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Where we come from, where we stand and where to go: Culturalpolicies in the European Union.

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PhD in Modern and Contemporary History

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Esta tese foi uma grande caminhada e ao longo dos cinco anos que durou, encontrei vários desafios.

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Resumo

Europe is made, now we have to make the Europeans.[1] (Jean Monnet)

Esta tese inicia-se com a evolução histórica das instituições Europeias e as suas responsabilidades ao longo do tempo. Desde a reconstrução da Europa após a segunda grande guerra até a formação da União Europeia, atravessando os vários tratados responsáveis para a sua estruturação.

Segue-se a analise do Programa Cultural 2007-2013, focando na sua estrutura e objetivos. Em seguida, debruça-se sobre o seu lugar nos debates parlamentares do Parlamento Europeu e a analise dos grupos de trabalho, responsáveis pela sua criação programática, com o objetivo de averiguar a importância que essas instituições dão á cultura e ao teatro.

A secção final tem como objetivo explorar o lugar que o Teatro tem no espectro politico da União Europeia; isso foi estabelecido tendo em consideração os resultados da analise feita aos debates, a declaração do Concelho de Ministros Europeus da cultura e os projetos aprovados no programa cultural Europeu, Programa Cultural 2007-2013. Este projeto foi criado para construir um dialogo intercultural e promover a tolerância entre os diferentes estados membros que fazem parte da União Europeia.

Ao assumir que a cultura é fundamental pela fomentação de um sociedade saudável e tolerante, criadora de símbolos e rituais e tradições, que desenvolvem uma ligação emocional e de comunidade entre os países Europeu; este estudo quer abrir um caminho de reflecção sobre o impacto que este programa cultural tem no financiamento de projetos de teatro na União Europeia.

O teatro envolve o trabalho coletivo de diferentes influencias artísticas e tem a capacidade de introduzir uma variedade de participações artísticas, com a dança e a musica, e desenvolver diferentes maneira de comunicar que ajudam na transmissão do conceito, história e mensagem para diferentes línguas. Teatro também tem a potencialidade de criar novos rituais e tradições que podem ou não redefinir uma sociedade.

Palavras chave: União Europeia, Programas Culturais UE, Políticas Culturais, Teatro

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[1] Jean Monnet, quoted by Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2, 225–24, p. 228.

Abstract

Europe is made, now we have to make the Europeans.[2] (Jean Monnet)

This thesis begins with the historical evolution of the European institutions and their responsibility across time. Since the reconstruction of Europe after the second world war until the creation of the European Union following the evolution of the various treaties responsible for its structure.

This is followed by an analysis of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, focusing on its structure and goals. Furtherly will be focussed the European parliamentary debates, and the analysis of the working groups during the process of programmatic decision-making in order to discover the importance placed by those institutions on culture and theatre. The final section was concerned with the place that theatre has on the political spectrum of the European Union; this was established by considering the results of the analyses of the debates, the statement of the European Council of ministers of culture and the projects approved by the European Cultural Programme 2007–2013. This programme was created to build intercultural dialogue and tolerance between the different members states that are part of the European Union.

Starting with the assumption that culture is fundamental for the building of a healthy and tolerant society and for the creation of symbols, rituals and traditions, which develop a common emotional connection between the European countries. This study wants to open a path of reflection on the impact that this cultural programme had in the financing of theatre projects in the European Union.

Theatre involves the collective work of different artistic influences and has the possibility of introducing a variety of different kinds of artistic participation, such as music and dance, and developing different ways of communication that help the transmission of the concept, history and message in different languages. Theatre also provides the possibility of creating new rituals and traditions that may or may not redefine a society.

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[2] Jean Monnet, quoted by Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2, 225–24, p. 228.

Indices

Indices of table of contents

Indices of Appendixes

Introduction

>"Culture has a responsibility to avoid the disintegration of Europe: It's culture, not war that cements European identity"[1] (Eco, 2012)

Contextualization and Motivation

This statement of Umberto Eco reminds the Europeans that to create a healthy European identity, they cannot dwell in the dark past that led to the creation of the European Union (EU). Culture is a feature of European pride, which is recognized around the globe due its outstanding examples in music, literature, performing arts, history and heritage, language and traditions. Furthermore, it is recognized as a lifestyle, with shared beliefs, humour, ideals, ethics and aesthetic, symbols and narratives that defines it. European culture is inconceivable without Theatre in which its lifestyle and values are represented. This research is about the initiatives in the framework of the European cultural politics for the construction of an European cultural identity in order to understand the complexity that involves the concept *Homo Europeaus.*[2] Cultural Programmes will be called on stage to examine its contribution to this concept, specifically through theatre projects.

Theatre is my area of academic expertise and one of personal passion. The other one is Europe. I am an unconditional Euro-optimist, with a vision of a closer Union that is strong in the values it stands for such as dignity, liberty, democracy , equality, human rights and justice.[3] But top-down politics are fragile, citizens are not motivated or see no need to be more participative in the society. Individual responsibility like proposed in the Categorical Imperative by Kant is far from being accepted, even not transmitted clearly, not present in the daily live, not always expressed in political discourse neither in legislation. Adequate culture

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[1] Eco, Umberto (2012), "It's culture, not war, that cements European identity", in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/26/umberto-eco-culture-war-europa, accessed on 10/12/17.

[2] Kristeva, Julia (s.a) *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 330.

[3] *Service standards and principles*, https://ec.europa.eu/info/about-european-commission/service-standards-and-principles_en , accessed on 10/08/2020.

programmes, and in especial theatre, could be a path for a more aware society and emancipated European citizens.

The European identity is an organic, fluid and hybrid concept. The historians Macdonald (2000)[4] and Schmale (2010)[5] refer to Europe as being in constant self-reflection and as reinventing itself. European cultural diversity is representative of this process; history and culture are the bases of the European identity.[6] This nature makes it difficult to work with when it comes to political intervention. The need of grand narratives for the decision-making process, the wish for certainty and solid ground to build politics on is legitimate because of a foreseeable outcome.

Crisis provokes instability and jeopardizes the success of political decision. The economic adversity 2008, unfolded the European identity vulnerability. This put the European Union in question and new thoughts about what was lacking to prevent the breakdown of this institution were required. During this period Jean Monnet's famous remark was repeatedly heard again: "If we were to do it all over again, we would start with culture".[7] This quotation aroused an enormous curiosity and inspired the research.

As a political instrument implemented during the crisis, Cultural Programme 2007–2013, it seemed pertinent to choose it to be the main object of this study. Based on my professional curriculum and expertise in performing arts it seemed natural to relate in this these research four keywords: culture, European Union, Cultural Programme 2007–2013 (CP) and theatre.

The CP is one of the programmes build by the European Union. To understand its waste dimension, it required a profound look to the historical foundation of the EU, its actors and institutions. After World War II, Europe once again faced the need to redefine itself and develop foundations for peace. These foundations were constructed upon several treaties that were improved and altered over the years, with the EU trying to adapt itself to the needs that were

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[4] Macdonald, Sharon (2000), *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness-Reflection and Provocations*, Eustory Series: Shaping European History, vol 1. Hamburg, Körber-Stiftung.
[5] Schmale, Wolfgang (2008), *Geschichte und Zukunft der europäischen Identität*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer GmbH, p. 130.
[6] Schmale, Wolfgang (2008), *Geschichte und Zukunft der europäischen Identität*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer GmbH, p. 35..
[7] Jean Monnet, quoted by Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2, 225–245, p. 227.

presented by the member states. These treaties were the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty (1950), the Treaties of Rome – CEE and EURATOM (1957), the Single European Act (1986), the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), the Treaty of Nice (2001) and the Treaty of Lisbon (2009).

Efforts were made during their implementation to create a sense of community, to cross borders and to open up a dialogue between different people. Cultural programmes serve as a mechanism to enhance this purpose of creating a cultural dialogue and to give artists the opportunity to spread their work. Nevertheless, it was only in 1999 that the Creative Europe project (1999–2001) came into being, a research project conceived by the European Research Institute for comparative Cultural Policy and the Arts (ERICarts), which became a major think tank supported by the Network of European Foundations for Innovative Cooperation (NEF).[8] Its only purpose was to produce a study about the state of cultural activity in Europe, but not to develop a cultural programme. The conclusion of the research defined Europe as a closed "fortress", but it also detected attempts and efforts being made to defend its cultural diversity in order to become open to the world. The need to introduce cultural diversity was recognized as an instrument to work against this closure and promote innovation and creativity.[9] It was the starting point to understanding the need to encourage a real cultural policy in Europe. This Creative Europe project should not be confused with the current Creative Europe programme, which is the successor to the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 was the first major political programme for culture at an EU level. It underwent a long process of preparation and became a real challenge in the creation of the budget and its contents since the first steps of cultural politics promoted by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. To begin with for economic reasons: culture is not considered unanimously by all EU countries as a source of economic value for their own country (as seen in the European Parliament debates analysed in chapter 2). This cultural programme helped to reflect on the differences and forged a path for opportunities to develop new perspectives, especially by the countries where the access to culture still belongs to an elite.[10] During this

[8] Cliche, Danielle and Ritva Mitchel and Andreas Wiesand (2002), *Creative Europe: On Governance and Management of Artistic Creativity in Europe,* Bonn, ARCult Media, p. 8.
[9] Cliche, Danielle and Ritva Mitchel and Andreas Wiesand (2002), *Creative Europe: On Governance and Management of Artistic Creativity in Europe*, Bonn, ARCult Media, p. 16.
[10] Graça Moura, Vasco (2013), *A Identidade Cultural Europeia,* Lisboa, Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, p. 17.

period the economic crisis arose in 2008; it once again questioned the importance and nature of the European Union and its identity.

Where we come from where we stand and where to go: the European cultural politics under analysis

To begin this research, it was pertinent to present a historical contextualization of the formation of the EU. This section was structured starting with Europe's first steps after World War II in 1945 until the last treaty developed by the EU in 2009. This part of the research was based on texts by authors such as José M. Magone, who uses the term "politics of memory"[11] that became an important dimension in many European countries; this term is also used by Jürgen Habermas as the "amnesic reason" for the existence of the EU. This concept will be studied further in chapter 2. Tony Judt explains the role of the Marshall Plan as the "European Recovery Program" (ERP)[12] in this section.

The historical context of Europe goes side by side with the process of becoming Europe through politics, economics, cultural and social values that affect the daily life of the EU's inhabitants. Robert Ladrech explains an analytical concept that delineates the manner in which the EU influences domestic change within its member states, as well the future candidates for accession to the European Union.[13] Europeanization is the process described in this section, and to explain its complexity and importance in this study it followed the thoughts of authors such as Michele Cini, who points out that Europeanization has already achieved increasing political competences, beginning with market creation and trade liberalization policies in health, environmental research, social policies, cooperation in fighting crime and foreign affairs.[14] Gerard Delanty defines Europeanization as a European public space that contains within it social integration and cultural politics, and the European space was enhanced agenda.[15] The subsidiarity system is described by authors such as Helena Wallace, a system that introduces

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[11] M. Magone, José (2015), *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, New York, Routledge, p. 3.

[12] Judt, Tony (2005), *Pós-Guerra: Historia da Europa desde 1945*, Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 119.

[13] Ladrech, Robert (2015), *Europeanization of national politics: the centrality of political parties* in José M. Magone, *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, (s.l.), Routledge, p. 577.

[14] Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan (2016), *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, pp. 112–113 (fifth edition).

[15] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 9.

new powers to the countries of the EU in order to balance the influences of the political decisions made by the EU in the European member states.[16]Dinan Desmond refers to this mechanism, in which national leaders are instinctively averse to sharing national sovereignty but have decided to share sovereignty in a supranational organization (the EU institutions) primarily because they perceive that it would benefit their countries economically and socially.[17]

The EU is a unique political system. In order to understand its "personality" voice was given to European scholars such as Habermas.[18] This author was a great supporter of reflection on the creation of a European constitution. Neil Nugent also described that: "No other combination of states has arrangements even remotely like those that apply in the EU, where cooperation and integration are curiously practised across such a wide range of policy sectors and where so many policy responsibilities have been transferred from individual states to collective institutions."[19]

Nugent and Kohler-Koch discuss that, after more than twenty years, the same difficulties still exist when it comes to implementing cultural policies: a lack of funding and the bureaucratic process to access it, for example. According to Nugent one of the main roles of the Commission is to supervise and act like a guardian of the legal framework according to Article 258 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU): "… shall deliver a reasoned opinion on the matter after giving the State concerned the opportunity to submit its observations."[20] Kohler-Koch adds that the Commission has a legal interest to bring new and different elements in its unity to facilitate an understanding between the diverse actors; the final say belongs to the national actors of the member states.[21]

To understand the complexity of the European law in the creation of a budget for the programmes the work of Borchardt was included, in which he describes the complex structure

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[16] Wallace, Helen, A. Pollack and R. Young, Alastair (2010) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 241 (sixth edition).

[17] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, pp. 1–2.

[18] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p.83.

[19] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillian, p. 32 (seventh edition).

[20]Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 131 (seventh edition).

[21] Kohler-Koch, Beate (1998), *A evolução e transformação da governação europeia* in *Análise Social*, vol. xxxiii (148), p. 681.

of the Lisbon Treaty[22]. This treaty is the one currently in force and it was created during the implementation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. Perez-Solozano Borragan points out that even with the positive acceptance of the Lisbon Treaty, it did not achieve closure in EU reform: the European economic crisis forced the EU into adopting further treaty changes.[23] Fjetstul states that the EU legal system is deeply integrated with the domestic legal systems of the member states, so national courts interpret and apply EU law in domestic lawsuits, and national parliaments enact legislation to transfer EU law into national law.[24]

In the present dissertation, the political structure of the EU will be presented, with a special focus on the decision-making process. Regarding programmes and laws, the study analyses the approval, function and structural characteristics, in order to understand the processes of the development of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. To look into these processes and to understand some of the complexities of the European political system, Delanty describes the system of social integration in terms of its efficiency as being potentially affected; decision-making will become more complicated in an enlarged EU.[25] Mair and Thomassen explain the political deficit in the process of decision-making in the EU by criticizing that even with this system, the European Parliament lacks control over the EU executive (Commission and Presidency).[26] These actors are important to understand because they were part of the structuring and approval of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.

Passing on to the second chapter it was pertinent to contextualize the European moto "United in diversity". Kreis states that this is an ambivalent concept: it can mean strength in the form of fruitful competition of the different productive departments or a weakness of fruitless blockings and destructive hostilities.[27] Rifkin (2004) makes a comparison showing what differentiates the United States of America from Europe. By mirroring the country that has the

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[22] Borchard, Klaus Dieter (2010), *The ABC of European Union law,* Luxembourg, Publication Office of the European Union, p. 15.
[23] Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan (2016), *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 47 (fifth edition).
[24] Fjetstul, Joshua (2019), *The Evolution of European Law: A new data set on the Acquis Communautaire*, European Union Politics, SAGE, Vol. 20(4) 670–691, p. 671.
[25] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 13.
[26] Mair, Peter and Jacques Thomassen (2010), *Political Representation and government in the European Union,* Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford, Routledge, p. 21.
[27] Kreis, Georg *et al.* (2010), *Topos und Realität der europäischen Vielfalt*, in Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die kulturelle Integration Europas,* VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 124.

closest cultural affinities with Europe, this builds up a first understanding of what defines European cultural identity.[28]

The second chapter focuses upon the concept of Culture, the European cultural policies, such as the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, and the debates and working groups were this programme. Culture is an important subject to be discussed as background for this research. Several different perspectives are used to present the multi-level aspects of this concept, such as the views of Eco and Adorno, who defend the opposite. Eco argues about the state of culture in the western society and offers a positive and defiant point view[29], while Adorno presents a counter-perspective on it[30]. Important contributions came from the late European deputy Graça Moura[31], who was one of the most active figures responsible for the creation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. Hobsbawm argues that culture is given importance by the politicians because arts and high culture represent great prestige for a country.[32] Damasio points out that, without the richness that comes from traditional narratives and the traditional exercise and experience of the arts and humanities, it is unlikely that human beings will develop the kind of imagination and innovative, intuitive thinking that will lead to the creation of new things: to forget the arts and humanities in the new curricula is equivalent to sociocultural suicide.[33] The founding fathers Monnet and Delors wished for a different, greater input of European culture into European politics.

Gordon affirms that, with the Maastricht Treaty, the EU achieved cultural tools for the implementation of Article 151: "improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples". [34] By mentioning the European peoples, the existence of a European society is implied; this concept exists in parallel with the definition of a European identity.

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[28] Rifkin, Jeremy (2004), *The European Dream*, New York, Penguin Group, p. 282.
[29] Eco, Umberto (2015), *Apocalípticos e Integrados,* Lisboa, Relógio D Agua Editores, p. 41.
[30] Adorno, Theodor (1991), *The Culture Industry,* New York, Routledge, p. 63.
[31] Graça Moura, Vasco (2013), *A Identidade Cultural Europeia,* Lisboa, Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, p. 42.
[32] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 47.
[33] Damasio Antonio and Hanna Damasio (2006), *UNESCO Conference on Arts and Education: Brain Art and Education* (s.l.), p. 13.
[34] Gordon, Christopher (2010), *Great expectations-the European Union and cultural policy: fact or fiction?*, International Journal of Cultural Policy, 16:2, 101–120, p. 105.

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 had several predecessors. They were defined by the Maastricht Treaty and included the following: KALEIDESCOPE for cultural cooperation, RAPHAEL for cultural heritage, and ARIANE for publishing and reading; later the Culture 2000 programme, into which the previous programs were incorporated, became a platform for the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, which was more complete and ambitious in its goals and budget (OJ 2013). Creative Europe, the programme that followed the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, will serve as a comparison in term of financing.

Several authors contributed with their vision and critical approach. Sassatelli worked on a particular dimension of European culture, referring to the success of the creation of a "European cultural space" in 2000.[35] The major concept in European cultural events, called the European Capitals of Culture, joined cities from different European member states. These events managed to connect different cultures and allows a view of European cultural identity. Culture as a self-interpretation was reinforced as it crossed national borders. In the same sense, Graça Moura highlighted the importance of this identity and pointed out how collective and individual egoism can put the fundamental values of the EU at risk.[36]Dantas analysed the evolution of cultural politics in Europe, concentrating her research on the programme Culture 2000 and the subsequent Cultural Programme 2007–2013[37]. She has a critical perspective on the benefits and the weaknesses of the programmes. The thesis of Santos also reflected on the Culture 2000 programme, describing the genesis of and expectations for the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 as a platform of agreement for the cultural programmes of the EU.[38]

The European public sphere, a concept used by Bo Strath, should be a sphere that overcomes the elitist group of the intellectuals that first created the concept of European identity in the eighteenth century during the period of the Enlightenment[39]. According to Faivre d'Àcier, artistic festivals have taken on the role of initiating and educating their audiences, and by doing

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[35] Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture*, European Societies, 10:2,225–245, p. 226.

[36] Graça Moura,Vasco (2013), *A Identidade Cultural Europeia* Lisboa: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, p. 17.

[37] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 34.

[38] Matias, Joana Maria Santos (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 85.

[39] Strath, Bo *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 11. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/ , accessed on 13/08/2019.

this culture becomes more democratic, the European public sphere widens it horizons to a broader audience and promotes major social inclusion.[40]

Several authors added a critical view about the evolution of European cultural identity, especially during the most recent process of integration into the EU. The global financial crisis had a particularly strong effect in the EU in 2008. It not only affected the economic resources: it also questioned how Europeans saw themselves, as discussed by Wienand[41]. Habermas talks about the moral burden (two world wars and the Holocaust), referring to the concept of dignity present in an "amnesic reason" to justify historical phenomena as a uniting force in the EU.[42]

The historical journey of theatre includes this phenomenon, it goes back to it very beginning in ancient times, with the Greek example on rituals to promote social communication, a feeling of belonging and self-reflection. To begin with, in this third chapter, there is a historic contextualization to understand the place that theatre has had since its foundation in the period of ancient Greece and until present time with important authors who influenced the 20th century, the period in which the foundations of the EU were built. Fraser presents the ritualist character of the ancient Greek theatre[43] – a technique that was used by other dramaturges, such as Berthold Brecht, and revived by the reinvention of new rituals and traditions by Tony Coult from Welfare State International.[44] Fischer-Lichte[45] and Carlson[46] contribute by analysing the medieval period of theatrical performances and the relationship between the religious influences promoted by the Catholic and Protestant churches (part of the construction of European cultural identity) and the public. David Wiles describes citizenship as a function of the spatial unit to which the citizen belongs, a unit that can take different shapes, including the local community, the city, the city-state, the nation and the republic. Of all these, it is the

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[40] Faivre d'Àcier, Bernard *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Theatre*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 225. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/ , accessed on 13/08/2019.

[41] Wienand, Johannes and Christiane Wienand (2010), *Die kulturelle Integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 25.

[42] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p. 11.

[43] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 7

[44] John Fox quoted by Coult, Tony (1983), *One Foot on the Ground, One Foot Moving: An introduction to the work of Welfare State International*, London, Metheun, p. 1.

[45] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 5.

[46] Carlson, Marvin (1984), *Theories of the Theatre: A historical and critical survey from the Greeks to the Present*, London, Cornell University Press, p. 36.

republic that has been tied most strongly to the moral ideal of the citizen:[47] "Theatre can be played to an audience, or it can be played with an audience".[48] Other authors like Styan (1981), will be quoted to understand the place of contemporary theatre.[49]

Balme develops a reflection on the importance of theatre by combining Habermas's concept of a public sphere with the concept of theatrical public sphere.[50] Urban defends the importance of the cities as *Art in situ* places for theatre that represent today's challenges, such as inhumanity, authoritarianism and the exploration of humanistic values.[51] Ellis undertakes a study about the impact that European theatre festivals have in society.[52] Hillman[53] and Shevtsova[54] explore a critical view of political and radical theatre as an instrument of change in Europe.

The arguments of those authors are present in the theatrical projects that are supported by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. The sample of projects were chosen for this study according to the following criteria: significant financing amount, project goals (social inclusion, training and transnational network), previous approvals by Culture 2000 programme, long lasting footprint and innovativeness.

Theatre festivals are represented in this study in separate section, because of their idiosyncrasies. Ellis considers the importance of festivals to create new kinds of public: "(…) European Festivals, noting how audiences seen drawn in increasing numbers, many of them returning year-after-year as though practicing a social ritual."[55]

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[47] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 7–8.
[48] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 13.
[49] Styan,T.L. (1981), *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 3: Expressionism and Epic Theatre,* Cambridge, Cambridge Press, p. 1.
[50] B. Balme, Christopher (2014), *The Theatrical Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 2.
[51] Urban, Eva (2015) *Actors in the Same Tragedy: Bertrand Russel, Humanism, and The Conquest of Happiness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, pp. 343–344.
[52] Ellis, Roger (2011), *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, vol. 1, no. 14, 10.2011, p. 111.
[53] Hillman, Rebeca (2015)*,(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 380.
[54] Shevtova, Maria (2016), *Political Theatre in Europe: East to West, 2007-2014*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXII, p. 146.
[55] Ellis, Roger (2011), *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, vol. 1, No. 14, 10.2011, p. 111.

Theatre is a democratic and unifying instrument in the EU. Faivre d'Àcier states that appreciating art requires education, constant interest and acceptance of its rituals regardless of the actual artistic categories or typologies.[56] Reinelt describes theatre as being well suited, in a period of social crises, to influence as well as to reflect the course of history through the presentation of mimesis, transformative models and critical observation.[57]

To trace the importance of tradition and rituals in society Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck and Scott Lash were referred with the concept of de-traditionalization of society.[58] Hobsbawm presented the concept of invented tradition, a collection of practices with rules and rituals of a symbolic nature that have the goal to introduce certain values and norms through repetitive behaviour and always with a connection to the past.[59]

Theatre as a democratic instrument is one of its major contributions in today's society and in relation with European cultural policies. Urban demonstrates that site-specific theatre production explore histories of oppression and social injustice to imagine a new human practice for society.[60] Tony Coult and the work of Welfare State International were presented as part of a conclusion on innovations and "old recipes" of theatre techniques that could still be in use today. Hare declares that theatre "should operate as the interaction of what you are saying and what the audience is thinking, and as a transitional aid to understanding, rather that the ultimate solution to men's problems."[61]

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[56] Faivre d'Àcier, Bernard et.al. (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Theatre*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 225. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/., accessed on 18/02/2020.
[57] Reinelt, Janelle (2001), *Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a "New" Europe*, Theatre Journal, Vol. 53, No. 3, p. 366.
[58] Giddens, Anthony, Ulrich Beck, Scott Lash (1994), *Modernização Reflexiva: Política, Tradição e Estética na Ordem Social Moderna*, Oeiras, Celta Editores, p. 59.
[59] Hobsbawm, Eric (1983), *Introduction: Inventing Traditions* in *The invention of tradition* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 1.
[60] Urban, Eva (2015) *Actors in the Same Tragedy: Bertrand Russel, Humanism, and The Conquest of Happiness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, pp. 343–344.
[61] David Hare quoted by Hillman, Rebeca (2015*),(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 384.

Objectives and Problematization

The subject of the thesis is *Homo Europeaus*, a conceptual construction aimed by contemporary thinkers to reflect about Europe identity and its people.

The approach to its understanding is *via* Culture and the influence of cultural policies implemented by the EU. Being a potential transmitter of values and influencer close to the public, Theatre will be called on stage. The choice to focus on the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, is based on its major dimension and funding compared to its predecessor, as well its time frame being related to the crisis that put into question economic, social stability and values that are needed for the EU to survive.

For this approach it is essential to understand the political discourses about culture within the European Union as well as to understand whether culture is a platform for more cohesion and proximity between EU member states. Although the Cultural Programme is from 2007–2013, the present study relates to the period of 2004–2014, because in that period until 2006 the work on the construction that would set up the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 started. This journey began with a draft built by the working groups of Coreper I (permanent representatives) and the programme´s discussion and definition by the European Council, the European Commission and the European Parliament.

The Cultural Programme was created to build intercultural dialogue and tolerance between the different members states that are part of the European Union. Starting with the assumption that culture is present in its defining symbols, rituals and traditional values, these features are responsible for the development of a common emotional connection between European countries. Theatre is the first to step out as it includes the collective work of different artistic influences, having the possibility to introduce a variety of artistic forms of participation. It develops different ways of communication, which helps the transmission of the concept, history and message in different languages. Theatre also provides the possibility of creating new rituals and traditions that could redefine a society.

Furthermore, through the examination of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, this thesis aims to analyse the importance given to theatre as an instrument of the democratization and representation of EU values. This will be based on the amount of funding given as an expression of consideration and expectations of the value of theatre. This was granted by the decision-making institution, the European Council, in the Official Journal in 1991.

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 was an important mechanism to enhance the main values that represent the EU, such as intercultural dialogue and transnational circulation of actors, work and products.[62]. Those values were reflected in the contents of the application as an unconditional criterion to access the funding. This study tries to understand the place that culture has had in the political European background, how it is defined and handled by the political actors, what are the political obstacles and concerns it faces, what still needs to be addressed and who has most defended the success of an European cultural integration.

An additional reflection will be made on whether culture will continue to exist as an important asset at an EU level, particularly after the economic and financial crisis of 2008. This will be done by analysing the budget of future programmes, such as Creative Europe, the successor of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. It took two years (2004–2006) to create this complex programme (EU Minutes). Still, the EU recognizes that there is scope for improvement, such as regarding the bureaucratic process for the applicants, the lack of ability of different EU partners to communicate and not enough funding for the programme.[63] This idea is reinforced by political actors, contemporary thinkers and theatre practitioners of the XX century until the present day.

Since the dawn of the European Union there is a deep concern for the European soul. A soul that is transmitted through common emotion and sense of belonging. Many voices raised to defend Culture as a "portal" to reach out for it or even more: an instrument to create it. Theatre is one of the best mechanism to appeal an audience directly into a critical thinking about society and politics.[64] Within this context the main question was established as follows:

- Is the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 (CP), corresponding to what was the intention manifested by the political actors of the EU?

The implementation of Programmes by the European Union is very complex. It seems essential to introduce a perspective from the inside of the working groups in charge for the construction of the CP, by looking closely to the minutes of the working groups and the debates of the European Parliament. In the Cultural programmes financial support is given by the EU

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[62] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham , ECORYS UK Ltd, p.6

[63] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007–13,* Birmingham, ECORYS UK, Ltd.

[64] Official Journal of the European Union C 300 E/157 22.10.02, p.157.

to projects that, in order to be approved, has to present objectives and activities based on the values of the EU as well as the dissemination of its work within different member states. Along its history Culture defined the identity of the people. When the Cultural Programme started to be conceived in 2004 the EU had embraced the widest reaching enlargement process in its history: with exception of Cyprus and Malta, those countries that are now part of the EU, had only a limited access to western European Culture due to their isolation by the iron curtain until 1989. It was not only a geographical isolation but also they were deprived of transnational exchange with their European neighbours regarding cultural products, ideas or other exchange information. As Bateson wrote in his book *Steps to an Ecology of mind* "information makes the difference that makes the difference" [65]. While the rest of Europe was boiling in politically, economic, social and cultural exchange, the connection to the eastern neighbours was insurmountable. For decades the gap between east and west had been deepened. This demanded an immediate need to include the newcomers into the cultural programme to ease their integration into the new community and to soften the perceptions of cultural discrimination and disadvantage in relation to the other member states,

The second question presented itself as two in one:

-Why is it necessary to build an European Culture and what is needed to achieve it?

Theatre is one of the major expressions to pass information, to promote change and to create a sense of community. A place for debate and reflection and the liberty for numerous interpretation and discussion so important to fortify a democratic system. In the dawn of man it made its first step as an instrument of storytelling and passing on traditions and wisdom, and so it is important to go back to its roots in order to understand all the potential and limitation that this performative art has in society.

That leaves to the third question:

-Does Theatre and the selected Theatre projects give a decisive contribution to a public sphere that can fortify the European cultural identity?

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[65] Bateson, Gregory quoted by Marcin J. Schroeder *in The Difference that Makes a Difference for the Conceptualization   of   Information,* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318740201_The_Difference_That_Makes_a_Difference_for_the_Conceptualization_of_Information , p.1 , accessed on 10/08/2020

Many other lines of investigation could have been followed, certainly on the way more interrogation will be encountered. All the three questions presented are interlinked, in a certain way each of them gives its contribution in order to understand the explicit and implicit intentions, the limits and the potential of the European cultural politics.

Methodology

This research will analyse the different areas of the programme: the application process, the distribution of the budget across different categories, the conditions of access for the applicants, the specification of the main goals and its results in the different EU countries. To understand these complex procedures of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, data were extracted from the following documents: the last Evaluation Report in 2010, the European Parliament debate minutes during the period of the approval of the programme, the minutes of the construction of the programme in the European Commission, the European Parliament and the cultural ministers of the European Community Countries (European Council), and the list of selected projects approved for the cultural budget. The link between the political actors and the conception of the projects is crucial to this investigation; only in that way is it possible to establish if the projects correspond to the desires of the European Parliament members who are the representatives of the European citizens. The political intention will be analysed with a critical view about if their initial discourse is in conformity with budgeting, projects selection, values and criteria's for application. Again, not all data could be accessed, a detail that will be addressed in the conclusion as will the difficulty to compare member states contemplated by the budgeting. So it was given emphasis upon the analyses of the discourses and marking alongside the changes and development. Not always what was proposed was put into action by the Politicians: not always the intentions and ideas where clear and passionate, some of the political speeches are full of rhetoric and some demagogy and this was as well taken into consideration during this research.

