reported on a field study that he had led to study daily cultural life in the village of Yakoruda and other nearby settlements (Yakoruda is a village in southwest Bulgaria inhabited by so-called Pomaks). Besides everything else that went on in the village, Baliksi's video camera recorded the arrival of a car from Sofia every Thursday, whose driver rented videocassettes, including pornographic ones. Asked to evaluate his regular consumption of rented pornographic videos, an elderly Muslim man answered: "My soul opens!"

What is striking in this statement is that it almost literally illustrates the words with which Edgar Morin opens his book "Spirit of Time", a very important work for understanding the phenomenon of mass culture: "the second industrialization began… the second colonization, penetrating into the big Reserve, what actually the human soul is. The soul is the new Africa, which the film streams started to chart"[3]. A century later this Africa is Yakoruda, and the cinema is replaced by video.

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3   Morin, Edgar. 1995. *Spirit of Time*. Sofia: "Christo Botev", P. 27.

What else is interesting about the described case? I would say it is the fact that it is intertwined in the ordinary, in the meaningful structures of the daily life of the people from the periphery of the country. Somewhere there, in Yakoruda or nearby, in the twilight of a Thursday evening a video shop arrives on wheels. And while women finish their shopping in the neighborhood store, men are supplied with yet another portion of "soul-openers". In the same way, step by step, in the peripheral cultural spaces of Bulgaria ten years earlier, demo-cassettes of songs by the so-called Hisar Priest began to be distributed illegally, risking government sanctions. I heard them for the first time in a bus running between towns, on my way from Razgrad to Shumen, played on the driver's cassette recorder. What struck me then was the ordinariness and plainness of the lyrics: some ordinary "uncle", with all the characteristics of a not-very-good upbringing, sighed, remembering the cigarette that his girlfriend smoked in the morning. Everything merged in an image: the bus-station I had just left; the stall there selling Schweppes, wafers and newspapers; the women carrying bundles and the men with bags; the old "Chavdar" bus; the smell of petroleum; the general impression of shabbiness: Local, remote, out of time. The people, this time understood as not in the idealized sense of the word. Sounds and words are of daily ordinariness: Balkan country music.

So, after the decline of the socialist "Golden Orpeus" festival and its pathetically sublime songs with their poetic lyrics made to fit government standards, another way of making songs appeared in Bulgaria. These new songs smacked of the provinces and of olden days as something contrary to the idea of the "up-to-day" in culture, contrary to the globalization in end through mass culture. This stealthy, sneaky move was noticed by two researchers of modern forms of folklore, Lozanka Peycheva and Ventsislav Dimov, as early as 1994 in their publication "Demo-cassettes: About One Unstudied Fact of the Sofia Music Market"[4], which reported the phenomenon and began its study from the perspective of a methodology influenced by new research trends in world ethnomusicology. Soon after that they were not alone and were even pushed aside by a noisy crowd of

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4   See *Bulgarian folklore*, 1994, No. 4/ 25–34.

journalists, who turned their sights to manifestations of pop folk, moving them in this way from the periphery to the center of media attention. Ethnic pop music turned into a prosperous industry, the "vanguard" of mass culture made in Bulgaria. There was more to it – it turned into a metaphor for modern Bulgaria, concentrating a huge amount of discontent with post-communist Bulgaria in the word chalga, dragged out of yesterday's cupboard. But strangely enough, the metaphor revealed itself as ambivalent in terms of values and meanings, even polyvalent, just as today's Bulgaria seems to us at times a place where we can "consume freely our melancholy and disgust," and at other times a country that is developing in a certain direction.

Here I turn to the text of an academic discussion on the topic "Chalga – Pros and Cons", organized by the department "History and Theory of Culture" at Sofia University and by the New Bulgarian University in 1999. In the ten talks the ambivalence mentioned above is clear seen – it is an ambivalence about the negative discourse on this phenomenon given the tolerance and sympathy felt for it, which garnishes the contempt. The discussion on the topic "Chalga – Pros and Cons" is in fact just a slight echo of a large-scale horizontal and vertical, and synchronic and diachronic, discourse about what is going on in our country today, yesterday, and the day before. Pop folk is just like a physical pain; it not only aches, but it also signals a certain syndrome. "Liberals in culture" sympathize with the syndrome because it is intertwined in the local landscape. Hard-core culturologists/culture-scientists(?), however, firmly claim that the essential cultural phenomenon associated with ethnic pop music is the disgust felt for it. I stand by this latter idea "by tradition": in my book "Reversed Pyramid" I declared that I study not so much pop music, but rather the negative paradigm in which it is placed as a subject of study. That is why I accept as a challenge the concluding words of the leader of the discussion "Chalga – Pros and Cons". Alexander Kyosev, who says: "Each culture draws a zone of laughter, a zone of pleasure and with them a zone of revulsion… Disgust was born at chalga. This disgust has to be theorized". So, all my texts about chalga have to be considered an attempt at such theorizing.

Finally, let's hear again the voice of the chalga-musician, who is speaking about the people, identifying themselves with this kind of music. I was asking Peter: "So, Peter, this is a kind of music that helps someone take a break and relax. But isn't it a rather vulgar relaxation?

> PETER: No, there's something more. I am surprised how competent these people are. I look at the girls dancing around us. We are playing, and they – I see it on their lips – they know the lyrics. One has to listen to songs a lot to learn their lyrics. I don't even have the knowledge they have. I am surprised how people can be fans of Serbian music. We start a Serbian song which we haven't played for years – and they are dying for it and are so happy! They know even the third verse. And they sing it with us, pouring out their souls. You are singing, and he is singing there at his table, full of joy. It means these people regularly listen to this music. It can't be interpreted only in this way: music for pubs, to get drunk and tear your shirt off to. This person could hardly have this knowledge only from the pub.

> R. STATELOVA: What values does chalga celebrate?

> PETER: Rubbish. Gypsy songs often have no meaning at all. But there are some that have meaning. They order the song "Amalipe" (Friends) which says that there is no friendship, that everyone wants your money, is trying to cheat you, and in the end what values remain? Only your children, your wife. This reflects people's problems and so they order it. But otherwise chalga lyrics rarely have positive qualities; they usually glorify eroticism and money.

And in the end – the repertoire of the BIAD band. The approximately two-hour-long musical program, which Peter recorded for me as an example of the BIAD band's perfor-

mances, contains sixty-five selections, seven of which are re-
peated. Of the fifty-eight pieces, twenty-six are Gypsy, four-
teen are Bulgarian, six are Greek, five are Serbian, four are
Turkish, two are in a Latino style, and one is an Italian can-
zonet.

Hannu Sirkkilä

The Finnish Tango –
Near to Mystics

In the summer 2004 I took part in a dance course in Central Finland. Before then I had no skill to dance although I had an interest in dance music and dance culture. It was surprising. I became enthusiastic, and step-by-step I went on with my training. Now, seven years later I have learnt about 15 different dance styles. But one special style stands apart, arousing a near mystic feeling when its sounds begin in dance halls. It is Finnish Tango.

The tango is part of Finnish culture, having strong national features. It is a legitimately recognized tango genre (Gronow 1996, 233). On the other hand, there is an acculturation process. This acculturation means that Finnish tango has an Argentinean background as well as musical elements drawn from Russian romantic melodies and German march rhythms (Kukkonen 1996). Over time, it has taken these elements and fused them to make its own special style and identity.

Urban tango during the first decades

The tango was born in the late 19th century on both sides of the Rio de Plata, in Buenos Aires and in Montevideo. Visiting Argentinean musicians and dancers brought it to European metropolises in the early 1910s. The first European breakthrough was in Paris 1911, and within 6 months, tango was also in Finland. This tells about the rapid flow of acculturation. During the year 1912, it was possible to hear tango music in many restaurants in Helsinki. The first tango dance presentation was in Helsinki in the autumn of 1913,quickly followed by organized also tango courses.

This nurtured the first wave of tango fever in Finland. (Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 176.)

This period was the first one in Finnish tango history and it continued to the end of Second World War. During 1920s and 1930s, Finnish tango had a close connection to European trends and the German influence was especially strong. For example, the repertoire of orchestras at that time was mostly German tangos which were translated into Finnish (Gronow 1996, 232; Padila 1998, 124). When thinking about the tango rhythm, it was transformed from the Argentinean style to a heavier tread (or accent) akin to that of a march; this marching rhythm became one of the dominant stylistic traits of the Finnish tango (Jaakkola 2000). During these first decades, tango was a quite urban phenomenon representing the new urban way of life (Kukkonen 1996, 61). The European tango was very different compared to its Argentinean ancestor, which had a close connection to local, common people. This means that in Finland, jazz bands played tangos in the best restaurants, casinos and salons and it became the enjoyment of rich and middle class people (Padilla 1998, 125).

The Beginning of the Finnish style

The second period of Finnish tango commenced after the war years and continued to the beginning of the 1960s. This period formed a different Finnish tango style. This form developed during the time when Finnish society underwent social and cultural changes (Kukkonen 1996, 225). At that time, work of the composer Toivo Kärki was important and central. To the Finnish melodies Kärki incorporated the minor style based on Russian music (Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 413). Major tonality melodies have never been very popular among Finnish people. We are minor people, (or people who love minor keys), melancholic like Russians. Toivo Kärki was very skillful at doing this, finding a special Finnish tango style but he was not the only one pushing forward this trend.

After the Second World War, the tango grew in popularity in Finland. An important cultural change was that the tango was no longer the music of the urban elite, because it became the favorite music of country

agrarians and laborers. One reason was that when the war began, so did a strong period of dancing. That was the last years before the television era, and people enjoyed going to dance. Of course after the harsh war years, they enjoyed the possibilities of spending their free time in dance places. During 1950s, there were more different dance places than ever before or since. Every village had its own dance pavilion or hall. The 1950s also meant a rise of popular culture and its star cult. First real tango stars rose to fame, and singer Olavi Virta was the biggest name of that time.

The Tango phenomenon

The third period of Finnish tango began in the early 1960s. This has been the strongest episode in Finnish tango history and it created a whole phenomenon. When talking about The Finnish Tango, it is largely based on those features which evolved during the 1960s. There were quite many reasons for this boom. Of course, they were partly musical. Before these high level tango years, in the late 1950s, foreign cover music was popular in Finland and Italian melodies especially had a good share of the Finnish music market. New tangos, based on national compositions and texts, struck a nostalgic counterblow. Partly it was also a counterblow against pop-music. The breakthrough of British pop-music and the high popularity of bands like The Beatles created a reaction of opposition. This counter blow was felt strongest regionally. In some dance places, especially in the western part of Finland, in Ostrobothnia, the objection was so strong that if the band played pop-music, the musicians felt the aggression of the audience, which sometimes escalated to violence.

Partly the popularity of the tango was based on the changes in Finnish society in the 1960s. At that time the country went through a rapid urbanization and large amounts of people needed to move from the countryside to towns; also quite many moved to Sweden to seek jobs. Those who stayed in countryside villages at that time, experienced feelings of deprivation and tango music, with its nostalgic style and lyrics offered them a welcome shelter.

The most important and most popular tangos in Finland were composed during the 1960s. The most famous of these was the tango recording by Reijo Taipale, called "Satumaa", composed by Unto Mononen. "Satumaa", like many others, rose to the top of the sales charts. During the best years, a third of the top hits were tangos (Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003, 479).

Postmodern tango

The end of the sixties meant a decline of the tango boom and the beginning of another decade-long silent tango period. The fourth period began in the 1980s. These last years have, in general, meant quite many changes in Finnish tango culture. It can be described as the postmodern period of the tango; or as Pirjo Kukkonen (1996, 213) named it, the renaissance of the Finnish tango.

The most important sign of this new period has been the Seinäjoki Tango Festival. It was first held in 1985 and it has been one of the most important festivals in Finland. The largest crowds have been close to 130 000 people. The highlight of the Tango Festival has been a tango singing competition, when the new Tango King and Queen are elected. This festival has tango as its basic idea, but it is like many other festival s where large groups of people gather to have fun and to enjoy the experience.

One thing which we can also find in the Seinäjoki Tango festival, is that the tango music in and of itself, breaks out beyond its limits and we can find genre mixtures. Rock melodies are adapted to tango styles and maybe the reason is to make tango more interesting to younger age groups. Another part of this process, is the tango stars. The King and Queen nominated singers in the Seinäjoki Tango festival are a very different breed when we compare them to the big names of the 1960s. Now they more stylized, more professional, being part of the entertainment business. After their nomination they partly forget tangos and they vary their repertoire because nowadays, pure tango is not a strong selling product.

The tango is also a part of our cultural exports and imports. Argentinean tango orchestras are common visitors at Finnish festivals. Finnish

tango artist performed concerts especially in Central Europe. The Finnish tango export is part of the official Finnish brand and image. Through tango, we can show that Finland is more interesting and has special nuances: tango together with sauna, vodka and Aki Kaurismäki.

In this postmodern time, dancing has also changed. In addition to the Finnish way of dancing tango, there are obviously other styles: of course the Argentinean tango with its different versions. This is part of the enjoyment of having dance as a hobby. In the earlier times, dancing was a free time activity when people wanted to to get a refreshing feeling, meet each other or find a spouse. These elements are still important, but nowadays more and more people really train in dance styles having the motivation to learn and to be more skillful.

Lyrics in Finnish tangos

Pirjo Kukkonen (1996, 226) has described that the Finnish tango lyrics provide a dual setting for our nostalgia and melancholy, joy and sorrow, love and longing. The tango lyrics continue folk poetry in the form of our time and similar themes and emotional positions. The tango lyrics also have a communicative function when it provides a way to express love and longing as the reflections of the Finnish mind, mentality and culture. The idea is that popular music and its lyrics tell us something very important about the origin of its cultural roots. Argentinean tango has a clear psychological level telling of Man´s mental states. Finnish tango lyrics prefer the idea of nostalgia, living in memories or living a dream. (Kukkonen 1996, 229.)

These elements can best be found in the most popular Finnish tango, "Satumaa", The Happy Land. Unto Mononen composed and wrote the text in 1955.

Over there beyond the oceans, there´s a happy land,
Where the waves so softly kiss its warm and golden sand.
Charming flowers spread their fragrance and soothe a troubled mind.
There´s no place for sorrow – only happiness you´ll find.

Oh, if only I could find and reach that happy land.
Unlike a bird that flies away I´d never leave that sand.
But without wings I cannot fly, I am prisoner of the ground.
And only through my heart and dreams to the Happy Land I´m bound.

Fly, my song, and take me where I´ll find that happy land.
Fly, and take me to my darling, let me take her hand.
Fly, my song, and spread your wings, go soaring like a dove.
Tell my girl so sweet and tender, she´s my only love!

Oh, if only I could find and reach that happy land.

(Music and lyrics by Unto Mononen; English lyrics by Helinä Kotkanen; Kukkonen 1996, 193 -194).

In this text we can find many kinds of levels. "Satumaa" is first and foremost very national. This means a clear agreement with many other tangos or with other popular music texts. The inclusion of these themes give a very romantic impression when they express a deep longing. The target of this longing is an abstract land where very perfect happiness exist (Kukkonen 1996, 197). This longing in a very melancholic style, is very common in Finnish lyrics.

"Satumaa" also has a nature context. It tells first about the ocean, sand, flowers and birds. These elements are so familiar in Finnish reality, Nature is still near us and Finnish people have a motivation to spend their free time near nature. Nature has always had a strong place in the texts of Finnish music.

Besides the national level, we can also find a connection to our western cultural history and mythologies. Kukkonen (1997, 327) compares this to the myth of Atlantis by Plato. In the text we can find a contrary pair here – there. Here is confinement, sadness, pain. There, is joy, love, happiness. "Satumaa" means a mythical Atlantis where all negative feelings end.

"Satumaa" is also a love narrative, a quite sad one. It is a dream and the focus of this dream is the motive to love one. On this level, the text is quite common: the teller has problems trying to transmit his loving feelings to the girl. Maybe there are many problems to in addition to this one, not only communicative. It seems that there is a need for a third one, which has a role of mediator, to tell the loving the message. In this story "like a dove" has this role.

One possibility is to see this lyric in a religious way. The narrative context is like a prayer, just before falling in sleep. The prayer voices the most important hope, the hope to come into the happy land. This happy land is very analogous to the heaven. The prayer's life is full of suffering and the dream of heaven seems to give a possible happiness and mental balance.

The lyric of the tango "Satumaa" are so very common, very stereotypical when we want to analyze Finnish tango texts. After more than fifty years, it is of course quite out-dated, a little comical to our ears. But is why it also is so deep, telling something very essential about Finnish culture and Finnish people.

The focus and meaning of tango

The Argentinean tango acculturated to Finland in a very special form and today these two are quite distinct. But in both these countries, tango has a strong focus and meaning. A substantial part of this is a clear national profile in the music. It is not enough to form a strong relevance of some music genre or style. The important element has been the skill of tango to generate many cultural and social elements. During its Finnish history, this has consisted of a national narrative. This narrative is known, shared among people in Finland. Nearly everyone can recognize the basic elements or icons of tango. Our imaginations suggest a picture of a dance pa-

vilion during a brightly lit summer evening beside a lake, melancholic tango sounds are heard and there is a strong emotional charge, a deep and near mystical feeling. This iconic image has been redone so many times in Finnish popular culture. It goes on although it seems that tango has partly lost its popularity.

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EUROPEAN CULTURE:
CRISES, CHALLENGES, CHANCES

Regine Weißinger

Controversies in European Identity

"United in diversity" – this slogan chosen by the European Union shows the diversity of Europe as well as its unity. The former can be seen in different traditions and languages, the second in the common aim for peace or in a common currency.

This analysis seeks to show the difference between the vision for European Identity given by European bodies and the understanding of European Identity among the citizens. In order to formulate basic controversies of European Identity first and foremost the question arises where European Identity is approved in European Laws and how it can be constructed. Out of these considerations six controversies of European Identity will be formulated; they will lead to basic conditions for the construction of European Identity.

European Identity – Dimensions and Descriptions

The word "identity" comes from the Latin word "idem". Coming from the background of social psychology, identity today has two meanings: since the beginning of the 18th century one focus of science has been on self-identity. The other meaning of identity covers collective identity, based on common knowledge and common memory.

European Identity is an additive or multiple identities. This concept can lead to priority conflicts on a collective and individual level. Consequently, it is a task of identity work to reach links and to cover the different identities. Building the European Identity on the interregional Identity seems optimal as thereby an overlap of both identities will already in-build. Nevertheless, tensions arise also between the concepts of national, European, local and regional identities.

Language can represent a barrier for identity work, since communication across borders can be impaired by different languages. Identity does

not only define itself over demarcation. The borders itself takes a special position: The more salient the border is, the more compact and defensive will be the identities. At the same time, border is understood as a reflective subject. In this way, difference is not an antonym of identity anymore. On the contrary diversity defines identity, as formulated in the Union's device. European Identity has to be regarded as a practice of difference.