The study is based upon the research into the theatre projects that were selected in the time frame of 2006–2014, for which the criteria were the financing amount, the project goals, previous approvals and approvals in the following years until the end of the programme, and the project's technological innovation. This information was delivered by the Transparency Unit of the European Union via email from the digital archives of the European Union, for

example from the EU Official Journals and Interinstitutional Files of the European Council. For all the data collected it was constructed Excel sheets in order to visualize and follow the chronological progress (parliamentary debates and the working groups simultaneously) of the creation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. In the same digital format an another document structured based on data accessed from the European archives in which the theatre projects approved by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 were registered. Some information was particularly difficult to find. The referred data came directly from the EU, the institution that is the main actor in this thesis. To access this information, see the appendices to chapter 2 (political working groups and parliamentary debates) and chapter 3 (selection of the theatre projects funded by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013).

The cross-checked data retrieved of the various sources with the analyse of other diverse authors, with different goals, was able to develop an analyses and interpretation of the reality of this study. The focus of the research were the political decision-making process of the EU, based on what was expressed, but as well what should have been said and put into practice, but its non-existence is almost total. What is understood is important and reviling in the terms of knowledge for the question asked here in this research, but also what was silenced, against all expectations, this was also taken into account.

Structure of the Thesis

This dissertation is divided into three chapters and the conclusion. The first chapter focuses on a historical contextualization of the EU, its institutions, working process, process of decision-making, creation of programmes. Altogether they build the political foundations on that can be based the concepts of European cultural identity and citizenship and a perspective about the complex subject called European identity.

The second chapter will develop a contextualization of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. The concept of culture will be presented, and its complexity and a variety of approaches will be discussed, with the contributions from anthropologists, politicians and other important European thinkers. There will be a closer look at its predecessors in the promotion of European culture, specially the intention behind the consideration of culture till the Maastricht Treaty to the Lisbon Treaty. The Maastricht Treaty in 1992 for the first time presented a political cultural structure with individual cultural programmes, such as KALEIDOSCOPE for cultural

cooperation, RAPHAEL for cultural heritage, and ARIANE for publishing and reading.[66] These programmes of the European Union, created in 1996[67], were the beginning of a renewed status of European culture that was first mentioned in the 18th century in the Enlightenment period.[68] This chapter will also be a reflection on the dynamics of decision-making, working groups and political speeches by including both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Finally, the last chapter is all about theatre and the projects that were approved by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. Theatre is considered to be a democratic instrument by the EU Commission.[69] This is a limiting argument; however, during this research, the importance of theatre in the European political sphere gained a new place on the European political stage and in European society. Klaic refers to the fact that the "Internationalisation of theatre practices has generated benefits beyond those achieved by conventional national or bilateral exchange programmes."[70] Thus, the intention to support these artistic practices should hold a great interest for the EU and also new questions about its place in today's society. This will be studied in detail in this last chapter. It will be confronted with the political arguments to become a trustworthy and comprehensive instrument that follows the European Union's values and is able to build a long-lasting sense of unity between the European people. If this is shattered, the European dream will end and it will be difficult to turn back.

Post Scriptum, May 2020: As this thesis is completing its final straight, a worldwide phenomenon is taking place. SARS-COV2 entered the global scene.
No one and nothing will be untouched, its impact is unpredictable. But one thing is for certain: the world as we know is changed for good. Culture is no exception. Its place will be redefined for the future of Humankind.

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[66] Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2, 225–245, p. 229.

[67] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 34.

[68] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), European History Online (EGO), Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.

[69] Official Journal of the European Union C 188 /3 19.07.91, p. 3.

[70] Dragan Klaic quoted by Cliche, Danielle et.al. (2002), *Creative Europe: On Governance and Management of Artistic Creativity in Europe*, Bonn, ARCult Media, p. 45.

"But where danger lurks, the saving powers also grow. "[71] (Johan Hölderin, German philosopher 18th century)

[71] Höderlin, Johan quoted by Beck, Ulrich (2013), *German Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p.86.

1.   In the beginning : EU foundation and functioning

1.1   The path towards the European Union

In this chapter, it will give an overview of the historical context that led to the establishment of the European Union (EU) to build an historical pathway towards the creation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 (CP) in chapter 2. In chapter 3 will have a closer look on theatre projects supported by this CP. In order to do so, firstly will be analysed not only at the institutional framework of the union – its treaties and institutions – but also at the ideas that shaped the EU's evolution through time.

Two important treaties will be focused on in this chapter: the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the Lisbon Treaty (2009). They influenced the political structure of the EU and their contents had a decisive impact on cultural politics. According to Richard Rose, treaties are the foundation stones on which the EU is built, and each treaty, when renewed, gives new power to its institutions, similar to a national constitution.[72]

With this historical context, it is intended to demonstrate the idea of common values and principles that were always in the minds of the founding fathers of European integration as was the idea that the EU should be seen and used as a way to disseminate those values. According to Tuuli Lähdesmäki, the EU's cultural policy is based on ideological objectives that are communicated directly through various decisions, the implementation of directives and evaluation reports of the EU cultural programmes.[73]

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[72] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 37.
[73] Lähdesmäki, Tuuli (2012), *Rhetoric and cultural diversity in the making of European cultural identity*, International Journal of Cultural Policy, Vol. 18, no. 1, January, p. 60–61.

1.1.1 The Historical Context of the European Union

> «A Segunda Guerra Mundial acabou com a rendição incondicional da Alemanha às quatro nações aliadas: União Soviética, Estados Unidos, Grã-Bretanha e França. À meia-noite do dia 8 de Maio de 1945, a Alemanha iniciava a sua «hora zero».[74]

In 1946 the European countries were still struggling to overcome the destruction wrought by World War II, which had ended the previous year. Da Fonseca explains: " (…), os Aliados procuraram desmontar o que restava do sistema politico alemão evitando que as mesmas elites anti-democráticas, que tinham permitido a ascensão do regime nacional-socialista, permanecessem no poder, tal como tinha acontecido em 1919."[75] The allies wanted to develop whatever tool to stop the renewed rise of the antidemocratic political system that was still present in Germany and that led to the birth of the Nazi regime. This became the main reason for the birth of a new political structure to prevent another war.

The "politics of memory",[76] a term used by José M. Magone, a political researcher, became an important dimension in many European countries, such as Germany, Spain, Hungary and Poland, and it reflects the mechanism that holds the European Union together: the common political history. During that period a group of important individuals were responsible for the laying the foundations of the European Union: they were called the founding fathers. From the eleven actors will be mentioned the more influential personalities according to the impact of their work in this period. In 1946, Winston Churchill, prime minister from the United Kingdom, proposed the vision of a United States of Europe in a famous speech at an University in Switzerland, still today it is seen as the basis of a Federalist Europe[77]. In 1950, Robert Schuman was considered the "brain" of the idea for the first agreement between France and Germany in which together with Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, signed

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[74] Fonseca, Ana Mónica Rôla da (2011), *«É Preciso Regar os Cravos!»: A Social-democracia alemã e a transição para a Democracia em Portugal (1974-1976)*, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, p.18.

[75] Fonseca, Ana Mónica Rôla da (2011), *«É Preciso Regar os Cravos!»: A Social-democracia alemã e a transição para a Democracia em Portugal (1974-1976)*, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, p.18.

[76] Magone, José M. (2015), *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, New York, Routledge, p.3.

[77] *Winston Churchill's Zurich speech*, https://www.cvce.eu/en/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/e8f94da5-5911-4571-9010-cdcb50654d43 , accessed on 02/06/2020.

the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) treaty.[78] "It is no longer the moment for vain words, but for a bold act-a constructive act."[79] Jean Monnet served mainly as a rapporteur and negotiator between the USA and Europe, developing the Marshall Plan that helped Europe get back on track after its destruction by the War. The ECSC treaty was organized by a Common Assembly chaired by the Belgien minister Paul-Henri Spaak from 1952-1954. Alcide de Gasperi, President of the Italian Council, was a supporter also for a Federal Europe. Johan Willem Beyen, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and Joseph Bech, the head of the Luxembourg government, represented the Benelux economic complex.[80] European politicians wanted to end international conflict by fostering social harmony and developing economic stability.[81] All those founders, according to Ulrich Preuss, decided to base the legitimacy of this new regime not on national identity, but on the humanistic and cosmopolitan values.[82] These were values that were supported by strong economic policies, policies that effected new ways of trade and production.

While European agreements were built, a cold war was growing, with an increasing conflict between the European allies, the USA and Russia. The USA considered the move of Russia, to secure its domination over Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria as a provocation. The Soviet Union transformed these countries into "people's republics".[83] The Iron Curtain was built, and this tension grew with the threat of a nuclear war between Russia and the USA with Europe in the middle of conflict. This dangerous period ended in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin wall, an event that gave Europe the opportunity for a unification.

Nowadays, European federalization is still a controversial plan, as seen further in this chapter, but it may be inevitable because new political reforms are required that are able to respond better and more effectively to more global crises.

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[78] McAllister, Richard (2010), *European Union: An historical and political survey, New York, Routledge*, p.10 (Second edition).
[79] Schuman, Robert quoted by McAllister, Richard (2010*), European Union: An historical and political survey*, New York, Routledge, p.10 (Second edition).
[80] Robert Schuman Foundation, https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/divers/fathers-of-europe.pdf , acsseced on 02/06/2020.
[81] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, p.1.
[82] K. Preuss, Ulrich *et.al* (2003), *Tradition of Citizenship in the European Union*, Citizens Studies, 7:1, 3-14, p.11.
[83] Winks, W. and John E. Talbott (2005), *Europe 1945 to the present*, New York, Oxford Press, pp.4-8.

According to Desmond Dinan, European integration represented the concept of peace and prosperity.[84] On the one hand, according to Peter A. Hall, nowadays its success is often based on the perception of the long-term gain that each member state receives even if it requires a short-term sacrifice, such as technical efficiency achieved by market regulation. On the other hand, people who felt disadvantaged by liberalization or globalization began to blame this on the EU.[85]

During this period, the European countries, affected by World War II, had concerns about the re-emergence of nationalism and the threat represented by the USSR. It was time to build a multilateral relationship between the states. In 1946, the European League for Economic Cooperation was founded. Winston Churchill, the British prime minister (1940-1945/1951-1955), declared that a good relationship between France and Germany was crucial for peace.[86]

The Marshall Plan was presented on 5 of June 1946 by the American foreign minister George C. Marshall as the "European Recovery Program" (ERP): this plan was conceived to reactivate the European economy and to rebuild the countries through American production loans.[87] According to the historian Tony Judt, it was based on long-term investment and the provision of essential services and repairs, all of it with certain conditions, such as allowing American products to enter the European countries, abandoning trade protectionism quotas, and introducing free trade. [88]

In that period, a few political movements and groups emerged in several countries, especially in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium, demanding European political unity by promoting a federal Europe. They rejected nationalism and believed in the construction of democracy and peace. Soon the first European party called the Union of European Federalists was created.[89] This party had its roots in Enlightenments values and the philosophical ideas of Immanuel Kant and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.[90] Kant's view on European values will be

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[84] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, p.1.
[85] Hall, Peter A. (2015), *The European Crisis and the future of European Integration* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 48.
[86] Frölich M.A., Constanze *et.al* (s.a), *Europa Ploetz: Ereignisse und Entwicklungen*, p. 19.
[87] Frölich M.A., Constanze *et.al* (s.a), *Europa Ploetz: Ereignisse und Entwicklungen*, pp. 19–20.
[88] Judt, Tony (2005), *Pós-Guerra: Historia da Europa desde 1945*, Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 119.
[89] Pistone, Sergio (2016), *Union of European Federalist: 70 years of campaigns for a united and federal Europe*, Brussels, p. 4.
[90] Pistone, Sergio (2016), *Union of European Federalist: 70 years of campaigns for a united and federal Europe*, Brussels, p. 8..

addressed further in chapter 2, but it is important to note that this political party uses his 1795 text *Perpetual Peace*, of which is highlight the section entitled "The Law of World Citizenship Shall Be Limited to Conditions of Universal Hospitality".[91] The thoughts expressed in it support humanist values that follow Kant's Categorical Imperative.

To live in a globalized world requires developing the ability of opening country boundaries and welcoming all, by treating them as we would like to be treated.[92] The political movement mentioned above wanted to achieve a closeness between countries and their peoples without boundaries, the same aims that the cultural exchange and cultural dialogue supported by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 had.

From 7 to 10 May 1948, the Hague Congress took place, chaired by Winston Churchill. On this occasion the future of Europe was discussed, with the goal of demonstrating the existence, in all free European countries, of significant public opinion in support of European unity; of discussing the challenges to building a united Europe and proposing practical solutions to governments; and of giving a new face to the international community. Sixteen countries were represented, along with observers from the USA: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, France, West Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and Greece.[93] The international Committee of Movements for European Unity from the Hague Congress , invited 800 important actors from most western European countries, including politicians, leaders of employers, organizations and trade unions, intellectuals, and journalists, according to the Digital Research in European Studies of the University of Luxembourg (2015).[94] The Economic and Social Committee proposed a progressive elimination of trade barriers, currency convertibility, resource planning, labour mobility, coordination of economic policy and the promotion of employment. The Political Committee spent much time discussing the creation of a European Assembly, also

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[91] Union of the Federalist, *Perpetual Peace*, http://www.federalists.eu/uef/library/books/kant-perpetual-peace/ , accessed on 14/08/2018.

[92] Union of the Federalist, *Perpetual Peace*, http://www.federalists.eu/uef/library/books/kant-perpetual-peace/ , accessed on 14/08/2018.

[93] *The national delegations*, https://www.cvce.eu/en/unit-content/-/unit/04bfa990-86bc-402f-a633-11f39c9247c4/7e448519-d026-4405-b985-5dcd5bfa74e2 , accessed on 09/12/2018.

[94] *The Congress of Europe in The Hague (7 to 10 May 1948)*, https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/7b137b71-6010-4621-83b4-b0ca06a6b2cb/4b311dc0-cbe6-421d-9f9a-3bc8b1b155f6/Resources#89514ecf-b9c1-46ec-b310-60f406ae6e25_en&overlay
 , accessed on 30/05/2020.

open to Germany.[95] This was an important step towards peace, by giving a new image to a country that was seen as an enemy during World War II.

The Cultural Committee asked the adoption of a Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU and the creation of a Supreme Court and a European centre for children, youth and culture. This became reality several months later, after the Hague Congress in May 1948, by the creation of the College of Europe, the Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Convention on Human Rights and the European Centre for Culture.[96] The objectives of the European Centre for Culture were defined in 1950: to draw up an inventory of cultural forces in Europe, to coordinate individual efforts and to take all necessary steps to develop, express and demonstrate a European identity. This Centre promoted the cultural exchange and meeting places for all those involved in creating and facilitating culture; it provided instruments for the coordination effort (library, documentary, resources and archives) and it built a study centre and initiatives in the field of education. It wanted to represent the intellectual political spirit on a European level. In spite of being a private organization funded by donations, private and public subsidies, and member subscriptions, it represented a start to opening the borders to intercultural dialogue within the western European countries of the EU and to supporting education as a cultural European medium. With the support of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, in 1949, the Centre was established.[97] In spite of those efforts, the question of its efficiency was put in jeopardy in 2004, when during the discussion of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, members of the European Parliament (MEPs) drew attention to the lack of investment in European culture in public schools. This discussion will be examined in the next chapter of this study.

In 1950–1967, the first but controversial, attempt to introduce European cultural activities were developed in the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF). It was a foundation set up as part of the CIA's efforts to fight communism in Europe after World War II. Based in Paris

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[95] *The Congress of Europe in The Hague (7 to 10 May 1948)*, https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/7b137b71-6010-4621-83b4-b0ca06a6b2cb/4b311dc0-cbe6-421d-9f9a-3bc8b1b155f6/Resources#89514ecf-b9c1-46ec-b310-60f406ae6e25_en&overlay , accessed on 30/05/2020.

[96]*The Congress of Europe in The Hague (7 to 10 May 1948)*, https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/7b137b71-6010-4621-83b4-b0ca06a6b2cb/4b311dc0-cbe6-421d-9f9a-3bc8b1b155f6/Resources#89514ecf-b9c1-46ec-b310-60f406ae6e25_en&overlay , accessed on 30/05/2020.

[97] *The European Centre for Culture,* https://www.cvce.eu/en/unit-content/-/unit/04bfa990-86bc-402f-a633-11f39c9247c4/46688a91-795c-463e-8428-8160936e3752 , accessed on 11/08/2018.

it developed seminars, festivals and art exhibitions and financed magazines, books and lectures. It was directed by Michael Josselman, who was accused later of hiding who was responsible for the funding from the artists that participated in those events.[98] Thus after this, there was a vacuum of European cultural events of this dimension with clear cultural policies until the Maastricht Treaty in the 90s. This will be introduced again in the next chapter.

In 1950, determined to prevent another war, France proposed to West Germany an important economical and geostrategic deal focused on the pooling of coal and steel production. By binding it to an agreement through the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister, declared that a new war between the historic rivals France and Germany would become "not merely unthinkable but materially impossible".[99] One of the "founding fathers" of the European Union and President of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, Jean Monnet, stated the following in 1952: "The tragic events we have lived through have perhaps made us wiser. But men pass on and others take their place. We will not be able to hand on our personal experience. It will die with us. What we can hand on are institutions".[100] The ECSC, which joined France and Germany, along with Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, was the beginning of the first institutional foundation of what would become the European Union. The goal was to escape Europe's violent historical past by creating institutions that would secure peace, freedom and prosperity by the construction of "an ever closer Union".[101] This was created by constant renewing of treaties and adapting them to the needs of the time, always with the vote of the majority of the member states.

The commitment started with the thought of preventing Germany from rebuilding weapons to start a new war and also empowering the European economy. There were also plans for a European Defence Community (EDC), organized along the lines of the ECSC, but it collapsed in 1954 because of French fear of German rearmament, putting at risk further formal

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[98] Berg, Lene (s.a), *Mrs Josselson Conversation with Cold War Widow* in *Rebublications*, Archive Journal Hors series, Berlin, N°1, p.61.

[99] Declaration of 9th May 1950 delivered by Robert Schuman, European Issue No. 204 10th May 2011 https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-204-en.pdf. , accessed on 06/02/2020.

[100] Monnet, Jean quoted by Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.1.

[101] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.1.

integration.[102] According to Dinan, Britain stayed outside the Community during that period because its national interest pointed in different direction, and Britain then applied for entry in 1960.

An important feature of the ECSC was the setting up of a common High Authority to supervise the market, monitor compliance with competition rules and ensure price transparency.[103] The ECSC was organized in four different political departments: the High Authority (precursor of today's European Commission), an Parliamentary Assembly as the supervisory power (precursor of today's European Parliament), a Council of Ministers with the role of mediating the activities of the High Authority and the general economic policy of the governments (forerunner of today's Council of the European Union), and a Court of Justice, which ensured that the treaty was interpreted and implemented correctly (forerunner of today's Court of Justice of the European Union).[104] It will be underlined two innovating aspects that the High Authority developed, concerning the liberties of European workers today: the mobility of skilled workers, that opened the borders for artists to participate in the diverse cultural events across the EU without any bureaucratic limitations; secondly its characteristic of a supranational institution that perpetuated peace between the members states.

The ECSC countries had to remove employment restriction based on nationality. For workers from outside of the ECSC, and in the event of shortages in particular kind of working sectors, countries were called upon to make the necessary adjustments to immigration rules to allow the needed work force to be employed.[105] The merging of economic interest would also help raise standards of living and be a step towards a more united Europe. Accession to the ECSC was open to other European countries: "The pooling of coal and steel production ... will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims".[106] The ECSC Treaty

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[102] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, p. 6.
[103] *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum%3Axy0022 , accessed on 09/12/18.
[104] *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum%3Axy0022 , accessed on 09/12/18.
[105] *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum%3Axy0022 , accessed on 09/12/18.
[106] *The Schuman Declaration-9May 1950*, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en , accessed on 16/08/2017.

expired formally in 2002, but before that, the rules on the coal and steel sectors were integrated into the treaties establishing the European Community (EEC). [107]

The Treaty of Rome (1957) was a milestone for Europe. The treaties signed created the EEC as well as EURATOM, that came into force in 1958, coexisting with previous ESCS. Each institution had its own parliament, assembly and court.[108] The EEC had its public authority derived from the competences of the Member States transferred by the Treaties agreed by them.[109]

The Treaty of Rome aimed to establish a common market with free movement of goods, people, services and capital. By setting up the EEC, it brought together six countries (Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) to work towards integration and economic growth through trade.[110] It was also the first step to build a supra-national institutions that would get closer to the European members states as described in the Article 2 of the Treaty[111]:

> "It shall be the aim of the Community, by establishing a Common Market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increased stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between its Member States."

In 1987, entered into force the Single European Act (SEA), that merged those previous treaties into one. It opened the way to the economic and monetary union that would culminate in the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.[112]

1.2 Europeanization

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[107] *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum%3Axy0022 , accessed on 09/12/18.

[108] *Treaty of Rome (EEC),* https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum:xy0023 , accessed on 09/12/18.

[109] K. Preuss, Ulrich *et.al* (2003), *Tradition of Citizenship in the European Union*, Citizens Studies, 7:1, 3-14, p.4.

[110] *Treaty of Rome (EEC),* https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum:xy0023 , accessed on 09/12/18.

[111] *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (Rome, 25 March 1957),* https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_economic_community_rome_25_march_1957-en-cca6ba28-0bf3-4ce6-8a76-6b0b3252696e.html , accessed on 12/06/2020.

[112] *The Single European Act*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3Axy0027, accessed on 03/06/2020.

The historical context of Europe is closely linked to the process of becoming Europe, through politics, economics, cultural and social values that affect the daily life of EU inhabitants. On the 21st of June 1950, Jean Monnet refers to the beginning of this process as a justification for the undergoing elimination of predominant national interest in the discussions between members states. This was meant to reverberate in relation with the European spirit of unity.[113]

To become part of the EU system, all new members are seen as "juvenile" by their western family members and must undergo a probation period of Europeanization, as Borneman called it, before being included in the "family".[114] In the first place the process allows the understanding of the contours of a future European citizenship as it might emerge from the confluence of different political constitutional traditions. At the same time it gives space for revealing of the difficulties that national diversity poses on the way of the development of full-fledged European citizenship.[115] Daniel Thym states that even the concept of European citizenship is bound to remain unstable due doctrinal and conceptual ambiguity of the rights, the National versus the Supranational European. Equal accesses to social benefits that support all Europeans, even those moving to other members states, and the supranational welfare care system are developed by the European Union Laws system are meant to create a sense of cohesion and integration inside the host society.[116]

Europeanization is an analytical concept that delineates the way in which the EU influences domestic change within its member states as well the future political candidates for accession to the European Union.[117] Member states are obliged to follow the implementation of EU policies. This has generated domestic political reactions, because in some campaigns European politics are not very much discussed by the candidates to the EP. It also promoted a soft Euroscepticism caused by the intervention of the EU in national budgets.[118] According to Beate

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[113] Monnet, Jean (1986), *Memórias: A Construção da Unidade Europeia*, Brasília, Editora Universidade de Brasília, p. 283.

[114] Borneman, John and Nick Fowler (1997), "*Europeanization*", Annual Review of Anthropology. 26: 487–514, p. 488.

[115] K. Preuss, Ulrich *et.al* (2003), "Tradition of Citizenship in the European Union", *Citizens Studies*, 7:1, 3-14, p.12.

[116] Thym, Daniel et.al (2017), *The evolution of Citizen's Rights* in *Questioning EU Citizenship: Judges and the limits of Free Movement and Solidarity in the EU*, Oxford, Bloomsbury p.133.

[117] Ladrech, Robert (2015), *Europeanization of national politics: the centrality of political parties*, in José M. Magone, *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, p. 577.

[118] Ladrech, Robert (2015), "Europeanization of national politics: the centrality of political parties", in José M. Magone, *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, pp. 577 and 586.

Kohler-Koch, this process of integration has two sides: it will neither strengthen nor weaken but transform the member states by nurturing the emergence of cooperative relationships between states and non-state actors at the various levels of government.[119] It became the closest phenomenon to a federalized system already proposed in the 1950s and later rejected in 2004, after the failure of ratification of the Constitutional Treaty by the referendum in France and Netherlands.

Europeanization becomes a process of mutual influence between the EU and the member state. To explain this it is important to understand the phenomena that occurred during this process called bottom–up and the top–down governance. As already pointed out, Europeanization is a European integration process. During this process the bottom–up procedure defines how the member states influence the EU political decision-making through the swaying the delegation of national competencies on supranational institution-building; it is the reverse of the top–down process, in which the European policies, norm, rules, procedures and political processes influence the delegation of national competences.[120] The political power in decision-making and shaping European politics may be influenced by the political weight which the member states carry in the EU decision-making body, according to Tanja A. Börzel.[121] This can cause some disruption and prepare fertile ground for the critical voices within the Eurosceptics.

The influencing factors when developing EU policies, are divided between political capacity and administrative capacity. The first is focused on the political fragmentation (veto players), political resources found in the votes in the Council, contributions to the EU budget and political legitimacy support for European integration, and trust, or the lack of it, in the political institutions. The administrative capacity represents the fragmentation of the administration, that is the dispersion of competencies, the coordination mechanism, administrative resources, financial means, staff powers, expertise and administrative legitimacy (perceived corruption).[122] Those factors are responsible for the results of the decisions made by

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[119] Kohler-Koch, Beate (1998), "A evolução e transformação da governação europeia" in *Análise Social*, vol. xxxiii (148), pp. 674–675.

[120] Börzel, Tanja A., *Shaping and Taking EU policies: Member State Responses to Europeanization,* Queens paper on Europeanization No 2/2003, p. 3.

[121] Börzel, A. Tanja, *Shaping and Taking EU policies: Member State Responses to Europeanization,* Queens paper on Europeanization No 2/2003, p. 6.

[122] Börzel, A. Tanja, *Shaping and Taking EU policies: Member State Responses to Europeanization,* Queens paper on Europeanization No 2/2003, p. 8.

European institutions, and this influences the member states in their decision-making and implementations of its politics.

Tanja A. Börzel and Diana Panke, consider *Europeanization* as a consequence of European integration, and this enables us to understand its influence in both the national institutions and the EU institutions. That means that if the intended goal of Europeanization is successful, the European Union will become more and more present in the daily routine of the European citizen. It has already achieved increasing political competences, beginning by the market creation and trade liberalization policies in health, environmental research, social policies, cooperation to fight crime and foreign affairs.[123] Gerard Delanty defined this phenomenon as the European Public Space that holds in it social integration and cultural politics. In that way the European agenda gets into focus.[124] This public space is represented by people that speak at least two different languages, i.e. their mother tongue and an additional foreign language. John Borneman called this concept *diglossia* and as part of cosmopolitan Europeanization, in opposition to monolinguals driven by loyalty to national and local culture.[125] Another approach in discussion by MEPs is the Esperanto language, a fused language, that could function as communication tool in a cosmopolitan Europe. In the next chapter this subjects will be deepened, and the contradiction presented by this process of cultural Europeanization is shown. In any case the issue of communication between members states will have a significant impact on how for instants coherence, bureaucracy and decision-making process are handled in the EU.

On the one hand, the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 is meant as an instrument of Europeanization working towards social integration and intercultural dialogue through culture. On the other hand, in relation to the discourse of cultural diversity promoted by the EU, for Lähdesmäki the task of unifying Europe should not be allocated to culture; he claims that it is no starting point for European integration neither for the feeling of belonging.[126] Probably this opportunity was lost when in the earlier phases of the formation of the EU, it was only seen as

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[123] Börzel, Tanja A. and Diana Panke (2016), *Europeanization* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan), *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, pp. 112–113 (fifth edition).

[124] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 9.

[125] Borneman, John and Nick Fowler (1997), *Europeanization*, Annual Reviews Inc. 26: 487-514, p. 499.

[126] Lähdesmäki, Tuuli (2012*), Rhetoric and cultural diversity in the making of European cultural identity*, International Journal of Cultural Policy, Vol. 18, no. 1, January, p. 63.

a "side dish" and the real concerns about culture as a tool for integration or social inclusion were discovered too late, only after the economical basis had been built. If economics and culture had worked hand in hand right from the beginning, perhaps the identity crisis felt nowadays in the EU could have been avoided.

Another significant aspect of the cultural programme is its task to support regional diversity through the strand in the CP regarding the preservation of local heritage. Considering all this complexity about identity, sense of belonging or cultural expression in his diverse form: what does this cultural programme really want to achieve? This will be analysed in the next chapter.

1.3   The EU Identity

> "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail."[127] (Article 2)

The EU is a unique political system, a union of countries that share a path of peace, liberty, tolerance and equality. On the other hand, a delicate balance has to be managed in order to consider the cultural diversity and differences between the European members; this challenge made the EU create the motto "united in diversity".[128] This maxim was developed in 2000, to give grounds for the European togetherness; a common structure to work for peace and prosperity, and at the same time being enriched by the many different cultures, traditions and languages.[129]

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[127] *CONSOLIDATED VERSIONS OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION AND THE TREATY ON THE FUNCTIONING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION*, Official Journal of the European Union, 2010/C 83/01, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2010.083.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2010:083:TOC , accessed on 27/02/2020.

[128] Schmale, Wolfgang (2008), *Geschichte und Zukunft der Europäischen Identität,* Stuttgart, Kohlhammer GmbH, p. 19.

[129] *The EU motto*, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_en , accessed on 03/12/2018.

The civic bound that is developed in the EU should also be based on the solidarity towards class, religion, ethnic and gender identities.[130]But even with the cosmopolitanism that is a characteristic of European society, solidarity is frequently questioned during periods of crisis, mostly based on economical contributions, become fertile grounds for disagreement and discrimination. This allows right-wing populist turn solidarity into a scapegoat to promote their xenophobic policies, jeopardizing the EU cohesion and creating alliances against its values.

Cosmopolitanism

Jürgen Habermas is considered one of the most influential political thinkers of the second half of the 20th century. He won the Erasmus Prize in 2013 for his outstanding work analysing European politics.[131] According to Habermas, European unification is only important in the light of a wider cosmopolitanism.[132] He also stated that the European citizen splits into different personas, each person confronting themselves as a European citizen and as a citizen of a national state.[133] The cosmopolitanism is part of the unique societal structure in which the tolerance and respect for other culture becomes part of the EU values. To guaranty a peaceful society and the success of the European project, this is one of the milestones that needs to be consolidated. That is why the Cultural Programmes are so important, because the intercultural dialogue and cultural exchange supported by them are an effective mechanism to enrich and secure a healthy society. Those programmes will be presented later in chapter 2 of his study. Habermas also stated that the European citizen splits into different personas, each person confronting themselves as a European citizen as well as citizen of a national state.[134] The generation that already flourish with dual nationality before and after the appearance of the EU, those are the ones obviously better prepared to accept this split because they already feel comfortable living influenced by two different cultures.

Following Habermas's thoughts about the European Union, the national states are suffering an *irreversible dependence* on other states because societies themselves are becoming even more interdependent; thus, politics must adapt and widen its democratic procedure beyond

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[130] K. Preuss, Ulrich *et.al* (2003), *Tradition of Citizenship in the European Union*, Citizens Studies, 7:1, 3-14, p.9.

[131]*Praemium Erasmianum Foundation Jurgen Habermas,* *https://erasmusprijs.org/en/laureates/jurgen-habermas/* , accessed 30/05/2020.

[132] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 71.

[133] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa,* Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 100.

[134] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa,* Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 100.

national borders.[135] According to Dinan this irreversible dependence was so feared in the 1980s by the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, that she warned that the European Community was at risk of becoming a "super-state".[136] Dinan described that Jacques Delors and Margaret Thatcher had two very different visions of Europe; he was a passionate federalist and she an antifederalist. This confrontation will always revive in moments of crisis, in which the EU is at risk. The EU's structure should adapt itself to the current need of more flexibility because its main structure is outdated and extremely bureaucratic and is not a clear democratic system.[137]

The EU governance

The European political system represents itself as a broader democratic system that goes beyond national borders, causing an economic and financial dependence between the member states with a major impact on decision-making or budgeting. Robert Schuman recognized that European unity is an ongoing process and cannot rely upon a single programme and that its strength relies on the solidarity between all EU countries: *"Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create de facto solidarity"*.[138] The cooperation between member states is crucial for the cohesion of the European Union, cultural dialogue and the exchange of political achievements, and successful programmes within the national member states are part of the strength that the EU benefits from and forms its "identity". This ongoing process Schuman is referring to may be the reason why the concept of European governments is so difficult to define concretely.

According to Thomas Christian, the unique style of European governance is based on the absents of the traditional, hierarchical government style of a political entity. It´s flexibility facilitates a wide range in its application, allowing at the same time policy developers to talk about EU decision-making without risking to turn Europe in a process towards a super-state. The EU policy-making is seen as a non-hierarchical networks and is present in the

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[135] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p. 77.
[136] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, p.7.
[137] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, p.7.
[138] *The Schuman Declaration-9May 1950*, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en , accessed on 16/08/2017.

functioning of the EU as a whole. Those networks unites EU officials, national administrators and regulators, business interest, and other stakeholders such as NGO´s. [139] The EU governance style is a complex concept that is discussed by several authors without reaching a clear definition.

In the cultural project approved by the EU, cultural programmes are meant to become an instrument to develop European citizenship and a sense of a European community. Christian quotes Markus Jachtenfuchs (2001) who describes the way that EU governance can regulate social relationships to create a peaceful and functional community instead of the direct use of power and violence.[140]

Resuming: the EU may be seen as a guarantor of a cosmopolitanism live-style that promotes social peace, tolerance and respect as part of the EU values, as well a participative citizenship. Chapter 2 and 3 will look into that.

1.3.1 Subsidiarity

"There is a price to be paid for the privilege of 'being in a community' – and it is inoffensive or even invisible only as long as the community stays in the dream. The price is paid in the currency of freedom, variously called 'autonomy', 'right to self-assertion', right to be yourself (…) Missing community means missing security (…)"[141] (Bauman)

Other factors are involved in the risk of losing liberty and autonomy, as Bauman described, and it is also desirable that in being part of a community, the process of integration also implies a wish not only of security but also of peace, freedom of movement, economic security and empowerment.[142] By being part of a bigger organization it is also easier to defend and to compete with major world players, economically and in defence strategies for example.

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[139] Christian, Thomas (2016), *Governance in the European Union* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, pp. 98-100 (fifth edition).
[140] Jachtenfuchs, Markus quoted by Christian, Thomas (2016), *Governance in the European Union* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan (2016), *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, pp. 98 (fifth edition).
[141] Bauman, Zygmund (2001), *Community: seeking safety in an insecure world*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p.4.
[142] Weidenfeld, Werner (2008) *et.al.*, *Europa -wo liegt es?* in Werner Weidenfeld , *Die Europaesche Union: Politisches System und Politikbereiche*, Kassel, bpb, pp.23-24.

National leaders are instinctively averse to share national sovereignty but decided to do so in a supranational organization (the EU institutions) primarily because they perceived that it would benefit their countries, economically and socially.[143] This balance was only possible with the solution of the principle of subsidiarity.

The principle of subsidiarity was first implemented by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the same treaty that developed the first cultural programmes. Subsidiarity is a fundamental EU principle that corresponds to decisions made by the EU regarding sub-national actors, using a multilevel governance approach [144] as an element to keep authority over decision-making. This approach is a connection between the EU member states with European political affairs. It is a very dynamic mechanism and covers a wide range of policy areas that rely on regulatory policies.[145] The most important policy is the concept of subsidiarity:

> "Under the principle of subsidiarity, in areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Union shall act only if in so far as objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by member states, either at central level or at regional and local level, but can rather, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved at Union level. National Parliaments ensure compliance with the principle of subsidiarity."[146]

It is used as a control and regulation mechanism, and it only enters into action when member states are not able to fulfil the demands of the EU by themselves. It legitimizes the action of the EU in national affairs when they are non-compliant with EU policies.

The Lisbon Treaty in 2009 reinforced the powers of decision-making of national parliaments to revendicate their decision over EU projects that they consider that goes against the principle of subsidiarity. It provides the possibility of refusing the project by entering into contact with the EU Parliament, the EU Council and the EU Commission. This process will then be taken into account by the presidents of those institutions, and the author of the project in question will reformulate it or keep it as it is, outlining its reasons.[147] During this process the

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[143] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, pp.1–2.

[144] Wallace, Helen, A. Pollack and R. Young, Alastair (2010) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 241 (sixth edition).

[145] Eising, Rainer (2015), *Multilevel governance in Europe*, in José M. Magone, *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, p. 169.

[146] Drachenberg, Ralf and Alex Briason (2016), *Policy Making in the European Union* , in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan (2016), *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 198 (fifth edition).

[147] *O PRINCÍPIO DA SUBSIDIARIEDADE*, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/pt/FTU_1.2.2.pdf, pp. 1–3, accessed on 12/02/2020.

European Court of Justice will be called into action to verify if the proposal of the EU goes against the principle of subsidiarity, or not, in that member state.[148] This entity has the task of judging whether individual cases brought before it represent breaches of European law.[149]

> "The principle of subsidiarity applies to all the EU institutions and has practical significance for legislative procedures in particular. The Lisbon Treaty has strengthened the role of both the national parliaments and the Court of Justice in monitoring compliance with the principle of subsidiarity. It not only introduced an explicit reference to the subnational dimension of the subsidiarity principle, but also strengthened the role of the Committee of the Regions and made it possible, at the discretion of national parliaments, for regional parliaments with legislative powers to be involved in the ex-ante 'early warning' mechanism."[150]

From a cultural point of view Cristopher Gordon points out that in the Subsidiarity clause of the Article 151.5 of the Maastricht Treaty the EU is obliged to restrict any proposals and financial support to cultural cooperation between the member states, with supplementary actions, by excluding any EU initiated reform or standardization affecting national, regional or local cultural policies.[151] This is still present in the Lisbon Treaty, protecting the regional and traditional heritage of the national members states. In chapter 2 this protecting mechanism regarding cultural issues will be presented again when the debates of MEP´s are focused during the approval of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013.

This programme regulates the distribution of EU budget to cultural projects that are based on EU laws. In order to access the budget, projects have to follow certain criteria, such as the representation of EU values and cooperation with other EU member states. The Culture Programme and its importance will be further contemplated in this study, in chapters 2 and 3: will analyse the impact in European society, as well the role of the performing arts to support and spread EU values.

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[148] *O PRINCÍPIO DA SUBSIDIARIEDADE*, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/pt/FTU_1.2.2.pdf, pp. 1−3, accessed on 12/02/2020.

[149] Bickerton, Christopher (2015), *From Nation-States to Member States: European Integration as State transformation*, in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 206.

[150] *The principle of subsidiarity*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/7/the-principle-of-subsidiarity, accessed on 01/06/2020.

[151] Gordon, Christopher (2010), *Great expectations-the European Union and cultural policy: fact or fiction?*, International Journal of Cultural Policy,16:2,101–120, p. 106.

1.4 The European main institutions

The European governance is as hybrid and complex as the European identity, as noted later in the next chapter. According to Zygmunt Bauman, Identity is described as a fluid, a river that carries all what he encounters in its shore[152]. This is an important aspect to add to European identity: it is in a constant evolutive process and building up. The factors that promote these characteristics are for instants the diversity that enriches the cultural expression of European life, or the absorption of habits accessed by the exchange between borders of the members states.

Before focussing on the European institutions, it is useful to draft how the European identity is considered in this study. There are three different approaches for its definition:[153] the functionalist approach based on the satisfaction of the Europeans towards the political decisions made by the EU. The Economic approach based on the assumption that the support for European Integration is mostly driven by utilitarian and economic factors. The social-psychological approach as a self-definition available to European citizens, it comes from members that are part of a society driven by the contribution of self-esteem, self-respect and dignity. It's a sentiment that promote the need to protect and feel protected by the society in a broader sense. With the particularity of the intertwinement with the pre-exiting regional national identity with the European identity.

The structure of the European Union is based on three main institutions: the European Commission, the European Council and the European Parliament. Those actors are responsible of decision-making process and the creation and approval of budget and programmes. Hence its importance to this dissertation to understand the complex creation of the cultural programmes created by those actors.

1.4.1 The European Commission

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[152] Bauman, Zygmunt (2004), *Identity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p.51.

[153] Isernia, Pirandelo et. al (2012), *But Still It Does Not Move: Functional and identity-based determinants of European Identity* in David Sanders, Pedro C. Magalhães and Gábor Tóka *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes the European and National Polities*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.111-113.

In 1958, the Commission was born from the High Authority of the ECSC. Its institutional innovation in relation to other international organizations around the world is that as an organization it has elements of both intergovernmentalism and also an European dimension of supranationalism function.[154] One of the main roles of the Commission is to supervise and act like a guardian of the legal framework according to Article 258 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU): "… shall deliver a reasoned opinion on the matter after giving the State concerned the opportunity to submit its observations."[155] It ensures that the treaties and the legislation are followed and respected by the European member states. Otherwise, the Commission has the legitimacy to file a complaint to the European Court of Justice.[156] The Commission has a legal interest to join in its unity new and different elements to facilitate an understanding between the diverse actors; the final say belongs to the national actors of the member states.[157]

Walter Hallstein, the first chair of the European Commission in 1958–1967, declared that the communities are built by politics and not by business, because the Commission initially had low political visibility, but in time it promoted European integration.[158] This promotion developed the enlargement up to 27 members states and urged constantly the reformulation of treaties to respond to the new challenges that were faced along the years. Those treaties will be taken into account further in this chapter.

The European Commission is the centre piece of the puzzle known as the European Union. Several profound changes happened since its creation, but it maintains its basic task as one of the main institutions of the EU by defending its interest, drafting proposals for new European laws, managing daily business, implementing policies and employing EU funds.[159] José Manuel Durão Barroso, president of the European Commission from 2004 – 2014, stated that "The Commission has a unique and historic mission to be more than just a civil service. It

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[154] Egeberg, Morten (2016) , *The European Commission* in Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan (2016), *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 126 (fifth edition).
[155] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 131 (seventh edition).
[156] Tremml, Bernd (2006), *Institutions of the European Community*, in Wendler M., Buecker B., Tremml B. (eds) *Key Aspects of German Business Law*. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, p.289
[157] Kohler-Koch, Beate (1998), *A evolução e transformação da governação europeia* in *Análise Social*, vol. xxxiii (148), p. 681.
[158] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 2.
[159] ESO Information Guide European Commission, http://aei.pitt.edu/74893/1/European_Commission.pdf. , accessed on 12/02/2020

is there to speak up for European ideals and values, to take action to support those values, and to defend the European interest".[160] The Commission has a central role in the involvement of EU decision-making at all levels and fronts.

In 1990's, the European Commission underwent several institutional changes. There was a feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust towards the institution on the part of European citizens, the main reason being the technocratic structure built by Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the EU. It failed to reach out to the citizens, directed mainly by the bureaucratic and technocratic ideology. It emphasized the importance of efficiency, expertise, elites and functional interest intermediation, and it was not convincing on the democratic accountability level, promoted little interest in openness and failed in representation.[161] During that period occurred the Unification of Germany and the end of the Soviet Union, and that also obliged new political approaches and treaty ratifications by the European Commission.

Only in the late 1990s did the Commission begin to realize the disaffection and start to implement changes, but its organizational culture was extremely resistant to it. According to Michele Cini, in 2001 an important step was taken to implement a new "face" of the EU Commission: the White Paper decree on European Governance was to bring the EU closer to its citizens by becoming more efficient and democratically legitimated in its process of EU policy and policy-making.[162] Cini identified five principles of good governance: openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence. It encouraged a closer relationship with both local and regional actors, including the organization of civil society participating in the implementation of European policy and the improvement of European legislation quality. The White Paper developed into a draft for the EU constitutional treaty that was later rejected and followed by the Lisbon Treaty, as presented later in this chapter.

In 2005 the new Commissioner responsible for administrative affairs, Siim Kallas, recognized the opportunity of leaving his mark by launching a package of initiatives under the heading of "transparency", in which the ethics of officials were one of the elements: "A strong ethical culture is a far more effective approach to eliminating the risk of inappropriate action

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[160] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 22.

[161] Cini, Michele, *Good Governance and Institutional Change: Administrative Ethics Reform in the European Commission*, Journal of Contemporary European Research, Vol. 12, issue 1 (2016), p. 443.

[162] Cini, Michele, *Good Governance and Institutional Change: Administrative Ethics Reform in the European Commission*, Journal of Contemporary European Research, Vol. 12, issue 1 (2016), p. 444.

than the creation and enforcement of more rules. We need to find the right balance between trust based on a common understanding of principles of behaviour and supervision of respect for rules."[163]

In order to present the functioning of the European Commission, regarding its relevance for the content of this research, will be focused on its structure in the time frame of 2004–2014. During this period several adjustments were introduced, concerning the number of Commissioners, the selection process and the representation of member states due to a transition period from the EU Commission led by José Manuel Durão Barroso in 2004 and later chaired by Jean Claude Junker in 2014. There was a waste enlargement process to other members during that period in which from 15 the Union became organized by 27 and subsequently 28 member states: "Surely, it was thought, moving from 15 members to 25, to 27 and then to 28 would end up destabilising the College, or fragment it along geographical, ideological or political lines. (…)" This increased considerably the number of commissioners selected by the presidents: (…) The enlarged European Commission proved to be stable and effective (…). For that is what European unity, at its heart, is all about: a home above and beyond our national homes.[164]

The European Commission is headed by the President, followed by Vice-Presidents, who are assigned the following portfolios:

- Institutional Relations and Communication
- Enterprise and Industry
- Justice, Freedom and Security
- Administrative Affairs, Audit and Anti-fraud
- Transport.

In this structure we can also find twenty-six commissioners responsible for the following departments, in 2009, called Directorates-General (DGs)[165]: Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy; Enterprise and Industry; Justice, Freedom and Security; Administrative Affairs, Audit and Anti-Fraud; Transport; Information Society and Media; Environment; Economic and Monetary Affairs; Maritime affairs and fisheries ; Science and

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[163] Kallas, Siim (2006), IAS Conference 2006,17 October 2006, Brussels, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_06_604 , accessed on 16/02/2020.
[164] Barroso, José Manuel Durão (2013*), European Commission 2004 – 2014 : A Testimony by the President with selected documents*, EU publications, p.12.
[165] *The members of the Barroso Commission (2010-2014),* https://ec.europa.eu/archives/commission_2004-2009/index_en.htm , accessed on 12/06/2020.

Research ; Enlargement; Taxation and Customs Union; Competition; Agriculture and Rural Development; Trade, European Neighbourhood Policy and EuropeAid Co-operation Office; Internal Market and Services; Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities; Energy; Consumer Protection; Multilingualism; Health; Development and Humanitarian Aid; Vice President, External Relations; External Trade; Financial Programming and Budget; Regional Policy; Education, Training, Culture and Youth. The last portfolio was the responsibility of Jan Fígel, who in cooperation with the European Parliament discussed the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, as seen in the next chapter.

The Commissioners are nominated by the representing minister of each government (Council of Ministers) with the agreement of the elected European Commission President, but they must be approved by the European Parliament.[166] The president of the European Union is also chosen by the Council of Ministers, and like the Commissioners, he has to be approved by the European Parliament.

The European Commission operates as a multi-national institution with multi-national staff. In order to be successful, any proposal must be approved by the majority of the European Council and the European Parliament.[167] The European Commission is responsible for drafting legislation, implementing policies, managing programmes, and formulating as well negotiating certain EU external relations. It also has an important role as a mediator between the European Parliament and the European Council.[168] This role will be reflected later in chapter 2 ("Decision Makers, Working Groups, Political Discourses"), relating it to the creation of the Culture Programme 2007–2013 and its decision makers (the European Council, the European Commission and the European Parliament). Without their negotiation and mediation, the cultural programme would not have been put in place. This point represents an inconsistency in the democratic process of decision-making – according to Vivian Ann Schmid, national citizens only have marginal access to EU decision-making.[169] EU parliament is the only institution chosen directly by the European citizens, this promotes scepticism about the positive

[166] Wallace, Helen, A. Pollack; R. Young, Alastair (2010) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 71 (sixth edition).
[167] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 22.
[168] Egberg, Morten (2016), *The European Commission* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 126 (fifth edition).
[169] Ann Schmidt, Vivien, *The impact of European integration on national democracies: Democracy at increasing risk in the Eurozone crisis* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 220.

side of being part of the Union, and also explains the low turnout during the EU parliamentary elections.

The European Commission, similar to a government, is composed by a political executive wing and an administrative wing with a wide range of responsibilities within the European system: its tasks are the implementation of policies and its monitoring, the formulation of budgets, proposals for programmes, and policy initiation. An important role is to intervene as a mediator among the 28 member states and between the EU Council and the European Parliament.[170]After having agreed a policy proposal internally, the Commission, who drafted the proposal will attend meetings of the European Parliament committee and the plenary sessions.[171] According to Schmidt, this type of "government" is not similar to the national governments, so EU citizens are unable to voice their concerns and demands directly at EU level.[172] The Commission can also attend meetings with the Council working party, the Council of Permanent Representatives (Coreper I/II), in order to defend its line and promote agreement between conflicting parties.[173] Founded in 1958, the Coreper I and II are working groups each having different responsibilities to develop programmes of economic, socio-political and cultural nature. They are the starting point of any development of programmatic proposals that require access to large budgets. Coreper II, is represented by the Member States ambassadors and deals with issues related to General Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Economic and Financial Affairs and Justice and Home Affairs of the Council.[174] Coreper I is represented by a deputy from the permanent representatives and prepares all other Council working groups.[175] Coreper I will be recalled later in this section because it is responsible for the drafts of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 .

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[170] Egberg, Morten (2016), *The European Commission* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 126 (fifth edition).

[171] Egberg, Morten (2016), *The European Commission* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 127 (fifth edition).

[172] Ann Schmidt, Vivien (s.a), *The impact of European integration on national democracies: Democracy at increasing risk in the Eurozone crisis* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 223.

[173] Egberg, Morten (2016), *The European Commission* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 127 (fifth edition).

[174] EURO-LEX- Access to European Law, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/coreper.html , accessed on 03.03.2020.

[175] EURO-LEX- Access to European Law, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/coreper.html , accessed on 03.03.2020.

1.4.2　College of Commissioners

Within the political structure of the Commission there exists the College of Commissioners. In 2020 the College consisted of 27 Commissioners including the President of the Commission, each representing a member state. The President's main responsibility is to give political guidance to the Commission. He calls and chairs meetings of the College of the Commissioners and lead the Commission's work in implementing EU policies. Another of his task is to take part in G7 meetings and other international meetings, and to contribute to major debates both in the European Parliament and between EU governments in the Council of the European Union.[176] Jointly with the European Parliament, the Council exercises legislative and budgetary functions, as well as political control and consultation as laid down in the Treaties. Those two institutions are also responsible for the election of the President of the Commission.[177]

As part of the Commission, there are two advisory committees: the Expert Committee and the Consultative Committee, the first consisting of national official experts and specialists of various sorts. They are nominated by their governments.[178] The Consultative Committees are composed of representatives of sectional interests and are organized and funded by the Commission without reference to national governments.[179] They are appointed by the Commission from nominations made by representative EU-level organizations such as the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and the Committee of Professional Agricultural Organisations in European Union (COPA).[180]

Jan Fígel was a member of the European Commission of Education, Culture and Youth during the approval of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. He moderated the parliamentary

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[176] EU Presidents – who does what? https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/presidents_en , accessed on 28/03/2018.

[177] *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, Official Journal of the European Union, 2010/C 83/01, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2010.083.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2010:083:TOC , accessed on 27/02/2020.

[178] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 124 (seventh edition).

[179] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union* New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 124 (seventh edition).

[180] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, Palgrave New York, Palgrave Macmillan,, p. 124 (seventh edition).

debates and was designated to be the rapporteur of the Commission during the process of structuring and approval of the cultural programme. As seen further in the next chapter, it can be clearly seen that the rapporteur from the European Parliament for this subject, Vasco Graça Moura, and Jan Fígel worked together closely during this process.

The College wants to achieve consensus through arguing and bargaining in order to get a unanimous approval of proposals. If consensus cannot be reached, they will follow the voting system.[181] Each element carries the same weight with regarding his vote as the President himself.[182] However, to avoid the size of the College becoming too big after EU enlargement, it was agreed at the 2000 Nice summit that from January onwards all member states would have just one Commissioner.[183] When the size of the EU reached 27 member states, the Commission would be less than that number (around two-thirds of it).[184] However this reduction was removed in the Lisbon Treaty by the European Council to win the approval of Ireland in the referendum; this meant that once again each member state was represented by one commissioner.[185]

1.4.3 The European Parliament

When Democracy gave its first steps, it probably was impelled by the political plays that were presented in the amphitheatres of Ancient Greece. A similar architectural and functional configuration may be seen in the European Parliament (EP) were today the European Political "spectacle" is played.

The EP was the institution that underwent a major change in the development of the European Union. In 1957 the Treaty of Rome established the first attempt to introduce direct elections for the European parliament, but it was not yet certain when this occasion should occur

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[181] Egberg, Morten (2016), The European Commission in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 129 (fifth edition).
[182] Egberg, Morten (2016), The European Commission in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 129 (fifth edition).
[183] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, Palgrave New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 105 (seventh edition)
[184] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 105 (seventh edition).
[185] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 105 (seventh edition).

because for now this kind of decision still stayed in the hands of the national governments of the member states.[186] After the establishment of the EEC and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) during the implementation of the Treaty of Rome, the ECSC Common Assembly was expanded to cover all three communities.[187] With 142 members, the new assembly met for the first time in Strasbourg on 19 March 1958 as the "European Parliamentary Assembly", changing its name to the "European Parliament" on 30 March 1962.

The EP won significant budgetary powers in 1970, acting as one of the EU budgetary authorities.[188] Those powers are still dependent on the good relationship and understanding between the Parliament and the European Council; both needed the agreement by qualified majority within the represented entity to approve a budget.[189] If this is not the case and disagreement remains during the second reading of the document, a mediation takes place: to achieve an understanding it is managed by the Council–EP conciliation committee. This committee is chaired by representatives from both the European Parliament and from the European Council to reach an agreement for the second reading of any proposal or budget.[190] Before the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty the EP had limited power over the creation of budgets. This impotence is reflected during the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) speeches, in the next chapter, about the financing of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. After the Lisbon Treaty the EP in cooperation with the Council was able to amend budgets related to all areas.[191]

Before the introduction of direct elections in 1979, MEPs were appointed by each of the member states' national parliaments.[192] Nowadays they were elected directly by the citizens European Community and this gave them a new democratic legitimation. The EP became an

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[186] Dinan, Desmond (2015), *The political system of the European Union*, in José M. Magone (orgs), *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, New York, Routledge, p. 211.

[187] *THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND*, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.3.1.pdf, p. 1, accessed on 11/02/2019

[188] Burns, Charlotte (2016) , *The European Parliament* in Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan , *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 161 (fifth edition).

[189] Benedetto, Giacomo (2017), *Power, money and reversion points: the European Union´s annual budgets since 2010*, Journal of European Public Policy, Vol. 24, no. 5, 633–652, p. 634.

[190] CONCILIATION COMMITTEE, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/conciliation_committee.html , accessed on 12/10/2019.

[191] Burns, Charlotte (2016) , *The European Parliament* in Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan , *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 158 (fifth edition).

[192] *THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND*, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.3.1.pdf, p. 1, accessed on 11/02/2019.

instrument responsible for improving the life of the people of the European Union, by supporting consumer protection, fair treatment of workers and tackling environmental issues.[193]

The Decision and Act on European Elections by direct universal suffrage were signed in Brussels on the 20th September 1976. Following ratification by all member states, the Act entered into force in July 1978, and the first elections took place on 7th and 10th June 1979.[194] The Commission justified its support for direct election by ensuring that this process would democratize the European institution:

> "The Commission believes that the commitment made by the heads of Government in Paris last December concerning to the European Parliament by universal suffrage has twofold significance: it is the first step towards European union and it represents a decisive choice in favour of a new institutional balance based on democratisation. Direct elections to Parliament will naturally lead to questions about the strengthening of its powers, especially its legislative and budgetary powers. These questions will be answered in the context of European Union."[195]

In 1986 amendments where made introducing the Single European Act Treaty, that ensured that a Parliament's assent is mandatory for a representative of a new country that joined the EU.[196] In 1997 the Amsterdam Treaty gave a much stronger position to the Parliament in co-legislating with the Council on a whole range of areas that are subject to EU law (consumer protection, ability to work legally in another country and environmental issues, to name but a few).[197]

The EP requires an absolute majority of MEPs to approve a piece of legislation. Since the Parliament is divided into eight multi-national groups, none of which can come close to commanding an absolute majority, approval requires the building of coalitions across party lines.[198] Its main responsibilities are in the legislative process and the budgetary process. It

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[193] Burns, Charlotte (2016) , *The European Parliament* in Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan , *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 160 (fifth edition).
[194] *THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND*, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.3.1.pdf, p. 1, accessed on 12/02/2020.
[195] Memo on Election du Parlement Europeen au suffrage direct in Ludlow Piers (2014), *Relations with the European Parliament, in The European Commission 1973-86: History and Memoires of an Institution*, Luxemburg, Publication Office of the European Union, 2014, p. 239.
[196] *The Single European Act*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3Axy0027 , accessed on 12/06/2020.
[197] *The Treaty of Amsterdam* , https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/in-the-past/the-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-amsterdam , accessed on 12/06/2020.
[198] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 28.

controls and supervises the executive, the European Commission.[199] On the one hand, the Parliament became the major democratic institution of the European Union because it is the only one in which the European citizen are given a vote, bringing a sense of community within the union. On the other hand, Christopher Bickerton criticizes that this democratic gesture is biased : with reference to the member states' national governments, the European citizen vote, generally, corresponds to the national parties in their government.[200] This is may be seen as a false claim that the European parliament is independent enough to represent the people of Europe. This angle of observation is supported by Ulrich Beck's statement about European democracy and its relation with the people: "Only when people are able to regard Europe as their own project and learn how adapt to the perspective of the citizens of other European countries will it become at all meaningful to talk about vertical integration and European democracy."[201]

Within the powers given to the EP, it approves and rejects budgets and amend laws proposed by the European Commission. Since 2009, with the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, it took on new tasks: scrutinizes, appoints and dismisses the Commission.[202] This institution has long pressured for a constitutional change to bring the EU closer to its citizens and to increase its influence on decision-making; many of its goals were achieved with the Treaty of Lisbon.

The Parliament is constituted by political groups that are elected directly and democratically by the European citizens every four years, they are the representation of the European public sphere in the European institutions. This will be analysed further in this thesis, chapter 2 and 3 in more detail.

The traditional European political families, Socialists, Christian democrats, Liberals and Green parties have organized themselves in transnational party federations. In 1999, there were four party federation in the European Union: the Party of European Socialists (PES), (substituting in 1992 the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community (CSP)),

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[199] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 179 (seventh edition).
[200] Bickerton, Christopher (2015), *From Nation-States to Member States: European Integration as State transformation*, in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 205.
[201] Beck, Ulrich (2013), *German Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p.74.
[202] Burns, Charlotte (2016) , *The European Parliament* in Cini, Michele and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan , *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 161 (fifth edition).

the European People´s Party (EPP), the federation of Christian Democratic Parties of the European Community, the federation of European Liberal, Democrat an Reform Parties (ELDR) and the European Federation of Green Parties (EFG).[203]

Those federations are now subdivided by new political groups that currently rules the EU Parliament: the European People's Party (EPP) (Centre-right Christian Democrat and Conservatives), the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D) (Centre-Left), the Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) (Liberal), the Confederal Group of European United Left/Nordic Green Left (EUL/NGL) (Left-Wing), the Group of the Greens and European Free Alliance (Green/EFA) (Environmentalist and regionalist), the Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group (EFD) (Eurosceptic and right-wing), Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF) (Eurosceptic and right-wing), and Non-inscrit Members (NI) (various).[204]

Important actors of the EP and their assignments are: the President of the EP, wo is the figurehead and represents the external negotiation and meetings; the Vice-Presidents who supports the President and helps run the EP; and the committee chairs that organize and participate in committee meetings.[205] The leaders of each political party group, along with the Parliaments President, constitute the Conference of Presidents, which prepares the EP´s agenda.[206]

Most of the work of the EP is carried out by committees such as those of Foreign Affairs, Development, International Trade, Budget, Budgetary Control, Economic and Monetary Affairs, Employment and Social Affairs, Environment (Public Health and Food Safety), Industry (Research and Energy), Internal Market and Consumer Protection, Transport and Tourism, Regional Development, Agriculture and Rural Development, Fisheries, Legal Affairs,

[203] Thomassen, Jacques and Hermann Schmitt et. al, *Partisan Structure in the European Parliament* in Richard S. Katz and Bernhard Wessels *The European Parliament, The National Parliaments, and European Integration*, New York, Oxford Press,p.132.
[204] Burns, Charlotte (2016) , *The European Parliament* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan , *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 161 (fifth edition).
[205] Burns, Charlotte (2016) , *The European Parliament* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan , *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 161 (fifth edition).
[206] Corbett, Richard , John Peterson and Daniel Kenealy *et.al* (2015) *The EU´s Institutions* in Daniel Kenealy, John Peterson and Richard Corbett , *The European Union: How does it work ?*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p.60 (fourth Edition).

Civil Liberties (Justice and Home Affairs), Constitutional Affairs, Women's Rights and Gender Equality, Petitions, Culture, and Education.[207]

The European Parliament received an upgrading of its power in the Lisbon Treaty by being responsible for the election of the President of the Commission according to Article 17 of the European Treaty: taking into account the elections of the European Parliament and after having held the appropriate consultations, the European Council, acting by a qualified majority, shall propose to the European Parliament a candidate for President of the Commission. This candidate should be elected by the European Parliament by a majority of its members. If she/he does not obtain the required majority, the European Council, acting by qualified majority, shall within one month propose a new candidate who shall be elected by the European Parliament following the same procedure.[208]

The European Parliament has won more power and has profoundly changed to promote a more democratic EU, but there is still a long way to go to fully give the power to the European citizen to decide more closely its political future. According to Bo Strath, the idea of introducing direct election and the 1980 concept of European citizenship was not successful because the term of "supranationally", overcoming national identification and policy patterns neither established itself within the individual citizen nor on an institutional level.[209] There are still European barriers – not physical but institutional ones – to be overthrown to bring European society closer to the European Union.

The EP will have a special section in the next chapter in which their debates during the period of the development and approval of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 will be analysed.

1.4.4 The European Council

In 1965, a crisis broke out between France and its partners in the EEC. General de Gaulle, president of France (1958–1969), rejected two major institutional reforms of the EEC.

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[207] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 202 (seventh edition).