The term border also refers to points of references shared by a collective as for example geographical location, shared history, languages, values, symbols or a common media. These shared points of reference define a group in opposite to another group. So collective identity describes the common ground of a group with which their members identify themselves and as a result define themselves as a community.

Grounds of European Identity / European Laws concerning Identity

Jean Monnet, one of the founding members of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), is quoted with the following sentence: "If I would have to begin with Europe again, I would begin with culture." But Culture did not yet play a role within the establishment of the ECSC. Economic co-operations, peace-keeping and the fact that Europe wanted to position itself as a global participant between the two super powers were the main reasons for the appearance of the ECSC.

By the fight for "Culture for all" first voices for cultural policy on European level became louder. Culture should be helpful in the development of a common identity beyond economy. A repetition of the occurrences in the Third Reich should be excluded by a balanced identity, consisting of regional, national and European portions.

The term "European Identity" was mentioned for the first time in the Summit of Copenhagen in December 1973. In this document, the ministers of foreign affairs of the European Economic Community determined the dynamic perspective of this identity. As a basic element of European Identity, the document states the desire to secure the validity of the legal, political and mental values, to conserve the variety of its national cultures,

to keep the principals of the representative democracy, the rule of law, social justice as well as the attention of human rights (see: EG 1973).

As a basis for the development of European nationality and identity the document names exactly those elements, still forming European Identity decades later. In the consolidated version of the Treaty on the European Union crucial parts are the cultural, humanistic and religious inheritance of Europe as well as the introduction of one common citizenship valid for all (see: EU 2009: 15). These values are mentioned in a wide range of European Laws. Above all, the universality of the addressed values is remarkable.

Even if the topic of identity was discussed early in the official policy of the union, it was not before the 80's that it was used as a relevant term. The explanation from 1973 was promoted to be the engine for further changes and innovations concerning the development of European Identity and European Citizenship. In 1984 for example the European Council states concerning the aimed Identity: "The European Council considers it essential that the Community should respond to the expectations of the people of Europe by adopting measures to strengthen and promote its identity and its image both for its citizens and for the rest of the world." (see: ER 1984: 195)

The concept "A people's Europe" (1985) was activated by the demand of the European Council in order to bind the citizens of Europe more closely to the European Community and to overcome the felt distance to the citizens. An Ad-Hoc-Committee had to examine the suggestions of the European Council, as for example the introduction of symbols for the community, the European Coin (ECU) as a common currency or the regulation of border crossings. In this first period, above all recognition characteristics were selected, in order to establish a community spirit.

Cultural and educational policies finally were anchored in Maastricht Treaty. The Treaty was seen as the contractual basis for the Promotion of cultural affairs on the European Level. This was based on the knowledge that the inclusion of cultural awareness into the Community is a condition for the feeling of affiliation, thus for the development of a common identity. In article 128 it is pointed out, that "The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their na-

tional and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore." (see: EU 1992).

European Identity – reflected in the Eurobarometer

Since 1973 the EU produces public opinion assessments, called Eurobarometer. The survey is carried out each autumn and spring. Although the range of questions has been expanded over the years, the program aims to keep most of the survey constant, so that data is comparable over time.

Surveys show that in autumn 2009 74 % of the asked Europeans felt European, an increase of three percentage points since the survey in spring. Nationality and Region do still play an important role (see: EK 2009a: 12). So the tendency for the identification of Europeans with Europe is increasing.

Also the components of European Identity played an important role within the questioning as can be seen in the table. Thus 41 % of the asked ones see the most important elements of European Identity in democratic values. Geographical affiliation, common history and social security are following in that order. 23 % of the questioned see common culture as the most important element of European identity (see: EK 2009a:12)

In your opinion, which are the two most important elements that make up a European identity?
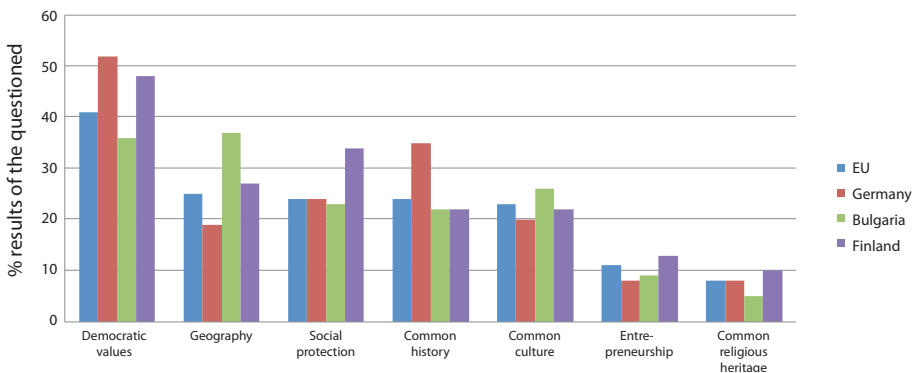
Culture and education are regarded as a basis for a common identity. Common values, rule of law, democracy and human rights as well as symbols, variety, a common history and education are playing an important role for the formation of European Identity. Cultural policy methods, which obtain, strengthen or make these components of European Identity more public, have to be seen as identity building instruments. The official bodies do not have an exact image of European Identity: it experiences its realization in Policy. The goals of European Identity Politics are outlined clearly; the realization however is less clear. The Union's Identity Politics is not above mentioned and it does not take place only in institutional centers but also locally is realizes and defines itself. This is why it can reach a variety of Europeans as well in economically underdeveloped regions.

Scientific Consideration

In the following it shall be discussed if the development of European Identity is necessary and possible. How are necessity, contents as well as construction ways of European Identity regarded in the public discussion? The expected discrepancies between the discourse and the European point of view, will lead to six basic controversies in European Identity.

Necessity for European Identity

A reason to aim for the common identity is represented by the often mentioned, democracy deficit of the EU. The Union suffers, so the proponents of this thesis, from a democracy deficit, which can be seen in a missing European public, institutional weaknesses as well as by the lack of a European demos. Jonas Frykman describes this as follows: "The painful democratic deficit of the EU is due to the fact, that the union lacks a land, a territory, and thus finds it hard to make people's hearts beat faster." (Frykman 1999: 15). By which borders do the European Union and Europe define themselves? The EU combines 27 states into a confederation of states; the Council of Europe unites 47 states to a European international orga-

nization. Or does Europe define itself over culture, history or geography? The Laeken Declaration names no other borders for Europe than those of human rights and democracy (see: ER 2001: 2).

The common Identity is necessary for the Union. Having common values and democratic ideas, conflicts within the Union could be carried out according to common rules. So the common Identity is a starting point as well as a necessity. European Identity aims to counteract the trend for nationalism. However it seems that the political level is easier to unite than the level of the citizens.

Contents of European Identity

A good way of getting into the contents of the common identity is the Union's device "United in Diversity". At the same time, this motto represents heritage, mission and challenge for Europe (see: Belafi / Krienke 2007: 2). The success of European Identity is dependent on the interaction of common identity and diversity. On a state level, the European Union is incomprehensible. For that reason, European Identity work refers to the cultural heritage, a European memory and to common values. European Identity has to be seen in European Culture. So the cultural efforts of the Union aim to build identity (von Rautenfeld 2007: 111). The concept of culture, which forms European Identity, is broad and open, and diversity is wished for.

Construction of European Identity

In scientific discussions two diverging ways for the construction of European Identity are emerging: One says that European Identity can't be formed analogous to the national model because Europe can not be a national state out of national states (see: Thiesse 209: 45). Secondly the EU is completely new and has to be regarded detached from national examples. The other part claims that national models can serve as an inspiration for European Identity. Both identities refer to common grounds as for example they regard an interregional collective as their basis. It is particularly

important, that the national level is the next level after the supranational level. The reproduction of characteristic of the national state, for example symbols, is the most obvious for the argument that Identity can be formed analogous to the national model (see: Wagner 2006: 13ff.). Another thing worth mentioning is that Europe maintains boundaries between itself and for example Japan or the United States. In doing this, Europe underestimates the differences in between the member states. Additionally to that, studies show, that there is a context between regional, national and European Identity: A strong national or regional identity supports a strong interregional identity. So European Identity can be influenced by interregional identities.

Construction of European Identity via History

A lot of European speeches refer to a common history to show the long way that Europe has already made. By mentioning the European founding fathers, Jean Monnet or Robert Schuman, they built up a founding myth referring to European History after Second World War. The question arises if European History can be traced back to the Second World War or if it refers to a history dating back to the Bible.

Some say, that monastic orders and knights have to be seen as first European collectives, even if they did not share a European Identity. First communities with a shared identity arise in the Middle Age and Early Modern Age. These communities built up networks throughout Europe, they debated political basic positions and sometimes they shared identity badges (see: Schmale 2008: 48).

Others do have a definite view and state that European History only starts after the Second World War. By defending the position that the political structure in Europe only exists since a few years, even the term identity, applied to a community is seen as a novelty for them. Some say, that European Identity did not play a role for Europe until the fall of the Berlin Wall (see: Thiesse 2009:31). It is evident, that the End of Cold War and the establishment of the EU had an strong impetus for the discussion

about Europe and European Identity, but the before mentioned laws did show, that an identity was wished for since 1973.

By regarding those two contrary positions, it becomes evident, that Europe is not without any history, nor can it be founded only on history. In addition to that, geographical occurrences and cultural values are essential for the foundation of Europe. There are a lot of models and occurrences forming European Identity.

A critical treatment of history has a positive effect on integration and it contributes to social solidarity. Therefore history is an elementary component of European Identity, but one should not forget, that different history in the national States can also cause demarcation.

Construction of European Identity via Languages

Like above mentioned, there is no common reference point in European history. It is somewhat similar with the Languages: Since the dying out of Latin, Europe does not have a common language anymore. Today Europe has 23 official languages and more than 200 indigenous languages. English is used as "lingua franca" today, but the Eurobarometer shows that a majority of the Europeans are not able to talk in English. It is striking that especially Europeans with good education and the younger ones (15 – 24) describe their language skills as very good (see: EK 2001: 8-10).

The supported language diversity struck with cultural diversity and plurality like those mentioned in the Maastricht Treaty. The Union does not to have to commit on one language. The important question is what influences the linguistic variety will have on transnational projects: In border regions where a variety of languages clash, the language variety will cause more problems than for example in regions, where only two languages are clashing together.

Identities cannot be planned, they change independently. However the Union tries to influence identity through programs and projects. Bearing in mind the considerations just named, six controversies in European Identity are going to be formulated.

Political Input of the EU

The focus of the EU still lies on the political input. In the Eurobarometer there is one question which has been asked since 2002: What does the European Union mean to you personally? Within the 16 listed possible answers, political elements are dominating, but a long term comparison shows that that "freedom to travel, study and work" is the most important answer for Europeans (see: EK 2008b: 102)
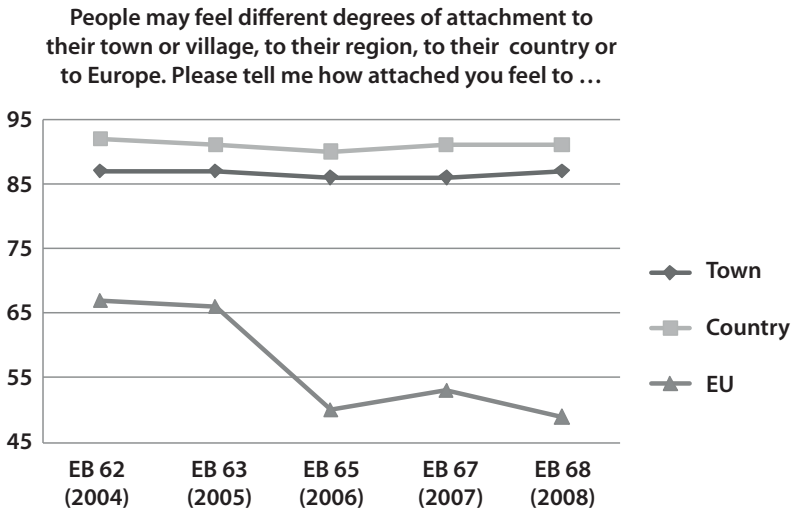
Another question of the Eurobarometer shows the same characteristic: Due to the Europeans, the most important element of European Identity are democratic values (see: EK 2009a: 17). As above-mentioned the focus of European Identity should lie on the cultural, not on the civic part - the answers in the Eurobarometer reveal a different picture. It remains the question how creative artists can form a cultural output out of the political input.

European Identity as a matter for the Elite

Reinhard Johler states that European Identity is experienced more by elites than by the normal population. People with poor educational background do feel less European than people being in education until they reach the age of 20. In addition to that, people with a poor educational background name less often "common history" than the better educated people (see: EK 2009a: 36-41). The question arises if the poorly educated are less interested in Europe or if the programs are only made for the better educated? Age and educational background have an impact on the feeling of being European: The younger the respondents are, the more they feel national and European. There is an enormous difference between persons of different age, education and knowledge on the EU. In this context, the connection with education and knowledge on the EU becomes particularly important: How can less educated or older persons become parts of the European discussion? Elites can and must be the initiators of togetherness, but in the end, the feeling must touch all Europeans to become the basis of European Identity.

Construct of European Identity on Interregional Identity

A further challenge can be seen in the connection between regional, national and European identities and within the construction of European on interregional identity. European Identity can't be formed in a direct way; it is influenced by the detour via the regional identity. Furthermore the political situation has an impact on the formation of European Identity. The diagram shows that the attachment to town and country are extremely stable. The attachment to Europe however seems to be depended on the political situation. The drastic decrease you can see in the graph stands in close connection with the failure of the ratification of the Constitution in 2006. The dependency of the European on the interregional Identity is connected with the additional nature of European Identity. This dependence of European Identity from regional may cause challenges.

People may feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country or to Europe. Please tell me how attached you feel to …

(see: EK 2007b: 241-243; EK 2007a: 427-430; EK 2006a: 375; EK 2005a: 338; EK2004c: 62 105; EK 2004d: 221-224)

Promotion of Identity through Language

The national community is tied very closely to the national language. Europe seems to be a coexistence of monoligualism (see: Thiesse 2009: 42f.).

This means, that language can be regarded as a serious obstacle in European Integration. The search for a "lingua franca" does not represent a solution for the linguistic problem; the variety of languages defines Europe. But different languages can cause problems in transnational projects.

Country-specific different interests

In 2007 the Eurobarometer posed the question, which of the issues language, culture, economy, history, sports and geography are those who most create a feeling of community among European Citizens (see: EK 2007a: 469). The survey shows, that different countries have different preferences. This could be a fundamental problem: Should people be addressed differently in different countries? Or do those country-specific interests dissolve in border-regions? Unfortunately, the Eurobarometer does not provide regional data.

United in Diversity

The last fundamental controversy is represented by the Union's device United in Diversity. It is a challenge to regard diversity as an element of Identity. Is there one European History or several? Where is the origin of the common history? Similarities and differences are elements of European Identity. But this presupposes the knowledge of the Other – a hard challenge for Europe: Europe has a huge cultural heritage including novels or poems, but even here, a national border is drawn. Schools do only teach their "own" philosophers. A glance beyond borders, already practiced in school, is a goal for a united Europe.

Empirical Study on European Identity

In order to find out, whether these named controversies do have an impact on interregional projects or not, two interregional projects in the Oberrheinregion, located between Germany, France and Switzerland have been analyzed. Switzerland served as a control group.

The survey indicated that Political Input, Promotion of Identity through language, country specific different interests and the device

"United in Diversity" have to be regarded as basic problems for a cultural European Identity on European Level as well as for the Oberrheinregion. As expected, the input of the Union is regarded as very political. But on the other hand, this political influence allows freedom with regard to EU program content. The different languages may have two effects: They can have an inhibiting or an encouraging effect on European Identity. In order to prevent the inhibiting effect, it is important to learn another language since childhood. Another problem is represented by the country specific different interests. In border areas, different countries, languages and preferences are clashing. Findings of my survey show that the contents of the projects were differing less, than the method, how the contents and themes were represented. In one of my interviews it became obvious, that this has an enormous effect on public relations: For Germans and Swiss the leisure aspect is more important than for the French. For the other two it is more important that a museum visit is culturally valuable for example.

Out of these problems or controversies, I derived a first basic condition for the construct of European Identity: **Learning a second or another language is very important for understanding European neighbors**. This is more necessary in border regions than in inboard regions. The experience to overcome borders is an everyday event for frontiersmen. But the Union's programs allow citizens that do not live in border regions to make these experiences as well.

Findings of my survey indicate that European Identity as a matter for the Elite and the Construct of European Identity on interregional Identity have not been so important for the Oberrheinregion. In border regions, European Identity is not seen as a matter for the Elite because it is normal to cross borders, to make "use" of the other country for doing groceries or using cultural opportunities. But in non-border-regions, it means an extra effort to experience border-crossings as normal.

In general, one could conclude that **lifelong learning programs should accompany every European citizen from his first days in school until his professional life**. This seems very important for non-border-regions because people living there cannot gain these experiences as easy as

people living in border regions. Every European citizen should have the opportunity for exchange with their neighbors. This would help to substantiate Europe for every single citizen and people would appreciate what the Union does for them. Out of that, the third condition can be formulated: **Every Citizen should experience the advantages given by the Union**. This would help to build up a European Identity.

Besides these problems, the quoted persons named further problems having an impact on European Identity as well. For example institutional problems complicate the cooperation across borders. But also motivation is very important: If project leaders are not motivated to impart European Identity, the whole project may fail. This stands in close connection to their own displeasure towards Europe. Only persons who are convinced by Europe and European Identity are able to push it forward.

The European Union has to find ways to bring Europe to the people. Europeans have to realize the advantages brought by the Union. On the one hand, identity can be influenced by multlingualism, lifelong learning and by substantiate Europe for every single European. Further on, discussions in the public and the image of Europe form identity. Additionally to that by enhancing awareness of positive aspect, advertising campaigns and the media can strengthen the identification with Europe. The EU is faced with a big challenge: on the one hand, Europe should be regarded as status quo, on the other hand as something special that is still in development.

In summary, European Identity cannot only be formed by projects and through different ways of construction. European Identity today is realized in many ways: in the Internet, in Blogs, art projects, literature or films. The discussion about European Identity forms the significance of European Identity: If European Identity would be unchangeable and rigid the Europeans would not regard it as valuable and desirable. It seems it may be that the balance between unity and variety as such is the valuable aspect of European Identity.

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Yvonne Pröbstle

The European Capital of Culture: History, Development and Effects

Jean Monnet (1888 – 1979), major pathfinder of the European unification, is quoted as having said "If I could start again I would start with culture". But as it is generally known the first step in the unification process was not due to cultural, but economic considerations. In 1957 Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands founded the European Economic Community. But already during the 1970's and 1980's the representatives of the European member states had to recognise that the unification would fail without the acceptance of the citizens. People had to start a dialogue about what it means to be European. Therefore culture, as a major part of identity, became a serious issue in European politics. In consequence several cultural programmes were launched, for example the European Capital of Culture programme.

History and Development

"Our role as Ministers of Culture is clear. Our responsibility is a must. Culture is the soul of society. Therefore, our foremost duty is to look at the foundations and nature of this Community. This does not mean that we should impose our ideas. On the contrary, we must recognize the diversities and the differences amongst the people of Europe. The determining factor of a European identity lies precisely on respecting these diversities with the aim of creating a dialogue between the cultures of Europe. It is time for our voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art and creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and the economy" (Mittag 2008: 55).

In 1983 the Greek minster of culture Melina Mercouri raised the idea of the European Capital of Culture programme and established by these words a breeding ground for following discussions. Two years later the European Culture Ministers agreed on the realisation of this cultural project and finally passed resolution no 85/C153/02[1]:

"The Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs consider that the event should be the expression of a culture which, in its historical emergence and contemporary development, is characterized by having both common elements and a richness born of diversity. The event has been established to help bring the peoples of the Member States closer together, but account should be taken of wider European cultural affinities."

In terms of selection criteria, organization and finance the resolution included only a few items:

- one European Capital of Culture per year
- the Member States follow each other in alphabetical order
- decision of the choice at least two years in advance
- national responsibility for organizing an financing the event
- regularly reporting about the progress to the Member States
- publicising the event widely

This loose resolution was due to the fact that the European Community so far had no competences concerning Cultural policy. Therefore the European Capital of Culture could not be a project officially institutionalized by the European Community. It was rather an inter-governmental collaboration between the European States. This situation changed with the establishment of the European Union by the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. Article no 128 (nowadays no 151) gave culture a place of its own and defined the role of the European Union in the cultural sector (Mittag 2008: 70 f.).

From 1985 until 1989, during the so-called initial phase, the European Capital of Culture was mainly a summer event, but not an annual programme as it is nowadays. It took place in several capitals of Europe -

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1   http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/capitals/official-documents_en.htm

Athens, Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin and finally Paris. But programmatic reflections did not go beyond a higher number of events in each city; the European dimension was hardly represented. For example The European Capital of Culture 1989 resembled more a national than a European event. Paris celebrated the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution without defining its role in European history (Mittag 81 ff.).

With Glasgow being European Capital of Culture in 1990 a new phase programmatic phase began. So far the European capitals had also been European Capitals of Culture. But a now a city was designated which characteristic was a lack of high culture. At the beginning of the 20th century the urban centre of Glasgow was one of the leading industrial regions of the world. But in the 1960's the industrial development suffered an economic crisis. After different measures of reactivation had failed the government began to focus on culture as a means of structural change. The aim was to increase quality of life and to improve the image of the city. In the mid 1980's the idea of the European Capital of Culture finally became part of this change. In comparison to former European Capitals of Culture events did not play such an important role in Glasgow. In the long run the building of a cultural infrastructure was much more important. The government also invested in non-cultural projects like the public transport system. The industrial port was revitalized last but not least by building a science centre which is nowadays a famous tourist attraction. All in one the overall aim was to achieve sustainable effects. Besides Glasgow was the first European Capital of Culture which transformed the summer event into an annual event. It also widened the concept of culture, which should no longer be limited to high culture. Sports and pubs were also understood as culture, especially as part of the local culture. Thereby the idea of the European Capital of Culture got more attention from the local population as it did before. Nevertheless the original aim namely the European dimension played an inferior role in the concept of Glasgow (Mittag 85 f.).

The European Capitals of Culture, which followed in the years between 1995 and 2004, were evaluated in the so called Palmer Report. In regard to aims and objectives the following result was achieved which once again shows the low importance of the European dimension:
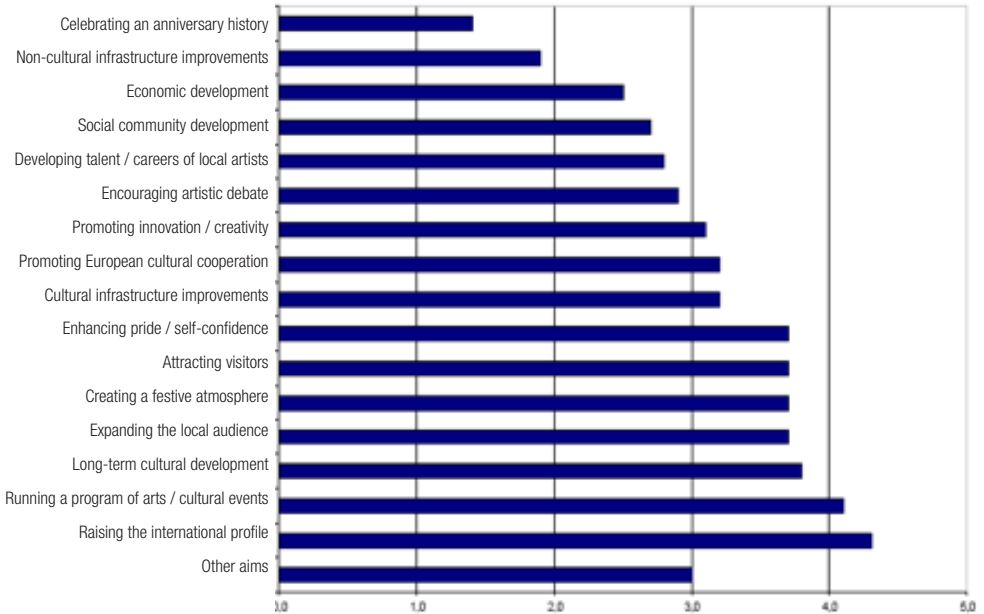
Figure 1: Rating of Aims and Objectives – Averages of All European Capitals of Culture (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 49)

The participating cities were also asked about tensions concerning the programme and aims. According to their opinion "Programmes have to find the balance between

- Artistic vision and political interests
- traditional and contemporary culture
- high-profile events and local initiatives
- city centre and suburb/regional locations
- "high" art and popular art/culture
- established cultural institutions and independent groups and artists
- attractiveness to tourists and the local population
- international names and local talent
- usual activities and new activities
- professional and amateur/community projects" (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 60).

The number of projects within European Capital of Culture programmes ranged from 108 in Graz to approximately 2.000 in Lille (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 63).

The *operating* expenditure varied from less than 10 million Euros to more than 70 million Euros:
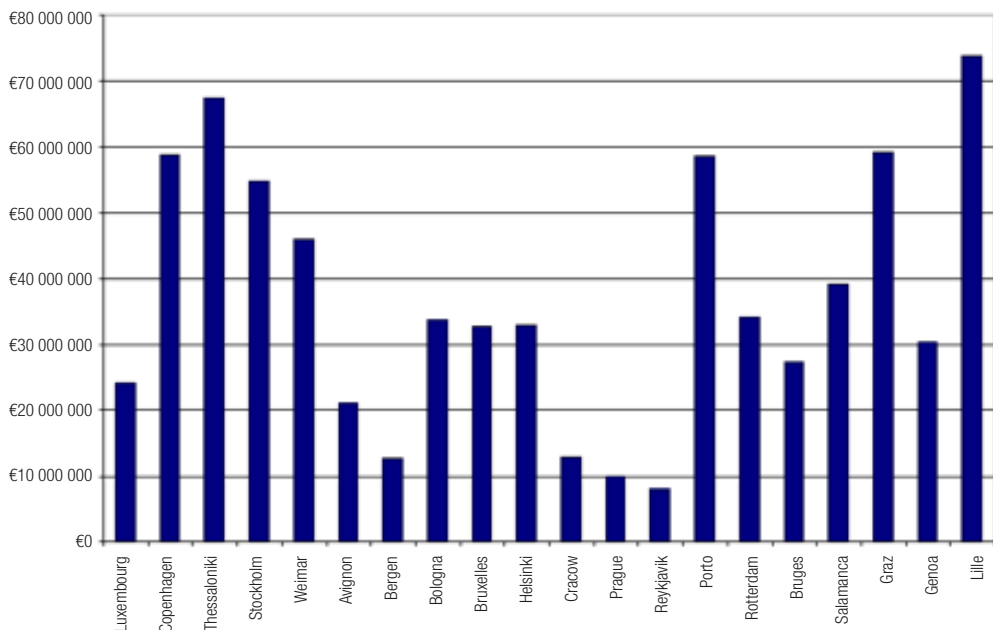
Figure 2: Total operating expenditure by city (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 94)

Altogether the programme expenditure made up 62,6 %, followed by wages and overheads (15,1 %), promotion and marketing (14,3 %) and other (8,1 %) (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 95). Additionally the *capital* expenditure was determined:
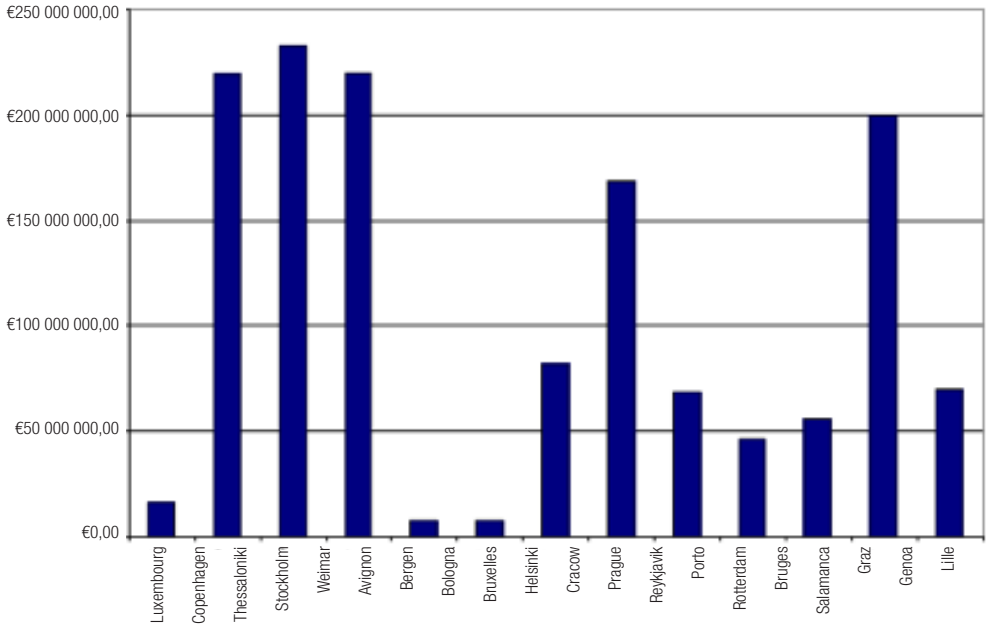
Figure 3: Total capital expenditure by city (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 97)

It included:

- "New provision and upgrading of cultural capital: including museums, galleries, theatres, concert halls, art centres etc.
- Urban revitalisation: renovation of squares, gardens, streets; tree planting, public place development, lighting etc.
- infrastructure: investment in the underground, rail stations, dockyards, roads etc." (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 96)

In the beginning the European Union made a financial contribution about 108.000 Euros to each European Capital of Culture. This amount increased between 2001 and 2008 to 500.000 Euros. Nowadays the European Union spent 1,5 million Euros which approximate 1,53 % of the total public sector contribution:

National government	56,84 %
City government	19,59 %
Regional government	10,97 %
European Union	1,53 %
Unspecified	6,47 %
Other	4,60 %

Figure 4: Total capital expenditure by city (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a:97)

European Capital of Culture: 2009 – 2019

In 2005 the European Parliament and the Council of ministers adopted decision no 1622/2006/EC[2] establishing a community action for the European Capital of Culture event between 2009 and 2019. The declared aim was to make the procedure for designating the European Capital of Culture more effective.

"The previous system had a number of shortcomings, which concerned in particular:

- competition between cities;
- the role of the selection panel;
- the question of monitoring;
- the European dimension." [3]

Changes also concerned the group of participants. The decision enabled countries which joined the European Union in 2004 to participate in the European Capital of Culture programme. Additionally from 2009 on even

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2   http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/capitals/official-documents_en.htm

3   http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/culture/l29014_en.htm

two European Capitals of Culture should be chosen per year, one western next to one eastern member state:

2009	Austria	Lithuania
2010	Germany	Hungary
2011	Finland	Estonia
2012	Portugal	Slovenia
2013	France	Slovakia
2014	Sweden	Latvia
2015	Belgium	Czech Republic
2016	Spain	Poland
2017	Denmark	Cyprus
2018	Netherlands	Malta
2019	Italy	Bulgaria

Figure 5: European Capitals of Culture between 2009 – 2019 according to decision no 1622/2006/EC

The Palmer Report had revealed the neglect of the European dimension in the different European Capitals of Culture so far. Besides citizens' participation could nearly be recognised. "We have failed to get through to the ordinary people" (Mittag 2008: 86), this resume of a leading person form the Spanish European Capital of Culture in 1994 was symptomatical. Therefore the European dimension and the citizens should be paid more attention during the period between 2009 and 2019:

"The cultural programme shall fulfill the following criteria, subdivided into two categories, the "**European Dimension"** and "**City and Citizens"**:

- As regards **"the European Dimension"**, the programme shall:
  - » foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector;
  - » highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe;
  - » bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore.
- As regards **"City and Citizens"** the programme shall:
  - » foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad;
  - » be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city."[4]

In regard to the candidature of the member states cities the idea of competing should gain more importance. Therefore the selection process was reorganized. Now it comprises four stages:

- "**submission of applications**: the EU countries concerned publish a call for applicants no later than six years before the event in question is due to begin. Interested cities have ten months from this date to present their application;
- **pre-selection**: no later than five years before the start of the event, the selection panel meets to examine the proposals and to draw up a shortlist of eligible cities. This panel comprises thirteen experts, of whom, seven are appointed for three years by the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions. The other six members are chosen by each EU country concerned, so as to ensure a balance between local and national interests and the European dimension;

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4   http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/capitals/official-documents_en.htm

- **final selection**: nine months after the first selection meeting, the panel meets again to examine the programmes of the shortlisted cities, which will have been fleshed out in more detail, and to recommend one of them as the ECC. At this stage, the panel presents a report to the EU country concerned and to the Commission in which it also makes recommendations to the chosen city, subject to its designation as the ECC by the Council;
- **designation**: four years before the start of the event, each EU country, in the light of the panel's recommendations, presents the application of one city to the institutions. The Council, taking into account the opinion of the European Parliament and the reports from the panel, officially designates two cities as ECCs."[5]

To make sure that the official aims will be fulfilled a monitoring phase two years and six month before the beginning of the event was additionally established.

Effects of the European Capital of Culture

Although the European Capital of Culture event is limited to one year each municipality generally seeks long-term effects. A difference can be made between tangible and intangible effects:

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5   http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/culture/l29014_en.htm

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│              European Capital of Culture              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
        │                               │
        ▼                               ▼
┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐           ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
   tangible effects              intangible effects
└ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘           └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
        │                               │
        ▼                               ▼
┌─────────────────┐           ┌───────────────────┐
│ infrastructure  │           │  quality of life  │
└─────────────────┘           └───────────────────┘

┌─────────────────┐           ┌───────────────────┐
│    tourism      │           │      image        │
└─────────────────┘           └───────────────────┘

┌─────────────────┐           ┌───────────────────┐
│employment figures│          │ competences and   │
│                 │           │   networking      │
└─────────────────┘           └───────────────────┘
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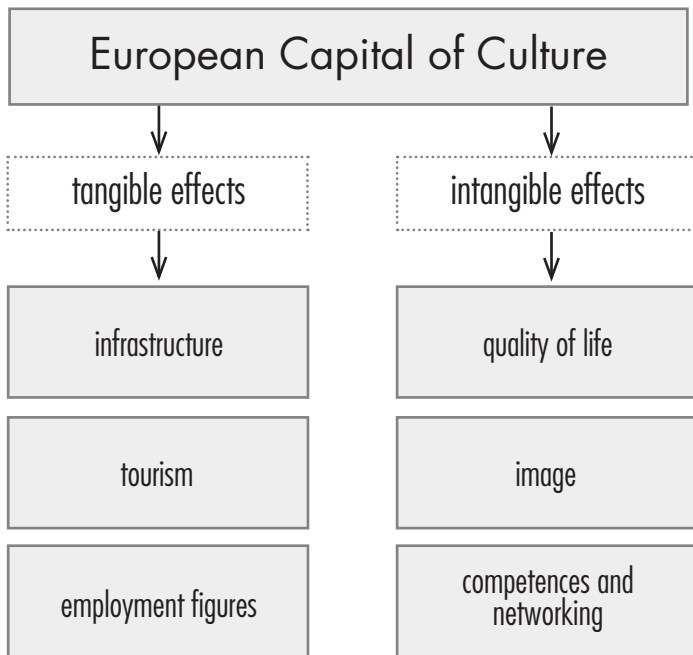
Figure 6: Possible Effects of the European Capital of Culture

According to the Palmer Report most municipalities made extensive improvements to their infrastructure in preparation for the European Capital of Culture year. Naturally cultural institutions like museums, galleries, theatres and cultural centres were renovated or even created. But the infrastructure programmes could also include capital expenditure for non-cultural projects like hospitals and universities as in the case of Weimar for example. About one-third of the cities carried out work on transport infrastructure: Thessaloniki redesigned its airport, Bruges and Santiago built new car parking facilities and Weimar determined the renovation of its railway station. Some municipalities focused their activities on renovating or establishing cultural districts in order to strengthen the creative industries as Graz did for its European Capital of Culture year in 2003 (Palmer/ RAE Associates 2004a: 74).

In regard to tourist effects Glasgow for example had not been a tourist destination before becoming European Capital of Culture. But previously before and especially during the event the overnight-stays increased immensely. In 1990 nine million visitors came to Glasgow. Afterwards there was a sharp decline, but in the long-run the number of visitors increased to 88 % between 1991 and 1998 with the result of 26.000 new jobs in the field of tourism (Staatskanzlei des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 2009: 34, 36).

But the European Capital of Culture is not a guarantor for long-term effects. Cities like Dublin, Luxembourg or Madrid even showed a decrease of visitor numbers during the European Capital of Culture year (Palmer/RAE Associates 2004a: 112 f.). Weimar overreached itself financially. With only 65.000 inhabitants the capital expenditure reached over 200 million Euros. In the time between only Thessaloniki spent more money (Figure). After the breakdown of the German Democratic Republic the city of Goethe should be illuminated again. Therefore expensive renovations of the historic city centre and also non-cultural infrastructure programmes were carried out. But obviously the municipality was not aware of the fact, that there is also a responsibility for culture after the year of the event. Weimar had problems to run and preserve all the cultural venues in the long term. In consequence one museum had to be closed between 2003 and 2006 (Mettler 2008: 139 ff.).