[208] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 107 (seventh edition).

[209] Strath, Bo *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung , p. 13, https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/ , accessed on 12/02/2020.

The first involved the arrangements for voting in the Council of Ministers, which were set to change from the principle of unanimity to qualified majority voting. The second was the strengthening of the budgetary powers of the European Parliament and the European Commission in connection with the funding of the common agricultural policy (CAP) during the completion phase of the Customs Union.[210] This caused an identity crisis of the European project, and a new approach was necessary for it to "survive". Crisis are cyclical in the EU, jeopardizing its existence. This vulnerability, according to Grigore Silasi, is caused by its need to always justify the reasons of its existence to the European electorate.[211] This obliges a lot of concession and efforts, investment and new politics that focus this issue, that today should have been overcome.

At the Paris Summit in 1974,[212] the European Council (EC) was created as a permanent negotiation body, by the initiative of the French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and the German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.[213] The Member States are represented in the European Council by their Heads of State or Government, themselves democratically accountable either to their national Parliaments, or to their citizens.[214]

One of the reasons for its creation of the Council was the growing sentiment that the European Community did not responded quickly enough to new and increasingly difficult challenges.[215]

> "Recognizing the need for an overall approach to the internal problems involved in achieving
> European unity and the external problems facing Europe, the Heads of Government consider

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[210]*The Luxembourg Compromise (January 1966)*, https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/d1cfaf4d-8b5c-4334-ac1d-0438f4a0d617/a9aaa0cd-4401-45ba-867f-50e4e04cf272 , accessed on 16/12/2018.

[211] Silase, Grigore *et.al* (2013), *Sobre a reestruturação da União Europeia. Um novo rumo e um novo sentido para a integração europeia* in *Repensar a Europa: Europa de longe, Europa de perto*, Lisboa, Gradiva, p.343.

[212] Nugent, Neil (2010),*The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p.161 (seventh edition).

[213] Tallberg, Jonas (2010), *Explaining the Institutional foundation of European Union negotiations*, Journal of European Public Policy, 21 June, p.639.

[214] *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, Official Journal of the European Union, 2010/ C83/01, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2010.083.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2010:083:TOC , accessed on 27/02/2020.

[215] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 161 (seventh edition).

it essential to ensure progress and overall consistency in the activities of the Communities and in the work on political cooperation."[216]

The Council has an assignment to reconcile the differing interests of the member states.[217] This has brought a new impulse to turn the decision-making process quicker, to facilitate the integration process of new member states and to accelerate the European economy. The existence of the European Council began with the launch of the European Monetary System (EMS) in 1979.[218]

Jacques Delors in his speech to the European Parliament in 1989 clarified the role of the Commission within the new framework of cooperation within the EC: "The Commission has a right of initiatives. But a distinction needs to be made according to the whether we exercise it within a specific institutional framework or in a more general context. Within a specific institutional framework, our duties are to give effect to what has formally been decide by the European Council or by amendments to the Treaty."[219] The Commission nowadays is still tied to the decisions of the national members states represented in the Council. This gives this institution a lack of autonomy and delays its answers and resolutions capacity regarding actions that need to be taken in moments of crisis in the EU.

The structure of the European Council is led by the Council President and heads of government of the European members. It is responsible for recognizing the overall internal problems involved in achieving European unity, which it considers essential to ensuring progress and consistency in the activities of the Communities and the work towards political cooperation. The heads of government of the member states, accompanied by their ministers of foreign affairs, meet three times a year and whenever necessary in the Council of the EU and in the context of political cooperation.[220]

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[216] *Final communiqué of the meeting of heads of Government of the Community*, Paris, 9 and 10 December 1974 , https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/2acd8532-b271-49ed-bf63-bd8131180d6b/publishable_en.pdf, accessed on 01/06/2020

[217] Trammel, Bernd (2006), *Institutions of the European Community*, in Wendler M., Buecker B., Tremml B. (eds) *Key Aspects of German Business Law*. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, p.289

[218] Dinan, Desmond (2015), *The political system of the European Union*, in José M. Magone, *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, p. 203.

[219] Delors, Jacques quoted by Ludlow, Piers (2014), *Relations with the European Council, in The European Commission 1973-86: History and Memoires of an Institution*, Luxemburg, Publication Office of the European Union, 2014, p. 209–210.

[220] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan , p. 162 (seventh edition).

In 1987 the decision-making process of the European Council changed, it made possible for the Council to take a majority decision on a proposal, but only after the European Parliament (EP) has agreed a second hearing.[221] If the proposal is rejected by the EP, the Council has to make the decision by unanimity. Jonas Tallberg points out that the voting system of the Council was improved over time due to the growing number of new member states, resulting in the method of qualified majority voting as the answer for more efficient decision-making in the Council.[222] The bureaucratic blockade was reduced and the possibility of introducing new reforms to accelerate the development of European Programs on a national and international level was facilitated. The rotation system of the Presidency was feared as a problem of discontinuity, so the EU governments created and strengthened a mechanism of continuity, such as the Council Secretariat and multiannual Presidency programmes.[223]

According to Piers Ludlow, in the first years of the Council it was followed with some suspicion by the member states claiming that the work of the Council was used by the French presidents as a mechanism to reduce the powers of the already existing European Commission.[224] Emile Noel, who represented the Commission at the time of the creation of the European Council, was able to mediate between the two institution and to clarify the roles and purposes for each of them within Europe. Gradually the European Commission entrusted its view in writing to the European Council prior to their meetings, and close consultation with the member states and the Council President also proved to be fruitful.

In 2009 the Lisbon Treaty introduced, for the first time, the nomination of an European Council President. His mission is chairing and forwarding the work of the European Council, ensuring the preparation and continuity of its work in cooperation with the President of the Commission.[225] He is also responsible for working in the General Affairs Council, endeavouring to facilitate and promote cohesion and consensus within the European Council.

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[221] S. Andersen, Svein and Kjell A. Eliassen (1993), *Making Policy in Europe: The Europeification of National Policy-Making*, London, SAGE Publications, p.25.

[222] Tallberg, Jonas (2010), *Explaining the institutional foundations of European Union negotiations*, Journal of European Public Policy, 17: 5, 633–647, p. 640.

[223] Tallberg, Jonas (2010), *Explaining the institutional foundations of European Union negotiations*, Journal of European Public Policy, 17: 5, 633–647, p. 641.

[224] Ludlow, Piers (2014), *Relations with the European Council, in The European Commission 1973-86: History and Memoires of an Institution*, Luxemburg, Publication Office of the European Union, 2014, p. 208–209.

[225] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan ,p. 166 (seventh edition).

After each meeting of the European Council, he has to present reports to the European Parliament.[226] The President of the European Council ensures the external representation of the Union on issues concerning its common foreign and security policy.[227] In order to maintain neutrality, the he holds no national office,[228] but has a representational importance in the European Union on the international stage, a role initially given to the European Commissioner.

1.4.5 The Council of Ministers

This institution was founded in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris.[229] The Council of Ministers is represented by the ministers and officials of a specific department from the member states.[230] It is headed by the Council President with the responsibility of arranging and chairing most Council meetings from the ministerial level downwards, building consensus for initiatives, offering leadership, ensuring continuity and consistency of policy development, and representing the Council in dealing with non-member countries.[231] Therefore, the Council exercises important responsibilities as a mediator and consensus builder.[232] It is the centre of decision-making and plays a crucial role in constructing union policy. This institution is divided into General Affairs (GAC), Foreign Affairs (FAC), Economic and Financial Affairs (ECOFIN), JHA, Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs (EPSCO), Competitiveness (including internal Market, Industry and Research) (COMPET), Transport,

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[226] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 166 (seventh edition).

[227] *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, Official Journal of the European Union, 2010/C 83/01, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2010.083.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2010:083:TOC , accessed on 27/02/2020.

[228] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 166 (seventh edition).

[229] Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona (2006) *et.al*, *The Council of Ministers* in John Peterson and Michael Shackleton *The Institutions of the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Pres, second edition, p.61

[230] *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, Official Journal of the European Union, 2010/C, 83/01, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2010.083.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2010:083:TOC , accessed on 27/02/2020.

[231] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 148–150 (seventh edition).

[232] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 141 (seventh edition).

Telecommunications, and Energy (TTE), Agriculture and Fisheries (AGFISH), Environment (ENV) and Education, and Youth, Culture and Sports (EYCS). This last institutional group was one of the actors that discussed with the Commission and European Parliament the constitution of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013.

The groupings of the Council as described in Declaration 9 of the Lisbon Treaty, according to Article 1, are held by pre-established groups of three member states for a period of 18 month. The group is built on the rule of equal rotation among member states, taking into account their diversity and geography within the union. Each member of the group in turn chairs all structures of the Council for a six-month period, with the exception of the foreign affairs configuration.[233] It is a system that gives the opportunity for each member state to take responsibility in decision-making for the EU on equal terms.

The officials correspond to the working groups responsible for preparing laws and programmes that will be used and presented to the Commission,[234] which will introduce them for negotiation and approval by the European Parliament. Those working groups are called Coreper II and Coreper I (heads and deputies of permanent representatives of the different governments, represented by an EU ambassador and a deputy from each member state).[235] They are also responsible for preparing future Council meetings, and this often involves intensive discussions to pave the way for an agreement by the ministers.[236] The Council system involves thousands of national officials meeting in several working groups, Coreper, ministerial, and summit settings each month to negotiate and decide on European proposals.[237]

According to Neil Nugent, the Coreper II working group has a more political agenda and it works especially for the foreign affairs, the ECOFIN (Economic and Financial Affairs Council), Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) councils, the General Affairs Council, and the

[233] Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona *et.al* (2006), *The Council of Ministers* in John Peterson and Michael Shackleton *The Institutions of the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Pres, second edition, p.64.

[234] Wallace, Helen; A. Pollack; R. Young, Alastair (2010) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 76 (sixth edition).

[235] Wallace, Helen; A. Pollack; R. Young, Alastair (2010) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 76 (sixth edition).

[236] Lewis, Jeffrey (2016), *The European Council and the Council of the European Union* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 141 (fifth edition).

[237237] Lewis, Jeffrey (2016), *The European Council and the Council of the European Union* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 141 (fifth edition).

European Council. Coreper I works mainly for the Council; it tends to deal with more technical policy and legislation matters.[238] Between 1973 and 1986 the European Commission was represented in the Coreper Meetings by two Secretariats-General: one for the meetings with Coreper I and another for the meetings with Coreper II.[239] Gradually Coreper acquired more autonomy at its preparatory working group level. At a Council level it lightened its work by giving more flexible instructions to their permanent representatives and a stronger negotiating hand; the chance of reaching an agreement thus became more effective.[240] The European Commission worked very closely within the Coreper working groups to ensure the proposal created by them was examined and to gain support from the permanent representatives in favour of its proposal. The Secretariat-General represents the European Commission as a bridge between the Commission and Corepers.[241] It will be approached the Coreper I working group, responsible for building the Programme Culture 2007–2013, in more detail in chapter 2 of this study.

1.5   The EU Treaties

World War II left the European continent with its infrastructure and economy destroyed; the supply of raw materials France needed desperately for the reconstruction and reactivation of its industries was severely compromised. This emergency led Jean Monnet, a French diplomat with no official governmental assignment, to develop a plan in 1945, which would allow France to have to have access to the raw materials coming from Germany. To start, Monnet created several Commissions for Modernization of the diverse industries sectors. This plan was considered an emergency plan, and it was soon envisioned as the platform for the later called American Marshall Plan.[242] According to Tony Judt, Germany's economy was in a standstill, and although it was an important market for countries such as the Netherlands and Belgium and the countries of the Mediterranean, in 1947 the crisis increased. Germany's coal

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[238]Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 144 (seventh edition).

[239] Mangenot, Michel, *Relations with the Council, in The European Commission 1973-86: History and Memoires of an Institution*, Luxemburg, Publication Office of the European Union, 2014, p. 213.

[240] Chatziztavrou, Filippa, *Relations with the Council, in The European Commission 1973-86: History and Memoires of an Institution*, Luxemburg, Publication Office of the European Union, 2014, p. 221.

[241] Chatziztavrou, Filippa, *Relations with the Council, in The European Commission 1973-86: History and Memoires of an Institution*, Luxemburg, Publication Office of the European Union, 2014, p. 225.

[242] Judt, Tony (2005), *Pós-Guerra: Historia da Europa desde 1945*, Lisboa, Edições 70, pp. 96–97.

was crucial for the French steel industry.[243] On the other hand, according to Dinan, Alan Milward, an post-war economic historian, affirmed that Europe's economic recovery had begun much earlier, in 1945, and was well underway by 1947 and that the real saviour was in fact the ECSC treaty.[244]

In 1948, George Bidault, French Foreign Minister from 1947–1948, suggested that the European integration should include Germany, not only economically, but also politically. and that this would be the only way to guarantee coherence to Germany and to make it prosper economically. Germany was kept in a position in which it could not cause any more military damage and only economic benefits.[245] The country was controlled in his decision making by the allies.

In order to establish goals, rules, actors and procedures the creation of Treaties became essential. Political and socio-economical changings, joining members or ecological crisis are challenges that require rethinking and the establishment of new treaties covering answers and inducing reforms. In this part of the chapter will be presented all treaties that were created from 1951 until 2009. The highlighting of the Maastricht Treaty is justified because it was the first treaty to propose concrete cultural programmes, including the creation and implementation of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013.

The EU treaties are prepared at an Intergovernmental Conference of the governments of the member states.[246] Most of the drafting is conceived previously by the committee of EU officials and representatives of national governments.[247] The resulting proposals are then subjected to intergovernmental negotiation before securing the unanimous approval of the governments, and it requires the endorsements by the national parliaments of all member states.[248]

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[243] Judt, Tony (2005), *Pós-Guerra: Historia da Europa desde 1945*, Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 115.
[244] Milward, Alan quoted by Desmond Dinan (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, p. 13.
[245] Judt, Tony (2005), *Pós-Guerra: Historia da Europa desde 1945*, Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 149.
[246] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union,* Lisboa, Edições 70, p. 149 (seventh edition).
[247] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 37.
[248] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 37.

The first treaty was the ECSC, as referred to at the beginning of this chapter. It was established by France and Germany, along with Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg on 18 April 1951 and entered into force on 23 July 1952. Conceived to create an interdependence in coal and steel production, it was as well meant to be a guaranty that no single country could prepare and mobilize its armed forces without others knowing. The treaty expired in 2002.[249]

On 23 March 1957 the Treaty of Rome was signed and implemented on 1 January 1958. It had the purpose of setting up the EEC and EURATOM. Now the door was open for European integration, including general economic cooperation.[250] It came with the concern of reactivating all trade routes and the enforcement of the economy on the European Continent. Nowadays, after several reformulation, it is called now the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union and it is present in the present Lisbon Treaty.[251]

In 1965 the Merger Treaty (Brussels treaty) established a common single council and single commission, while keeping the three institutions (EEC, EURATOM, ESCS) working independently. The working groups Coreper I and II were created to become the preparatory body of the Council[252], those institutions will be later taken into account further in this chapter.

The Single European Act treaty was signed on 17 February 1986 and implemented on 1 July 1987. It had the purpose to reform the institutions to the adjustment to the Southern Enlargement (Greece had accessed the EEC in 1981, and Portugal and Spain in January 1986) and speed up decision-making in preparation for the single market. It changed the voting system by the extension of qualified majority voting in the Council (making it harder for a single country to veto proposed legislation) and the creation of the cooperation and assent procedures, giving the European Parliament more influence.[253]

In 1992 an important step was taken when the Maastricht Treaty renamed the EEC the European Union. This was an effort to bring the people of Europe closer together; anyone

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[249] EU treaties, https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en , accessed on 31/07/2018.

[250] EU treaties, https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en , accessed on 31/07/2018.

[251] *The Treaty of Rome*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum:xy0023, accessed on 12/06/2020.

[252] Treaty of Brussels (Merger Treaty) ,https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3A4301863 , accessed on 12/06/2020.

[253] https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en , accessed on 31/07/2018.

who was already a citizen of a member state received European citizenship[254], as established in the Article 8 in which "every person holding the nationality of a Member state" has the right for an European Citizenship. This created a kind of dual national identity, the National and the European. That feeling of citizenship is a status that requires the rights, duties, benefits and burdens that follows a person's nationality.[255] In the EU this feeling becomes broader and the historic burdens and all those other requirements are shared by all the Europeans. A more global identity is developed and the cultural background of national country belongs to wider public and is recognised as part of a wider world and supported by the EU laws as a cultural factor of European cultural identity.

Another important implementation by the Maastricht treaty was the expansion of EU powers that led to national governments ratifying the direct election of the European Parliament, which also gained the right of co-decision with the Council. The treaty extended the union's economic powers by authorizing an economic and monetary union. Its competences were extended into areas that traditionally would be defining activities of each state, i.e. foreign and security policy, justice and home affairs.[256]

This treaty developed and presented goals to promote a major change towards a Europe meant to be more united. In article B,[257] It is underlined the following:

- the endorsement of economic and social progress, which is balanced and sustainable, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion, and through the establishment of economic and monetary union, ultimately including a single currency in accordance with the provisions of the treaty;
- the assertion of identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence;

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[254] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 39.
[255] K. Preuss, Ulrich *et.al* (2003), *Tradition of Citizenship in the European Union*, Citizens Studies, 7:1, 3-14, p.7.
[256] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 39.
[257] Treaty on European Union (1992), Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf, p.7, accessed on 12/02/2020.

- and an increase in the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its member states through the introduction of a citizenship of the union.

These points were crucial to transform the European community into the European Union, by the endorsement of a social European identity, promoting social cohesion and the process of developing a single currency. This treaty also represented a step forward in the implementation of the first guidelines for cultural policies. The Article 151of the treaty, presents the cultural programmes KALEIDOSCOPE for cultural co-operation, RAPHAEL for cultural Heritage, and ARIANE for publishing and reading. These were "melted" into the Culture 2000 programme and further in the CP; all these cultural programmes are going to be explored in more detail in chapter 2.

On 2 October 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam was signed and came into force on 1 May 1999. His work was based on reforming the EU institutions in preparation for the addition of future member countries. It amended, renumbered and consolidated EU and EEC treaties, allowing more transparent decision-making.[258] It was also with this treaty that the consolidation of the Free-Movement Agreement of people and god, the Schengen Agreement was consolidated.[259] This became one of the major achievements of the EU: the end of the barriers represented by Member States borders that agreed to take part of this agreement.

The Treaty of Nice was signed on 26 February 2001 and implemented on 1 February 2003. The goal of this treaty was to reform the institutions, so that the EU could function efficiently after the number of member states reached 25. It altered the procedure for changing the composition of the Commission and redefines the voting system in the Council.[260]

On 29 October 2004 the Constitutional Treaty (CT) was signed, but it never came into force because of the opposition of France and the Netherlands. It had the goal of replacing all the existing treaties and to give the European Union a single legal body under domestic and

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[258] https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en , accessed on 31/07/2018.
[259] Dinan, Desmond *et.al* (2015), *How did we get here ?* in Daniel Kenealy, John Peterson and Richard Corbett, *The European Union: How does it work ?*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p.37, Fourth Edition.
[260] https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en , accessed on 31/07/2018.

international law.[261] In general, it was a treaty that simplified the EU's structure, terminology and operation, attempting to make it more comprehensible, democratic and efficient.

During that period, in 2004, new member states were included in the union, such as Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. Altogether, the EU was now representing by more than 100 million citizens. This created enormous challenges and the urgency to integrate these citizens into the European political and cultural system as soon as possible, as further shown in chapter 2. The cultural programme was put into action as an instrument to promote an intercultural network. This network included one city of each new members in the European Capital of Culture programme.

But the Eurosceptics wings feared that this could be another attempt to turn Europe into to a super-state. There was also a lack of effort to involve the European people, and the EU failed to increase the recognition of its legitimacy. The Constitutional Treaty (CT) was rejected by the Dutch and the French after a referendum in 2005.

There were other reasons for the behaviour of France and Netherlands against the approval of the Constitutional Treaty (CT). Analysing the structure of the CT, it becomes clear that a situation could arise in which only one of the few, selected states with more voting powers could impose reforms, and there was a risk that it could transform itself into a fake democracy because there would be less discussion, which would also be limited just to small groups, therefore resulting in outcomes highly controlled.[262]

Europe was plunged into an existential crisis, a moment that even was referred to in the debates about the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 in October 2005. It underlined the crucial contribution culture can offer in such moments, but the budget to realize cultural cooperation was not considered to be sufficient, and this represents an ambiguous situation on how the EU wanted to address this issue of social integration:

> "It is no use the European Union setting ambitious objectives, such as promoting cultural diversity and cultural cooperation, if the budget available is not adjusted. We have therefore called for a logical increase in the budget allocated to this programme so that it can fulfil the

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[261] https://www.euractiv.com/section/future-eu/linksdossier/constitutional-treaty-key-elements-archived/ , accessed on 16/12/2018.

[262] Church, Clive and David Phinnemore (2016), *From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon and Beyond* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford,Oxford Press, p. 39 (fifth edition).

task assigned to culture, namely that of contributing to the development of a European culture and a European identity, both of which will enable countries to put a stop to their excessive national self-interest and, consequently, to come out of the crisis that the EU is currently going through."[263] (Guy Bono, on behalf of the PSE Group -FR in 2005)

On the one hand in a paradox, Juan Díez Medrano warns that Euroscepticism will still need to be much more widespread among national elites to really have an impact on the institutions of the European Union. On the other hand just the existence of those Eurosceptics could delegitimize the EU among the citizens and halt the integration process of new members.[264]According to Hernan Tesler-Mabé, another paradox of the European integration process is created by its rejection of populist nationalism, and at the same time it has to have a similar popularity to succeed on something more than just a short-term administrative level, this is possible by using the tools of working more closely with the European public and appealing more towards their needs and emotion.[265]

After the turbulence of the previous year's, the Treaty of Lisbon was an attempt to simplify the democratic process by giving more liberty to MEPs. This attempt also tried to bring the European Union closer to the citizen as a system that depends on them. Having failed to approve the previous of 2004, there was a need to intervene by forging a new treaty that could replace the CT and to calm the critical opposition by Eurosceptics that had grown in the period of the attempt of a constitutional treaty. The Lisbon Treaty had conceived more political and programmatic powers for the MEPS in the European Parliament. Being this MEPS directly elected by the Europeans, it became an upgrading in the democratic process.

In October 2007 the informal European Council adopted the Treaty of Lisbon, but it was first rejected in 2008 by a referendum on its implementation in Ireland. The European Council negotiated concessions with Ireland, and after a new referendum, it was approved in 2009.[266] The treaty declares that decisions of the European Council should be made by consensus unless otherwise specified, for example, in relation to the requirements of unanimity for the

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[263] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN , accessed on 27/02/18.
[264] Medrano, Juan Diez (2012), *The Limits of European Integration*, Journal of European Integration, 34: 2, 191–204, p. 195.
[265] Tesler-Mabé, Hernan (2018), *The Liberal Soliloquy: The Elite expression of Shared Loneliness in Modern European Nationalism and Supranationalism*, Open Cultural Studies, 2: 1–9, p. 2.
[266]Church, Clive and David Phinnemore (2016), *From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon and Beyond* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford,Oxford Press, p. 38 (fifth edition).

endorsement of a treaty. A council proposal must be supported by at least two-thirds of member states and the Commission proposal by a majority of the states.[267] The Lisbon Treaty promoted a stronger sense of community between the European members, and the EU became the sole structure of integration.[268] The values it supported were social progress, the protection of workers' rights, public services, education and family.[269]

The Lisbon Treaty is divided into three secondary treaties as follows:

Treaty on the European Union (TEU) – It is divided into six titles: Common provisions (I), Provisions on democratic principles (II), Provisions on institutions (III), Provisions on enhanced cooperation (IV), General provisions on the union's external action and specific provisions and the common foreign and security policy (V), and Final Provisions (VI).[270] With this treaty, the European Community was transformed into the European Union, providing guidelines for a closer relationship between the members and reinforcing the role of the European Parliament in the decision-making process.

Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) – It was developed from the previous Treaty establishing the European Community (EEC). The main changes are regarding the external action of the EU and the introduction of the new chapters on energy policy, police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, space, sport, and tourism.[271]

Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) – This treaty established the European Atomic Energy Community and is also called the EURATOM Treaty.[272]

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[267] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 28.
[268] Church, Clive and David Phinnemore (2016), *From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon and Beyond* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 40 (fifth edition).
[269] Church, Clive and David Phinnemore (2016), *From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon and Beyond* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford,Oxford Press, p. 43 (fifth edition).
[270] Borchard, Klaus Dieter (2010), *The ABC of European Union law,* Luxembourg, Publication Office of the European Union, p. 15.
[271] Borchard, Klaus Dieter (2010), *The ABC of European Union law*, Luxembourg, Publication Office of the European Union, p. 15
[272] Borchard, Klaus Dieter (2010), *The ABC of European Union law*, Luxembourg, Publication Office of the European Union, p. 15

The Treaty of Lisbon did not achieve closure in EU reform: the European economic crisis has forced the EU into adopting further treaty changes.[273] There have been calls to reform the treaty to provide the EU with necessary competences and improve the institutional framework for economic governance.[274] The importance of the treaty in this research is that it was put into force shortly after the approval of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 in 2006 and is the one still in use today.

The EU legal system is deeply integrated within the domestic legal system of the member states, so national courts interpret and apply EU law in domestic lawsuits, and national parliaments enact legislation to transfer EU law into national law.[275] The member states have no difficulties in following the directive of the European treaties. They have the security to use the principle of subsidiarity at any time if they feel that EU decision-making is too much on top of their national politics.

In the TFEU treaty we encounter the article focused on the subject of culture, formerly included by the European Community in Article 151 and replaced by Article 167 in the Lisbon Treaty.

> "1.The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore."[276]
> "5.(…) the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations." [277]

Encountering the ambitious narrative of EU politician referring to the importance of culture in the context of crisis containment, creation of European identity or coping with Euroscepticism this seems to be a quite poor input about Culture in the Lisbon Treaty - TFEU,

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[273] Church, Clive and David Phinnemore (2016), *From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon and Beyond* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 47 (fifth edition).

[274] Church, Clive and David Phinnemore (2016), *From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon and Beyond* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 47 (fifth edition).

[275] Fjetstul, Joshua C (2019), *The Evolution of European Law: A new data set on the Acquis Communautaire*, European Union Politics, SAGE, Vol. 20(4) 670–691, p. 671.

[276] *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN, accessed on 10/06/2020.

[277] *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)*, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN, accessed on 10/06/2020.

without even concrete recommendation about budget, mechanism of decision making or assignments. We will come back to this subject on this article later in this thesis.

1.6   The Process of Decision-Making and the Building of Programs in the EU

Under the orientation of the European Council, the European Commission sets the political priorities within the time frame of its mandate. For the current legislative period of 2019-2024 for instance, 6 priorities were designated: an European Green deal, an Europe fit for the digital age, an economy that fits for people, a stronger Europe in the World, promoting European way of life and a new push for European democracy.[278] Once again none of them includes a specific priority towards culture, instead it is found in cooperation with the promotion of European way of life, this was stated in the Conference Workshop de Politicas Culturais Europeias at the Lisbon University ISCTE in 2019.[279]

Each legislative period has its specific priorities, moulded by the present situation in order to respond to challenges such as periods of crises, global situation or integration of newcomers into the EU. In the time frame of this study, one of the main priority was the waste enlargement process that was occurring with the integration of new members (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia). Just to mention: Sustainable development, Giving full content to European citizenship and The EU as a global partner.[280] This would affect the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 as see in chapter 2.

1.6.1   Proposal and Decision-Making

As stated, since the approval of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Parliament (EP) has gained new powers, reinforcing it as a crucial element in decision-making in the EU. Coreper I

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[278] *6 Commission priorities for 2019-24*, https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024_en , accessed on 10/06/2020.
[279] *Workshop Politicas Culturais Europeais* ,University of Lisbon ISCTE, in 21/10/2019.
[280] *COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: Building our common Future Policy challenges and Budgetary means of the Enlarged Union 2007-2013*, COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES , Brussels, 26.2.2004 COM(2004) 101 final/2, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2004:0101:FIN:EN:PDF, p.6, accessed on 14/06/2020.

and II develop a proposal that they deliver to the European Council.[281] The European Council reports its conclusion to the European Commission and to the European Parliament (EP). These institutions will have a first reading and report their opinion to the Council. If there are no amendments by the EP or if all the amendments of the Council are approved, the instrument will be adopted. Otherwise the position of the Council will be presented to the EP in a second reading and in this case there will be three options: approval of the Council's position, with amendments, by the majority of the members; MEPs approval or rejection of the Council position. When there is an approval of the Council position by the European Parliament, it will be adopted. If the majority of the MEPs do not approve in their second reading, it will be reported back to the Commission. In that case there are two options to continue the process: either the Commission approves the EP amendments, or it rejects them. If the option is approval, the act will be adopted, and if it is rejected by the Commission, the Council approve the amended act or reject it. In the case that it is rejected by the Council, the Conciliation Committee (Concilium) will be convened by the Council and Parliament to mediate an accord. If this evolves into agreement, the act is adopted; if not accepted in this third reading, the instrument will be rejected, and the legislative process ends.[282]

As seen the EU co-decision rules give the European Council (representing the national governments of member states) and the European Parliament (representing the citizen) the power to reject legislative proposals of the supra-national European Commission.[283] Even though the EU institutions have detailed rules about voting, a big majority of decisions are taken by consensus.[284] The appearance of consensus, according to Richard Rose, is underlined by the EU for example the practice of not recording the number that are against a proposal when the vote is realized. This method can reflect an actual but also a "virtual" unanimity: if there is an apparent general agreement, the chair of an EU meeting can announce that there is a consensus, and this puts the onus on a dissatisfied participant to challenge his view.[285]

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[281] Borchard, Klaus Dieter (2010), *The ABC of European Union law*, Luxembourg, Publication Office of the European Union, pp. 57–58 .
[282] Borchard, Klaus Dieter (2010), *The ABC of European Union law*, Luxembourg, Publication Office of the European Union, pp. 57–58.
[283] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 18.
[284] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 27.
[285] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 27.

Peter Mair and Jacques Thomassen criticize that even with this system, the EP lacks control over the EU executive (Commission and Commission Presidency) and its decision-making. This democratic deficit is based on the representation of national parties inside of the parliament.[286] The solution proposed by these authors and often described is to adapt the election system so that it becomes closer to the national ones, in which the commission and the presidency are also directly elected by the European citizens. But voters also abuse the European election by using it to state a judgement on their national government: the election fails as an instrument of democracy because it fails to express the will of the European people on European issues.[287] It's a pattern often perceived in the pre-election speeches of some European candidates for parliament during the debates in the media, in which the mixing of national and European issues prevents the citizens from fully understanding the importance of the EU in their lives.

The enlargement of the EU is a factor that causes a significant increase in the workload of Coreper and the other working groups; it takes more responsibility for discussing important issues and finding agreement. The increase in more member states can risk stretching the system to a freezing point: "Enlargement to 28 members and beyond could make negotiation too unwieldy, depersonalized and unreceptive to compromise-building and consensus-based decision-making".[288] Delanty also agrees that the system of social integration in terms of its efficiency could be strongly affected; decision-making will become more complicated in a more enlarged EU.[289] It will also affect major social transformation for Europe, in its cultural patterns, its geopolitical and institutional structure, and its integration process.[290] Enlargement of this dimension should force the need to expand projects that promote intercultural dialogue. Question is: in the context of so many, so difficult and so complex challenges with the newcomers, will Culture get the attention that it deserves ? Is it perceived as an efficient

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[286] Mair, Peter and Jacques Thomassen (2010), *Political Representation and government in the European Union,* Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford, Routledge, p. 21.