Intangible effects may be more difficult to measure, but different instruments have already been field-tested like visitor surveys. The visitors of Ruhr.2010 for example were asked about their opinion towards different statements. 92 % of the domestic and 90 % of the tourist visitors agreed that *the European Capital of Culture helps the region to develop a new self-confidence.* 70 % (78 %) said their i*mage of the region has positively changed* and 84 % (85 %) recognized *the Ruhrgebiet as an entity of different cities* (Ruhr.2010 GmbH / Regionalverband Ruhr 2010: 19 f.), which was one of the major goals of the German European Capital of Culture 2010. Nevertheless the *European Dimension* as a European aim was hardly represented in the visitor survey.

Discussions about the future of the European Capital of Culture programme after 2019 have already begun. The European Dimension will be evermore without a doubt the most important aim of this programme. Nevertheless as shown in this article the challenge is not the purpose itself, but its realisation.

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Juha Iso-Aho

Futures Challenge the Cultural Field

> *A part of our future appears to be evolutionary and unpredict-*
> *able, and another part looks developmental and predictable.*
> *Our challenge is to invent the first and discover the second.*
> *(John Smart)*

What can we know about the future? The obvious answer would be: noth-ing. Yet there is an academic discipline called future studies or futurology in many universities. As controversial as this effort may be, a significant number of scholars, futurists, are seriously trying to find ways of saying something about the alternative futures ahead of us.

And why would they not? Trying to find out about, adjust to or even change the future is a very natural form of human behavior. Anticipating, planning, hoping, guessing, wishful thinking, forward thinking, envision-ing, foreseeing, predicting, forecasting and even fortune telling have been and still are important, if not always scientific means of survival for the human kind.

In our everyday life we make plans for the next day, for the forthcom-ing weekend or next summer holidays. We try to figure out if it is wise to buy a house now or next year. We make choices concerning our profes-sional future by way of choosing a university and the line of studies with-out being actually sure what our true calling or our real competences in life turn out to be. We try had to foresee, to anticipate and to think for-ward.

In a famous Hitchcock film *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934) Do-ris Day sings "The future´s not ours to see. What will be, will be". I´m afraid I can´t totally agree with Doris here. Arguably future can´t be pre-dicted accurately, but that does not mean that it is not worth trying. The cultural field has always been the home of inventors and visionaries. Art-

ists like Leonardo da Vinci and Jules Verne did not perhaps see their visions fully realized, but in hindsight we can say that their foresight opened up our ways of thinking for generations to come.

Another thing is that the choices and decisions each of us makes today are inevitably a part of the future we will be facing. That is why it is useful to try to estimate the future consequences of our actions. Who could for example deny that customers´ decision to start using Internet for purchasing music (very often for free) has changed the balance between live music and recorded music as sources of income in the music industry?

What future studies, as an academic discipline is trying to do is postulating possible, probable and preferable (or not preferable) futures. For this purpose it uses scenarios in which alternative futures take a form of "a story about what happened in the future". The scenarios can be for example constructed to describe the best or worst possible developments within a given time limit, based on the facts and observations that are available at present.

Megatrends, trends, weak signals and wild cards

Futurology offers us some useful concepts that we can use in observing and analyzing the present. For example megatrends, trends, weak signals and wild cards are methodical tools that help us interpret the signs that can be either very visible of well hidden in our everyday surroundings. Based on our perceptions we can then build scenarios of the alternative futures.

A megatrend can be defined as a large, social, economic, political, cultural environmental or technological change that is slow to form. Megatrends influence a wide range of activities, processes and perceptions, both in government and in society. Megatrends can extend over generations like ageing, global growth of population, global warming, urbanization and keeping pets. That is why they can be expected to go on at least in the near future as well. Megatrends are usually relatively easy to identify, and their existence is mostly also agreed upon, but sometimes the "common knowl-

edge" of what is a megatrend can lead us astray. As Cesare Merlini has pointed out:

> The widespread perception is that we live in an unstable and dangerous world. But quantitative data concerning security and warfare, economy and society, governance and the rule of law over the time span from the end of WWII to date, and in particular during the last two decades, tells us that violence has declined, development has spread and international institutions have played a modest but increasing role.

Megatrends are also the underlying forces that drive trends. Trends are more recent phenomena that have gained a relatively significant position in a given time or population. Tattooing has changed from a sign of belonging to a subculture to a trend in western societies during last couple of decades. Healthiness of food is another trend that we can easily see around us.

A weak signal is something that gives hints on the possible future trends, but which have not yet been established as a trend and may never be. Small changes in our everyday environment or behavior might be identified as weak signals. It is said to be typical of weak signals that most people do not believe in their significance or have not noticed them at all.

Wild cards are low-probability and high-impact events: sudden and unique incidents that might constitute turning points in the evolution of a certain trend or system. The collapse of Soviet Union, the 9/11 attack or Boxing Day tsunami - are examples of a wild cards from the recent history.

In the cultural field based on creativeness and unpredictability megatrends, trends, weak signals and wild cards are particularly useful tools in observing and analyzing the on-going development of the trade. There is really no way to be sure of what will be the next success story or if today´s flop will be the steady-seller of the future, but monitoring possible futures gives cultural manager necessary perspective and flexibility when facing forthcoming challenges.

New Forms of Cultural Production and Consumption

Cultural Manager2020 (Tuottaja2020) was a project carried out during the years 2009 – 2012 by a group of experts working in different universities of applied sciences in Finland. One of the tasks of the project was to outline the possible futures of the field of cultural management in the next decade and offer tools for the development of the education of arts managers.

The research project relied on multiple research method such as questionnaires, interviews, participatory observation, case studies and workshops. Some of the information was acquired by future oriented observations made by cultural management students, teachers and professionals working in the field of cultural management. These observations, future signals or weak signals, were gathered and reported in a collective database.

In an analysis of over 200 of these signals Katri Halonen provides ten suggestions of what kind of trends seem to have entered or might be emerging in the cultural field and cultural consumption at the time of writing (2011). As two years have now passed after that, we should look at these observations and suggestions as methods of posing questions rather than judge them as a forecast of the future which is already partly turned into past.

In the collected material *nourishing of all senses* was a summarization of new kinds of cultural products which are based on consumers´ need to feel music, hear visual arts and smell movies. People are offered comprehensive experiences (artificially produced or real life) that engage all senses, like A ScentOpera at NY Guggenheim or organized travels to slums in Bombay.

The increasing speed of life in the western societies has brought up a need to *slow down and downshift*. Growing up and preparing your own food even in cities has become a real alternative to take-away and fast food, which have been a strong trend for the last decades. The 100 things challenge invites us to get rid of the stuff we do not really need as opposed to spending more. Instead of just urging people working overtime some

employers offer their workers a possibility for extra-long unpaid leaves in order to attract new staff that does not necessarily want to be too tied to their jobs.

On the other hand, *precarious, project based work is becoming a typical way of working*. For the older generations this change has not been a happy one, but at least for some of the younger people a steady job is not necessarily an ideal status anymore. Cultural workers have already been used to this kind of working life by way of having to combine several sources of income such as salary, grants, royalties, part time entrepreneurship or even social security benefits.

Urban way of life along with the possibilities of social media has produced new ways of building a sense of belonging. Cultural managers and artists are increasingly joining citizens in *providing surprising collectives* like flash mobs and cultural jamming. Or they might be working with companies in organizing event marketing projects where for example the launching of a new technological product takes a form of a mass karaoke event in the city center.

Cities are used *as urban playgrounds* in multiple ways. These include April fool´s day pillow fights in cities around the world or hundreds of pop-up restaurants on certain days of the year in Helsinki. Partly due to the growing number of regulations and bureaucracy concerning event organizing we have also seen the rise of semi- and non-organized events (like Botellón) in cities.

Empty spaces, released from industrial production in the urban environment are often first spontaneously occupied by actors from the cultural field and sometimes this leads into long-term arrangements in the reuse of these buildings. City spaces are in a continuous process of re-shaping their meaning and this process is not a monopoly of city planning officials anymore.

One way of building the sense of belonging into cultural production is the shift *from value chains to co-producing*. A perfect example of this was Opera by You -project of Savonlinna Opera Festival in which an open Internet based community wrote, composed, designed and directed an opera premier called Free Will for the festival for the summer of 2012. The tra-

ditional role of cultural manager mediating between artists and the audience, which mainly consists of making artists visions available to the customer, gave way to an idea of audience as artists and the managers (along with supervising artists) as coordinators of the process.

New technologies enable new kind of ways of increasing the availability of culture and also help to produce previously unseen forms of performance. With modern devices you can less expensively than before *build augmented reality* by streaming live performances from Metropolitan opera in movie theatres on the other side of the world or broadcast events in real time in YouTube. Artists can perform as holograms in front of a live band and before a live audience in several cities at the same time. Robots can be star performers that are followed as passionately as real ones. There will always be some artists and managers that *get inspired and find new possibilities in using new technology,* as there are those that tell us how unnatural and imperfect these new devices are.

In today's society *globalization and localization penetrate everything.* Traditional government lead and programmed internationalism is turning into transnationalism. In transnationalism individuals, members of subcultures and interest groups from different parts of the world communicate with each other without borders and less control. The concepts of global and local intertwine in new ways. Is chili or some other non-Finnish food that is grown on the roof of a Finnish city restaurant a sign of localization or globalization? How about the Chinese New Year Celebration in a Chinatown of a western capital city?

Monoculturalism is disappearing also in the sense of *fragmentation of consumers into several interest groups.* This has led to the impossibility to defining your audience only by age, sex, social status etc. For example senior citizens as cultural consumers can be divided into active go-go seniors, slow-go seniors with limited activity and no-go seniors who are offered cultural activities in treatment facilities. The same fragmentation is particularly true with the concept of pop or rock music born in the 1960´s. Rock music has splintered into myriads of sub-genres the fans of which have nothing in common with each other. As there are less and less artists, television serials, films etc. that everybody knows (or is interested in), a

cultural manager is not able to rely on mass media in finding out who and where his clients are.

Challenges in Educating Cultural Managers of Tomorrow

As we can see, the field of cultural production is constantly changing. The cultural manager has to accept the fact that the role of the manager is also changing and will be many-sided in the future. There will naturally be managers of arts organizations and producers of art productions as there is now, but there is an increasing need of agents and other intermediary professionals between arts and business or artists and audiences as well. In addition to these more traditional roles the society needs cultural facilitators and enablers working in the field of empowerment and social cohesion. A cultural manager can be an important factor in adapting social and technological innovations into new cultural innovations and tools of social change.

I will close this article with a couple of conclusions from a discussion with two of my colleagues Pekka Uotila and Tomas Träskman that took part in the research group of the Cultural Manager2020 -project. The discussion is printed in its entity (in Finnish) in the final report of the project with the name "Kolme henkilöä juurruttaa tulevaisuusajattelua" (Three Persons Rooting Future Thinking).

Tasks

1. A cultural manager has to find a right state of mind and be prepared to work also outside his comfort zone – to go outside the already familiar and safe.
2. A cultural manager´s task is to the change the world without prejudice – and this calls for courage.
3. The future must be seen as an achievement that deserves to be examined in various contexts.
4. A cultural manager should see the significance of future thinking as a part of his profession.
5. A cultural manager is a proactive developer of the cultural field.

Tensions

1. Many of our 'inherited' best practices and accomplishments may turn out to be future burdens, which have to be replaced with some other ways of doing things. The process of innovation has to be started now.
2. The role of culture in the economy is more important that it seems at the first sight. It is intertwined in many ways with the problems and solutions of economy.
3. The tension between education and production creates new environments where the areas of learning, production, product development and leisure overlap and collide.
4. Research and experimentation in universities of applied sciences challenge the traditional (academic) way of researching and developing.
5. To put future thinking in practice in the frame of the curricula is a more demanding task than just planning and implementing occasional courses on the subject. The demands of learning future thinking and present resources in educational organizations are in contradiction with each other.

Steps towards the future

1. The future orientation will be included in the curricula of cultural manager´s education in all stages from the beginning of the studies to the final thesis with the emphasis on the last year. Foresight should always be one point of view in the final thesis along with hindsight and insight.
2. Future orientation and the most useful future techniques for the cultural field will be included in the research and development practices of universities of applied sciences.
3. Cultural managers have to take care of the diversity of the society and to be active citizens. Cultural managers have a responsibility in involving a larger variety of people in the process of defining what culture is.

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Joanna Szulborska-Łukaszewicz

Euro Cities – experiences, chances, challenges

> *"*Culture is not a luxury, but a necessity*"*
> Gao Xingjian

This quotation of Gao Xingjian derives from a "European agenda for culture in a globalizing world"[1], it is the conclusion of this very important – in my opinion – document, recognised as the first-ever European strategy for culture, opening EU on cooperation with non European countries. This quotation proves that the main principle of EU "unity in diversity" really works. It is clear that the name of Gao is not of European provenience. It is a very good example that multicultural Europe is not a fiction[2]. His words were chosen to sum up the first European strategy for culture development. Diversity "…must be the principle of unity, taking stock of differences is necessary not to divide, but to enrich culture even more. Europe is a culture or it is not" said Denis de Rougemont[3].

Unity in diversity – is it really possible? That was the main question we heard in Poland when our country was applying for the membership in EU. After the rough experiences in relation and cooperation with the Soviet Union we were skeptical to build a new – European Union. We were afraid of losing our independence again.

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1   Op.cit.

2   G. Xingjian, Chinese-born novelist, playwright, critic and painter, living in France since 1987, in 1997 was granted French citizenship. He was the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in the year 2000.

3   Denis de Rougemont (1906-1985) a Swiss writer, creator and the head of European Culture Centre, op.cit., p.2.

Unity in Diversity: Looking for Innovation

Visiting the collection of the Gallery of 20th-Century Polish Art at the National Museum in Krakow (Poland), it is difficult to forget the film project of Azorro group "Everything has been done"...[4] Is it really true? Has everything been done in the field of art? What about innovation? Participants of the project are talking of course about art, but the same question we can ask in the context of cultural policy in European countries. As Jozef Chwedowicz said, the lack of innovation could be a danger for existence of organisation[5]. However, innovation could be understood in different ways. According to Stefan Kasprzyk, innovation is a "new, previously unknown way to meet new needs"[6].

According to Philip Kotler, innovation refers to any good, service or idea that is perceived by some as a new one, though generally does not have to be new[7].

Innovation in Public Sector

There are many ways of understanding innovation. According to public sector, we can call an innovation an absolutely new solution in the area of cultural policy/culture management, not having yet its equivalent, as well as the adaptation and implementation of solutions specific to another sector, region or country. Discovering other cultures proves to be a good resource of inspiration and relevant suggestions leading to creativity and innovation. That is the answer why very important resource of innovation is the diversity.

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4   Azorro Group discusses the paradigm of originality in art (they are looking for innovative ideas for a work of art, but each of them turns out to have already been used). References: the National Museum in Krakow. See more: http://www.artmuseum.pl/filmoteka/?id=621&l=1

5   Chwedowicz J., „Zarządzanie innowacją w kulturze", [in:] idem [ed.], *Innowacje w kulturze*, Lodz 2007, p.18.

6   Kasprzyk S., *Innowacje: Od koncepcji do produkcji*, Warszawa, 1980, p.26.

7   Kotler Ph., *Marketing*, 1994, p.322.

We can speak about the diversity on different levels. The first, diversity as different identity, connected for example with the geographical place, or political system. The second, diversity as the result of globalisation (multiculturalism of many of European cities). A lot has been written about the threats of globalisation especially for culture and cultural identity. The positive results were also identified in literature.

Each country has its own history and traditions, its own good (and bad) practices in the field of cultural policy and culture management, based on its historical system. It determines the directions of culture development process, which are different in each country. Cultural centres as the cathedrals of the 20th century (the idea of Andre Malraux, the first French Minister of Culture in 1959), Bulgarian concept of chitalishte (nongovernmental organisation supported as the national one by the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture and by lower levels of local administration), the cross-financing as the French tool of decentralisation, grants for private theatres, privatisation of museums, the British origin experience of quango or such interesting instrument as the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts (ABSA), pioneering project, which helps to develop cooperation between art and business in the UK[8]. I listed only a few of many effective tools that countries can learn from each other, in the field of cultural policy.

Development of Cultural Management in Member Cities

Cooperation of the European cities, with an active participation of representatives of local authorities(!) is the best way to exchange good practices from the area of cultural management and the best way of seeking new ideas and new tools of cultural policy in their own cities. The meetings and workshops are the opportunity to learn different ways of caring about

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8   ABSA - founded in 1976 in UK, from 1999 till nowadays is working as Arts & Business. The first organisation in UK, based on a model developed by David Rockefeller in New York. The main source of funds for A&B is the Department of Culture Media & Sport through Arts Council England. See: Gierat-Bieron B. [ed.], *Europejskie modele polityki kulturalnej*, Krakow, 2005.

artists, art and heritage. It inspires looking for their own way – the new instruments for culture management in their own country. The problem is if the representatives of municipality are really interested in the reorganisation of the culture sector? Are they interested in learning, reforming and developing cultural policy? Do they have communication skills to discuss culture problems on an international level?

An important role in communication across the European cities and countries plays Eurocities Association. It was founded in 1986 by the mayors of 6 European cities[9]. Today it is a network of around 140 large cities, with more than 30 countries in Europe. Among the Full Members of Eurocities Association there are representatives of Bulgaria, Finland, Germany and Poland[10]. It is an organization which promotes the common interests of cities at the EU level and is the only supra-national network, which represents European cities in the form of one political camp in relation to EU bodies.[11]

There are 7 different forums concentrated on different social, economic and urban subjects: Economic Development Forum, Environment Forum, The Knowledge-Based Society Forum, Mobility Forum, Social Affairs Forum, Cooperation Forum (concentrated on close cooperation between cities, regions, national governments and the EU institutions as the essential in order to address the most important challenges facing Europe in the 21st century); and the CULTURE FORUM (CF). Each forum is

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9   Mayors of Barcelona, Birmingham, Frankfurt, Lyon, Milan and Rotterdam. Headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. More information on official website: www.eurocities.eu

10   **BULGARIA (4):** Burgas, Plovdiv, Sofia, Warna; **FINLAND (6):** Espoo, Helsinki, Oulu, Tampere, Turku, Vantaa; **GERMANY (15):** Bonn, Berlin, Chemnitz, Cologne, Dortmund, Dresden, Duseldorf, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, Leipzig, Mannheim, Munich, Munster, Nuremberg; **POLAND (11):** Bialystok, Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Krakow, Katowice, Lodz, Lublin, Poznan, Rzeszow, Warsaw, Wroclaw. I mention the members of these states, becouse the lecture was prepared for the conference in Ludwigsburg - Erasmus-IP: Culture as Resource for Future Europe. Cultural Policy and its dimensions in four European countries: Finland, Germany, Poland and Bulgaria. Programme of the IP in Ludwigsburg 12/02/2012–25/02/2012.