[287] Mair, Peter and Jacques Thomassen (2010), *Political Representation and government in the European Union,* Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford, Routledge, p. 21.

[288]Drachenberg, Ralf and Alex Briason (2016), *Policy Making in the European Union* , in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, pp. 210–211 (fifth edition).

[289] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 13.

[290] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 16.

mechanism social peace and integration for new members states?

Within the heterogeneity of those incomers, obviously some tension was created within the EU, regarding the different economic structures, performances, political interest, financial constraints and also social and cultural preferences.[291] This observation will be exemplified further in chapter 2 in the debate between the different MEP´s of the different members states on the content of the European Cultural Programme 2007-2013. It is also important to add that this major enlargement occurred exactly during the creation process of the Cultural Programme and that some precautions were taken to include as fast as possible the participation of those new countries in it.

In conclusion, the EU is a complex but organic structure, which is constantly reinventing itself. John Borneman and Nick Fowler present the reasons for this need of reinvention: at the moment there are no invaders, no New World, no colonies and no occupiers, so the EU is forced into introspection and to find its place in the world stage.[292] There seems to be no outside enemy. The EU is challenged constantly by the cultural differences, in the whole spectrum that it represents, between the European member states, and that is why the ability of negotiation in the EU becomes an art in itself. This is also reflected in the nature of the artistic projects approved for the CP: first of all, there is a strong transnational cooperation component as part of the selection criteria for the applicants. Furtherly the cooperation, understanding and relationships between the partners from different countries are dynamic and constant challenge. These partnerships are visible in the theatre projects approved by the CP, in which cooperation and training are the most popular, among other approaches. This will be explored further on chapter 3.

The next chapter presents the CP programme and how it was conceived as well as the importance that the MEPS had in the decision-making. The political approach of the CP and its "hopes and fears" are going to be described in detail as will the questions of what is being done and what could be done to improve it in the future.

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[291] Ahrens, Joachim *et.al* (2007), *Beyond the Big -Bang enlargement: Citizens Preferences and the Problem of the EU Decision Making*, *European Integration* , vol. 29, n°4, p.447-448.
[292] Borneman, John and Nick Fowler (1997), *Europeanization*, Annual Reviews Inc. 26: 487–514, p. 488.

1.7   Conclusion

This chapter tried to give an overview of the European Institutions, their history and evolution, as well as the way in which the EU's political system works and the influence it has in the life of the European citizen.

In 1946 the European countries were struggling to overcome the destruction caused by World War II. The "politics of memory", a term used by José Magone, becomes an important dimension in many European countries; it reflects the concept that holds the European Union together, i.e. the common political history.[293] During this period, the countries affected by World War II had concerns about welfare and the renewed rise of nationalism through the threat of the URSS. It was time to build a multilateral relationship between the states to revive their economies and feed and care the millions that survived the war; there was an urgent need to push for a rapid and powerful manoeuvre. In 1947, the Marshall Plan was introduced as an agreement between the American government and most of the West European countries. This plan provoked a dependency on American products, finance and power of the destroyed European countries; on the other hand, it helped to rapidly reconstruct their infrastructure and economy.

Since that time, new treaties, as mentioned, were put into place. The two most important treaties were highlighted in this chapter: the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the Lisbon Treaty (2009). Both influenced the political structure of the EU and their contents have still a decisive impact on today´s cultural politics. Treaties are used as constitutional documents about the functioning of the European Union and have undergone many changes throughout its history since the foundation of the first economical treaty, the ECSC, in 1950, until the currently treaty, the Lisbon Treaty, that entered into force in 2009. On their way, they became the pillars on which today's EU is built.

In this period were flourishing new political movements such as the federalists, asking for European political unity by promoting a federal Europe. They rejected nationalism and believed in the construction of democracy and peace. Soon, one of the first European parties, called the Union of European Federalists, was created. This party found its roots in the Enlightenment values and the philosophical ideas of Immanuel Kant and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. They were inspired by the writer Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi with his book *Pan-*

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[293] M. Magone, José (2015), *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, New York, Routledge, p. 3.

Europa (1923) recalling the Holy Roman Empire.[294] He called for a federal union of European states centred on France and Germany excluding the Soviet Union.

In this time frame a new process was introduced, namely the one that helped to configure the image that represents today's EU and its everlasting adaptability and transformation. This political process is called Europeanization, in which the European Union becomes part of the political, economic and cultural identity of the European member states by its treaties being assimilated and by decisions taken by the political institution of the European Commission. Europeanization of the EU is a consequence of integration, and this enables us to understand its influence in both the national institutions and the EU institutions. That means that if the intention is successful, the European Union could become more and more present in the daily life of the European citizen. It has already gained increasing political competences, starting from market creation and trade liberalization policies through to health, environmental research and social policies, cooperation to fight crime, and foreign affairs.[295]

During the process of integration trough Europeanization, the candidates for EU membership experience difficulties during the process of it, because aspiration for dialogue is not always met according to Perez-Solozano Borragan.[296] New tools need to be conceptualized, and the cultural programmes referred later in the study represent one of them.

There was always a doubt about EU influence on the national governments of the member states becoming to mighty or manipulative. The subsidiarity mechanism was meant to be a regulating dispositive to respond to this concern, by balancing the amount of power of decision-making of the EU over other member states. The principle of subsidiarity was first implemented by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.[297] It assures the national government to keep its freedom to regulate the amount of influence from the decision made by the European Union regarding a specific subject or project that is proposed to be introduced in national policies.

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[294] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, p. 2.

[295] Börzel, Tanja A. and Diana Panke (2016), *Europeanization* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, pp. 112–113 (fifth edition).

[296] Perez-Solozano Borragan, Nieves, *Civil Society and EU enlargement* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 266..

[297] Wallace, Helen; A. Pollack; R. Young, Alastair (2010) Policy-Making in the European Union, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 241 (sixth edition).

According to Christian, EU governance is based on two characteristics that he retrieves of R. A. W. Rhode definition from his paper *The New Governance: Governing without Government*[298] : a self-organizing, inter-organizational network that complements markets and hierarchies as structures for authoritatively allocating resources and exercising control and coordination. This governance is also a process where public and private actors regulate social relationships and conflicts and has a non-hierarchical form of decision-making.[299]

With the increase in the power of the European Parliament, the European people are able to strengthen their power to decide which programmes and laws are going to be approved. Voting has to become an even greater tool to support this democratic mechanism within the European Union, help its institutions become closer to the European people, and open its doors to other cultures through more integration and/or inclusion.

According to the historian Johannes Wienand, the political system of the European Union was built to support the values of the basic principles of law, in which the right of ownership and individual freedom are supported, separating the state from religion, along with scientific freedom, freedom of speech and opinion exchange, and an increase in gender equality. Still the European people have limits and are controlled by political and economic elites. Society is characterized through exclusivity and selectivity, turning the EU into an undemocratic structure.[300] This last argument by Wienand explains the lack of enthusiasm for European elections by the European citizen. The European Union has to reform itself or else will contribute with a more fertile ground for the already growing number of Eurosceptics.

Turning towards the characteristic and importance of the European society, with the support of a new concept that will evolve during the thesis, being this concept presented by Bo Strath concerning the relation of Theatre in the European cultural lifestyle. He uses the term *European public sphere* to name the accumulation of national public spheres; the difficulties of this togetherness caused by language barriers, can be overcome with translation, and this sphere is constantly growing.[301] Bo Strath argued that the mobilization of the European public sphere,

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[298] Rhode, R. A. W. (1996), *The New Governance: Governing without Government*, Political Studies, XLIV, p. 652.

[299] Christian, Thomas (2016), *Governance in the European Union* in Michele Cini and Nieves Perez-Solozano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, Oxford, Oxford Press, p. 98 (fifth edition).

[300] Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand *et.al* (2010), *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 8–9.

[301] Strath, Bo *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p.11.

the European electorate, does not seem very high. According to his 2007 Cultural Report, factors that are responsible for this lack of enthusiasm are the powers that Brussels has regarding over the criteria for the selection of products that are allowed to cross the trade barriers between European countries. A second factor is the growing inequality in the EU after the enlargement from 15 to 25 member states; this caused fear of social dumping and social protectionism.[302] Simon Anholt,[303] an independent adviser to governments, goes even further, focusing on the European identity crisis and lack of enthusiasm towards the European Union by the European public sphere, by pointing out that the European countries need to start thinking very hard about how well their traditional international image reflects their present reality even if it appears to be a positive one. As an example set by Anholt, many French citizens are neither white nor Christian and feel that the national story leaves them out; this is followed by a bitter internal resentment as well as impacting on the country's external reputation. Many countries today need to reassess the way they identify themselves to the world in the light of their changing population. He also justifies that the EU's weak "brand image" is the persistent habit of the member state governments to ascribe all success to their own country and all the failures to the EU. This attitude will in the long term weaken the importance of the EU and give the European sceptics further reasons to justify their criticism.

The European Union needs to replace its major function of governance (this control system is distant and unwelcome to the public), and it needs to align the European public sphere with action that inspires it, such as tourisms, people business, brands and culture.[304] This view suggests a more intensive Europeanization process but focuses in more detail on what the European public needs and also on its social characteristics. The European Union has to follow a path closer to its diversity and less focused on political engagement.

Based on the European motto "united in diversity", according to Schmale, the concept of *union* has a handicap, in that this word itself does not represent *diversity* but quite the opposite. The EU builds a relationship between diversity and unity, instead of risking the representation of a dysfunctional pattern of the union. In another period of time in European

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[302] Strath, Bo *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p.12.

[303] Anholt, Simon *et. al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 25.

[304] Anholt, Simon *et. al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 25 https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/ , accessed on 12/02/2020.

history, unity meant at the same time the holy and the evil: unity meant peace as well as war, integration as well as ethnic cleansing, euthanasia and genocide. The ambiguity of the term in this sense that were put behind by the EU to introduce the new vision.[305] This vision is based on ethics represented by the Categorical Imperative of Emanuel Kant, which excludes the interference of religion in the moral values of the European Union. The fundamental values are respect for human dignity and human rights, freedom, democracy, equality, and the rule of law. The values of the Categorical Imperative of Kant, supported politically by the first European federalists and the European Union, gains visibility in one of my objects of study, the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.

This aspect of "united in diversity" turns the EU into a unique institution, with some functional paradoxes that can be used to unsettle it, depending on the country that is representing it through its rotating system of the Presidency of European Council. Globalization has forced EU policies to increase cohesion between the member states. The investment to improve the living standards and long-term economy at a local level creates an interdependence between the community and the region, but it also builds bridges of solidarity between the member states. According to Alina Stoica and Florentina Chirodea, from University of Oradea, Romania, culture is seen not only as a mechanism to produce wealth for the community but also as a participatory factor of democratization in the European regions. The access to culture changes community attitudes and improves the mental state, for example by increasing the self-esteem of the individual and improving sociability.[306]

Beck mentioned, in a conflict-ridden Europe, a situation that occurred during the economic crisis in 2008,

> "(…) the cosmopolitan gaze could bring people together. This would mean, for example that individual Germans would learn how to put themselves in the position of Greeks and 'see' what frightens, torments, embitters and infuriates them, and not least how Germany's actions appear to them and why they interpret them as arrogance, ignorance and a new imperialism. And it also means that individual Greeks would place themselves in the position of Germans and 'see' why many Germans accuse the Greeks of corruption, profligacy and a lax attitude towards paying taxes."[307]

[305] Schmale, Wolfgang *et.al* (2010), *Europa und das Paradigma de Einheit, in* Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 106.
[306] Stoica, Aline and Florentina Chirodea (2015), *The role of culture in the regional development process. Sibiu-European Capital of Culture 2007,* Debater a Europa, n. 12, pp. 136–137.
[307] Beck, Ulrich (2013), *German Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p.75.

So, cosmopolitanism should be reinforced by a better management of cultural influences in European diplomatic manoeuvres regarding negotiation, resolution of conflicts and the ability the another's point of the view. This lack of creativity and sensibility develops a conflict that should not be present anymore after decades of the EU; or at least it should be easier to overcome and to prevent a war of cultures between members states, especially in moments of crisis. This perspective justifies the goals of the European Capitals of Culture in 2007, as a matter of fact it influenced positively, as an example, a small city in Romania called Sibiu: through this happening it improved economically and socially. Those results of the programme show that cultural exchange has an important role within the functioning of the EU.

The intervention of the European Union in regional affairs, when directed from above to a regional project, and the initiatives to build a more cohesive European identity cause scepticism and barriers on the part of the European citizens. Therefore those EU decisions are not welcome, but a decentralized decision at a national level is more welcome according to Joachim Ahrens.[308] He proposes a need for a more flexible integration strategy in order to avoid strong harmonization of policies competencies on the on one hand and an institutional rank growth on the other hand.[309]

Kees Van Kersbergen points out that in terms of identity the welfare state has also established itself as an ideal that Europeans share, highly valued and attached to their national identity and the EU institutions.[310] Cultural exchange provides an opportunity to develop even more integration, but it has to overcome communication and organizational obstacles presented for example in the Cultural Programmes.

Jürgen Habermas underlines in his study that the European Union still has a long way ahead to achieve stabilization. In order to go down this path, it needs to take the necessary steps in which the politics coordinated by economic imperatives are not in accordance with the bureaucratic governance but with a democratic jurisdiction[311]:

> "No other combination of states has arrangements even remotely like those that apply
> in the EU, where cooperation and integration are curiously practised across such a wide

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[308]Ahrens, Joachim *et.al* (2007), *Beyond the Big -Bang enlargement: Citizens Preferences and the Problem of the EU Decision Making*, *European Integration* , vol.29, nº4, p.447-448.

[309] Ahrens, Joachim *et.al* (2007), *Beyond the Big -Bang enlargement: Citizens Preferences and the Problem of the EU Decision Making*, *European Integration*, vol.29, nº4, p.469.

[310] Van Kersbergen, Kees (2015), *The Welfare State in Europe* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 270.

[311] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p.83.

range of policy sectors and where so many policy responsibilities have been transferred from individual states to collective institutions."[312]

Its unique style of governance has given the EU a responsibility to be successful. It becomes an exemplary "state", in which the values of respect for human dignity and human rights, freedom, democracy, equality, and the rule of law are its pillars, and it represents an attractive way of life. Rifkin regards the EU as the first governing experiment to attempt to integrate the forces of individuation and integration that stretched the human inward consciousness into the multiple identities of a post-modern actor and made them outwardly subject to the globalizing forces of the economy.[313]

In the next two chapters will be focused on cultural Europeanization, a term supported by the historian Wolfgang Schmale. Cultural Europeanization is the process of developing a single European culture. It started with the spread of Greco-Roman culture. Roman cultural imperialism had its rival in Celtic culture. Like the Romans spread Roman/Greek culture, the Celts also spread their culture during the period of barbarian migrations. Some of cultural activities they left behind are still in practice in the European geographic space. Others are remembered, and sometimes comes to life in re-enactments of histories and rituals, that were the precursor of theatre as a way of communication and of understanding society.

Romantic representation of this period was increasingly popular in the second half of the 18th century.[314] Frequently the reflection of the Greek past with its discussion of polity in a public space becomes part of European culture and – and relating this aspect with the topic of the third chapter, theatre – was used during that time to reflect on politics and society. This is the bridge towards chapter 3: Theatre plays a major part by promoting exchange between artists throughout European Union member states, working towards the values of tolerance and acceptance of different nationalities, and promoting the richness in that cooperation. Language has an important role, as a vehicle of understanding or as an impediment, but it can be overcome through other ways of communication, such as the universal language of Performing Arts.

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[312] Nugent, Neil (2010), *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, New York, Palgrave Macmillian, p. 32 (seventh edition).

[313] Rifkin, Jeremy (2004), *The European Dream*, New York, Penguin Group, p. 282.

[314] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), European History Online (EGO), Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system
, accessed on 09/12/18.

Treaties are never eternal. They try to respond to a reality in constant transformation, in an increasing a social discontinuity[315] never seen before, with unforeseen challenges in external politics, environmental risks, economic crises and defiant newcomers. The globalization, individualization, consume society and mobility as the base of our life style and wellbeing is being profoundly reviewed as we speak.

New treaties are in need to the save the EU. Once again economics are on top of the agenda but without Culture being given a major part in the solution, societies could collapse.

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[315] Giddens , Anthony (1990) , *As Consequências da Modernidade*, Oeiras, Celta Editores, p.3.

2.   A Work in progress – political cultural narratives

> "(…) If we were to do it all over again, we would start with culture"
>
> Jean Monnet[316]

2.1   Culture

Jean Monnet noted in the quotation above that the European political structure was lacking in something to sustain it and to give it a broader meaning for existence. He called that instrument culture.

Culture is a complex concept, which is constantly rethought by anthropologists, social sciences experts, historians and politicians. According to Jean-Pol Baras, culture is a testimony of life in the way it moves and creates, and in it the writer, the poet and the philosopher, "those bewildering prophets", inspire the people, regardless of period, the desire to renew the world. History teaches us that all of society that fails in its abilities of creation and artistic inventions stops, weakens and disappears.[317]

Cultura

The word culture, from the Latin word *cultura,* has its origin in the past participle stem of the word *colere*. It was used to describe the act of preparing the land for crops and focused on agriculture and the act of care and honouring.[318] From the beginning Culture was meant as the transforming intervention of man opposing nature, in a certain way an expression for his need to assume control and domination. Cicero (43 BC), the ancient Roman speaker, introduced the concept of *cultura animi*, as an agricultural metaphor for the development of a philosophical soul: it is the way in which humans overcome barbarism and become fully

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[316] Jean Monnet, quoted by Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2, 225–245, p. 2278.

[317] Baras, Jean-Pol (s.a), *Das sombras á Luz: Ganhar a Europa Cultural: Cinco Razões para o Conseguir*, *Finisterra*, no. 10, p. 71.

[318] https://www.etymonline.com/word/culture, accessed on 17/07/2018.

citizenry.[319] Pliny the Elder (23 AD) differentiated the word into *cultura terrrenus* (terrestrial culture) and *cultura factious* (culture made by art).[320] Finally there was a name for this sphere that is able to provide fertile ground to nourish society - Culture.

Social and anthropological approach

To understand its place in society today, contemporary definitions are called on stage. Manuel Castells is research professor of sociology and technology at the Open University of Catalonia (UOC), in Barcelona, and has defined culture as being a collectiveness of beliefs and values that form the behaviour of the human being; the repetition of this behaviour develops traditions that impose themselves on the institutions and informal social organizations.[321] Culture presents itself as the characterisation of a specific social group based upon their beliefs, common activities and practices. This concept nowadays represents different areas of scientific academic methods; culture also becomes a definition of a way of life, with its own rules and skills, values in which it organizes it itself and the way it acts in its reality and its intellect and art.

According to the sociologists Philip Smith and Alexander Riley, nowadays the focus on culture tends to be opposed to the material, technological and social structure and is seen as a more spiritual stratification in which there are complex and empirical relations between the material and the spiritual. It becomes something more abstract and a way of life; it is seen as a sphere of beliefs, ideals, values, symbols and discourses. Smith and Riley also add that much of the cultural research today is engaged in exploring the influence of cultural codes, narratives and discourses on the specific activities of groups and individuals in society.[322]

The meaning of culture for Theodor Adorno and Umberto Eco is based on their concept of *mass culture. Mass culture* is defined as being the mass production of popular

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[319] Culture and Creativity, *Lecture 1. Defining culture*, https://www.culturepartnership.eu/en/publishing/course/lecture-1 , accessed on 27/06/2020.
[320] The Elder, Pliny, LiberXII, https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/12*.html , accessed on 01/08/2020.
[321] Castells, Manuel (2001), *A Galáxia Internet: reflexões sobre Internet, Negócios e Sociedade*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2ª edition, p. 55.
[322] Smith, Philip and Alexander Riley (2009), *Cultural Theory an introduction,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p. 2 (Second Edition).

entertainment, such as film, television, popular books, newspapers, magazines, popular music, leisure goods, household items, clothing and mechanically reproduced art.[323] Adorno alleged that the multiplication of that kind of artistic works reduces art to a simple product of consumerism, jeopardizing its uniqueness, its mysteries and its preciousness. Comparing it with the serial assembly of Henry Ford car industries reduces it to something without the soul that capitalizes art. By criticising this consumerism of mass culture, he valorises the uniqueness of a work of art, and associates it to High Culture [324]. However, this uniqueness has privileged access to a very specific kind of public: the so called elite.

By contrast, Eco opposes this negative perspective. He valorises the idea of mass culture, the so called low culture. Lower-middle-class members of society and industrial and service workers are frequently explicitly hostile to the cultural taste of higher-ranking classes as they see those works as destabilizing traditional values. The moral struggles presented in the works are destabilizing as the struggles presented in the works those members of society just mentioned prefer clear and assured narratives with a simple end.[325] The so-called high culture is directed at a highly educated upper- and upper-middle-class public with booth material and mental access, who see cultural works from the perspective of creators and are therefore highly interested in the technical questions of form and process. They appreciate works that address abstract philosophical questions and avoid easy resolutions[326]. Culture becomes part of the social structure[327], with a growing number of variables to be taken into account. Other models than hermetic horizontal social stratum are in need to explore the diversity, both individual and groups, culture has to address to. For nearly three decades now, the Sinus-Milieus® are trying to catch the evolution the of the population regarding lifestyle by crossing material resources and social standard with values and attitudes that people are oriented by.[328] The cluster called

[323] http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100138730, accessed on 17/07/2018.

[324] Adorno, Theodor (1991), *The Culture Industry,* New York, Routledge, p. 63.

[325] Smith, Philip and Alexander Riley (2009), *Cultural Theory an introduction,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p. 166 (second edition).

[326]Smith, Philip and Alexander Riley (2009), *Cultural Theory an introduction,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p. 166 (second edition).

[327] Eco, Umberto (2015), *Apocalípticos e Integrados,* Lisboa, Relógio D Agua Editores, p. 41.

[328] Sinus-Milieus, https://www.sinus-institut.de/fileadmin/user_data/sinus-institut/Dokumente/downloadcenter/Sinus_Milieus/SOM_Milieu_Broschuere_2007.pdf
, accessed on 28/06/2020, p. 4.

the milieus are constantly shifting, changing sizes and being refined. Even cultural products and events are targeting their potential public through this method.

The two opposed perspectives (Eco-Adorno) are important to be addressed, because later in this chapter will be discussed which status the European culture has in the European society, through the analysis of the debates at European Parliament, during the discussion of the European Cultural Programme 2007-2013. This subject will be reintroduced to compare the two views on the concepts of high and low culture and will relate them to the values that are represented in European culture and in the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 (CP). This will clarify what kind of public is reached and whether the CP opens culture to a wider audience outside the considered elite groups.

Mass culture is an instrument to entertain the public, but the power that it has over a large range of people can be used to transmit high cultural values and messages. It can direct people towards other kinds of culture that normally are focused on an elite group. On the one hand, the democratization of culture is the main justification behind most arts and heritage venues and projects; this allows the access of a broader number of people to high-quality cultural events.[329] On the other hand, according to Lluis Bonet, this democratization can promote a cultural relativism, in which the anti-elitist approach to creativity means a lack of respect of art as an important historical, vertical and selective process of its quality.[330]

The controversy is not new : in the *Prelude a the Theatre* from *Faust* written by the German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the ambiguity between high culture and low culture and how to serve and please the public ("unity in diversity") is object of discussion between the characters (Dramatic poet, Manager and Merry Andrew).

"**MANAGER**

Such a reproach not in the least offends;

A man who some result intends

Must use the tools that best are fitting.

Reflect, soft wood is given to you for splitting,

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[329] Bonet, Lluis and Emmanuel Négrier (2018), *The participative turn in cultural policy: Paradigms, models, contexts*, Montpellier, Elsevier, p. 66.
[330] Bonet, Lluis and Emmanuel Négrier (2018), *The participative turn in cultural policy: Paradigms, models, contexts*, Montpellier, Elsevier, p. 66.

And then, observe for whom you write!

If one comes bored, exhausted quite,

Another, satiate, leaves the banquet's tapers,

And, worst of all, full many a wight

Is fresh from reading of the daily papers.

Idly to us they come, as to a masquerade,

Mere curiosity their spirits warming:

The ladies with themselves, and with their finery, aid,

Without a salary their parts performing.

What dreams are yours in high poetic places?

You're pleased, forsooth, full houses to behold?

Draw near, and view your patrons' faces!

The half are coarse, the half are cold.

One, when the play is out, goes home to cards;

A wild night on a wench's breast another chooses:

Why should you rack, poor, foolish bards,

For ends like these, the gracious Muses?

I tell you, give but more—more, ever more, they ask:

Thus shall you hit the mark of gain and glory.

Seek to confound your auditory!

To satisfy them is a task.—

What ails you now? Is't suffering, or pleasure?"[331]

The autonomy of culture and its need to remain value-neutral is very complicated to achieve. Adorno criticizes the power of the bureaucratic and administrative systems that are forced upon the culture by industry because for some arts groups, this is the only way of getting financial support:

> "Responsible art sees itself confronted with a paradoxical choice: either it develops
> purposive forms so unrelentingly in their purposiveness that they come into open

[331] Goethe, Johan Wolfgang V. (s.a) , *Faust: Prelude at the Theatre*, http://research.ucc.ie/scenario/2011/02/faust/01/en , accessed on 01/08/2020.

conflict with all external purposes when pursued to the bitter end, or it abandons itself so unreservedly to describing the existent without paying the slightest attention to special aesthetic considerations that its very refusal to intervene in the aesthetic formation of the object actually reveals itself as a purer law of form free of any decorative ingredients."[332]

For Eco, Adorno does not try to understand how the cultural products are consumed. He reduces the consumer (mass culture or low culture consumer) to a fetish and makes the accusation that all artistic products, even the most valid ones, are pure fetish. The mass product is reduced to fetish.[333] Graça Moura underlines that activities connected to history and culture have the growing support of the markets and that provides an advantage for preserving heritage and fortifying the sense of belonging and cultural values that are timeless. The European cultural creations, most of the time, had a close relationship with political and economic power.[334] According to Hobsbawm, cultural festivals became an important economic asset, both for cultural tourism and the entertainment industry.[335] It also represents the importance that is given by the politician to this subject because arts and high culture represent great prestige for a country.[336] It means that it has achieved officially the top of the Maslow pyramid of the basic needs of a society. This fulfilment is presented in a part European society, the already mentioned elite. According to Joseph S. Nye Jr, an American political expert, culture is another instrument of soft power. What he defends is that if the cultural values of a specific country are included in its universal values, supported by policies and interest that other share, it could achieve its political goal because of the relationship of attraction and duty that it creates. By underlining this sharing he resumes that some soft power is simply popular cultural power.[337] This thought may explain what happened with American cultural influence, after the second World War, in Europe.

According to Morag Shiach, Professor of Cultural History at the School of English and Drama and Director of the QMUL Centre for Creative and Cultural Economy, the very recognition of certain cultural forms as a popular one is already bound up in a set of cultural

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[332]Adorno, Theodor (1991)*, The Culture Industry*, New York, Routledge, p. 81.

[333] Eco, Umberto (2015), *Apocalípticos e Integrados,* Lisboa, Relógio D Agua Editores, p. 37.

[334] Graça Moura, Vasco (2013), *A Identidade Cultural Europeia,* Lisboa, Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, p. 42.

[335] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 35.

[336] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 47.

[337] S. Nye Jr., Joseph (2009), *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, *s.l* , PublicAffairs, p. (unknown).

and social discourses. According to her, their popularity is a guarantee of social stability and unity that can also represent a dangerous threat to society,[338] as later shown in chapter 3: the use of popular theatre by the German fascist regime in the 1930s to propagate its values and to manipulate public opinion. However in this concrete historical context it was not as successful as expected by the regime.

2.1.1 Foundations of the European Culture

> "Os elementos das duas culturas em contacto podem combinar-se e ser reinterpretados por forma a nascer uma cultura inédita que designa então por cultura sincrética"[339]

Edgar Morin describes European Culture as being based on four different cultural pillars: the Jewish, Christian, Greek and Latin cultures. These formed the common cultural background that represented European cultural identity.[340] Culture is part of the identity in a community, but it is in constant intercultural dialogue and exchange.

When Roman cultural imperialism was in its building process, it encountered itself in rivalry with the Celtic culture. Like the Romans spread Roman/Greek culture, the Celts also spread their culture during the period of barbarian migrations. Some of these cultural activities are still used in practice in Europe, and sometimes this period is still romanticized in re-enactments of rituals, which were the precursor of theatre as way of providing as a sense of communion and an explanation of the world. This will be described in more detail in chapter 3 of his thesis.

New researchers have found a two-fold distinction in the European identity, splitting it between European cultural identity and civic identity, each of them presented in different ways in European society. This will also be discussed during this study to understand this distinction's place in the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. According to the object of study, the focus will be especially on cultural Europeanization. Cultural Europeanization is the process of developing a single European culture according to the historian Wolfgang Schmale. This

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[338] Shiach Morag quoted by Bratton, Jacky (2003), *New readings in Theatre History*, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, p. 138.
[339] Étienne, Jean *et.al* (1998) [1997], *Aculturação* in *Dicionário de Sociologia: As noções os mecanismos e os autores*, Lisboa, Plátano editora, p. 17.
[340] Morin, Edgar (1987), *Penser L'Europe*, (s.l), Edition Gallimard, p. 81.

process accelerated in the second half of the 18th century but started with the spread of Greco-Roman culture.[341] The Romans, through their gradual subjugation of the Greek colonies, started to admire and to absorb Greek culture, especially its arts and literature.[342]

Christianity, supported by the Romans, started to build its culture through monasteries as centres of literacy; they introduced Roman law, the printing press and universities.[343] The medieval period consolidated some cultural areas, in which trade and commerce created cultural groups with a high level of social and cultural cohesion.[344] This consolidation was perceived by their continue support of the Greco-Roman venues as seen as an lifestyle and work model (being it from its artistic disciplines to its political philosophy).[345]

The Greek and Latin languages gained its place in the academic circle and became the first European common languages used in several practices, such as architects, historians, writers and even sculptors that learned during the creation of religious projects.[346] A common language, is still a subject of discussion in the European Union as seen during the creation of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 in the parliamentary debates. The Esperanto language as an European language could facilitate the communication between members states while also tear down bureaucratic barriers. This will be further explored in this chapter on the section of the parliamentary debates between the European Members of Parliament.

The Renaissance presented a time in which a cultural network was built by dynastic alliances and family connections that promoted cultural diversity towards a single unity. The Italian Renaissance produced a cultural model.[347] This was a period when culture was supported

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[341] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.

[342] Rietbergen, Peter (1998), *Europe: A Cultural History*, London, Routledge, p. 43 (second edition).

[343] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), *European History Online (EGO),* Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.

[344] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.

[345] Meier, Christian (2005), *Die griechisch-römische Tradition* in Hans Joas and Klaus Wiegandt *Die kulturellen Werte Europas*, Frankfurt am Main, Fischer, p. 95.

[346] Meier, Christian (2005), *Die griechisch-römische Tradition* in Hans Joas and Klaus Wiegandt *Die kulturellen Werte Europas*, Frankfurt am Main, Fischer, p. 95.