11   See more: www.eurocities.eu

able to set up a limited number of working groups, which have their own specific tasks[12].

The main role of the CF is an active creation of a European cultural policy: lobbing for culture on the EU level and influencing the shape of European Union documents, acts of low, programmes and policy papers on culture sector, considering also future directions of culture development. Active participation of the representatives of the cities is a unique opportunity to develop documents concerning culture by experts, not by the level of government politicians representing our country in the EU. It is the opportunity for local authorities not only to complain but to take part in the process of preparing and consulting European project related to European strategies for culture development.

Cities could be represented during the CF by local politicians (mayors or deputy mayors of the cities, city councillors or even heads of city council), culture officers and representatives of culture institutions invited by their cities to cooperate in the CF. It depends on the city and on the level of communication skills of local politicians. Members work out together position papers on particular topics and documents of the EU, they project European campaigns and different common activities including promotion of joint cross-border projects. The voice of politicians could be based on real needs of stakeholders of EU citizens. They can contribute to the debate on culture accessibility issues, showing need for enhanced political support. They can stimulate growth and change.

Among the main objectives of the CF are: sharing knowledge, "defining, developing and focusing on possible applications for EU co-funding programmes concerning culture and the structured feedback to the European Commission on the improvement of Community budget lines concerning culture"[13]. Eurocities is an excellent and very important platform for the exchange of experiences and information on the possibilities and methods of strengthening the resources for arts and culture from a transnational perspective. Personal relations make it easier to undertake coop-

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12   For more information: http://www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/activities/forums/culture

13   http://www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/activities/forums/culture

eration within the network. Membership sets before cities new challenges. Participation in debates, projects and programmes gives them ability to analyze deeply and compare different model solutions in the field of cultural management. It gives an opportunity to identify weaknesses in ones own strategies, to notice and work out the directions for necessary modifications in our own cities. Observation and analysis of the examples of good practices is an excellent opportunity to review ones own strategies, plans and the details of not implemented new projects. Discussion and debate undoubtedly stimulates to innovate and break the stereotypes of culture management in our cities. The experts from other European cities, using their knowledge and experience, will help us to analyze them, to avoid mistakes and make them better.

Each meeting of the CF is very special. Each is held in a different place, so the members could learn the diversity of European culture in a very practical way. The main topic of each meeting of the CF is connected with the speciality of the hosting place. In **Dublin**, the city of James Joyce, we had an opportunity to take part in the annual ceremony of the International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award. After the literary Nobel Prize, the IMPAC is the most prestigious of international awards for literature[14].

The meeting in **Bergen (Norway)**, in October 2007, was devoted to art and identity. We learnt that the development of culture sector has been regularly planned in Bergen since the last decade of the 20th century. The main strategic target for the year 2017 (adopted in 2007 year!) was to create the city as a modern space, friendly for art and artists. Participants could visit the place of Edward Grieg in Troldhaugen, with its very special identity, the conference centre including three buildings – concert hall, the house of Grieg, which is the museum from 1928, and the small house, the workshop of Grieg. Troldhaugen is the place where the Bergen Fest-

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14 The Norwegian writer Per Petterson (ur.1952) was awarded for his novel "Out Stealing Horses" in 2007. Award founded in 1996. One of the highest financial literary awards in the world (in 2007 year amounted to 100,000 Euros). It is granted on the initiative of the Dublin Corporation, the Municipalilty of Dublin and the company IMPAC Dublin. There are nominated English-language novels and translations into English for this award. The books are reported by more than 100 selected libraries from around the world, and the only prerequisite (the only condition) is the existence of the English translation of the work.

spillene International Music Festival takes place, one of the oldest festival in Norway, initiated in 1898 by Edward Grieg.

During the meeting in **Lyon** (**France**, March 2008) – famous for the Lumière brothers, the Festival of Lights and the Opéra Nouvel, the city of Jean Michel Jarre, known also as the centre of videogames, electronic music and famous festival of electronic music – the members of two forums, the Culture and Science Forum, (during the common meeting) discussed the problem of "New practices in culture and in terms of access to knowledge, through digitization". An impressive speech by Patrick Bazin, the Head of the Municipal Library of Lyon was devoted to the new role of libraries in the contemporary world in the context of dematerialisation of monuments (virtual books, archives, museums), which was said to be the future of contemporary libraries. In his opinion the Internet is an interesting public space only because of knowledge, which could be involved by the Internet in everyone and everyday activity. Bazin presented a new project of the Municipal Library of Lyon, which is open for everybody in a special way: the library provides the answers to all questions sent to them by e-mail within 72 hours. The answers are given free of charge with a bibliography and are available to read on-line by other people. They receive usually about 600 questions a month.

The CF in Lublin (October 2010) was conducted under the slogan: **"**Cities are going to the East!" It included two plenary sessions. The first one focused on the opportunities and realities of cooperation between the cities of the EU and the EU's neighboring cities in the East. The EU's new cultural program "Partnership with the East" was presented. The second session was a debate on the long-term strategies for culture development in the cities and the ways of involving the local community in the process of strategic culture management. It is worth to mention the meeting in **Dublin**, (June 2007, Ireland), when the "European Agenda for Culture in a globalizing world"[15] was presented by Vladimír Šucha, the Director for Culture, Multilingualism and Communication at the Directorate Gen-

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15   Communication on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world, COM(2007) 242 final, {SEC(2007) 570}, Brussels, 10.5.2007, p. 15.

eral for Education and Culture of the European Commission in Brussels. This document has been recognized as the first-ever European strategy for culture, reflecting its contribution to economic growth and intercultural understanding. The conference opening speech provoked lively discussion on cultural policy in Europe[16].

CF members prepare position papers related to UE documents for European Commission. There was "EUROCITIES Response to the Communication 'A European Agenda for Culture in a globalizing world' "[17], "EUROCITIES Recommendations: Towards a European Commission Green Paper on Cultural and Creative Industries" (7.10.2009)[18], "EUROCITIES response to the Green Paper 'Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries' "[19] (publication date 30.07.2010), "Eurocities Statement on the future of the European Capitals of Culture" (policy paper published 13.01.2011)[20]. Every year they discuss yearly budgets of EU. Eurocities, as the one of stakeholders of European Capitals of Culture project (ECC) took part in the process of consultations of its future shape.

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16 Agenda affirms the central role of culture in the process of European integration and proposes a program of cooperation in the field of culture for Europe and for its relations with the third world countries. Content of the Communication, before its adoption, was consulted widely with policy makers and stakeholders from across the Europe. Strategy promoting intercultural understanding confirms the important position of culture in EU policies.

17 EUROCITIES Response to the Communication "A European Agenda for Culture in a globalizing world", 20.09.2007 (Report).

18 http://www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/documents/EUROCITIES-Recommendations-Towards-a-European-Commission-Green-Paper-on-Cultural-and-Creative-Industries-WS-PO-8PM3ZP

19 Green Paper "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries", COM(2010) 183; Commission Staff Working Document, "Analysis of the consultation launched by the Green Paper on "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries", SEC(2011) 399 final, 24.03.2011 http://www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/documents/EUROCITIES-response-to-the-Green-Paper-Unlocking-the-potential-of-cultural-and-creative-industries-WSPO-8PLEY3 Green Paper "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries", COM(2010) 183; Commission Staff Working Document, "Analysis of the consultation launched by the Green Paper on "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries", SEC(2011) 399 final, 24.03.2011.

20 For more see: http://www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/documents/EUROCITIES-statement-on-the-future-of-Capitals-of-Culture-WSPO-8PLFYF

All members appreciate the initiative taken by the Melina Mercouri, as very important for the economic development of the winners. As prof. Purchla said "There are several good examples of how much we were in need of this initiative. And of how the ECM, so often forgotten, offered an opportunity not only to Krakow, but also to Graz, Budapest, Plovdiv, Nicosia and Ljubljana – cities of the "new Europe", cities from the European Union candidate countries (for as well as those from the post communist states there was also Graz in Austria and Nicosia in Cyprus). It revived, mobilised and fired the imagination of local politicians. And I think it is this experience that in some sense has triggered the imagination of the mayors of Poland's major cities in the most recent competition for the title of ECC 2016."[21]

In the opinion of Eurocities members, this program should be continued after 2019, but the scheme of the competition should be amended. The majority of respondents think that objectives are still fully relevant; one third of respondents claim they should be updated.[22] Among selection criteria, participation of citizens and sustainability are considered the most relevant. For the period beyond 2019, respondents favor a selection procedure based on an open competition. "EUROCITIES has recommended that the future scheme contributes to sustainable integrated urban development where culture is connected to other policy areas"[23]. They suggested that intercultural dialogue, citizens' participation and culture as part of integrated urban development should be more emphasised.

There is also a briefing note of Eurocities on the Creative Europe Programme (2014-2020)[24] proposal sent by European Commission to the European Council and European Parliament on 23 November 2011. The main idea of a new culture programme is to promote and safeguard cul-

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21   Purchla J., Sanetra-Szeliga J., *Laboratory of change,* HERITO No 5/2011, pp. 110-123.

22   There were 212 respondents, the members of Eurocies Culture Forum, participated in the process of consultation and 91% of them believe the scheme should be continued after 2019.

23   EUROCITIES statement on the future of Capitals of Culture, ibidem.

24   EUROCITIES briefing note on Creative Europe proposal (2014-2020) from December 2011. Publication date 19.01.2012 (Position: policy paper).

tural and linguistic diversity and to "be a much-needed boost for Europe's cultural and creative sectors, which are a major source of jobs and growth and greatly contribute to social inclusion"[25]. The new programme will consist of three strands: Culture, MEDIA and a trans-sectoral strand, with a proposed budget of €1.8 billion for the period 2014-2020. It would allocate almost € 500 million for culture and more than €210 million for a new financial guarantee facility, which would enable cultural operators to access up to €1 billion in bank loans. Furthermore the programme's trans-sectoral strand, would provide around €60 million in support of trans-national policy cooperation and would also aim to foster innovative approaches to audience building and new business models. In the opinion elaborated by the Culture Forum Members "cities are the key players in cultural provision they have a great deal of experience of the Culture Programme. A lot of local authorities in Europe have placed culture at the centre of their local development plans and they have sound policies and strategies to invest in culture and the cultural and creative sector. That is why cities should remain central to the new Creative Europe programme"[26]. Regarding the implementation of the Creative Europe programme of the CF suggested that the Culture and Media strands of this programme should receive the same percentage share of the budget. CF members like the idea of supporting the exchange of experience and data collection for evidence-based policy making. This is useful to evaluate the impact of culture on local and regional development[27].

However, they suggested to clarify which operators are eligible to take part in the programme. There is no consistency in using the term 'Cultural and creative sector' and 'Cultural and creative industries' in their opinion. There were also questions related to the CROSS-SECTORAL FUND, if it is open to SME's only or also to non-profit cultural organisations. There was no information on the percentage of the loan that will be guaranteed and whether there is a minimum size for projects to be eligible. Cul-

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25   Ibidem.

26   Ibidem.

27   art. 8, EUROCITIES statement on the Creative Europe proposal, ibidem.

ture Forum members suggested underlining the need to encourage access to culture for all, especially for young people, and for that reason to add a new priority: "culture as a means to promote inclusion and community cohesion". It should be a key objective of the Culture Strand. "Culture contributes to the well-being and entitlement of citizens, social cohesion and inclusion. In cities, special efforts are being made to decentralise cultural policies and resources to deprived areas. Furthermore we believe that links between culture, young people and education should be underlined" – we can read in the position paper[28]. To increase the prestige of the programme its results should be better promoted by the European Commission. This would encourage exchange of experiences between stakeholders.

On the other side, in the opinion of members of the Eurocities, the application process needs to be simplified. According to the opinion of the CF "Independent artists, artist networks and small and micro businesses from the CCS do not have the capacity to fill in complex application forms."[29] That is why they proposed that the amount of information and level of detail requested in the application and in the financial reporting should be reduced. They suggested giving more detailed feedback to unsuccessful applicants (to help them to identify clearly the weaknesses of their project proposal.[30] They also proposed that, "non-recoverable VAT should be fully reimbursable to every partner to ensure equal treatment across member states".[31]

Members of CF have an opportunity to learn new solutions in the area of culture management, including adaptation of postindustrial spaces for culture entities in different cities and culture and creative industries. **In Dublin** it was interesting to hear about the revitalization the Temple Bar area – today a district known for entertainment and culture (with the help of the European Structural Funds). **In Bergen** we had an opportunity to

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28 art. 9, ibidem.

29   Ibidem.

30 See: EUROCITIES response to the consultation on the future Culture programme, Publication date 13.01.2011, Position: policy paper, Creative Europe proposal – Supporting the European cultural and creative sectors February, 2012.

31 Ibidem.

see a big culture centre working in a private building, adopted for cultural functions. It was earlier United Sardine factory Verftet), today leading by Verftet Foundation, supported by the Bergen city. It is a big complex, including concerts halls, rooms for exhibitions and workshops for artists-residents. Dasa and Dortmund U were the main points of interest during the meeting in **Dortmund** (Germany), in June 2009, which was devoted to local cultural politicies in the context of cultural creativity. Eurocities also popularize ideas of EU in its publications, generally distributed online and prepared with the members participation. A brochure of Eurocities was prepared, called: **"**Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries – Good practices through European cities"[32].

The CF meeting is a good opportunity to promote cities and their uniqueness. The best promotion is to organise the meeting in your city, but it is not so easy, because there are only three meetings a year. More than one hundred people come there from different parts of Europe at that time. There are also usually many of local participants. Another way is to take part actively in discussions and working groups. You can also prepare a special thematic presentation for the meeting, your voice with regard to the main point of the meeting or promotion of the special project, best practice or case study. It is also an opportunity for our city to take action, through which the Eurocities will promote the city. Representatives of Krakow prepared few such presentations.

In the structure of the CF there are five working groups focusing on specific policy issues: Resources for culture WG[33], Culture and young peo-

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32 "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries – Good practices through European cities"*,* August 2010, Brussels. /We can find there good practices from Amsterdam (Art factories p. 3-4), Dortmund (Dortmund.Kreativ. p. 12-13), Rotterdam (Creative Factory p. 22-23), Tampere (Creative Industrive Development Programme, p. 23), Vienna (Departure – economic funding institution, p. 27) and Warsaw (the case of Copernicus Science Centre – p.28-29)].

33 WG examines the different types of financial resources that are available in European cities to help sustain and develop cultural infrastructure. There are collected and analysed the different, innovative tools and methods of funding, which are aimed at enhancing the economic growth of the cultural sector. A very interesting report "Mission, models, money" was discussed during the meeting in Dublin. It was prepared by Margaret Bolton and David Carrington (2007), with the help of Deutsche Bank. The main topic was the new and

ple WG[34]; Creative industries WG[35], Mobility of artists WG and Cultural access and entitlement WG. Each working group is concentrating on separate topics regarding to different spheres of cultural activity of European cities, making own research, preparing thesis to discuss during the main sessions of culture forum. "Each working group consists of individuals, nominated by member cities, who are considered as having relevant knowledge and expertise. Each working group is chaired by a member city, which is also responsible for reporting back to the relevant forum on the results achieved"[36]. The youngest one in the structure of the CF is Mobility of artists WG, promoting cultural cooperation and exchange of artists by fostering mobility of artists and cultural professionals. Mobility is **"**a professional and artistic necessity in order to export their work, perform, learn, create, cooperate and discover new ways of expression"[37]**.** The main object is to share views and best practices to improve cultural mobility, to identify, explore and evaluate programmes, new actions and innovative tools and funds to foster mobility.

Representatives of Krakow participated in the meetings of the **Cultural access and entitlement WG.** Its main objective is to identify, define and compare policies and action plans implemented by CF cities regarding accessibility of cultural services. All aspects of accessibility (social, cultural, intellectual, physical, and financial) are taken into consideration.

Members are sharing the views and best practices of improving the accessibility of cultural spaces. They are identifying successful models of

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alternative financial instruments in culture sector. There were also realised own research on the level of financing of classical sector of culture in the member cities of culture forum.

34 WG supports cities activities to bring young people into contact with culture and develops strategies to ensure that the needs of young people are met in cities cultural strategies. Exchange views and develop a series of indicators in order to assess the benefits of cultural policies in terms of community cohesion for young people

35 Joint group of the CF and the Economic Development Forum, initiated in Nantes (France), March, 2007. WG is interesting in collecting of data and help to develop relevant indicators for creative sector. They were also drafting a policy paper on cities' recommendations for EU policy on the development of the creative industries, trying to expose the contributions of the creative sector to the economic and social development of he cities.

36 Ibidem.

37 www.eurocities.eu

strategies, instruments and tools for ensuring equal opportunities for all, promoting involvement of citizens from the deprived areas, increasing the number of people participating in cultural activities. They are identifying tools for evaluating accessibility.

A very good meeting of the Access to Culture WG took place in Riga (July 2008). About 25 people from 15 European cities attended it. The main topic was connected with the strategies for access to culture in the context of intercultural dialog - „Living together in Europe". Latvia was the best place for such a subject. It is a country of different minorities living together[38]. Besides presentations of the Latvian cultural policy (National Culture Programme and the National Cultural Policy for the years 2006-2015) and the municipal strategy for culture development there were very useful visits in the Latvian Ethnographic Open Air Museum, the oldest one in Europe, where the Folk Days were held at that time. The meeting, dealing with the development strategy of participation in culture, was combined with the 24th International Song Festival and the 14th edition of the Dance Festival in Riga (Latvian Garland – festival of ethnic minorities, held every five years). On this special occasion we took part in two unique unforgettable events[39]. We learnt why song and dance are so popular in this country. It was a weapon in the battle for Latvian independence. They are the symbols of Latvian identity.

One of the results of the members of the Access to culture WG activity is a folder of the best practices from their cities. To make exchange of knowledge easier, they prepared publication *Access to Culture. Collection of good practices throughout Europe*.[40] It contains presentation of 19 case stud-

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38   Latvian are 58,8% of society, Russians 28,7%, Byelorussians 3,8%, Ukrainian 2,6%, Polish 2,5%, Lithuanian 1,4%, Jewish 0,4%, Gypsies 0,4%, German 0,2%, Estonian 0,1%, and other ethnic minorities.