[347] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.

for the first time by private contributors like cultural enterprises, for example the Italian Medici family who were patrons of the painter Sandro Botticelli. Without this support and liberty, the European art would not have had the chance to develop such amazing master pieces and found its place on the centre of the world cultural stage and admired worldwide. But it cannot be forgotten that these are exclusive works of art for an exclusive class and their interests, portraying only a privilege few and their lifestyle, perpetuating power structure, alliance and legacies. Looking back it has to be considered high culture for the elite. Because of this rich heritage, the Cultural Programmes intended always to protect regional Heritage, and projects that were responsible for restoration and monitoring this Heritage. The cultural past became the main element of the structure of a European cultural identity.

Enlightenment

In the 18th century, European Enlightenment period, the concept of culture gained a new definition. The inclusion of European identity within European culture had an increase in followers. Free citizens and intellectuals used the possibility of travelling within the European communication system to exchange their ideas (letters, magazines, books and newspapers), and this created a new social sense of an European collective movement. Their experience were noted, collected and immortalized in written works. They not only spread notions about the beauty of nature, architectures, languages, arts, social and political conditions, but also shared their personal feelings when acquainting with different people and ways of life: another culture.

Some of the main actors that developed the concept of European identity were Johann Christoph Adelung, Gottfried Herder, Voltaire and Immanuel Kant.[348] Kant was to become the future inspiration for the values represented in the federalist movement in 1957, and of the values supported by the European Union. The European political system separated itself from the Church and took over the philosophical perspective of ethics represented by Kant, as already been mentioned in the first chapter about the foundation of the EU. European culture defined itself in that period as art, science, education, the art of war, colonization and the richness of Christian cultural influences, especially the artistic work left behind by several secular artist.

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[348] Schmale, Wolfgang (2008), *Geschichte und Zukunft der europäischen identität* in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer GmbH, 1–2/2008 December 2007, p. 16.

Quoting the historian Wolfgang Schmale, "The conception of a singular European culture was first developed by cultural historians of the Enlightenment, receiving a chronology and being read as the story of uninterrupted progress."[349] The bases were built by the influences of Kant's thoughts and provided the first ethical and cultural form towards a political structure of the European Union. According to Martins, it is through education, training and culture that European citizenship is able to be constructed. It promotes the possibility to better understand the valorisation of the human factor.[350] For instance on the stage and literature, in which the intentions are no longer just to entertain or represent the aristocracy, but to educate and to cultivate as well to create sensibility for the human condition and its challenges.

In 1805, culture was described as education and taste, the intellectual side of civilization, and in 1867 it was closely related to collective customs and the achievements of people, a particular form of collective intellectual development.[351] Humanism, reason and science were the European values supported during that period, they represented the inspiring force of the construction of European identity.[352]

The Irish poet and playwright William Butler Yeats, an intellectual of the late 19th century (1865–1939) and Nobel Prize in Literature 1923 said the following: "For without culture or holiness, which are always the gift of a very few, a man may renounce wealth or any other external thing, but he cannot renounce hatred, envy, jealousy, revenge. Culture is the sanctity of the intellect." [353]

In the 19th century despite the increase in nationalism, the developments in literature, industries, and the legal, scientific, artistic and musical life made this the most cultural European century according to Schmale. Schmale considered that the process of Europeanization was interrupted by the anti-Semitism of the late 19th century and first half of the 20th century.[354] In that period Europeanization was already a concept where diversity was

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[349] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), European History Online (EGO), Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.
[350] D´Oliveira Martins, Guilherme (s.a), *Europa, Educação e Cidadania*, *Finisterra*, no. 10, p. 85.
[351] https://www.etymonline.com/word/culture, accessed on 17/07/2018.
[352] Morin, Edgar (1987), *Penser L'Europe*, (s.l), Edition Gallimard, p. 83.
[353] https://www.etymonline.com/word/culture, accessed on 17/07/2018.
[354] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History: Mainz, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/europe/wolfgang-schmale-europe-as-a-cultural-reference-and-value-system, accessed on 09/12/18.

embraced as part of European Cultural identity, at the moment that anti-Semitism spread across Europe this process was stopped and the new concept of fascist arts, became the antagonism on what European Culture was supposed to represent: cultural diversity. After World War II, this was once again put into question and the European motto of "United in Diversity" re-raised in Europe. Europeanization and Fascism became opposite forces, even some fascist ideals, never disappeared completely from the European scenery, like a shadow, waiting for the right condition, for an opportunity to spread its word of racism and hate.

It is relevant that during the period of the 19th century, the concept of tradition suffered a negative connotation, it was seen as an antagonism of scientific revolution and a conservative tools that prevented the modernisation and adaptation to a new and more developed way of life. As mentioned by Giddens, there was the concern that Tradition could become the dark side of Modernity, in which science was considered the real answer about the way that life should be carried out in the society. But the origin of the word itself (from the Latin *tradere*) only means, transmission or keeping something for the next generation.[355] Tradition was only a natural mechanism of passing knowledge and experience to the next generation, not necessarily an blockade to everything representing itself as new and replacing.

But the blockades existed, further in chapter 3 will be exposed how theatre was used by the Catholic Church to create a unified perspective of culture. Still with artistic limitation and obstacles found by the end of this theatrical era it will describe its controlling censorship methods to prevent social upraising by questioning the old and privilege status quo of the Catholic Church and the Monarchy.

By referring to culture as "the sanctity of the intellect", Yeats describes an elite group of people with intellect who are the only ones that know the true meaning of culture. The MEP Vasco Graça Moura has a critical approach about the status that culture still has in the elite of society and the blockade that prevents to democratise culture. This will be further addressed in this chapter. The sanctity referred by Yeats could be considered the missing "soul" of Europe, and only few understand its importance. Once again : an "elite", limited access opposing the concept of the "European Public Sphere", expression introduced by Bo Strath[356] into

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[355] Giddens, Anthony (2000), *3.Tradição* in *O Mundo na Era da Globalização,* Lisboa, Presença, pp. 46-47.

[356] Strath, Bo *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe- Self Perception*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 11. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/ , accessed on 13/08/2019

contemporary discussion whether the European sphere should become an identity with unlimited access or whether it should stay as an exclusivity for an elitist group of intellectuals and to political circles that "founded" this concept in the 18th century. According to Bernard d'Ácier, the artistic festivals have taken on the role of initiating and educating their audiences,[357] so the democratization of culture is in progress.

Definition of culture by the EU

Trying to find a definition for culture of the EU is a risk. Any definition is a frame the defined subject has to fit in, leaving out items that might be important to be included. In the case of culture we are facing its broadness, its complexity and a huge dynamic variability in time and space. The European Commission in 2007 described it as:

> "Culture lies at the heart of human development and civilisation. Culture is what makes people hope and dream, by stimulating our senses and offering new ways of looking at reality. It is what brings people together, by stirring dialogue and arousing passions, in a way that unites rather than divides. Culture should be regarded as a set of distinctive spiritual and material traits that characterize a society and social group. It embraces literature and arts as well as ways of life, value systems, traditions and beliefs."[358]

The cultural agendas of the EU addresses predominantly to material culture, creating specific programmes to fulfil their agenda. This "tip toe dance", this cautious handling seemed probably the safest approach to develop a programme, that does not influence existing cultural traditions and life-style: it has to fit in the frame. We have to be conscient about this: the only way not to jeopardized them is to keep and preserve. This was one of the limits of Cultural Programmes as is the motto "united in diversity". Any action, any change is a risk that not always can be taken. Accepting the challenge, however in 2019, the European Commission presented a new department called the European Way of Life.

Following the challenge to find an European Cultural identity, self-reflection is a mechanism of search that could present the its complexity. Gordon Christopher proposes a view

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[357] Faivre d'Àcier, Bernard *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Theatre*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 225. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/ , accessed on 13/08/2019

[358] *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social committee and the Committee of the Regions on an European agenda for culture in a globalizing world*, COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, Brussels, 10.5.2007 COM (2007) 242 final, p.2.

from the outside of the EU borders, in order to help to find its place in the culturally diverse world.

> "Europe has a long tradition of "cultural" reflection about itself. Who are we? What do we want to be? These questions have often posed in relation to creating contrasting "others" as way of defining Europe's self-image. How do these "others" see us? From Montesquieu to Edward Said and the present day, philosopher, historians, cultural anthropologists and artists have engaged in this discourse. Artists (even if only because cultural differences have provided them with interesting source material) have particularly made use of "exotic" themes and techniques-Orientalism, music alla turca, chinoiserie, etc.-tough often for mainly decorative purposes without any deed understanding of what is being used."[359]

So his proposal for the European defining process, is to focus on their own cultural baggage firstly before trying to introduce other cultural influences that are perhaps inadequate for it.

Delanty states that European identity is based on the process of viewing itself in the mirror and it is based on an ever-changing relation between the self and others; it is a multifaced systems that cannot be based on a single cultural value.[360] As Graça Moura stated in his speech, the *Self* of Europe is still being built but it is based on the influence of other cultures to explain what could be identified as European:

> "(…) We must instead pick up the baton of culture and meet the challenges set by European integration by celebrating the variety of cultures and the cultural dimension of Europe. We live in a globalised society, in an enlarged Europe, in a time of various crises, faced with the new, streamlined and stimulating presence of the national identities and traditional cultures of almost 400 million citizens. In this context, politicians must give serious attention to issues of access to culture and of constructing a European worldview, an image capable of incorporating differences into its procedures, whilst ensuring that these differences are respected and valued, in a pluralistic, tolerant and dynamic way.(…)"[361]

According to the speech of José Manual Barroso, the President of the European Commission during the period of the implementation of the CP, "Culture is not a luxury for the Community, but an existential necessity and Europe's future depends on Culture. Everybody seems to be convinced that the political Europeanisation process will not succeed if cultural

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[359] Gordon, Christopher (2010), *Great expectations-the European Union and cultural policy: fact or fiction?*, International Journal of Cultural Policy,16:2,101–120, p. 103.

[360] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 20.

[361] See table of contents in appendix A.

Europeanisation fails".[362] The enlargement of the Europeanization of Europe has become differentialized and incomplete.[363] It has lost, according to Delanty, traditional references in the institutions during the process of modernity. Arts and heritage are treated erroneously as instruments of unity in terms of the most generic sense of "culture".[364] This argument supports the attitude towards the European Cultural Programmes by the Polish MEPs in their debate on the CP, as is demonstrated further in this chapter, in which they question the limits of cultural Europeanization trough the CP. Traditional references will also be called on stage again on chapter 3 allocated in the artistic performances and its role for a more united European Union.

Another but not less critical perspective by Oriane Calligaro, professor in Political Science at ESPOL (Université Catholique de Lille) and researcher at the CEVIPOL (Université Libre de Bruxelles), is based on the increasing attention that the recent EU cultural programs have towards diversity, namely that reference to a common European heritage is abandoned. This produces an ambivalent and paradoxical official discourse on European cultural identity, raising the questions about who the "other" is and where the European boundaries are.[365] Again, this logic leads the EU back in front of a mirror; its reflexive mode, as pointed out by Wolfgang Schmale in this chapter, is part of the characteristic of being a European. This mirror is easier to interpret through the vision of other "actors" across the world; relating again to the quotation by Gordon: "Europe has a long tradition of "cultural" reflection about itself. Who are we? What do we want to be? These questions have often posed in relation to creating contrasting "others" as a way of defining Europe's self-image. How do these "others" see us?"[366]

To understand who is meant by the "other" in the European context, the perspective of several authors from around the world helps to explain how Europe is seen nowadays by their countries. Andrew Ian Port[367], professor of history at Wayne State University in Detroit, described this relationship as follows: for Americans in the US, Europe is seen as a museum;

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[362] José Manuel Barroso quoted by Schwencke, Olaf et.al (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Culture in EU Policy*, Institut für Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 78.

[363] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 21.

[364] Gordon, Christopher (2010), *Great expectations-the European Union and cultural policy: fact or fiction?*, International Journal of Cultural Policy,16:2,101–120, p. 103.

[365] Calligaro, Oriane, *From "European Cultural Heritage" to "Cultural Diversity"?:The Changing Concepts of European Cultural Policy"*, Maastricht University, p. 2.

[366] Gordon, Christopher (2010), *Great expectations-the European Union and cultural policy: fact or fiction?*, International Journal of Cultural Policy,16:2,101–120, p. 103.

[367] Port, Andrew Ian *et. al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe-Perception of Others*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 35–37.

there is a feeling of admiration and appreciation mixed with disdain and resentment, but most of Americans have strong respect for the impressive achievements of European high culture. Since the colonial period Europe is seen as a place which sets the standards and serves as arbiter of taste and culture. This perspective changed after World War II, as the conclusion was that even with the high cultural standards that are encountered in Europe the war had not been prevented. On the other hand, the Europeanization of the USA occurred especially during this period, in which many artists and intellectuals were obliged to take refuge there from the fascist regimes and build their own universities.[368] Leopold Waizbort, professor of Sociology at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, identifies that the colonization process realized by the Europeans continues to be the most formative and prevailing cultural aspect for the life of the inhabitants of North American people. By Brazilians the European Union is not perceived as a one-state system and they refer the individuality of the European countries. The European cultural institutions such as the Circolo Italiano, Alliance Française and Goethe Institute organize a large variety of events (theatre, music and literature) and try to establish a cultural presence of their individual countries; however with few exceptions, they never cooperate with each other. The European cultural institutes by failing to cooperate with each other do not present in that way a homogenous European cultural identity,[369] or at least common origin with feelings of belonging. Again: the missing "soul".

In Russia according to Sergej Sumlenny,[370] a journalist with a doctorate in political science, European culture is very present in the subject of world history given at school. There is a profound study of European authors such from Homer to Ibsen and Dickens as part of the school subject of world literature. European cinema fills the theatres and there is a familiarity with European languages. Europe has become the favourite travel destination for Russians. For the majority of them, Europe remains the role model for a successful political and economic system.[371]

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[368] Port, Andrew Ian *et. al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe-Perception of Others*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 35–37.

[369] Waizbort, Leopold *et. al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe-Perception of Others*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 51.

[370] Sumlenny, Sergej *et.al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe-Perception of Others*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 53–54.

[371] Sumlenny, Sergej *et.al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, The perception of Europe-Perception of Others*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 53–54.

The diversity of opinions serves to reflect that the whole concept of the European Union remain still a paradox and that this is the spirit of a continuous reflection, reinvention and renegotiation of European identity, its politics and the cultural programmes. The language institutes have failed to present a homogenous European cultural identity because not even they are sure how to promote it and whether the political areas of their own national countries are in favour of such initiatives.

Those perceptions mean that the EU promotes an unwillingly the impression of an unstable union, but at the same time it is in constant need of finding new forms of dealing with the whole political system and attracting new energy and ideas; it has a long way to go to build a more stable and positive image across the world. It seems that not all European institutional actors are agreeing on the European Union pact that is proposed, not assuming their responsibility to spread European Cultural values. Such barriers should be avoided, or else the *European Dream*[372] will be floating in "unstable waters".

Emotion

The importance of emotion in building a healthy human being is justified by a ten-year study developed by Antonio and Hanna Damasio, two of the most respected neuroscientists in the world. In 2006, in his speech at the UNESCO World Conference on Arts Education, Antonio Damasio said that moral behaviour fosters solid grounding for citizenship and that requires the necessary participation of emotion. Emotions work as qualifiers for actions and for ideas. He added that arts and humanities education can be a playground for the development of good citizens because the narratives about conflict, suffering, joy, the ambiguities of human behaviour and the painful requirements of justice can be represented by maths and described by science but cannot be exercised by them alone. Damasio also gives an example of the function of theatre, in which he describes how from the Greeks to Shakespeare and modern theatre, it embodies human problems and traits that can be used to shape the reflective mind, the kind of mind required to build a healthy society. By the end of his speech he pointed out that, without the richness that comes from traditional narratives, the traditional exercises and experience of arts and humanities, it is unlikely that human beings will develop the kind of imagination and innovative, intuitive thinking that will lead to the creation and innovation. To

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[372] Rifkin, Jeremy (2004), *The European Dream*, New York, Penguin Group, p. 14.

forget the arts and humanities in the new curricula is equivalent to sociocultural suicide.[373] Hamm's statement that culture and cultural policies play a vital strategic role in the unification process of Europe[374] is hereby supported by scientific findings: the emotions are able to connect human beings and give them tools to a more harmonized union, based on human values. This is a counter force opposing political populism with the enclosure of conservatism and selfish values and that only point out to support unity in national basis, considering diversity as enemy to social stabilization. Culture is a tool that could be used as tool against this populistic system, this is already been into place with the Cultural Programmes but needs to be more evident across member states through their own regional cultural activities and incorporated in the EU political speech.

Political populism is associated with using emotional speeches to move and unite crowds. Culture through arts can also use emotion to reach a vast public and to promote reflection and unity; it can be as powerful as populistic politics. This argument is supported by a study from Ingrid Hamm, executive director at the Robert Bosch Stiftung: young people do not feel represented by the European institutions of the EU nor do they feel that their needs are addressed. The view of Wim Wenders, a German film director, serves as an example: "When I was a boy I dreamt of a Europe without borders. Now I am travelling across Europe – virtually and in reality – without showing my passport. I even pay with one currency, but where is my emotion?"[375] Hamm underlines this point by comparing it with the young generation, which like Wenders feel that Europe always uses economic or political arguments and that emotional aspects do not feature in their politics. Nobody loves their country because of its markets strategies: "A soulless organism is dead. A unified Europe needs a soul".[376]

This soul, according to Onésimo T. Almeida, a Portuguese Professor at the Brown University USA, is built upon the best values that we are able to encounter in each member states: values of grandeur, vision and ideals.[377] Giddens underlines this argument stating that in

[373] Damasio Antonio and Hanna Damasio (2006), *UNESCO Conference on Arts and Education: Brain Art and Education,* (s.l), p. 13.

[374] Hamm, Ingrid *et.al* (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Europe Needs Emotions*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 4.

[375] Wenders, Wim quoted by Hamm, Ingrid *et.al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Europe Needs Emotions*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 4.

[376] Delors, Jacques quoted by Hamm, Ingrid *et.al* (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Europe Needs Emotions*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 4.

[377] Almeida, Onésimo,T. (2013), *O despertar do Iluminismo ou a condenação da Modernidade como única saída* in *Repensar a Europa*, Lisboa, Gradiva Edições S.A, p. 81.

the cosmopolitanism world of EU the morality represented (often associated to conservatism and fundamentalism that are the antagonism of cosmopolitanism), have to transform the European values of tolerance and dialogue into a passion worth fighting for. This passion gives a reason to live.[378] This is the bigger motive that could move whole political institutions closer to its citizens; the idea of Europe becomes not just something political but something tangible to the European people.

Europe has an extensive collective historical memory, living, trading and fighting together for thousands of years. The EU was built on the ruins of a devastating war, joining winners and losers in the hope to turn Europe into a peaceful place, therefore they cannot stay hostage by the guild of past mistakes. So much was overcome, so much was achieved: where is the sense of pride being part of it, being European. Unfortunately, this challenge is not contemplated in the cultural programmes.

The lack of a broader meaning of European culture in its programmes, reduces the importance of a European cultural identity, wasting opportunities to build a collective feeling in European citizenship. Education and culture (arts), are still regarded as separate "folders" within the European Cultural programmes, as will be seen further in this chapter during the presentation of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 and during the debates in the European Parliament.

The Maastricht Treaty structure had the purpose of building an European identity, as seen in chapter 1. According to Tuuli Lähdesmäki this process is called "constitutive stories" and allocates the EU in space and time along with its legitimacy and its existence, and it becomes an essential aspect of EU domestic policy.[379] The treaties are part of the foundation of European domestic policy but with the subsidiarity system (already mentioned in chapter 1) it guaranties autonomy of decision making by the National governments of the member states, in order to provide protection of their national and regional culture. This argument is supported with the resolution of the ministers for culture in their meeting on the 7 June 1991: "Aware that theatre is closely bound up with the life of local, regional and national communities and that

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[378] Giddens, Anthony (2000), *O Mundo na Era da Globalização,* Lisboa, Presença, p. 56.

[379] Lähdesmäki, Tuuli, *Founding myths of European Union Europe and the workings power in the European Union heritage and history initiatives* (2018), Jyväskylä: SAGE, European Journal of Cultural Studies, p. 2.

the European Community can take a hand only in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and respect for different cultural identities"[380]

Nowadays other factors are included in the representation of European culture, such as the values of a secular state, for example humanism. Those values are present in the European Union's values and already expressed on the first chapter. Guilherme d' Oliveira Martins affirmed that, in Europe, the presence and access to a variety of culture, traditions and identities enhances the human factor and is crucial that it is included in the European educational system. On the one hand he states that Europe needs to create convergence and universalism across that value, on the other hand, he subscribes to the view that European citizenship has to be open to its diversity by mutual comprehension of peoples and culture.[381] Delanty presents a new kind of European civilization based on the progressive humanization of the human being through an understanding of a pluralized culture. This pluralization is reflected in the European cultural politics in their motto "united in diversity".[382] Will that mean that this achievement makes us Europeans more human? Jeremy Rifkin enumerates several cultural characteristics that define what it means to be European based not only on arts but also on the way of life. He describes the European as in tune with leisure and deep play, secular through the separation of religion from political power, and concerned about the welfare of the planet. He also labels the European as cosmopolitan and less territorial and wanting to preserve their cultural identity while living in a multicultural world.[383] This last aspect is very present in the European Union's motto "united in diversity", but could it be still just a dream or even a mythical chimere?

Following Graça Moura's thoughts, the goal of creating European unity through culture is still unsuccessful because those cultural programmes have the tendency to support more contemporary art and so-called high culture, which limits access to elite groups, as stated in his speech in the parliamentary debates that will be analysed further in this study.[384] Tony Judt has for a long time called these elite groups the educated elite and they with a strong sense of what

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[380] *Resolution of the Ministers for culture Meeting with in the Council*, 7 July 1991, Official Journal of the European Communities, No C 188/3.

[381] D´Oliveira Martins, Guilherme (s.a), *Europa, Educação e Cidadania*, *Finisterra*, no. 10, p. 84–85.

[382] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 16.

[383] Rifkin, Jeremy (2004), *The European Dream*, New York, Penguin Group, p. 14.

[384] Graça Moura, Vasco (2013), *A Identidade Cultural Europeia* Lisboa: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, p. 17.

it means to be European and what its identity and culture involve.[385] If European culture is regarded as high culture, Adorno could agree and represent it as something unique and precious, but this limitation gives access only to a specific social stratum. Democratizing culture as supported by Vasco Graça Moura could risk and European cultural identity to become something more undefined, consuming "fast-food" for the mind. On the other hand, the force of globalization is making society more egalitarian, at least that is the first thought that comes to mind as often assumed and as stated by Eric Hobsbawm. However, this author also refers to the fact that it leads to a heterogeneous world of cultural confusion and an amalgamation of different cultures.[386]

This European cultural amalgamation could be important for building a stronger and more united Europe; more people need to have access to it, not only the "elites". By elite is meant the group of people with resources, the possibility of travelling and access to high education, a privileged group that is also considered the one that feel more connected to the European way of living. This will be presented further in this chapter through studies based on the age and literacy of the European people.

Considering the target groups of culture consumer and the analyses found in chapter 3, there is another lead that will be followed. A possible conclusion that for the success and continuity of cultural activities, their participation in the economic market is crucial for its survival. However, artists cannot only rely on the market. An artist has to find the ideal balance between financial survival and artistic freedom. The positive impact that cultural festivals have in communities maybe a proof of it, as demonstrated in chapter 3, with the Theatre Festivals and the European Capitals of Culture supported by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 (CP).

In the attempt to define culture at a European level, it is very much associated with creative activity, whether that be in the form of the arts or literature and authors.[387] "The Cultural Identity of the people comes from the synergies that are created between the crossing

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[385] Judt, Tony quoted by Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 63.

[386] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 26.

[387] 2007, *European Cultural Values*, pdf., p. 5. http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 23/08/17.

of tradition with the development of the contemporary culture."[388] Heritage and contemporary representation serve as a mutual source of inspiration and influence, as the EU is built on a mutual historical and political memory; its heritage gain a special place to be protected and invested in the cultural programmes.

2.1.2   Culture in European contemporary society

> "We have to understand that culture is something like a daily bread and it is not there to sweeten Europe."[389]

The European Union has its presence in the daily life of its citizen with symbols that run from the European Hymn Ode of Joy written by Friedrich Schiller and composed by Ludwig van Beethoven to the European flag. These symbols represent a sense of community or interdependence between the different member states of the EU. According to Natasha Zowislo these symbols can only develop a sense of identity if the different European members accept them.[390] On the one hand these cultural symbols become a system of values that holds a society together. On the other hand, this determines a relationship of distance between the EU and the areas outside its borders.[391] Michael Bruter stressed in his research that these symbols have a much stronger effect on the cultural component of European identity even if they are symbols of a political system; increased exposure to these EU symbols also increases the sense of identity.[392]

From the cultural meaning of the European symbols, we will move to the cultural actors that are being studied in this dissertation. The 2007 Eurobarometer survey demonstrates, by

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[388]Matias, Joana Maria Santos (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 85.

[389] Fishler, Franz (2006), "The Sound of Europe" Conference in 27 and 28 January 2006, Salzburg, vol. I, p.96.

[390] Zowislo, Natascha (2000), *Auf der Suche nach einer europäischen Identität*, PhD dissertation, Mannheim, p. 2.

[391] Zowislo, Natascha, *Auf der Suche nach einer europäischen Identität*, PhD dissertation, Mannheim, p. 2.

[392] Bruter, Michael (2003), *Winning hearts and minds for Europe: The impact of News and Symbols on civic and cultural European Identity*, Comparative Political Studies, vol. 36, no. 10, Sage Publication, p. 1166–1167.

means of a general approach, the importance given by European society to the definition of culture:[393]

- 39% associated "culture" with the arts (performance arts and visual arts – architecture, painting, art galleries, etc.);
- 24% associated "culture" with traditions, languages, customs and social or cultural communities;
- 24% associated "culture" with literature, poetry, playwriting, authors.

The perception of 24% given to tradition as a cultural asset will be related with the creation of new tradition and rituals, in the next chapter. This will reflect as well if theatre is able to respond the demands and questions presented by the European MEPs, referred later in this chapter.

Regarding the importance of culture in the lives of European citizens: over threequarters (77%) of all surveyed answer that culture is important to them, with this figure comprising of 31% who answer that culture is very important and 46% that it is fairly important. Of the 22% saying that culture is not important to them personally, only 5% say that it is not at all important.[394]

The following table defines the social groups that have more contact with culture. The group of people who are self-employed and have a position in management have more access to and interest in cultural events and the group of people that are finishing their studies and are in their 20s have a preference for the arts (performance arts and visual arts).

European Cultural lifestyle (1.2)

	Arts (performance arts and visual arts)	Traditions, languages, customs and social or cultural communities	Literature, poetry, playwriting, authors
EU27	39%	24%	24%
Age			

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[393] http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 17/02/18.
[394]http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 17/02/18.

15–24	34%	28%	20%
25–39	39%	26%	24%
40–54	43%	23%	26%
55+	38%	20%	25%
Education (end of)			
15	27%	19%	17%
16–19	39%	25%	24%
20+	52%	25%	32%
Still studying	39%	28%	24%
Respondents' occupation			
Self-employed	40%	25%	25%
Managers	51%	28%	33%
Other white collars	41%	26%	24%
Manual workers	38%	25%	22%
House persons	33%	22%	20%
Unemployed	32%	21%	20%
Retired	38%	19%	25%
Students	39%	28%	24%

Source: 2007, *European Cultural Values*, pdf., p. 8
http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 04/07/18

This indicates the importance of cultural programmes developed by the European Union to achieve their goal and to promote events considered important for the lives of the European people. As seen in this table, the performative arts, which include theatre, is one of the most popular artistic forms across the European population. Theatre achieves its influence through its close encounter with the public. Political discourse within the Theatre, has always had an impact by transmitting live intense messages. Will this support for art develop a sense of cultural identity, which the EU wants to achieve? European cultural identity is forged by common tradition and history, but according to Sassatelli it must be fostered by a common European Heritage without provoking the reaction of national and local cultures.[395]

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[395]Sassateli, Monica, "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity through EU Cultural Policy" in *European Journal of Social Theory* , p. 440.

According to the survey of 2007, mentioned above, it was perceptive that a majority of the inquired, just over two thirds (67%), agree with the idea that, compared to other continents, European countries share a great deal in common when it comes to culture. Further evidence of the fact that Europe is seen as a distinct cultural unit comes from the fact that only just under a third (32%) agree with the idea that there is no such thing as European culture, only a common Western culture shared with countries such as the USA. Alongside this finding of cultural commonality there exists a recognition of the diversity that characterizes the many national cultures that co-exist under the European rooftop. Over three-quarters (76%) agree with the sentiment that it is the existence of this diversity that gives European culture its unique flavour and increases its value. At the same time this cultural pluralism also leads around a half (53%) of the poll to question the existence of a shared European culture.[396]

According to Christiane Wienand, professor of Social and Historical Sciences, at Heidelberg University, the 2008 European economic crisis showed that the EU political institutions have failed to build a sense of identity in the European community. However, the way of life of European society has long existed, having developed historically through the building of European identity, not only through the path formed by communication and interaction, but also through the values of national states and by leaving space for regional diversity.[397] Regarding this period of the economic crisis the journalist Cristina Peres wrote an article, in 2015, in the *Expresso* journal, she presents a point of view about a recognition of a common European identity in conversation with Reinhard Naumann, the director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. This reflection is developed by a study carried out by two German cultural institutes in 2005 to understand whether there is a European public opinion about an European identity. The different disagreements between the members states on resolving the 2008 crisis and their needs to survive, developed a stronger but also negative perception about the feeling of being European. Still, this could serve as a foundation for the creation of a common European identity, according to Naumann:

> "Há dez anos, a Fundação Friedrich Ebert (Friedrich Ebert Stifftung, FES), lançou um projeto em parceria com o Goethe Institut que perguntava: Existe uma opinião publica Europeia? Na altura, tinha-se a ideia de que ela não existia, conta ao Expresso Reinhard

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[396] 2007, *European Cultural Values*, pdf., p. 83. http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 04/07/18.

[397] Wienand, Johannes and Christiane Wienand (2010), *Die kulturelle Integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 25.

Naumann. O diretor da FES em Portugal acredita que hoje, depois da crise, já existe uma consciência mais profunda em todos os países da União Europeia de que fazemos parte de uma entidade comum. Ela é marcada pelas divergências de interesses que chegam a ser contraditórios, mas o ponto positivo é que há uma consciência mais clara da existência de uma união e de uma moeda comum…" Talvez esse despertar da consciência possa vir a ser a base de uma nova etapa em que a opinião publica europeia já exista com maior consistência" conclui Naumann."[398]

Peres adds that perhaps if Europe were to be restarted, it would be with culture, relating it to Jean Monnet's statement mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

European Identity

The word identity has its origin in the latin roots *identitatem* (sameness, oneness).[399] The European Commission has developed a paper in 2012, about the European identity called "The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business". The main theoretical concepts that motivated this study were as follow:

"• European identity and identification with Europe. Identity has an individual component of active choice coupled with a collective component where individuals orient themselves to one or more aggregate groups or collectivities. The collectivities to which one orients depend upon context and can be multiple, so it is more accurate to speak of a mosaic of situation-specific identity rather than identities being nested one within another. Although few people may have a primary identity as 'European', such an identity can become salient in specific contexts.

• Europeanisation refers to a hypothesized trend towards national institutions and nationally-based fields of activity or perspectives being supplanted by institutions or fields at the European level. The validity of the concept can be questioned since Europeanisation in reality may be only a peripheral variant of a larger trend of globalisation.