39   The first one: Grand Dance Performance „Dancing the Time" - spectacular dancing show for 40000 spectators on a big stadium, with participation of... 13.700 dancing artists(!) on the stage (stadium). The second: "Latvia - The Country of Sun" – the final concert of the Folk Festival of Song and Dance. The final concert was the concert of choirs, there were 12400 singers singing together the same songs (!) on the stage (stadium).

40   *Access to Culture. Collection of good practices throughout Europe*, June 2010, publication is available online at: http://www-old.eurocities.eu/Minisites/progress/inclusivecities/

ies from 15 European cities, making the access to culture easier for citizens. Among different events we find there "One City One Book" project from Dublin, Library Goes to Reader – Riga's city project, Collective artistic creation – project of Nantes Metropole, CULTURA3 – cultural opportunities for the third age (from Genoa), or the Republic of Užupis in Vilnius. Krakow promoted the Krakow Nights brand in this publication, a special initiative aimed at increasing active participation in culture.[41] I chose only few examples of good practices presented in the publication, but a lot of them are worth to implement in other cities.

Common projects of the Members of the Eurocities CF

Cities associated in the Eurocities undertake many cultural projects of European interest, promoted by the Eurocities. One of them was related to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008. It was prepared in cooperation with the Council of Europe in the framework of the Intercultural Cities programme, joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission. There were 23 cities[42], members of the CF of Eurocities Association, which took part in it.

The aim of the project was to facilitate dialogue and exchange of good practices between politicians, citizens, municipal service providers across Europe and to highlight the important role of local level action to achieve

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index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=138:access-to-culture-collection-of-good-practices-throughout-europe&catid=16

41   Apart from the Museum Night (May), generally known and hugely popular in Europe, Krakow has initiated other events: Theatre Night (June), Jazz Night (July), and Cracovia Sacra Night (August) and from 2011 – Poetry Night (September). The nights are organised during tourist season, which promotes Krakow and its creative potential. The series enables free participation in the city's cultural life; performances and shows are frequently prepared for this very night both in traditional spaces and in the open air. Night-time concerts and sightseeing primarily offer the exploration of venues that are not available every day: to the recesses of Krakow's theatre stages and museums and sacred buildings, such as the libraries and treasuries in monasteries and churches. Op. cit. p.17-18.

42   23 EUROCITIES members which took part in the project were: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Belfast, Bergen, Berlin, Bologna, Bristol, Cologne, Espoo, Genoa, Gent, Glasgow, Lublin, Lyon, Malmo, Nantes, Nottingham, Oslo, Riga, Torino, Toulouse, Warsaw, Zaragoza.

real intercultural dialogue. Each participating city prepared its own programme and each one sent a team of ambassadors (young people, politicians, officers) to another city in order to exchange experiences on how to foster intercultural dialogue through specific programmes, policies and events. There was a chain of visits from city to city. The results have been described in one publication entitled *Intercultural cities. A journey through 23 European cities*[43]. It presents concrete policies, actions and events implemented by cities to foster intercultural dialogue. Publication was presented at the occasion of the final conference of the EUROCITIES strand of the programme in Amsterdam on March 5th 2009. The conference served as a meeting point of policy-makers from local, national and European level. The publication documents the experiences of people involved in the visits and presents concrete policies, actions and events implemented by cities to foster intercultural dialogue. In total 23 city-to-city visits took place during major local events and festivals in 2008. Krakow was preparing the Wawel Tower Project on this occasion[44]. Unfortunately, due to lack of funds in the budget of the city for the project and the uncertainty of the amount of support from the European Union, the Municipality of Krakow withdrew its project from the programme of the event coordinated by Eurocities.

The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 has a long-term impact on cities. Twelve practical points for cities to encourage intercultural dialogue were formulated[45]. These concrete recommendations were presented by the CF to the European Commission. They concerned not only

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43   *Intercultural cities. A journey through 23 European cities*, Brussels 2009, [55 pages]. There is also on-line publication: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/news/ne00119-interculturalcities-a-journey-through-23-european-cities_en.htm

44   The title related to symbolic biblical Babel Tower. The main idea was the dialog between different cultures. A lot of cultures, a lot of artists and a monumental picture (16 metres long) painted together in open space like biblical Babel Tower. With the help of music, scenography and art, good setting to develop the knowledge about the difference of other countries, nations, religions, or the culture of minorities would had be created. Instead of discussions, the main idea was to integrate by practical common activity.

45   "12 points for encouraging intercultural dialogue", [in:] *Intercultural cities. A journey through 23 European cities.*, Brussels 2009, p. 52-53; or on-line: ibidem.

building the strategy for intercultural dialogue, mainstreaming intercultural dialogue in all relevant EU policies and programmes, but also promoting the understanding of the idea of intercultural dialog among politicians and public officers, to "support European-wide projects aimed at identifying and sharing best practices implemented in cities"[46]. To quote a few points among recommendations formulated by the CF members: "*(…) 5.* Create a mobility programme for politicians and civil servants in policy areas such as culture, youth, education, equal opportunities, inclusion, innovation, etc. 6. Increase the importance of the intercultural dialogue criteria for 'European Capitals of Culture' "[47]. They underlined the role of ECC project not only as an important tool in developing intercultural dialogue, but also in educating politicians and civil servants to understand the idea and sense of this dialogue.

The benefits and challenges of membership in Eurocities Culture Forum

As Octavio Paz said "Any culture is born in mixing, in interaction, in confrontation. Conversely, it is in isolation that civilization dies". [48] It means that culture is a vital element in international relations. The membership in the Eurocities CF provides an opportunity to exchange experience and familiarize yourself with the innovative solutions in the field of cultural management operating in other cities and countries, including the adaptation of former industrial spaces and facilities for purposes related to culture. It is also a challenge for development of the culture sector in own city – planning and implementing of the innovation.

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46   "Eurocities. Final recomendations to the European Commission. Making sure the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 has an impact on cities", [in:] *Intercultural cities. A journey through 23 European cities.*, Brussels 2009, p. 54; or on-line publication: ibidem. You can also see: http://euroalert.net/en/news.aspx?idn=9026

47   *Ibidem.*

48   Communication on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world, COM(2007) 242 final, {SEC(2007) 570}, Brussels, 10.5.2007, p. 10.

The benefits of participation in any organization are always the result of commitment. Being passive you should not expect benefits. Eurocities provides many opportunities for involvement. Every activity always depends on people who are on the top, it depends on their personal point of view and the interest in cooperation. It is not enough to participate in surveys on-line (we participated in several of them). It is not enough to follow the information provided by e-mail or on the web site. If you need benefits you have to to be in touch with other members, to work together and to identify and solve common problems, to realise common projects, to introduce changes.

Although Eurocities is an important European organization, Krakow - in contrast to other cities (including Polish: Warsaw, Gdansk and Lublin) - underestimates the advantage of its membership in this organization. Warsaw has always been strongly involved in Eurocities activities. It took part in all common projects of the CF. There are usually 2-4 representatives of Warsaw participating in the CF. Warsaw has been interested in position of the member of the board of the association. The Chief of the Warsaw City Council personally took part in CF meetings, Warsaw was the vice-president of CF for one cadency. Currently the mayor of Warsaw, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz is the president of Eurocities Association. Lublin hosted CF in September of 2010. One of three meetings of CF planned for 2013 will be held in Gdańsk. In the case of Krakow, neither the chairman of the Krakow City Council or the other members of the city council, nor the current vice president for culture participated personally in any of CF meetings. The head of cultural affairs department has never participated in any CF meeting. They were not interested in collaboration within Eurocities, not interested in EU cultural policy creation, working out the EU strategies and programmes for culture. That is why, unfortunately, the Municipality of Krakow has not been a very active member of the CF[49].

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49   The representatives of the Culture and National Heritage Department on behalf of Municipality participated in CF meetings in the period of 2007-2010. After the year 2010 there was usually no funds in the budget of Krakow Municipality for the participation in meetings of the Culture Forum and nobody was interested in organising of the session of the CF in Krakow.

The membership fee (amount ca 15.000 Euro per year) has always been said to be too high for Krakow. The amount of the membership fee became a primary cause of the resolution to withdraw from the organization, adopted by City Council of Krakow in August 2012.[50]

The most important challenge for European cities in my opinion is communication on the level of regional and local authorities, politicians, and people on the top of municipalities. The main result of this communication should be the exchange of knowledge on culture management and **looking for new models of financing culture and public institutions with the stress on reform of public cultural institution:** How to make them more independent from the public budget (a higher level of self-financing) without losing their missions. The structure of the Eurocities Association, with the experts in culture management from different countries, is good enough to support it, but the politicians should feel the need to be engaged in it. It is the best way to learn, to be innovative and creative in your own country and also to be useful and to get benefits for the culture sector on the European level (building a common lobby for the culture sector).

Conclusions

The main challenge of Eurocities is to educate politicians making decisions on culture topics. When discussing culture they should understand the main problems of this sector and treat it seriously, as an important intrinsic value as well as the branch of economy and creative power for development of society.

Culture has not been treated seriously by politicians for a long time, and it was not only the case of Poland. We can learn about the same situation in many European countries. John Holden describes the case of the United Kingdom, where – during the time of Margaret Thatcher – art was treated generally as a kind of business. Artists were useful when they

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50   Krakow was the member of Eurocities Association from September 1990 (The Resolution No. VI/47/90 of Krakow City Council from the 8th of September 1990). After the Polish accession to the European Union Krakow received status of full member.

earned money, when they helped companies to earn it or when they revitalised neglected suburbs.[51] In other cases it was said to be useless. Even when John Myerscough published his book, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*[52], nobody wanted to believe in economic impact of art on business sector. Thanks to the other book *Use or Ornament?*[53], published ten years later, Francois Matarasso affected the cultural policy of Tony Blair and the culture budget. But still culture was used as the tool for solving different problems existing in different sectors of public life, not because of its own value[54]. Nobody wanted to invest in culture because of its own value. Nobody wanted to support art because it was worth it and developed creativity. Nobody believed that culture had a significant impact on economic development.

The opinion that there is no need to be a specialist to become a member of Committee on Culture in the Sejm and the Senate, culture commission of the city council, or even to be a head of culture institution, has been very popular in Poland for a long time. Everyone could be a specialist in culture management – there is no need to possess specialized knowledge. Everyone is an expert in the field of culture. Even nowadays we can meet directors who are sure they do not need any theoretical knowledge from the area of culture management, practice made them good enough. But what about the success of institutions run by them? Are they managers? Or maybe they are only administrating the public budget of institutions and complaining about the lack of public funds?

Cooperation of European cities is the chance for exchange of good practices which results not only in better communication between cultures but also helps to improve professional tools for management in different areas of culture sector, including public sector and public tasks and pub

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51 Holden J., *Cenić kulturę*, [in:] Zarządzanie w kulturze, p.129.

52 Myerscough J., *The economic importance of the arts in Britain,* 1988, 221 pp. We can read more about this book [in:] Gierat-Bieron B. [red.], *Europejskie modele polityki kulturalnej*, Krakow, 2005, p.17 and Holden J. *Cenić kulturę,* [in:] *Zarządzanie w kulturze*, 2006, p.

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lic culture institutions as well as non governmental organisations. European countries started to take care of statistics and evaluation in culture sector, but there are still no good objectively constructed indicators, that can help in evaluation of culture sector and that is the challenge for Eurocities to work them out.

Creative and culture industries are not the area of interest of public sector in Poland (local administration did not use to support non-public bodies), the challenge of Eurocities is also to change the point of view of politicians and representatives of such countries as Poland, to show the politicians the sense of investment in creative industries and partnership of culture and business sectors. The new Creative Europe Programme will be helpful in this case. Politicians should understand the importance of creativity. Not only European cities but also local authorities should be creative by investing in business sector and in SME (small and medium entrepreneurs) operating in culture sector. These are the main challenges facing European cities. Supporting culture by the Structural Funds is both - one of the aims and the means of realisation of this idea. Operational Programmes funded in different European countries have the task to help in realisation of cohesion policy, including specific examples of successful and innovative initiatives from culture sector. Thanks to EU funds (and criteria to possess them) cities, regions and culture institutions started to build the strategies for culture development.

The main result of EU policy in the culture sector, promoted strongly by Eurocities is a higher consciousness of politicians (not only citizens who are interested in art and culture) that culture plays a major role in the economy of countries, regions and cities. The idea of culture-based development of European cities and regions is spread by the CF. An opportunity to exchange experiences gives the chance to improve qualifications and skills in the field of cultural management. It influences the mentality of local authorities – usually more than a hundred representatives attend each CF meeting. Development of knowledge on economics of culture, its popularization and implementation in the culture area is the challenge for the public sector. Acting in one political camp together with other European cities is the best way to have an impact on EU cultural policy, to cre-

ate the best condition for the development of art and artists. It is the best way to design the future for the world, with culture and cities in the center, relying on the knowledge and experiences of European cities and its experts, not only politicians.

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Armin Klein

Cultural Entrepreneurship

In the analysis of cultural organizations, the cultural management theory differentiated into three sectors:

> (1) the *public sector*, which (based is on an as always defined "cultural-political order") works on a non-profit and publicly funded work base, e.g. the state and city theaters, the state and city museums, many music-colleges in sponsorship of municipalities, etc.

> (2) the *privately-commercial* sector, which works for profit; it includes the movie and recording industry, publishing, galleries, auction houses, art fairs, musical-theater, etc.

> (3) the "third" or "intermediate" sector, including the numerous especially in Germany, music-, art-, and literature-clubs, choirs and choral societies, but also socio-cultural centers in self-government, etc.

Critical to this differentiation are therefore firstly, the sponsors, i.e. the question of who stands for the existence of risk (public sector vs. private) and, secondly, the objective (non-profit vs. profit).

Even if this distinction is very plausible and helpful at first glance there are considerable problems on closer inspection. Two examples may illustrate this. In the nineties of the 20th Century, a number of public cultural institutions (especially theaters and museums) in private law forms (for example GmbH, foundations, etc.) were converted to give them a greater personal responsibility and freedom of action beyond public accounting and bureaucratic constraints. Ultimately, however, the question of the ex-

istence-risk is important: in the case of an imminent insolvency no state or municipality will accept that "their" institution goes bankrupt.

Secondly: if you set up the focus on the cultural life of the individual artist, it is complicated too. Where some of the musicians can be located, which has a half-time position at a local music school and the other half at a music school in an association and also in his spare time in a commercial pop band? Moreover, and that complicates the situation even further, there are many entanglements and relationships between the three sectors, such as the recently presented research report "Publicly funded, intermediate and private cultural sector - mode of action chains, interdependencies and potential" (Berlin, 2012) shows.

Explosive Topic "Cultural Industry"

For decades, were (and are still partly) the terms "culture industry" (and connected with it the "market") in the arts and and in the cultural sector as emotive words. They were (and are still often) equated ideologically with cheaper-entertainment and amusement, the equivalent terms to all this, what is defined public cultural promotion commonly: "conveying what it was difficult" (So for decades the motto of the Secretariat for joint cultural work in North Rhine-Westphalia).

For a long time was (and is still often today) as "culture" in cultural policy discourses recognized only what acts as far away from the market and is publicly subsidized. Only since the eighties of the 20th Century, the production, distribution and receptivity on the arts and culture are increasingly considered also from the perspective of the economy, i.e. - with more positive connotation perceived artistic and cultural activities also in economic terms.

Ironically, it was then that a coalition led by the Social Democrats, the economic thinking for the first time, albeit indirectly, brought in the cultural and artistic discourse. In 1972, written by Andreas Wiesand and Karla Fohrbeck "Authors report" published in 1974 by the same authors of "Artist Report", both documented the economic reality of life for artists in Germany. An important implication of these studies was in 1981, the law on social

insurance of self-employed artists and publicists (known artists Social Security Act). This involved a legal basis for the first time on 1 January 1983, the self-employed artists and publicists in the statutory health, care and pension insurance (the so-called "KSK" in Wilhelmshaven).

A New View of Things

Now the door was open in principle for an (also) economic view of art and culture. Much attention, and a lively discussion took place in the late eighties / beginning of the nineties of the 20th Century, the three commissioned by the Ministry of Interior-ums reports produced by the Munich-based ifo Institute of Hummel and Berger on "The macro-economic impact of arts and culture" (1988), Hummel and Brodbeck on the "Long-term interactions between cultural and economic development "(1991) and finally by Hummel and Waldkircher: "Economic development trends of art and culture "(1992). Since then, the economic perspective is an important component in the cultural and political discourse.

How much the thinking has changed in the nineties, Heinz Steinert shows in his essay relevant to the "culture industry". Thus, the cultural industry is "one dimension of socialization and is relevant for every social scientist, in fact everyone in his capacity as an intellectual. (…) In fact, a new canon has emerged after the educated people today need to know about the popular conversations as well as they do about the educational elite [...] standard for today is: there is no culture outside of the cultural industry "(Steinert 1998 p 9) The distance to criticism of the Frankfurt School can hardly be bigger.

Are the problems of definition already difficult in Germany, then the situation in the European context are complicated even more by the strong public share of cultural promotion, as is usual in Germany, this is by no means most of the other countries. 2006, the European Union published a study on "The Economy of Culture in Europe". Of particular interest here are the definitional demarcations. First, a distinction is made between a "*cultural*" and "*creative*" sector. The cultural sector is further divided into "*non-industrial* sectors" and "*industrial* sectors".

Among the *non-industrial* sectors within the cultural sector there are all institutions, that "do not produce reproducible goods and services" to the "on the spot" (for example, at a concert, an art show, an exhibition). Among these there are art (visual arts including painting, sculpture, photography, cultural heritage including museums, heritage sites, archaeological sites, libraries and archives, performing arts including opera, orchestra, theater, dance, circus). The *industrial* sectors include cultural products that are intended for the "mass production, mass distribution and export" (for example, books, films, sound recordings). These include films and video, video games, radio broadcasts, music, book and press products. The interesting thing about this division is that normativity is omitted, ie no longer one - only exclusive - "high culture" concept is accepted.

Culture Economy in Germany at a Glance

Since 2009, there are for the first time figures on the cultural economy in Germany (Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, 2009). A distinction is made in the so-called "small cultural industries" (see the relevant industries below) and the "great cultural economy" (which includes industries such as design, architecture, software, etc.). For this reporting initially the **number of companies**:

Industry	Number of enterprises
Music Industry	11,346
Publishing	14,101
Visual Arts	11,628
Film industry	18,998
Performing Arts	19,509
Other	5215
Total	**80,797**

In terms of **turnover**, the following numbers:

Industry	Sales (in millions €)
Music Industry	5,442
Publishing	15,240
Visual Arts	1,928
Film Industry	7,637
Performing Arts	4,496
Other	1,325
Total	**36,068**

Finally, the **number of employees**:

Industry	Employees
Music Industry	36,595
Publishing	78,901
Visual Arts	15,827
Film industry	56,238
Performing Arts	40,308
Other	16301
Total	**244,170**

The overall conclusion is therefore that, in Germany, about *a quarter million employees* generate in about *81,000 cultural organizations* around *36 billion turnover*.