• Transnationalism is contrasted to permanent migration and refers to 'cross-border' living where, thanks to modern infrastructure, a person can maintain a social existence both in their current country of residence and their country of origin.

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[398] Peres, Cristina (2015), "A Europa segundo Merkel", *A revista Expresso*, 8 August 2015, p. 33.
[399] *identity (n.)*, Online etymology Dictionary, https://www.etymonline.com/word/identity , accessed on 18/08/2020.

• Cosmopolitanism refers to actively seeking out and appreciating contact with other cultures and hence coincides with perceived European values of tolerance and equality. Nine conceptually-distinct dimensions for the expression of European identity are used to structure the presentation of the research projects with the review of each project being placed under the heading of one or more of these dimensions:

• Multiple social identities and biographical identity;

• Transnational intimate relationships;

• Collective action;

• Standardization and regulation;

• Cultural production

• Intercultural translation;

• Inclusion/Exclusion;

• Structural conditions and opportunity structures;

• The public sphere and state-regulated institutions."[400]

This study recognised that European Identity is still in construction and that culture plays a part of its structuration.

To understand the complexity of the creation of an identity, Sassatelli argues that culture cannot serve as the "glue" to unite a community; it is a difficult balance in that the creation of an identity would endanger cultural diversity, often quoted by the EU. In this case it contradicts the argument of Damasio in which he states that culture builds up a better society and sense of community. It is important to add that the political system should become closer to values that culture is able to represent, if the goal is to create a stronger society. The EU is still in the making, this process needs to be clear and transferred to all member states, for the consolidation of its Politics it needs to reflect cultural values for a healthy and more united European society.

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[400] European Commission (2012), *The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business A POLICY REVIEW,* https://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/policy_reviews/development-of-european-identity-identities_en.pdf , pp.5-6, accessed on 18/08/2020.

Julia Kristeva argues that national cultural diversity is the only cure for the banality of evil.[401] This expression "the banality of evil" is from the famous essay (1963) written by Hanna Arendt about the trial of Adolf Eichmann, a German SS lieutenant colonel. This cure called solidarity and tolerance presented by Kristeva will be further explored later this chapter and connected with the chapter 3.

The new concept that emerges also from the argument of Sassatelli is a civic European identity and not a cultural identity,[402] and it is a concept reinforced by Bruter and Andrea Schlenker. On the one hand, Bruter argues that the positive view and the increase in a European civic identity is manipulated by the positive and negative news about the EU that is transmitted by the media, giving them the power to discredit or to build a community feeling.[403] This means that the European civic identity is fragile and volatile, au contraire what is needed to developed a cohesive European identity. Schlenker, on the other hand, justifies this civic concept by saying that it supports the democratic values of the EU that each European recognizes as theirs.[404] In spite of its organic and dynamic character, there must be some consistency in the European identity being the democratic values substantial part of it, hence the importance to add cultural value to it.

One of the most characteristic values of EU society is its reflexive critical view, in which the Categorical Imperative of Kant is recognized: "Always act so that you may also wish that the maxim of your action become a universal law."[405] Ethics works as the foundation of European way of life and also influences the decision-making on social issues and its "constitution". The European Union tries to integrate and enforce its main values in its development cooperation policy. Values like respect for human dignity, freedom and democracy are crucial to the union[406] - in perfect alignment with Kant's philosophy.

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[401] Kristeva, Julia (s.a), *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 330.
[402] Sassateli, Monica, "Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity through EU Cultural Policy" in *European Journal of Social Theory* , p. 439.
[403] Bruter, Michael (2003), *Winning hearts and minds for Europe: The impact of News and Symbols on civic and cultural European Identity*, Comparative Political Studies, vol. 36, no. 10: Sage Publication, p. 1165.
[404] Schlenker, Andrea (2013), Cosmopolitan Europeans or Partisans of Fortress Europe?: Supranational Identity Patterns in the *EU, Global Society*, 27:1, 25–51, p. 46.
[405] *KANT AND CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE,* https://www.the-philosophy.com/kant-categorical-imperative, accessed on 13/07/2018.
[406] Wendorff, David (2016)*, Morally good EU?! – an analysis of morality in the European Union's development cooperation,*

Following the thoughts of the historian Jörn Rüsen, culture is a concept that represents the construction of meaning related to nature and an understanding of the world and the human being.[407] This statement is close to Kant's Categorical Imperative. European culture is based on these values, which means that without culture Europe loses its identity and "face". That is what makes it a unique geographical space, in which culture is part of the core of the European Union and society. This thought is also shared by Rüsen, and he adds that this is what defines us as Europeans; and that must be presented when we want to make others understand who we are.[408] Rüsen also states that culture must be the mechanism to pull the EU out of its crises, and it should find there its impulses to reinvent itself to regain strength and rebuild unity.[409] Historical memory is not the only aspect that unites the EU; as seen already in chapter 1, economic interests have gained the more and more importance. Nowadays the EU should find new meaning and new reasons to keep unity if it wants to prosper once more and become an even more important international political player as well as to present a better life for the European citizens.

In conclusion: if the political institutions are not able to represent EU values, then EU society is at risk of losing cohesion, due to political decisions that not always correspond to what the European people wants. Culture has to have more access *to* and influence *in* the political institutions to build bridges in its political discourse. This proximity could be enhanced through cultural programmes. The EU citizens now and in future will depend on this proximity and their collaboration and sense of belonging will be forged by the access to decision-making and EU programmes. Only then will people recognizes the EU as their home, without borders and a safe place to live in.

2.2 The Cultural Programmes

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https://essay.utwente.nl/70851/1/David%20Wendorff.%20Bachelor%20Thesis.pdf, p. 29, accessed on 21/09/2019.

[407] Rüsen, Jörn (2010), *Europäische Identitätsbildung durch Kultur?,* in Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 393.

[408] Rüsen, Jörn (2010), *Europäische Identitätsbildung durch Kultur?,* in Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 394.

[409] Rüsen, Jörn (2010), *Europäische Identitätsbildung durch Kultur?,* in Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 394.

After the launch of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, individual programmes such as KALEIDOSCOPE for cultural cooperation, RAPHAEL for cultural heritage, and ARIANE for publishing and reading were created.[410] These programmes were founded in 1996 by the European Union [411]:

- KALEIDOSCOPE had the goal of motivating artistic creation with an European dimension. It supported innovative cultural projects carried out by European cooperation partners, while also contributing to the development of professional skills of artists and other cultural operators and endorsed intercultural dialogue.[412]

- RAPHAEL was the programme responsible for the conservation and restoration of European cultural heritage. This programme also developed transnational cooperation between institutions and/or operators in the cultural heritage sphere. It developed the extraction of skills and promoted how to create best practice in the preservation of European cultural heritage. The access to European cultural heritage was improved and the active participation of the general public was encouraged.[413]

- The ARIANE programme was developed to support literature translations and cooperation projects for exchanges of experience and skills. It developed partnership initiatives, facilitates access to data relevant to the dissemination of books and the promotion of reading. High-quality translation was encouraged by providing community support for the training of literary translators. Innovating study and research projects were also supported.[414]

As referred to at the beginning of this chapter, these programmes represent the correlation that historical heritage has with contemporary art. These programs could have given an overview of all the cultural instruments used to represent European identity, but the budget was low and there was a need to create more concise and less bureaucratic instruments. As stated

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[410] Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2,225–245, p. 229.

[411] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 34.

[412] KALEIDOSCOPE programme - European Community support for culture , https://cordis.europa.eu/news/rcn/7078_en.html, accessed on 21/06/2018.

[413] ARIANE programme - support for books and reading, https://cordis.europa.eu/news/rcn/9322_en.html, accessed on 21/06/2018.

[414] RAPHAEL - A cultural heritage programme for Europe, https://cordis.europa.eu/news/rcn/9267_en.html, accessed on 21/06/2018.

below, these programmes were referred to in the structure of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 as important and "positive stages in the implementation of Community action on Culture". The results of the 1996 programmes would then be used as tools to "rationalize and strengthen Community Cultural Action" in the future.[415] This evidenced the importance that they had as launch points for more complex programmes. These programmes represented as well an experimentation for the future. Their evaluation helped to find more adequate requirements that led to more complex and broader cultural programme: in this case, to the programme Culture 2000.

Referring to ARIANE, RAPHAEL and KALEIDESCOPE, in his European Parliament speech[416] during the debate about the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, the MEP Vasco Graça Moura regretted the loss of these individual programmes, as he argued that the different "areas of art, literature, the performing arts and cultural heritage" should be "properly marked out". "The 2007-2013 'Culture' programme is a third-generation programme. It takes on board the experience of the previous ones and seeks to adopt the most appropriate solutions based on that experience. (…)". Comparing the different programmes, it seems that Moura was concerned with the bureaucratic complexity of the new Cultural Programme and he also was concerned that the budget was not able to fulfil the amount of requests: "(…) Resources are scarce, yet the number of applications for aid continues to grow. For policy to be effective, it must be focused on a small number of clear, well-defined objectives, even if that means some projects falling by the wayside. In any event, let us hope that the new system leads to a more proactive contribution to culture."

In 1998 the European Cultural Forum reunited the cultural administration to conceive the Culture 2000 programme.[417] This forum is a biennial flagship event organized by the European Commission to raise the profile of European cultural cooperation, to bring together the cultural sector's key players and to debate on EU culture policy and initiatives.[418]

During the period of implementation of the Culture 2000, according to the researcher Nina Obuljen, culture had no concrete policies because there were difficulties in achieving a

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[415] https://cordis.europa.eu/news/rcn/9267_en.html, accessed on 21/06/2018.

[416] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[417] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 86–87.

[418] https://ec.europa.eu/culture/event/forum-2017_en, accessed on 09/03/2019.

consensus on how to develop cultural policies by some of the member states. Obuljen considers as well that culture needs to get a more important role in the European agenda and be included in the decision-making process or the EU politics will continue to have a defensive attitude towards culture.[419] One of the reasons is that it produces an attitude of alienation in the EU. The EU was built mainly based on economic values; a single currency cannot develop a sense of loyalty between European citizens[420]. European history, traditions, rituals and heritage are factors that are not only able to build a symbolic sense of unity but are also physical, and they are represented by the whole concept of culture. On the other hand, the expansion of the new members in 2004 towards the Eastern Europe with ten new member states (Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia), made the negotiations for the common European culture policy even more difficult: the bureaucratic process and the great diversity were slower to be assimilated than the inclusion process into the monetary market. But the Culture 2000 was already used as a guideline of what the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 had yet to achieve.

Culture 2000 was an unique instrument of programming and financing cultural events across the EU. This programme supported annual and pluri-annual projects from all the artistic areas and also developed social integration and the social economy.[421] The general goals were to achieve a common cultural space for the European citizens, creating cooperation between cultural agents and producing cultural networks between all member states.[422] The selection of these projects was helped by a management committee and a group of independent international experts and included a budget of 236.4 million euros.[423] The main problems found with Culture 2000 were the small budget, the excessive bureaucratic process for the applicants, and a

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[419] Obuljen, Nina quoted by Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensao Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministerio dos Negocios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomatico, p. 33.

[420] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 34.

[421] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 247.

[422] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 247.

[423] Culture programme 2000, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/previous-programmes/culture-2000_de, accessed on 4/10/2017.

selection process that was not always clear and transparent and offered late results.[424] Culture 2000 lasted until 2006, the year it was replaced by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.[425]

2.3   The European Treaties and their influence on EU cultural politics

In 1993 through the Maastricht Treaty, the cultural politics of the European Union received their jurisdictional support with the goal of participating in the development of the "culture of members states".[426] Maastricht described European cultural diversity by enumerating language, literature, the performing arts, the plastic arts, architecture, art and crafts, cinema, and radio and television.[427] The treaty's purpose regarding culture can be found in Article 151, not only supporting investment in culture inside of the EU but also developing links to third countries outside its borders. The goal presented by this document explains the importance and complex balance between EU culture and the diversity of cultures existing in its regions supported by national governments. It demands the improvement of the dissemination of cultural actions and the history that binds the European people together through literature, artistic creation and audio-visual material. The CP was implemented during the period of the Nice Treaty ,which entered into force in 2003 and ended in 2009[428] with the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty. As referred later this document had no influence on the construction of the programme, only an exchange of the article number maintaining the same content.[429]

In 2007, parallel to the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, the European Commission presented an European Agenda on Culture. It had been prepared after a consultation in 2006 as

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[424]   Culture   programme   2000,   https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/previous-programmes/culture-2000_de, p. 252, accessed on 4/10/2017.
[425]   Culture   programme   2000,   https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/previous-programmes/culture-2000_de, p. 252, accessed on 4/10/2017.
[426] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 37.
[427] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 37.
[428]   *The   Treaty   of   Nice   and   the   Convention   on   the   Future   of   Europe*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/4/the-treaty-of-nice-and-the-convention-on-the-future-of-europe , accessed on 19/06/2020.
[429]   *Official   Journal   C   340,   http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A11997E151, accessed on 26/09/2017.*

the European Commission recognized the need to present common cultural agenda.[430] It is based on the Article 151 of the Maastricht Treaty. The Agenda appeared during the implementation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 and served as a statement of support for the arts by the Commission, with a distribution of tasks for each EU actor: the European Commission, the European member states and their regions, and the stakeholders in the field of culture. The document presents a mechanism to approach the subject of culture within the member states, respecting the principle of subsidiarity. It was meant to respect diversity and stimulate cultural exchange and dialogue and mutual understanding. The main objectives of this Agenda[431] were the following:

- the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue;

- the promotion of culture and enabling creativity in the framework of the Lisbon Strategy (Lisbon Treaty) for growth and jobs;

- the promotion of culture as a vital element in the union's international relations.

In the Lisbon Treaty, the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 in the Article 167 replaced the Article 151 of the Maastricht Treaty[432], to which no new points were added since its foundation in 2004. In 2010, the interim evaluation report regarding this programme triggered the creation of a new programme on top of it. This successor was called the Creative Europe Programme.

2.4   The Cultural Programme 2007–2013

The first European institutions believed that the neo-functionalist approach to integration did not include the building of a cultural identity. This was based on the assumption that forms of social and cultural integration would naturally follow:[433] *"Europe is made, now*

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[430] Commission of the European Communities (2007), *Communication from the commission to the European parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions: on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world*, Brussels, p. 6.
[431] Commission of the European Communities (2007), *Communication from the commission to the European parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions: on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world*, Brussels, p. 8.
[432]*Official Journal C 340,* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A11997E151*, accessed on 26/09/2017.*
[433] Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2,225–245, p. 228.

we have to make the Europeans".[434] This statement by Jean Monnet is regarded by scholars such as Monica Sassatelli an European myth. No one knows exactly how he presented these words but in times at when myth was needed to build the European identity, this sentence gains a momentous impact when it comes to culture. In the first European communities, culture was intentionally excluded according to Sassatelli. It seems that the desire of Monnet had not happened yet because according to Julia Kristeva the European nations are still waiting, today, for Europe to emerge; in order for this to happen, the EU needs proud and valued national culture that embraces the cultural diversity that UNESCO asked to protect.[435] The concept of myth, referred by Sassatelli, as an important instrument for building European cultural identity is referred to later on in this chapter and will be more discussed in relation to Theatre in the third chapter.

In a moment of crisis, traditional stereotypes are reinforced between members states, and if there is distrust between them, the polity does not work properly in the European Union.[436] The crisis that is referred to is the financial crisis 2008. The value and the function of traditional practices and the sense of security will be referred to later in this chapter and in chapter 3 as a possible mechanism of creating a more neutral but inclusive European cultural identity.

Trust among citizens of different countries in Europe is lower than amongst citizens from the same country, even without a concrete problem at the community level according to Alberto Alesina.[437] He also suggests that a solution would be to continue the Erasmus programme and to develop other educational exchanges.[438] History proved that those "Grand Tours", the exchange of knowledge and the access to other lifestyles, with different tastes and colours created long lasting a broad bonding that creates comprehension and tolerance. The

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[434] Jean Monnet quoted by Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2,225–24, p. 228.

[435] Kristeva, Julia (s.a), *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 330.

[436] Alesina, Alberto (2015), *Rules, cooperation and trust in the Euro Area* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 70.

[437] Alesina, Alberto (2015), *Rules, cooperation and trust in the Euro Area* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 70.

[438] Alesina, Alberto (2015), *Rules, cooperation and trust in the Euro Area* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 79.

cultural programmes also have this kind of goal in their structure; this will be referred to later in this chapter.

Back in 1954 in Paris, the European Cultural Convention was the first official agreement about European culture. This convention was presented by the European Council. It was to achieve a greater unity between Europe's members for the purpose, among others, of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage.[439] One of the goals was to foster, among the nationals of all members, the study of the languages, history and civilization of the others and of the civilization which is common to them all.[440] It was the first cultural asset that the European Council found as a mechanism of transitional and cultural exchange, namely the European common cultural heritage. Still on the ruins of the last war, ultimately to difficult another armed conflict.

Nowadays the Council of Cultural Ministers works in cooperation with the Cultural Affairs Committee. The Cultural Affairs Committee prepares the work of the EU ministers for culture in a wide range of areas relating to EU cultural cooperation and to cultural cooperation between the EU and non-EU countries. It also discusses legislative proposals such as the European Capitals of Culture, the European heritage label, the cultural programmes and the Europe for Citizens programme.[441] The main framework for EU cooperation in the culture field is set in the multiannual work plan for culture prepared by the Cultural Affairs Committee and adopted by EU culture ministers.

The year 2005 marked the 50th anniversary of the Convention; its commemoration was carried out in Faro (Portugal). The most important outcome from this event were two definitions: intangible heritage is an instrument for citizenry and social integration, while the common heritage of Europe becomes closely associated with human rights and fundamental freedoms.[442] All forms of cultural heritage in Europe together constitute a shared source of

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[439]European Cultural Convention, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168006457e, accessed on 30/10/2019.
[440]European Cultural Convention, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168006457e, accessed on 30/10/2019.
[441] *European Council, Council of the European Union,* https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/preparatory-bodies/cultural-affairs-committee/, accessed on 02/05/2020.
[442] Paganoni, Maria Cristina (2015), *Cultural Heritage in the discourse of European Institutions*, Lingue Culture Mediazioni, p. 124.

remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity.[443] With this last definition this chapter will develop the path from the general concept of culture to the definition that is presented in the object of this study, the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.

The CP will be presented by introducing the definition of culture supported by the European Union as seen in the text of the Eurobarometer *European Cultural Values* (2007).[444] On this path the speeches of MEPs will serve as reflection of its positions and concerns about European culture during the process of building the CP. The goal is to understand the place that culture has in European in the diverse political areas, how it is defined and handled, which political obstacles can be found, what still needs to be addressed and who has the most interest in the success of a cultural European integration. Moreover, the aim is to discover the main subjects treated during the building of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, the concerns regarding its success and what can or cannot be done to improve it.

On 12 December 2006 the European Parliament and the Council established the Cultural Programme 2007–2013[445]. In comparison with previous programmes, this Cultural Programme had a more focused set of goals and the promotion of transnational mobility of cultural actors; it also upgraded the motivation for intercultural dialogue and the values such as tolerance towards other culture. Diverse activities were supported, such as cultural actions by transnational partnerships and organizations active at the European level in the field of culture that had been previously supported financially by the European Parliament.[446] The budget almost doubled from 236.4 million euros to 400 million euros.[447] Still, this amount was considered by the MEPs insufficient to fulfil the objectives of the programme during the parliamentary debates with the European Commission, as shown later in this chapter.

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[443] Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680083746, accessed on 31/10/2019.

[444] *European Cultural Values,* http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 19/03/2019.

[445] Official Journal of the European Union L372/1, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1506418956052&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 26/09/2017.

[446] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. 2.

[447] Official Journal of the European Union L372/1, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1506418956052&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 26/09/2017.

Looking deeper into its goals, it emphasis the promotion of cultural exchange and gender equality, the fight against social exclusion and xenophobia, and the support of the values of freedom, democracy and the respect for human dignity and integrity through art, the preservation of cultural heritage to give visibility to the historical heritage shared by the EU. It aimed to encouraged more active political developments that could promote the potential of the art as an economic and employment resource. The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 struggled to become a cultural vehicle and an instrument of training and to open the borders to new cultures. This struggle is noted during its creation period with arguments by the MEPs (Members of the European Parliament) presented later in this chapter.

These goals are anchored in the structure of the CP[448]. The European values that are supported by it are underlined as is the fact that these values should find a place in the European community, developing common cultural values: "(…) (3) (…) society founded on freedom, equity, democracy, respect for human dignity and integrity, tolerance and solidarity, in full compliance with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union." The artistic projects should follow the parameters of strengthening the fight against social exclusion in all its forms : "(5) It is also necessary to promote active citizenship and strengthen the fight against exclusion in all its forms, including racism and xenophobia. Improving access to culture for as many as possible can be a means of combating social exclusion". In this programme the importance of cultural exchange is also underlined; free movement represents one of Europe's greatest achievements: "(10) In order to make this common cultural area for the peoples of Europe a reality, it is important to promote the transnational mobility of cultural players and the transnational circulation of artistic and cultural works and products, and to encourage dialogue and cultural exchanges." The sections above represented the areas of focus of the CP, with a closer look at the legal structure of the programme; this section is concerned with the bureaucratic structure.

The legal structure of CP is divided into 15 articles: establishment and duration, budget, objectives, fields of action, provisions concerning third countries, cooperation with international organizations, complementarity with other community instruments,

[448] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

implementation, committee, cultural contact points, financial provisions, contribution to other community objectives, monitoring and evaluation, transitional provisions, and entry into force.

Above are selected specific contents from articles of the structure of the CP considered pertinent because their focus is on the objectives in which the innovating areas of investment in the programme are found: multiannual cooperation projects, cooperation measures and special actions. Points such as working with countries outside the EU and international organization transformed the programme not only into a more powerful source of European cultural support but also resulted in the investment in intercultural dialogue outside its borders as seen in articles 5 and 6 that are mentioned above.

"Article 5

Provisions concerning third countries

(…)

Provided that the conditions are met and additional appropriations are paid, the countries referred to in this paragraph shall participate fully in the Programme.

2. The Programme shall also be open to cooperation with other third countries which have concluded association or cooperation agreements with the Community which include cultural clauses, on the basis of supplementary appropriations and specific procedures to be laid down. (…)

Article 6

Cooperation with international organisations

The Programme shall permit joint action with international organisations competent in the field of culture, such as UNESCO or the Council of Europe, on the basis of joint contributions and in accordance with the various rules prevailing in each institution or organisation for the realisation of the measures listed in Article 4. (…)"[449]

It was a concern of the European Union to open its borders to other countries outside of the EU and the European space and to work in cooperation with international organizations such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). That is why an article that supports such actions was introduced in the CP. To be able to reflect on itself Europe needed to have a "mirror" – without an opposite, it cannot recognize its strength and weakness; moreover, by opening its borders it can develop more abilities to decrease racism and social exclusion inside its own frontiers. The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 was also

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[449] Official Journal of the European Union L372/1, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1506418956052&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 26/09/2017.

concerned with the development of the European communities that could profit from the role of the programme concerning fundamental rights and values such as tolerance and discrimination based on ethnic origin, religion, disability, age, gender or sexual orientation. In Article 12, the programme underlines its goal of promoting the fundamental principle of freedom of expression, and the combat against all kinds of discrimination. This article also add a special focus on a new item when it comes to a cultural programme: sustainable development.

On 16 December 2008 the programme underwent an alteration concerning the Article 8 ("Implementation"): "3. All other measures necessary for the implementation of this Decision shall be adopted in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 9 (3)".

This point was replaced with the following:

> "3. The Commission shall inform the Committee referred to in Article 9 and the European Parliament of all other selection decisions it has taken for the implementation of this Decision within two working days of the adoption of the decisions in question. This information shall include descriptions and an analysis of the applications received, a description of the assessment and selection procedure, and lists of both the projects proposed for funding and those rejected.[450]

This reflects the growing power that the European Parliament has in decision-making and its increasing control of the actions taken by European Commission. Article 9 concerning the Committee was deleted, which established that the Commission should be assisted during the decision-making and management of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.[451]

In this next section of the chapter, a closer look into the Fields of Action will be followed by an analysis of its results according to the last Evaluation Report in 2010. This report was realized by ECORYS UK on behalf of the European Commission Director General of Education and Culture between July 2009 and May 2010.[452]

The Strands - Fields of Action

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[450]DECISION No 1358/2008/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 16 December 2008, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32008D1358, accessed on 09/03/2019.

[451] See appendix A.

[452] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. i.

In Article 4 are defined the fields of action, because of their importance for further analyse of the CP, this will looked into in more detail further in this study when describing the different *Strands.*

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 refers to three fields of action, detailed as strands and its contents in the annex of its legal structure. These strands correspond to different categories that the artistic projects are able to apply for:

- Strand 1- cooperation projects: support for cultural actions
    - o 1.1 Multiannual cooperation projects,
    - o 1.2 Cooperation measures,
    - o 1.3 Special actions,
- Strand 2- organizations active at the European level
- Strand 3-support for analysis and dissemination activities

The objectives that all the Strands have in common are determined by Article 3, from the legal structure of the CP.

> " Article 3
> (…) 2. The specific objectives of the Programme are:
> (a) to promote the transnational mobility of cultural players;
> (b) to encourage the transnational circulation of works and cultural and artistic products;
> (c) to encourage intercultural dialogue."[453]

The programme included the evaluation of its impacts and results by an independent report team, realized by ECORYS UK and requested by the European Commission DG Education and Culture. Below will be presented a more detailed structure as well the respective analysis made by the *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-20013* July 2009 and May 2010.[454]

The applicants that are eligible for financing are as follows: non-audio-visual cultural industries, in particular small cultural enterprises, where such industries are acting in a non-

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[453] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.
[454] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. i.

profit-making cultural capacity; administrations; networks; cultural associations; and companies in the culture sector.[455]

One of the items inquired by the evaluation concerned data about how access was considered by interested candidates. The process for funding is considered clear by 51% of the applicants (2007–2010) according to the survey carried out by the 2010 *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007–13*.[456] That may indicate that the complexity of the culture programme is reflected in a complex application process, probably to complicated to be accessible to wider range of possible candidates. The selection of the projects contemplated by the programme may be not as integrative as the programme itself proposes. Further investigation is required.

1. First strand: support for cultural actions

1.1 Multiannual cooperation projects[457]:

This support is focused on cooperation projects in their start-up and structuring phase, to help to implement the geographical extension, and to make to be a help for "establishing sustainable grounds" .

To be able to participate in this programme each project involves at least six operators from six different countries. This was meant to bring together a variety of operators from one or more sectors for various multiannual events with at least one common objective.

Each project intended to carry out a number of structured and multiannual cultural activities. These events were implemented throughout the duration of community financing. They had at least two of the three specific objectives indicated in Art. 3. Priority was given to cooperation projects intending to develop activities meeting the three specific objectives in that article.

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[455] https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/summary.do?id=980948&t=f&l=en, accessed on 11/03/2019.

[456] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. 40.

[457] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

The projects proposed by the applicants were selected based on criteria's determined in the legislation, such as the recognized expertise of co-organizers in their field of activity, their financial and operational capacity to carry out the proposed activities, and the quality of these activities and the extent to which they meet the general objective and specific objectives of the programme.

The cooperation projects were founded on a cooperation agreement, i.e. a common document with a legal form from the organizer in one of the participating countries and signed by all co-organizers. Tasks and contributions of each partner must be indicated and agreed.

Community support did not exceed 50% of the project budget and was "degressive in nature", that means it was progressively reduced during project running time. Normally it would not exceed 500 000 euros per year during the period of three and five years, for all activities of the cooperation projects.

Percentage of the total budget allocated: approximately 32%. [458]

1.2. Cooperation measures [459]:

The programme supported "sectoral or cross-sectoral" cultural cooperation actions between European operators. Priority was given to creativity and innovation. These measures were developed to explore path for cooperation in order to developed them over the longer term.

Each action was designed and carried out in partnership by at least three cultural operators in three different participating countries, whether or not these operators came from one or more sectors.

Selection was made on the base of the recognized experience of co-organizers, their financial and operational ability to carry out the proposed projects, the quality of these activities and the extent to which they meet the general objective and specific objectives of the programme, as set out in Article 3.

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[458] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.
[459] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

Community support did not exceed 50% of the project budget. It may not be less than 50 000 euros nor more than 200 000 euros. This support was granted for a maximum of 24 months.

The conditions set out for this action concerned the minimum number of operators required in order to present projects, as well as the minimum and maximum amounts for community support; this was adapted to take account of the specific conditions of literary translation.

Percentage of the total budget allocated: approximately 29%. [460]

1.3. Special actions[461]:

These actions are special in "scale and scope", to reach out to significand range and number of European citizens and help to increase their sense of belonging to the same community, make them aware of the cultural diversity of member states, and also contribute to intercultural and international dialogue. Again those project must meet at least two of the three specific objectives set out in Article 3.

These special actions helped to raise the visibility of community cultural action both within and beyond the European Union. They also contributed to raising global awareness of the wealth and diversity of European culture.

Significant support was given to the European Capitals of Culture in order to help the implementation of activities that promotes European visibility and trans-European cultural cooperation.

Special actions included competitions and awards, as they highlighted artists, works, or cultural or artistic achievements, made them known beyond national borders, gave example to others and promoted mobility and exchange.

Support was given in this context to cooperation with third countries and international organizations, as set out in Article 5 and Article 6.

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[460] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.
[461] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

The selection procedures for special actions depended on the action proposed, giving account to the extent in which each action meets the general and specific objectives of the programme.

The community support did not exceed 60% of the total project budget.

Percentage of the total budget allocated: approximately 16%.[462]

According to the *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* those strands/sub-strands were some of the most relevant actions taken in this programme because they related to the main goals described in the second point of Article 167. It refers to actions that promoted the cooperation between member states, improving the relation of the EU with its citizens and promoting dialogue, peace and development. This strategy was able to get closer and reach out to a bigger audience, to provide the opportunity for more people to benefit from high-quality cultural events of a European dimension. This multilateral cultural cooperation was, on the one hand, beneficial, but on the other hand, the heterogeneity of the structure, working conditions and the shortages of funding dedicated to such cooperation made it difficult for it to succeed. To this list we could also add a lack of information, legal and administrative barriers. The EU also provided support for ECOC (European Capitals of Culture), European awards and international organizations, by that helping to develop the visibility of community cultural action both within and beyond the EU; it raised global awareness of the wealth and diversity of European culture.

The singularity of ECOC in this strand is that brings different artists from different countries together and also builds partnerships between different cities.[463] According to the *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13,* this had the potential to contribute to support literary actions, one of the goals of Article 167 of the Lisbon Treaty. It offered readers in all languages the opportunity to enjoy great works of literature that are considered part of a common cultural heritage as well as adding national and regional diversity by making the literature of other members states available and more widely appreciated. On the one hand, this helps diverse authors to be able to publish their work in a broader way; on the other hand,

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[462] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

[463] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13,* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd p. 58.

publishers are afraid of the commercial risk because of the working conditions of the translator, which could reduce the quality of the written work. By translating the works, some of its meaning could get lost.[464]

2. Second strand, support for bodies active at European level in the field of culture:[465]

This strand were conceived to build "an operating grant to co-finance expenditure associated with the permanent work programme of a body which pursues an aim of general European interest" concerning cultural activities or objective that are part of the Union's policy .
To access this programme there are annual calls for proposals.