New Challenges for the Arts Organizations

What is true for societies as a whole is valid for the arts organizations: they are faced with enormous challenges for years, from just a few to be mentioned:

- *Globalization* takes power with all facets of life such as Ulrich Beck desribed in 1986 in his "risk society"-book detailing, risks do no longer stop at national borders. Ecological disaster and the financial crisis make it clear that no country can react independently. What this means specifically for the cultural sector, the French economist Frédéric Martel has just published in his book "mainstream" (2011).
- The *fall of the Iron Curtain*, the *end of the "Cold War"* and the *growing together* of the European countries (with all the undeniable difficulties) have changed the face of Europe in the last twenty years, fundamentally. Borders have fallen, new collaborations in Europe are possible, and together with states, that for fifty years were excluded.
- The already mentioned *international financial crisis* has made clear how little the individual sovereign states can decide about their budgets and thus their welfare.
- The two biggest challenges are, however, no doubt in the *demography* and the **technological changes**. While relatively safe and long-term demographic changes can be predicted, the development of technology is waiting on an almost daily basis with new, ground breaking discoveries conditions and poses new challenges.

All of these challenges - which certainly would add more – confront the cultural sector in near and distant future with new and heavy challenges.

Arts-Administrator, Arts-Manager or Cultural Entrepreneur?

So who does the job of working in the cultural sector? In principle we can differentiate here ideally three types:

- The *cultural-administrator*, which has (especially in Germany) dominated the scene for many decades. He is trying to achieve goals that are defined by the cultural policy and is therefore part of a larger bureaucracy. He follows clear rules to avoid mistakes

and tries to avoid uncertainties as far as possible. This type is found naturally mainly in the public sector.

- The *cultural-manager*, his main responsibilities are the planning, organization, management and control. He knows that he is constantly working under uncertainty and makes mistakes in order to learn (faster). He is found in all three sectors, increasingly also in public law defined.
- The *cultural-entrepreneur*, he promotes the cultural innovations and develops new cultural values, traditions and knowledge by asking again and again and again and check in question. He is a visionary "leader", he discovers the new markets, and concludes uprising senses wants and needs. "Diversity" and "sustainability" are central concepts for him - economic, environmental, social and cultural questions are for him intimately interwoven. It is a relatively new type in the cultural sector.

In the Anglo-Saxon theory of organization, there exists a vivid picture: "There are three types of organizations:
- those, that make things happen
- those, that watch things happen
- and those that wondered what happened. "

In the cultural field, workers should always strive to be among those "that make things happen."

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APPENDIX:
STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Alina Matyushevskaya, Katrin Schmäl, Anna Sive &
Julia Kaufmann

Cultural Policy:
Learning by Questioning

Introduction

This essay is a reflection of the second day´s contents of the IP Project
2010 in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria. The exercise was to prepare questions for
the other students groups about the specific culture and cultural politics
in their country. The intention of this exercise was to research in team-
work before the project in Bulgaria took place and then develop the an-
swers during the project to get to know each other in a critical and reflect-
ed way. This is why this essay is named "Learning by questioning". Every
group (the Bulgarians, the Germans and the Finns) prepared questions for
the other two groups. The results were six different presentations of ques-
tions and six different presentations of answers, the latter prepared within
short brainstorming sessions at the second project day in Blagoevgrad. The
task was to develop questions based on knowledge about cultural politics
of the different countries and to present the questions with some back-
ground information for the other groups. The answers were presented and
discussed in the plenum the same afternoon.

The groups showed quite different approaches to the task concerning
the preparation, the appearance and the contents. This is also reflected
within the different parts of the following essay. The text is divided into
three sections:

1. Questions to the Bulgarian Students by the Finnish and German Stu-
   dents
2. Questions to the Finnish Students by the Bulgarian and German Stu-
   dents

3. Questions to the German Students by the Bulgarian and Finnish Students

Due to the level of the presentation's details the sections of this essay have different focuses. Nevertheless our main point is to make a comparison of the different group perceptions and approaches concerning the formal presentation as well as the contents to get to know each others cultural politics. In the case of the questions to the German Students the text summarizes the different topics and compares the way and content of Finnish and Bulgarian questioning directly. In contrast to this the other two parts of the essay (question to Finns, questions to Bulgarians) discuss the questioning in separate sub-chapters for each group. According to this the given answers of the students are also treated differently for the three groups in the following text: either included in the discussion of the different topics or as a separate section of the text. The essay tries to show the impression and approach of the three groups and how they are influenced by their own culture and background in treating the topic.

Since the IP-Project took place in Bulgaria, the participants experience and perception of the Bulgarian culture, cultural institutions and cultural politics are included in the text.

Cultural Traditions and Cultural Policy in Bulgaria[1]

The German students presented questions about Bulgarian culture and cultural policy, which were mainly focused on historical developments and traditions as well as Bulgaria's self-perception as part of Europe.

A picture depicting Bulgarians in traditional clothing was accompanied by the introductory question: "Is this how you would define Bulgarian culture? Do you also distinguish different forms of culture?" This approach did not only start with a stereotype but also conveyed the German students perception of Bulgaria as a country with still living traditions. Later on in the presentation the special significance of traditions and cul-

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1   By Alina Matyushevskaya.

ture in Bulgaria was supported by statistical evidence: Within a survey by the European Union concerning the value of culture for European citizens 82 % of the Bulgarian people agreed with the statement that Europe is clearly the continent of culture while the European average was 67 % (European Commission 2007: 61-62).

The German presentation also comprised further basic assumptions about Bulgarian culture. Here it was pointed out that the Balkan States in general and especially folkloristic Balkan music and so called Balkan beats music has become very popular in Germany in the last ten years. This blanket view on the Balkan as a monolith contributed to the German students' question whether a special Bulgarian characteristic exists regarding culture in comparison to other (South -) Eastern European countries.

Furthermore, common historical issues, which concerned Germany and Bulgaria, were also an important aspect of the presentation in order to analyse cultural traditions and their coherency with contemporary cultural policy. The German students elaborated, that in Germany differences between the Eastern and the Western part deriving from 40 years of separation could still be observed. Even after the reunifications of the two German states many musicians and artists are still dealing with the traces the communist regime left in society. So the German students expected that in Bulgaria a similar examination of this topic could take place. Thus, they wanted to know if there are traces of the former communist time in contemporary (cultural) policy and if the artists deal with issues of a post socialist country. This historical and political emphasis in the Germans approach might derive from the fact that history and its impact on modern culture and society is still a sensible matter of debate in Germany today.

Moreover, the German presentation about Bulgaria comprised the issue of cultural minorities and the possibility to assert them as a part of an all-embracing national culture. Eventually, the questions were raised whether sponsoring and public private partnerships could be found in Bulgaria as financing instruments in the cultural sector.

The Finnish students' perception of Bulgaria

The Finnish students' presentation was determined by questions concerning cultural funding and especially the area of music.

The starting point and trigger of the Finns questions was the situation of their own cultural sector in Finland: Today Finland does not only provide a miscellaneous and vivid classical music scene of international reputation, but also several renowned heavy metal bands. An internationally well-known example of Finnish heavy metal music definitely is the band "Lordi" that won the Eurovision Song Contest in 2006. The Finnish students described, that in Finland, for example classical music is the biggest target of cultural funding. In this regard they were interested in finding out, which cultural sector is supported the most by the government in Bulgaria. In the following the Finns wondered whether popular music was funded in Bulgaria, which popular festivals existed in Bulgaria and what were the main cultural exports of Bulgaria. The Finns interest in the musical peculiarities certainly traces back to the current situation in Finland, where the music industry builds the third biggest item of the culture industry (Mitchell / Heiskanen 2011: 26).

For Helsinki is the centre of cultural activity in Finland, the Finns focused another question on the allocation of culture funding with regard to the capital Sofia and other areas of Bulgaria. Finally, the Finnish presentation ended with questions regarding minorities in Bulgaria and how their cultures are coping with the mainstream.

The Bulgarian students' answers to the questions of the German and Finnish students

In their presentation of answers the Bulgarian students confirmed the high value of culture, history and traditions in Bulgaria. Bulgarians are mainly traditionalists and cherish their customs and rituals diligently. Folklore is deeply connected with the national history, it makes Bulgarian culture unique. But Bulgarians are also open to modern forms of culture such as popular music and contemporary art and performance. The Bulgarians' predominant opinion that Europe is a continent of culture is again con-

nected with their respect for their own history and traditions. Certainly the citizens of the Balkan countries are able to distinguish the special and unique characteristics of their own culture. However, for the other European nations they are almost invisible – their perception of the Balkan countries is rather determined by the innumerable similarities of these countries, that are results of their close neighbourhood, common historical developments and cultural relations.

With regard to traces of the communist times, the Bulgarian students described, that despite the official policy of decentralization of culture, the financing and the structure of the cultural sector are still centralised. This phenomenon can be identified as a part of the heritage of communism. Bulgarian artists appreciate the freedom they have to present their opinion and and often deal with issues of their post-socialist society. Evidence for this assumption can be found in many contemporary movies, songs and arts.

Relicts of communism were also noticeable during excursions undertaken by the participants of the Erasmus-IP in Bulgaria in order to get to know its culture in practice. For example, in Blagoevgrad the group of students visited the Youth House and in Sofia they saw the National Palace of Culture. Today these institutions are modern and well equipped although they derive from the traditional form of social-culture centers in communist times. Such a system of Youth and Culture Houses or Palaces was very popular and widely spread in that time and can still be found in many post-communist countries. The National Palace of Culture in Sofia is a giant monumental building for congresses, concerts, conferences, exhibitions and different shows built at the beginning of the 1980ies. Its representational architecture is typical for such a palace of that time (see Figure 2).

Taking into account that both the German and the Finnish student group had raised questions about the minorities in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian students did not miss to point out, that there are many associations that support artists with minority background like the National council for cooperation on Ethnic and Demographic issues and the Commission for Roma Integration. For instance, Roma music is integrated in Bulgari-

an modern society in different music genres. Muslim minorities are represented with their own theatre. Therefore, minorities identify themselves as part of the national Bulgarian culture nowadays.

The Bulgarian students also reported the Bulgarian music sector, which was of special interest for the Finnish group of students. Many different kinds of festivals were mentioned, such as the Kaliakra Rock Fest and the Bansko Jazz Fest or Spirit of Burgas, whose popularity has significantly grown during the past years, so that it has become one of the most prominent summer music festivals in Europe. The venue of many of these festivals is situated on the coast of the Black Sea, which supported by Bulgaria's geographic location and attracts a young international scene in summer.

Among Bulgarian culture exports folklore music and dances as well as Chalga – a special Bulgarian music genre – prevail. Other parts of culture exports are exhibitions of ancient relics and products of the film industry, especially in form of soap operas.

Eventually, the Bulgarian students covered the aspect of cultural funding. They elaborated, that the government spends the predominant part of the culture budget on the protection of Bulgaria's cultural and historical heritage and the support of the creation and distribution of Bulgarian art. The following major items of the Bulgarian culture budget are theatre art, music and dance art.

However, it had to taken into consideration that the Bulgarian government provides financial support only for the National Opera, the National Philharmonic and folklore ensembles, while pop-music or pop-folk-music as well as festivals are not systematically supported by the government.

The allocation of official funds in the culture sphere is still concentrated rather on cities, especially the capital of Sofia, rather than on more rural areas. Recently the Bulgarian government has provided additional funds for the Ministry of Culture in order to pay the most urgent current expenses of theatres, music schools, museums, art galleries and other public cultural institutions in Sofia.

Hybrid financing instruments, such as public private partnerships have not been properly developed in the Bulgarian culture sector so far. Com-

panies in Bulgaria some times support cultural events, but Bulgaria does not have profound and valid methods for cultural sponsorship, which is certainly owed to the fact, that it is not profitable for sponsors Bulgaria, because they do not receive tax reductions for such activities.

In conclusion the different approaches to understanding Bulgaria presented by German and Finnish students and the answers of Bulgarian students about their cultural traditions and cultural policy helped to gain new insights about Bulgaria and simultaneously raised awareness of the different perceptions of Bulgaria within Europe.

Questions of the German and Bulgarian groups towards the Finnish students[2]

Comparing the presentations on Finland given by the Bulgarian and the German group, there can be discovered a lot of similarities within the mentioned issues, such as the importance of libraries and cooperation for festivals, for example. But there have also been great differences between the presentations of the Bulgarian and the German group, concerning not only the way of presenting, but also the focuses of interest. Therefore, in the following we will take a closer look to the different perceptions of Finland and the answers of the Finnish group to the Bulgarian and the German student´s questions.

How the Bulgarian students perceive Finland?

Concerning the depiction and the visual impression, the presentation about Finland given by the Bulgarian students was very illustrative and descriptive due to the use of a variety of colourful pictures and photographs. Nevertheless, it was a clearly arranged presentation with a logical structure pointing out different aspects of the Finnish society and cultural policies in Finland. A noticeable aspect regarding the visual appearance of the presentation was the use of many Finnish national symbols and emblems, such as the national flag with the coat of arms appearing in the begin-

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2   By Julia Kaufmann.

ning and in the end of the presentation. Also pictures of famous buildings, cultural customs like the sauna tradition, the traditional costumes of the Sami people and public persons of the Finnish political life were shown in the presentation, some of them being used as background pictures or added as elements illustrating the respective topic of the slides.

Looking at the specific contents of the Bulgarian student's presentation, it was interesting to see that the main focus of the Bulgarian group was on detailed questions about cultural policies on one hand and questions about different aspects of Finnish society on the other. Concerning the questions about cultural policy in specific, the Bulgarians referred to the financing of culture in Finland, taking into account especially the sectors of literature and museums. They also were interested in the current situation of the cultural industries in Finland and therefore asked questions about the cultural export sectors, their products, competition and existing difficulties. In terms of different aspects of Finnish society, the Bulgarian students were interested in a wide range of different facts, such as the educational system and its characteristics, the role of religion in society and politics, green city policy and its economical aspects. It was interesting to discover that the Bulgarian group, in contrast to the German group, paid much attention to those aspects of Finnish society and their questions revealed the great importance social issues like feminism and minority policy have for them. They further emphasized the issue of minority policy by asking the Finnish students particular questions about the culture of the Sami people and about political programs preserving Sami culture, language and religion. Just like the group of the German students, the Bulgarian students mentioned the alarmingly high number of votes the right-wing populist and nationalist political party "True Finns" polled in the last parliamentary elections in Finland and therefore put a question about possible consequences for the Finnish cultural policy.

Taking an overall look at the Bulgarian group's approach to Finland and its cultural policy, a significant element of their presentation was the good preparation of the students and their detailed knowledge about specific facts on policy and society. The Bulgarian students put a remarkably strong focus on society, policy and politics in general (the students dedi-

cated more than half of their presentation – 6 slides out of 11 – to those issues). This reveals a very global overall approach to cultural policy, as there is always a great interdependency between the different aspects of cultural policy, policy in general and society.

How the German students perceive Finland

Comparing the Bulgarian student's presentation to the presentation of the German group, there can be found some differences yet perceivable by looking at the different visual impression of the presentation. Unlike the Bulgarian group, the German students used less pictures in their presentation (two pictures maximum on one slide), for which reason their presentation seemed to be less colourful and much more matter-of-fact. As a whole, the presentation was very clearly structured and arranged, especially because the students showed a summary of all their questions to the Finnish group at the end of their presentation. These facts curiously correspond to a widespread stereotypical image of the orderly and precisely working Germans. Another characteristic of the presentation, however, was opposing a prevalent stereotype of Germans: In contrast to the popular image of the humourless and serious German nature, the students gave a lecture that was full of humour and ironic hints, especially when dealing with common stereotypes about the Finns and their culture. They used photographs showing themselves in different situations with speech balloons to illustrate their thoughts about the Finnish people as a humoristic illustration of the existing stereotypes many Germans have when they think about Finland.

Regarding the contents of the presentation, it can clearly be detected that the focus of the German students was strongly on stereotypes and the perception of the Finns and Finnish culture in Germany. Therefore, they questioned the legitimacy of the Germans´ perception of the Finnish people, and asked, for example, if there was any truth in the stereotype of the Finnish men going to sauna every day. Another issue the German group asked questions about was the compatibility between cultural traditions and the modern life in Finland today. Furthermore, they were strongly interested in the role Finland is playing for Europe and European integra-

tion. For that reason they mentioned the city of Turku that was chosen for the European Capital of Culture in 2011, that raised questions about possible consequences for the future cultural development of Finland.

Related to the role that Finland plays as a part of the European Union, the German group also critically mentioned the growing success of the party "True Finns" like the Bulgarians did. Another similarity to the Bulgarian student's presentation was dealing with the importance different cultural sectors in Finland, especially literature and the great festival culture. But unlike the Bulgarian group, the Germans connected the presented facts to German perceptions, for example by quoting Bertolt Brecht commenting on Finnish literature. Furthermore, they also mentioned the importance of design in Finland. However, it was interesting to see that, in contrast to the Bulgarian students, the German students didn´t deal with any social issues in their presentation. This could possibly reveal a more unconcerned attitude towards these issues on the part of the Germans who might take certain social achievements for granted.

To sum up the German approach, it can be noticed that the main focuses of the presentation of the German students reveal not only a self-reflecting consciousness of existing stereotypes, but also a point of view that attaches great importance to the European dimension in general and European integration in particular.

How the Finnish students answered the questions of the Bulgarian and the German students?

The Finnish students presented their answers to the Bulgarian and German students´ questions in a very structured and clearly arranged way. Regarding the visual impression of their presentation, the slides seemed very well ordered and professional, with some pictures illustrating the respective issue dealt with. It was interesting to see that the Finnish students´ answers were based on thoroughly researched facts and that the students mentioned a lot of examples underlining their arguments. One focus of their presentation was on giving answers to the questions concerning different aspects of cultural policy in Finland. In this regard, the Finnish students mentioned the importance of books for Finnish people and the high

public funding of libraries. They also emphasized the importance of budgeting museums and the significance of international cooperation for festivals, especially between the Nordic countries. The second focus on the Finnish group's presentation was on answering the questions concerning different aspects of Finnish society. Taking into account the other group's questions about politics and the chances of European integration for Finland, they first tried to explain the success of the party "True Finns" and then mentioned the fears many Finnish people have concerning the consequences of the advancing European integration for a country like Finland. This led to a lively discussion among the students of all three nationalities about possible advantages and disadvantages of European integration and being part of the European Union. This was maybe one of the most interesting parts of the topic "learning by questioning" as it clearly depicted that, to some extent, the perceptions and points of view about Europe and European integration of the three participating countries of the IP, Finland, Bulgaria and Germany, can be quite different.

Then the Finnish students related to the questions about green city policy in Finland, pointing out some current problems and issues. They also gave answers to the questions regarding religion and religious education, also mentioning the national churches and a current discussion in Finland about a highly controversial campaign against homosexuality initialized by catholic groups. Therefore the Finnish students raised the question about the necessity of the principle of separation of church and state. Furthermore, the Finnish group dealt with the questions about the minority policy in Finland and pointed out some problems regarding the current situation of the Sami people. It was interesting that the Finnish students, in contrast to the German group, didn´t discuss the issue of stereotypes about Finland, but this could possibly be up to the fact that at this point the students had already talked a lot about stereotypes and the perception of each other. At large, the presentation reflects a high ability of self-reflection of the Finnish students and their capability of analyzing the cultural policy of their own country.

Questions to the German Students by the Finnish and the Bulgarian Students[3]

Appearance of the presentations

The Power-Point presentations of the questions about cultural politics in Germany by the Finnish and the Bulgarian students showed the quite different approaches of the two groups. This already became apparent regarding layout, design and arrangement of the two presentations. The Finnish Students chose a very minimalistic and rather simple design and layout as you would stereotypically expect of a nation that is known for its modern design. There was one question on each sheet, only few explanatory words and no pictures. Overall the Finnish presentation was short and represented the facts clearly.

The Bulgarian students on the other hand put a lot of emphasis on a very colourful layout and decorative elements of design. The sheets contained a lot of background information about the questions on German cultural politics and were illustrated with lots of colourful pictures and maps concerning the topics. It was remarkable that the appearance of the Bulgarian presentation also fulfilled the stereotype of the more ostentatious post-communist taste.

Content of the presentations

Not only the style of the presentations but also the content of the questions was quite different between the Finnish and the Bulgarian Group. Almost half of the Finnish questions concerned the public and private funding of culture, a topic which is also very dominant in the discourse about the cultural politics in Germany as well as in our curriculum of Arts Management. The Finns were firstly interested in general matters of the funding of culture in Germany. They wanted to know the percentage of grants given by the German state and asked about the importance of private funding on the other hand.

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3   By Katrin Schmäl and Anna Sive.

Afterwards they asked more detailed questions, such as if the state tended to support modern or traditional art and how to apply for public grants. The emphasis the Finnish students put on financial aspects showed that this is a central problem in Finland as well.

It was striking that the Bulgarian students didn't ask anything about financing culture, which might be caused by the traditions of public cultural funding in former communist countries.

Both groups discussed another principal topic of arts management when they looked at different issues of "actors in cultural politics". Since associations are typical for the Finnish cultural landscape and celebrities play an important role in cultural politics they asked the German group about the importance of those in Germany. The federal system in Germany then was of central interest for both groups. The Finns wondered about the extent of differences between the cultural politics of the different German states, called "Länder". Since the Finns are used to a central governmental system, they expected the German system to be quite different and more diverse than in Finland. The Bulgarians were interested in our opinion about the pros and cons of the decentralization of that system. The German students discussed this aspect intensively and agreed that it was a disadvantage concerning education and an advantage in the case of cultural matters

As a third topic within the questions about current tendencies in cultural politics and Arts Management the Bulgarians mentioned the conservation of cultural heritage. They asked in which way Germany protected its cultural heritage. Furthermore they enquired how Germany can implement a common policy towards the digitization of its cultural heritage. The answer of the German group showed once again the special meaning of the federal system of Germany in (cultural) politics concerning not only the funding and the structure but also the way of protecting the cultural heritage.

In addition to the internal politics and structures in Germany both groups also wanted to know about the impact of the cultural policies of the European Union. Since cultural export is very important in Finland the Finnish students wanted to know how important cultural export is in

Germany. Furthermore both groups asked about the influence of European cultural politics. These were quite specific questions, such as "how important are EU-projects for the employment opportunities in the cultural field?". In what way the EU Strategy "2020" might affect the cultural industries in Germany was interesting for the Bulgarian students.

It was surprising for the German students that the Bulgarians intensively discussed Germany's foreign cultural politics and the fight against "Islamic terrorism" afterwards. They wanted to know how effective cultural policies are, especially regarding the relations to the Islamic world. The Bulgarians showed a broader definition of their understanding of culture which also integrated social aspects. This was also obvious when they asked about current problems with multiculturalism in the form of the following question: "What cultural policies should Germany have to change positively the negative attitude towards the minorities?". Finally their overall view on culture became apparent as well through the question if and how we cultural policies could help achieve greater gender equality. In contrast the questions of the Finnish students didn't include social aspects in their definition of culture.

To sum up this section, the questions posed and background information of two groups of students showed a different approach in researching German cultural politics. The Bulgarian students "underlined" their questions with explicit information they gained in detailed preparatory work. The Bulgarians showed a competent knowledge of the development, the character and current tendencies of the cultural politics in Germany. It was obvious that they used different well-selected sources as for example current media coverage, academic literature and the Internet. In contrast to the Bulgarians the students had a rather intuitive approach to the research. Their questions were not as specific but more of general interest. They used statements on the Finnish cultural landscape to ask comparative questions on the German one. The biggest differences between the two groups concerning the content of the questions could be seen in the understanding of cultural politics and the term *culture* in general.

The questions of the Finnish Students were mainly about topics of arts management. As already mentioned above, they asked for example about

funding, financing and structure of the German cultural politics. The Bulgarians also discussed these topics. But furthermore they focused on the meaning of culture for the German society. Thus they demonstrated a broader definition of culture that included aspects such as multiculturalism and the attitude towards the Islamic world.

Conclusion

The previous three different sections showed different approaches to the task "Learning by questioning" as well as different focuses in the single group's contents of the questions.

There are some similarities concerning the contents of the questions. First of all, the interest for cultural traditions and history and their impact on current cultural policies characterised all presentations. How to deal with former communist structures and their meaning for cultural politics and as a topic for artists was another common topic. Furthermore, all groups were interested in how cultural policies deal with the minorities in each country, either immigrants in Germany, Roma in Bulgaria or Sami in Finland. According to this quite broad view on cultural policies including aspects of national self-perception, the German and the Bulgarian students also asked the Finns about the meaning of the nationalistic True Finn's success in recent elections.

On the other hand it became apparent that the different student's groups focussed on diverging contents. The Finnish students were mainly interested in cultural funding (private vs. public, what is funded etc.) and cultural industries, especially the music industry. The Bulgarians emphasized on cultural heritage and contemporary social aspects such as multiculturalism or questions of gender equality. The German students presented a mix of both approaches in their questions.

Concerning the approach to the task "Learning by questioning", some main aspects can be summed up here. The Finns focused on aspects of arts management. Their questions were developed by reflecting on characteristics of the Finnish cultural landscape. The German and the Bulgarian questions on the other hand demonstrated detailed preparatory re-

search on the other countries. The Bulgarians particularly showed a wide approach, historical and contemporary social developments were of central interest. So the attempt to get to know each other's cultural policies was diversely approached by this approach of "learning by questioning". All students gained a lot of interesting new knowledge and were initiated to reflect their own point of view through the eyes of the others.

Franz Ambelang

What is Europe for Us? A German, Bulgarian and Finnish Perspective

Introduction

During the first week of the Erasmus IP Conference 2011 in Blagoevgrad the German, Bulgarian and Finnish students were supposed to prepare presentations on central questions regarding European identity and future. Three questions served as reference points:

1. What are the greatest cultural achievements, representative of European spirit and European cultural heritage?
2. What are the biggest challenges to united Europe today?
3. What are our hopes for future Europe, which Europe do we want in the future?

The results were very interesting because every group decided for different approaches to examine a complex issue. In this manner, the students demonstrated that when talking about Europe we cannot find one right answer because there is none. It is not possible to speak of "the heart of Europe" because Europe has many hearts, faces, cultures and identities. It becomes obvious that there are always several options to answer questions with respect to Europe.

This article aims at comparing the content and style of the three presentations and in doing so it reveals the different views of a young European generation on their continent. One can also point to – of course without generalizations – the cultural differences between Germany, Bulgaria and Finland that are reflected in the distinct approaches to Europe. Furthermore, this text examines the discussions which resulted from the presentations. Especially here the students disclosed their national, cultural

and historical background. The students' PowerPoint slides and the author's observations during the course are used as sources of information.

A German Approach to Europe

The German work group was the first to present its results. The presentation's title was "Europe and the EU – Its Cultural Heritage, Challenges and Future". Before chronologically answering the three questions as every group did, the Germans began with a short "Europe Quiz" that contained questions regarding the EU symbols such as the European flag, anthem and Day.

As the presentation's title already indicated the Germans differentiated between Europe as a continent and as an institution, namely the European Union. As Europe's cultural heritage and its most important achievements they highlighted the common history, values and the natural sciences and humanities, whereas regarding the EU they mentioned peacekeeping and a European job market as well as freedom of travelling. The German group was the only one that reminded the audience of the dark side of European history referring to World War I and II that is part of Europe's cultural heritage, too. It can be assumed that the Germans mentioned Nazi Germany and the Holocaust as these are still dominant in the country's cultural memory.

Besides, they stressed that the question of Europe's borders, economic crisis and the migration of Africans are today's challenges for the EU. Furthermore, the Germans adopted a critical view on the European integration. They brought up that an advanced integration needs a stronger European identity, which is a difficult task because there are no European people and European public, only little citizen-friendliness and, although many Europeans speak English, no lingua franca. In addition to this, national identities are predominant and the EU citizenship is still of secondary importance.

Regarding Europe's future the German group concentrated on a stronger cultural and educational policy of the EU, which could help to accelerate the process of integration. For example, more exchange programs

such as Erasmus and a greater financial support of cultural and intercultural projects like the European Capital of Culture could have positive effects on identity building.

Furthermore, the German group attempted to use entertaining elements like the "Europe Quiz", many illustrations and a live performance of the European anthem in order to involve the audience and awaken its interest. Moreover, they proved their assumptions with statistics of the Eurobarometer surveys of 2010, which can be seen in the following slide.
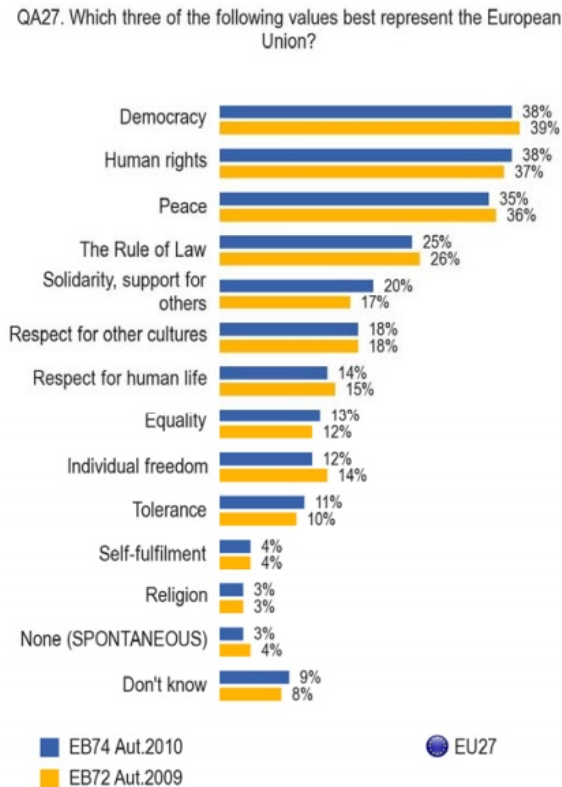

Figure 1. Eurobarometer survey 2010: Which three of the following values best represent the European Union?

The German group was the only one that prepared questions for a lively discussion after its presentation. Firstly, they asked for the dangers if Europe had a too strong competence and power in cultural policy. All opinions confirmed the EU's motto "United in Diversity": Cultural policy primarily should stay in the hands of the member states because one European cultural policy could threaten cultural variety in Europe. Nevertheless, a certain level of European cultural policy is necessary for a sustainable integration. Secondly, the Germans wanted to know why there is no united European nation like in the United States. All answers emphasized the different historical, cultural, social and religious preconditions of both regions.

A Bulgarian Approach to Europe

The Bulgarians began their presentation, entitled "What is Europe for Us?" with the greatest cultural achievements of Europe while focusing on the different historical epochs such as the Greek Ancient, the Roman Empire, the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution and the discovery of space. They particularly highlighted the first two periods mentioning democracy, the Olympic Games, the Ancient Greek literature, philosophers, theater, the Roman Law and the Latin language. This emphasis on Europe's ancient history could be explained with the fact that the territory of today's Bulgaria played an important role during these epochs. Bulgaria has still a rich cultural heritage of ancient places of which people are very proud. This indicates that the Bulgarians' history and cultural heritage are essential for their identity.

In comparison to the German group the Bulgarians mentioned other current challenges and which Europe has to face: the crisis of multiculturalism and the increase of nationalism in some European countries, the demographic change and the effects of globalization. To this issue, they referred to a very interesting point: the phenomenon of a "Two-speed Europe". The fact that the Germans did not stress this problem shows a striking difference between one of the richest and one of the poorest countries of the EU. For the hosts of the IP Conference it naturally seemed to be

crucial to point to the European wealth gap because they are directly confronted with the disadvantages of a post-communist country.

As a next step, the Bulgarian group formulated their hopes for future Europe: They demanded the elimination of difficulties connected with student mobility programmes such as better recognition of qualifications and funding for students in foreign countries. Although there are already many Bulgarian students studying abroad, for example in Germany, there seems to be room for improvement because a lot of Bulgarian students and their parents do not have the financial means required. Perhaps the German students did not speak about this because in Germany there is a much better infrastructure at universities for stays abroad. Like the Germans, the Bulgarians highlighted that culture is the only tie that is capable of transforming the EU from an economic and political construction into a harmonic "civilization project". Last but not least, they expressed the wish that a stronger European foreign policy should be an efficient tool to moderate global conflicts.

Compared to the German group they did not include the audience. In other words, they chose a lecture-style presentation, whereas the Germans orientated themselves towards a student-centered form of presentation by for example asking questions. One explanation for that difference could be that in Bulgaria's universities a teaching-centered model is still predominant. In contrast, at German universities the involvement of students through questions and discussions is more significant. Unfortunately, a discussion subsequent to the presentation could not develop due to a shortage of time.

A Finnish Approach to Europe

The Finns also entitled their presentation "What is Europe for Us?". Regarding the first question they worked out the following answers: democracy, freedom, human rights and the variety of cultural heritage in Europe. Besides, they referred to aspects, the Germans and Bulgarians did not mention, such as the Eurovision Song Contest and the European Championships of all kind of sports. Furthermore, they stressed the linguistic

wealth in Europe and the EU's efforts to preserve minority languages. At this point, they spoke about their own experiences in their country mentioning Finno-Uric. Finally, the Finnish group gave some examples of political and economic achievements that are directly linked to the EU such as the freedom of travelling, the Euro and the financial support between EU countries.

In the following, they presented their ideas of Europe's challenges today. At first, like the Bulgarians, they referred to a growing nationalism in some European countries. Maybe they mentioned it because there is a similar political development in Finland after the election of 2011 with the success of the True Finns party. At the same time, the Finns explicitly emphasized that they do not sympathize with such political tendencies. Another interesting issue, which was mentioned, was the growing terrorism and criminality due to free circulation in the EU. Although this is partly true, the Finns forgot to think of the chances which a European Common Foreign and Security Policy provides as an effective instrument for fighting terrorism and crime like drug trafficking.

Especially, the keywords "influence of other countries" and "country's own cultural heritage may be forgotten due to Europe's cultural traditions", which can be seen in the following slide, were the reason for a controversial and emotional discussion.

The Finns expressed their ambivalent attitude towards the EU. On the one hand, they acknowledged the advantages of the European integration such as economic prosperity or a stronger intercultural dialogue. On the other hand, it became obvious that they are worried about excessive influences of a "European culture" or other European countries on Finnish culture. Their Euroscepticism and preservation of independence seemed to reflect the critical Finnish view on the EU. As an example they referred to Helsinki's authenticity threatened by other cultures. At this point, it became clear that apart from the European integration there are other complex trends such as Americanization and globalization that affects all countries in the world. The best example is the spreading of McDonald's.

Finally, the Finns presented their hopes for Europe's future mentioning aspects such as an increase of tolerance and equality and a better standard

of living for all European citizens. Moreover, they wanted to see the EU as a pioneer of freedom and tolerance and stressed the improvement of its funding system for cultural projects.

Conclusion

Comparing the German, Bulgarian and Finnish presentation one can reveal similarities and differences. On the one hand, all groups believed in European democracy, freedom and values we can find today in the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights. Besides, everybody saw the advantages of a high mobility for all generations in the EU. Furthermore, every presentation stressed the positive impacts of a stronger cultural and educational policy of the EU on identity building, but at the same time, the students confirmed the EU's motto "United in Diversity". All groups understood that the EU is still in a building process that needs further reforms and more time. At this point, they referred to questions like "What Belongs to Europe?" or a growing nationalism and Euroscepticism in some member states.

On the other hand, there were striking differences between the three presentations – for example regarding the students' hopes for future Europe. Above all, it came to light that the different views on Europe and even the distinct styles of presentation reflected the students' national and cultural backgrounds. As proof we can refer to the Germans' accentuation of the World Wars or the Bulgarians' focus on Europe's ancient history. Finally, we remember the ambivalent attitude of the Finnish students towards the EU.

This paper also showed that regarding the EU the Germans and Finns were more sceptical and critical than the Bulgarians. The Bulgarians tellingly expressed their wish to fulfil a "European Dream". As one of the youngest and poorest members of the EU Bulgarians perhaps are more open-minded about the EU and stress the positive effects a membership can have on Bulgaria's prosperity. From this perspective, it even seems to be possible that Bulgarians are prouder of their EU membership than richer countries such as Germany and Finland.

By listening to the ideas of the three presentations it became clear that it is very difficult to answer questions related to Europe – a continent with a long history, a complex present and an open future. Nevertheless, every student was given the chance to extend his or her knowledge about the EU because all approaches mentioned interesting and important aspects. Although the examination of Europe and the EU, its heritage, its challenges and its future only scratched the surface, because it was a part of a mind-mapping process that did not follow scientific standards, every student could rethink his or her attitude towards Europe and the EU. But in the first place, speaking about Europe was an exciting intercultural dialogue that helped the students to gain a deeper understanding of other cultures and their own origin.