Percentage of the total budget allocated: approximately 10%

Support was given to bodies working for cultural cooperation in one or more of the following ways:

"- providing representation at community level,
- collecting or disseminating information for facilitating trans-European community cultural cooperation,
- networking at a European level for bodies active in the field of culture,
- participating in cultural cooperation projects or acting as ambassadors for European culture."[466]

The entities beneficiaries of this strand are those that already present a real European dimension. Their activities are already implemented in at least seven European countries, with consolidated structures, carrying out their activities at an European level, whether alone, or in local network or in international cooperation.

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[464] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13,* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. 86.
[465] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.
[466] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

The beneficiaries of these operating grants were selected through a call for proposals. This was done based on matching the bodies' work programme with the specific objectives set out in Article 3.

According to the *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* these operators represented ambassadors or advocacy networks, structured dialogue platforms to connect with the Commission, policy analysis groupings or promoters of supranational festivals. This strand receives a very modest amount of the budget (10%). It is mainly there to support festivals that are mostly already self-sufficient financially. The ambassadors supported the circulation of works and mobility for the artists, such as orchestras. Strand 2 according to this evaluation is considered a little bit confusing because it supports events that also promote cooperation projects that are already being supported by strands 1.1, 1.2. and 1.3. Strands. According to the evaluation report, Strand 2 represents the European prizes that have a good geographical spread across Europe, but unfortunately, maybe due to a lack of capacity for submitting nominations in the new member states, the UK and Spain tend to be over-represented for the heritage prize.[467]

3. Third strand: support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information and for maximizing the impact of projects in the field of cultural cooperation:[468]

Percentage of the total budget allocated: approximately 5%

3.1. Support for cultural contact points
Responsible for the dissemination of information on the Programme.

3.2. Support for analyses in the field of cultural cooperation

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[467]Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. 98–99.
[468] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.

The programme supported the carrying out of studies and analyses in the field of European cultural cooperation and European cultural policy development. The aim of this support was to increase the volume and quality of information and data to develop comparative data and analysis on cultural cooperation at an European level, particularly with regard to the mobility of creators and cultural players, the circulation of works of art and artistic and cultural products, and intercultural dialogue.

Studies and analyses contributing to increasing knowledge of the phenomenon of trans-European cultural cooperation and to creating favourable conditions for it to flourish would have been supported under this strand. Projects aimed at collecting and analysing statistics were particularly encouraged.

3.3. Support for the collection and dissemination of information and for maximizing the impact of projects in the field of cultural cooperation.[469]

The programme shall support the collection and dissemination of information and activities aimed at maximizing the impact of projects via the development of an internet tool targeted at the needs of culture professionals in the field of trans-European cultural cooperation.
This tool should make possible the exchange of experience and good practice and the dissemination of information concerning the programme as well as trans-European cultural cooperation in the broad sense.

According to the *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* this strand has three components: (i) co-financing 34 Cultural Contact Points (CCPs), charged with promoting and disseminating information about the culture programme at a national level; (ii) support for studies and analyses; and (iii) support for the collection and dissemination of information about EU-funded cultural activities to raise public awareness.[470]

This evaluation has found that almost all projects that were accepted in the Cultural Programme pursued all three objectives, i.e. promoting transnational mobility of the cultural

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[469] OJ, *DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013)*, L3721, 12 December 2006, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1584632731080&uri=CELEX:32006D1855, accessed on 20/03/2020.
[470] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. iv.

players, transnational circulation of works and cultural artistic products, and encouragement for cultural dialogue, even though they only had to achieve two of them to fulfil the goals of the programme.

Budget

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 has its distribution of EU budget cultural projects according to EU laws; in order to have access it must follow criteria such as the representation of EU values and cooperation with other EU members states.

Annually Budget Distribution by Strands (2.2)

	Percentage of the budget
Strand 1 (support for cultural actions)	Approximately 77 %
Multi-annual cooperation projects	Approximately 32 %
Cooperation measures	Approximately 29 %
Special actions	Approximately 16 %
Strand 2 (support for bodies active at European level in the field of culture)	Approximately 10 %
Strand 3 (support for analysis, collection and dissemination of information)	Approximately 5 %
Total operational expenditure	Approximately 92 %
Programme management	Approximately 8 %

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 had a budget of 400 million euros; it is distributed in these sections, as seen on the table above:

- 77% support for cultural actions: 32% for Strand 1.1, 29% for Strand 1.2 and 16% for Strand 1.3;
- 10% support for organizations active at a European level in the cultural field (Strand 2);
- 5% support for analysis and dissemination activities (Strand 3);
- 8% for operational costs.

The performing arts projects (which include theatre) are mainly supported by Strand 1.1 (multiannual cooperation projects) and Strand 1.2 (cooperation measures); they receive the biggest share of the budget. It is also the largest group of applicants in the programme.[471] In total from 2007 until 2013 about 101 theatre projects support by Strand 1.1 (multiannual cooperation projects) and Strand 1.2.1 (cooperation projects) were approved.[472] From 2007 until 2009 (corresponding to the year were the applicants were selected) there were 287 projects in total, of which 7 belonged to theatre projects, i.e. in total 20.09% of the total budget of strands 1.1 and 1.2.

This last report was realized in 2010. It was foreseen in Article 13 of the programme structure that in 2015 another final evaluation report would be presented, but this was never realized. The Creative Europe Programme had by then already been put into action as the successor of the CP.[473]

Regarding all the strands and what they had to offer the theatrical projects applied exclusively to Strand 1.1 (multiannual cooperation agreement projects; projects lasting from three to five years) and Strand 1.2.(cooperation projects: actions shared by at least three cultural operators, working within and across sectors, from at least three eligible countries; actions that explore the means of long-term cooperation are especially targeted). These are the ones that

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[471] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. vii.
[472] Culture Programme selection results, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 2/10/2017.
[473] Information was given via email correspondence with the Transparency Department of the European Commission trough in 21/01/2016.

supported most of the performing arts projects including theatre. As this studies is focused on theatre those are the strands that will target on further in this study.

2.5   A great success: the European Capital of Culture

This project gained a wide range of positive feedback from the public. It had a huge impact by giving for a specific period of time to the selected city or small town a visibility that projected his European status outside its borders. This cities connected to other European cities building a network. The mutual recognition in this network, promotes a feeling in the society of those locations that in that moment to feel that they are a part of something bigger than only their region or nation. The positive experience of networking and its outcome, encourage similar projects namely in the theatre: investments, from digital to physical presence of different members states artists. It was an experience of cultural exchange that defines the European Culture giving it the geographical dimension, that needs to foster.

The first corner stone of this initiative was led in 1985 in Athens, when the European Capitals of Culture were introduced. Since 2005 the nominations have moved from an intergovernmental initiative to the selection by the European Community.[474] In 2010 it marked its 25th anniversary:

> "Twenty-five years later and the European Capitals of Culture are Europe's most ambitious collaborative cultural project both in scope and scale, with budgets far exceeding those of any other cultural event. Among other things, their aim is to make Europeans aware of what they have in common. So far, 39 cities have sported the title and the event has acquired considerable prestige among Europe's citizens."[475]

For the millennium the EU's Council of Ministers decided to select nine cities as European Cities of Culture all together. According to Sassatelli, not everyone was satisfied with that decision because it felt like sharing this title would damage the prestige and intensify the competition for visitors. Still, it became an attempt to build a geographical European cultural

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[474] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?,* Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 36.
[475]European Capitals of Culture: the road to success From 1985 to 2010, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/capitals-culture-25-years_en.pdf, p. 3, accessed on 26/06/2018.

space involving cultural cooperation at a large scale.[476] The intention was maintained the Cultural Programmes 2000 and the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. This project has had a lasting effect in society and is especially noted for transforming small towns that have applied at the same time as big cities into international importance:

> "(…) wanting to make a mark on the world map to launching long-term cultural development to attracting visitors from inside the country and abroad. Some see it as a question of building up local pride and self-confidence, others want to stimulate interest in culture, still others want to have a year-long celebration."[477]

According to the historian Georg Kreis, these projects are also a good source to build a network of work forces, giving jobs to architects, designers and event organizers or producers.[478] The crucial period will be when the investment of the EU in these projects is over; the participants will then have to deal with continuing their own and with their budget, or else they just become a moment in time. They need resources and autonomy to achieve self-sustainability and long-lasting. To apply for further projects, it must be bear in mind, the applicant needs to guarantee 50% of the budget asked of the programme in order to get access of the rest of the funding.

In the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 special attention has been given to decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on 24 October 2006. A community action was established for the European Capital of Culture events for the years 2007 to 2019 and significant funding was to be given to this purpose. It is considered high profile among Europeans and helps to strengthen the feeling of belonging to a common cultural area.[479] In the context of this event, the emphasis should be on trans-European cultural cooperation, being supported by a single strand of the programme, "Special actions", that includes strands 1.3.2, 1.3.3 and 1.3.4.[480]

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[476] Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture*, European Societies, 10:2,225–245, p. 237.
[477] European Capitals of Culture: the road to success From 1985 to 2010, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/capitals-culture-25-years_en.pdf, p. 5, accessed on 26/06/2018.
[478] Kreis, Georg (2010), *Topos und Realität der europäischen Vielfalt*, in Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 135.
[479] DECISION No 1622/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 24 October 2006, establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32006D1622, accessed on 26/06/2018.
[480] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13,* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. 98–99.

To apply for this funding, the application consists of a presentation of a specific European cultural subject, supported by cultural cooperation with the justification of how it will support cultural venues that Europeans have in common.[481] Festivals flourish especially in medium-sized and small towns because of the impact and success they have through building upon a community spirit.[482]

Large cultural events have a big impact in society; that is why they are so a successful. They create space for smaller towns to be recognized internationally and build more self-awareness. If the footprint is long-lasting after the end of a cultural event and if it has increased the curiosity of the public, encouraging tourism and new jobs, then it is a significant achievement.

2.6   Defining cultural goals according to the political EU actors.

To understand how this particular programme was built, it will be focused on the debates (see appendices) that took place in the EU Parliament during the process of developing the Cultural Programme, and will compare with the importance given to culture by representatives of each country and the political parties, emphasizing the amount of budget requested, the cultural activities supported and the member states that provided more input to it.

We should bear in mind that this programme was forged by three different players: Coreper I (permanent representatives; see chapter 1), the Cultural Affairs Committee and the EU Parliament, with the EU Presidency being a mediator during the debates. This political system makes decision-making complicated, even more when bearing in mind that in the same year (2004) 10 more countries joined the EU. To include all the member states was a very pressing concern during the enlargement process. It took two years (2004–2006) to shape the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. Some of the newcomers expressed concerns regarding the potential negative impact it could have upon regional tradition and cultural heritage.

This part of the chapter will answer five main questions in the following order:

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[481] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 102.
[482] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 36.

1. Which European values were needed to be defined as the main goals to be achieved by the cultural programme?

2. Which EU member state has given more input of ideas to develop the Cultural Programme 2007–20013?

3. Which political party has developed more proposals during this process?

4. What was the reaction of the European Commission towards these proposals and ideas?

5. How can the role of theatre be accommodated in the European political spectrum? This question will also be further explored in chapter 3 with relation to the conclusion development in this section.

In the first place, there must be a consensus on which European values should be achieved by cultural programmes. According to the European Commission[483] the cultural programme intents to develop cooperation between stakeholders, artists and cultural institutions in the countries that participate in the programme. It is to encourage the emergency of European citizenship trough transnational mobility of the people that work in the cultural sectors, transnational circulation of artists and cultural works, products and last but not least: intercultural dialogue. As already mentioned, those factors not only promote European citizenship, but also transmit values of tolerance and solidarity. Accepting European belonging means accepting the diversity following the complex and ambiguous motto "United in Diversity": "(…) For the first half of the twentieth century many European societies were divided by competing ideologies of liberalism, socialism and fascism. The European Union has put an end to value conflict that produced two world wars, but it has not homogenized the values of the Europeans."[484] Some of those ideology presented by his argument, were authoritarian regimes that imposed their values. Mostly the values were exclusive ones with no unifying component, being diversity a negative connotation ad sometimes seen as the enemy. After the world war, this left a void. The actual European values cannot be imposed but are offered in a democratic regime. This could prove to be a longer and complex process to reach acceptance and never homogeneous as diversity the EU characteristic. But freedom of choice is part of the European values.

At first, the political values of the European Union had their main impact through the creation of cooperative programmes, they were publicly identified with the symbol of the

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[483] Official Journal of the European Union, 7th of November 2006, C 270/12

[484] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 32.

European flag in European investments. It was recognized by the European citizen in every infrastructures or events supported by the European Union. According to Richard Rose: "To dismiss values as meaningless symbols is to underestimate the role that symbols can play in justifying political action. European values have historically justified conflict rather than consensus.(…)".

The human being is very used to follow banners, ensigns or symbols since the beginning of mankind. They promote guidance and sense of belonging. But they demand something back such as loyalty and acceptance of whatever the symbols stand for. Values are part of this social phenomena.

The European values should be supported by a new vision of Europe, that is not prisoner of its past but also has a function in the future. Certainly it should develop other tools and more daring approaches to further unify the EU, based upon socio-political valorisation of its symbols. It should reveal itself more than its budgeting.

Rose adds in his statement that the presence of religion was part of the formation of European cultural identity, especially in times of revolutions and conflicts, as an ongoing still transformation process. The place of religion gained a new space in the political values, considering that the European countries turned into a secular political system. But the basics of it is still part of the European Union "character" "(…) Since the reformation, Europeans have been divided by religious values. Nationalism, the dominant value of nineteenth-century Europe, was divisive of multi-national empires. Belief in one's national values being superior to others justified imperialism on other continents and discrimination and worse within Europe.(…)"[485] Banners are still mainly National representation.

This statement helps to understand the fragilities in today's EU; European values have not been "homogenized", which means they have not reached everyone. The contradiction that it also encountered is that the meaning of European homogenized values means the acceptance of diversity: perhaps old habits need to be left behind, banners have to be shared, ensigns from abroad to be accepted. Eventually, even the whole marching habits must be reviewed.

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[485] Rose, Richard (2013), *Representing Europeans: a pragmatic approach*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 32.

2.6.1 Discussion of the values supported by the MEPs

The European Parliament defends that European power in a globalized world is effective not only through its economic, political, social or geographic position, but also through its open attitude and cultural values. Following the first direct election in 1979, it was decided by the EU Parliament to develop a commission responsible for the cultural department, underlining the importance of cultural policies in Europe.[486]

At this point will be analysed the different views of the MEPs throughout the discussion of culture, the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 and its importance. The goal is to present the decision process and to discover the different views of the political groups and MEPs because they are the political entities that are the closest to the European population; they are the only organization of the EU that is democratically elected by the EU citizens. The selection of MEPs for this analyse is based on the subjects that were most discussed, such as education, language, cultural harmonization and budget.

On 13 January 2004, Joan Vallvé, a Spanish MEP from the ELDR group (European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party), introduced the subject "cultural diversity" into assembly debate. Being a Catalan, this subject is a sensitive matter to him. Europe has to balance its unity and plurality; culture becomes a manifestation of these characteristics. "(…) When we talk about cultural plurality, in cases where this culture also has a differentiated history, its own linguistic characteristics and a structural form of society, we are talking about stateless nations, a phenomenon which also exists in the European Union." In parliament, Vallvé compares regional culture to the diversity in the European Parliament, and he states that the European Union must recognize its inner plurality, like the existence of the Scottish National Party, the Basque Nationalist Party and the party that he belongs to. He also underlines that the immigration is a force of plurality and diversity that can promote a change in the EU society and that has to be recognized: "(…) It is regrettable that the European Constitution has not made progress in this direction through progressive measures, as it has on other issues. Plurality also implies the recognition of the existence of immigration in the European Union, which will be

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[486] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?,?*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 78.

significant in the future." [487] In this way, the EU would be able to understand the diverse cultural movements in the European member states.

Speaking about cultural diversity within Europe, on 25 February 2004 Karin Junker from Germany and from the PES Party (Party of the European Socialist) states that in theory it is very clear what steps need to be taken to achieve the balance in diversity, but in practice the basis on which this has to be placed on has not been created yet. "(…) Looking back upon my own school days, I have a very clear memory of a school exchange that took place with Sweden. At that time, the war had just ended, and Germany was not a popular country. The Swedes were however willing to engage in a cultural dialogue with school pupils from my country. This left a lasting mark upon me, and I think this is the right way to go about it, so, in the amendments I have tabled – and which have happily been approved – (…)". Schools are the most important platform to open doors: the target group of humans (adolescence), in their most intense period of socialization, in close contact with others, *par inter pares*, are able to be more receptive towards new cultures, assimilating diversity and develop tolerance as part of their personality and value edification. "(…) I emphasise that today more than ever before the school is a place of intercultural dialogue. In my day we did not have any Turks or Italians at school. Today however, it is quite normal for there to be a mixture of different nationalities and this represents a great opportunity for intercultural dialogue and for conveying values such as respect for others and equality despite differences. (…)."[488] School is a place of intercultural exchange and dialogue, and the parents of school children also have a crucial role to play.

These two important arguments were put to the discussion before the working groups started to produce guidelines on the programme that protects this diversity. As seen in the first and fifth point of Article 167 of the Lisbon Treaty, already referred to at the beginning of this chapter,

> "1. The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore. (…)
> (…) (5) It is also necessary to promote active citizenship and strengthen the fight against exclusion in all its forms, including racism and xenophobia. Improving access to culture for as many as possible can be a means of combating social exclusion. (…)"

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[487]OJeditions,http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18
[488]OJ
editions,http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

But there is no direct reference in this article to how to put this into practice and especially to whether the state school and the parents are to have a major role in it or not.

Christian Domnitz states that culture is the canonization of values that have a link with the description of cultural groups; it will define inclusion or exclusion, who shares these values and who does not. Culture is essentially described as a mentality of social practices and cultural exchange.[489] This indicates how crucial it is that education has a role in preventing the exclusion of social groups, preventing their inability to access culture; it should be democratized for everyone.

On 25 February 2004, Maria Johanna Sanders-ten Holte (ELDR) from the Netherlands added to the discussion about cultural diversity that Europe should not be based only on economic ground and that the EU is a cultural project based on its diversity. She also added that on the other hand there is still a long road to be travelled until the EU acknowledged what the EU has in common. She is not in favour to impose European culture on the curricular agenda of public schools but proposes more cultural activities, such as classical music: " (…) I do share Mr Graça Moura's view that the emphasis within education should not only lie on the academic subjects, but that due consideration should also be given to creative subjects. In that respect, I should like to stand up for music education, including classical music and opera. Both boast a long tradition in Europe, but are more or less disregarded in schools.(…)" She also argues that school should include the parents more with regard to the teaching of European culture because there are parents who do not have access to it and do not know how to transmit it to the future generation: "(…)Children who grow up in families where little is done about culture have difficulties. Ideally, parents should adopt the role of guides, but schools can also play an important role in this. (…) In that way, education in creative subjects can receive additional support, and far more interest in culture be generated."[490]

[489] Domnitz, Christian (2010), *Kommt europäische Kultur aus dem Osten?,* in Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 257.

[490]OJ editions,http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

As pointed out on the same occasion by Christa Prets, from Germany and of the PES party, it is notable that to teach European culture or to give easy access to it in state schools is a major concern shared by the European Parliament.

Prets underlines the need to invest more in education and to increase the expenditure and that it is up to the cultural and education ministers of the EU to support these actions, by investing more in arts, culture and knowledge instead of only praising it and preserving European culture. She adds that conflict resolution (a characteristic of the EU as an expert on diplomacy) is important to enable the functioning in a plural society, and culture, according to her, is an effective instrument that needs to be present in the development of the younger generation: "(…) We also need to learn how to teach young people about conflict resolution, as this is something that we would expect schools to include in their lessons on culture and is a prerequisite for achieving the goals set in Lisbon which have been mentioned many times already today.(…)"

In her speech she relates a relation to the European ideal stated by Jean Monnet when he defended that he would have started with culture to build the European foundation and not with the economy: "(…)We cannot ignore the fact that European culture and cultural history form the foundation of the common economic area and that we therefore need to invest much more in education than we are presently doing. (…)"[491]. She also underlines the importance of early cultural exchange between countries that gives the ability to the younger generation to deal with a society that is in constant change, in which the person is not always ready to adapt "(…) After all, if creativity is not taught and not given any room to develop, how can young people learn to deal with the constant changes that will be demanded of them in their careers and personal lives? (…)"[492] Her proposal would be the increase the financing of Culture and knowledge and not to reduce it as feared during the process of the building of the Cultural Programme 2007-2013. There was no response on this subject by the European Commission during the debate. The importance of introducing European cultural values into schools was not reflected in the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. Culture and education may have the same commissioner

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[491] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[492] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

responsible for these two subjects, but still they are treated separately without any concern for intertwining them in any common programmes.

Considering the decrease in investment in public schools, then it is no surprise if the values of tolerance, equity and liberty are still lacking in these institutions, and it still reflects today the difficulty of integrating children of other ethnicities and children from families that are living in socially precarious conditions. Her argument also reflects the vision of the neuroscientist Antonio Damasio already mentioned in this chapter about the importance of art for the development of a healthy society. This supports the reason why Graça Moura, stressed that culture still belongs to an elite and is not democratized today. In a globalized world the intercultural education used in schools has the purpose of developing a mutual understanding and acceptance between teachers and students that come from different ethnical and cultural backgrounds. The European Council wants to promote the integration of different cultures and to prevent cultural homogenization. It wants to develop in schools the study of different cultures and their structures and build multilateral communication between the different groups and an understanding of the differences.[493] The implementation of this kind of programmes in the schools is the responsibility of regional power of each member states, that means that it will depend on who is in charge and what is his priorities and motivation are. The kind of importance given to the subject and if local decision makers are pro-Europe or Eurosceptic may decide in which measure the implementation will have success and how far the investment will go. In final instants, local interests will determined if EU political directives are respected and implemented, or not.

The school subject that treats European culture more closely is history; new study material based on a globalized world is in need, with the values of other countries also being taken into consideration and given the same legitimacy as their own.[494] According to Matias, culture imposes limits on globalization and regionalization, as seen in the reluctance of some countries to integrate themselves in the EU, in the former URSS nationalist movements, in the opposition against immigration in some countries and in several forms of fundamentalism.[495] Eduardo

[493] Concelho Europeu, *Livro Branco sobre o Diálogo Intercultural "Viver Juntos em Igual Dignidade"* (2008),https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/Source/Pub_White_Paper/WhitePaper_ID_Portuguese Version2.pdf, p. 36, accessed on 24/03/2020.
[494] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade*?, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 39.
[495] Matias, Joana Maria Santos (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade*?, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 48.

Lourenço describes that the only way that Europe is able to succeed is to close its fortress and to prevent the entrance of migrants coming from outside its borders.[496] But this perspective goes against the European value of diversity and humanism as an enriching instrument of an already hybrid society.

Also on 25 February 2004, an important speech by Cristopher Beazley from the EPP party (European People's Party) from the United Kingdom, emphasized the significance of culture being taught at schools and that the responsibility should be with the national government with an increase of financial support for these actions. He considers the participation of parents by developing the access to culture in their homes. "To add nowadays the UK is no longer member of the European Union, that as decided by their referendum in 2016".

Culture should continue to be something that crosses borders, as historically it always has; as an example, he points out that Portugal an England have the same patron saint, St George. Beazly also expresses the advantage that culture has over fascist regimes: "(…) A minister of propaganda in a European dictatorship said, 'When I hear the word culture, I reach for my revolver'. That sounds as if it is meant to be a flippant comment, but we know what tragic consequences dictatorship brought to human lives in so many European countries. (…)"[497]. Culture in this speech is a weapon of freedom and democracy, a base on which the EU was built. Children, according to him, should learn not only what divides them but also what they have in common and what connects them. "(…) Our children must of course learn about conflict and disagreement and their disastrous consequences, but they should also learn about what brings people together: commerce and trade, for example. He also describes the duality of the European identity and that the children need to learn about this hybridism that should become natural inclination: "(…) At the base of this misunderstanding is the notion that culture is purely national. Of course a part of culture is national, but as the rapporteur points out, we have many identities; we have a local and a regional identity and indeed a European identity. The ability to learn about the flexible identity and also to live in a complex cosmopolitanism system could give them the tools to be more adaptable in situation of National and European crisis.: "(…) But unless our children are given a sound basis of knowledge and understanding, then perhaps

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[496] Lourenço, Eduardo (1994), *A Europa Desencantada: para uma mitologia Europeia*, Lisboa: Gradiva, p. 142.

[497] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC &language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

later on in life it will become harder for them to gain a successful career and sufficient financial resources. Sound knowledge, however, may bring them a little wisdom in times of difficulty. I hope that wisdom may be shared in the Council of Ministers."[498]

Seven months after this debate, the working groups gathered together to start the technical discussion of the programme (see appendix A). It must be bear in mind that the main structure was already built by Coreper 1 and the discussion that followed by the working groups together with the country representatives was mainly technical (budget, strands and the length of support).

On 28 September 2004, France proposed that cultural industries should be supported financially by the programme by Strand 1 (cooperation projects), but the Commission was clear by underlining that this strand was open to cultural industries but it could not become an exclusive industry support programme.[499] These fears were supported by most of the delegation present at the debate in that small operators and small countries could find themselves excluded if the focuses of the programme were only the big industries.[500] Reassurance was given by the Commission, using an example of the previous Programme Culture 2000 that successfully supported them and stating that the same would happen with this Cultural Programme 2007–2013.[501] That, on one hand, means that in this case attention was given to the importance of cultural diversity, which includes every country of the EU and is not based on the size of the countries and project operators. On the other hand, it is important to add that the cultural industries contribute to socio-economic development and become a promoter of cultural European identity by supporting cultural heritage.[502]

On 7 October 2004 the Portuguese department, also supported by various other delegations, proposed to add to Strand 2 (support for EU Bodies active at EU levels) actions that celebrate the people who were saved from the Holocaust and the people who rescued others from the Holocaust under extreme conditions. It was a consensus that Strand 2.2 should be limited to the Holocaust. On 18 October 2004 Portugal also proposed to add to Article 4 (the programme field

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[498] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[499] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.

[500] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.

[501] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.

[502] Santos Matias, Joana Maria (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 81.

of action) of the programme the word "Nazi" before "camps" as well as the memory of actions to save people from the Holocaust at the end of point B of the article. This country also suggests adding to Article 7 (to complement other community instruments) "all kinds of" discrimination.[503]

On the same day Estonia proposed to add the following to Strand 1.1 (cooperation focal points): "Proportionality and fair representation between the member states as well as the other participants in order to assure the diversity of cultural expressions should be observed and encouraged."[504] The Commission answered that quality should also be taken into consideration. Once again, there appears the importance of supporting cultural diversity, but with careful analysis of the quality of the cultural projects proposed for this funding.[505]

On 27 October 2004, Portugal underlined again the subject of the Holocaust in Article 4 (programme field of action) by proposing to limit this article to it, but Luxemburg, Lithuania, Latvia and Pollen were against this limitation. Greece pointed that out all World War II events could be emphasized in this article. The Commission explained that there was a need to give clear definitions should the scope be widened. On the same day Denmark proposed two alternative wordings according to the option that was finally retained about how the Holocaust should be remembered and its memory preserved.[506]

The Holocaust still marks European cultural identity as a historical heritage from World War II. There is the need to remember this historical period to prevent another outbreak of anti-Semitism throughout Europe. The importance of tolerance and the fight against racism and xenophobia is clear in the objectives of the cultural programme as seen further in this chapter, and it will be also found in the theatre projects supported by it, as shown in chapter 3.

Habermas considers that the late notion of human dignity as a constitutional right and international right only seems to be heavily emphasized in the historical context of the Holocaust. The moral weight of the concept of dignity is always present according to Jürgen Habermas as an "amnesic reason".[507] This moral source called dignity in which the fundamental

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[503] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[504] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.
[505] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitutional File.
[506] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitutional File.
[507] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p. 11.

rights are developed, those rights are the moral bridge that explains the enormous force in the political point of view of a concrete utopic ideal called European Union.[508] This point view is also supported by Eduardo Lourenço, who describes European culture as being dead because it is based on the dead,[509] referring to the amnesic reason of Habermas recalling the two world wars. That is one of the reasons that Europe, in moments of crisis, is reluctant to use military force and instead favours diplomacy and peacekeeping operations to maintain order.[510]

Relating to the historical weight that exists in European culture as expressed by Habermas, Kristine Stiles states:

> "An ideal culture, in my terms, is one in which awareness of its condition is universal. A culture in which each of its members accepts the convenience of different values for different groups and different occasions, one in which the artist holds tight to his own standards for himself and gives the best he can to whom he can without priggishness and with good humour, whilst facing his historical situation with honesty."[511]

She describes that in her view culture is characterized by a concept of self-reflection and this is characteristic of European identity, supporting the idea of Schmale, already mentioned in this chapter. Also, she refers to the idea that the ideal culture is one that respects diversity. This accords with the values represented by the EU. She then focuses upon the flexibility that artists have to adapt themselves to different expectations related to their work and the public reaction.

On 22 February 2005 the discussion about culture restarts at the European Parliament by emphasizing the importance of the European Capital of Culture 2005–2019. The MEP Christa Prets from Germany of the PES party expresses the positive impact of these events by the increase in visitors each year: " (…) The Capital of Culture can only be a sustainable project if it is integrated into the development of the city as part of a long-term cultural development strategy. A great deal has changed over the last 20 years as regards cultural and artistic development in cities, particularly in the European Union, making it necessary to amend the decision adopted at that time. (…)". On the other hand she also warns that they are sometimes overshadowed by political ambitions and that the European dimension does not always have a

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[508] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p. 11–12.
[509] Lourenço, Eduardo (1994), *A Europa Desencantada: para uma mitologia Europeia*, Lisboa, Gradiva, p. 26.
[510] Rifkin, Jeremy (2004), *The European Dream*, New York, Penguin Group, p. 14.
[511] Stiles, Kristine (1996), *Material Culture and Everyday Life* in Kristine Styles and Peter Selz *Contemporary Art: A sourcebook of artist writings*, London, University of California Press, p. 298.

leading role in it.[512] She also shares her thoughts about the new EU members that joined in May 2004; they had a special status according to which each year two cities were chosen, one being from a new member, so they do not have to wait for their turn in 2019: "(…) This should be taken into account as regards the financial endowment and in the cultural programme, and in the 2007–2013 financial perspective. Furthermore, we regard it as very important for the role of the jury to be strengthened, for tasks to be more specifically defined and for the selection procedure for the applicant cities to be improved in this way. (…)."[513]

According to Monica Sassatelli the yearly award "European City of Culture" is one of the most successful and representative EU cultural initiatives: this created a European cultural space that required a new way of thinking in connecting space to culture and identity creation.[514] Lähdesmäki adds that the cultural sector attached to these event areas also believed in fostering innovation in other areas of the economy; the EU links economic goals to its cultural policy.[515] This is also reflected in the MEPs' speeches about the potentials of some of the cultural events practiced within the Cultural Programme.

The new Programme (CP) is intended to go one step further and to accept and emphasize the challenges of European integration, of European diversity and also that of expanding cultural cooperation within an enlarged Europe. On this concern, Jan Fígel, member of the Commission, answered Christa Prets on 22 February 2005 by resuming the strategy of including the new states that joined in 2004 (the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia) in the European Capital of Culture scheme, by building a cultural network, and by the European Commission (EC) furthermore seeking to address the improvement of the selection process for the European Capital of Culture: "(…) this proposal should include, among other things, the European dimension in

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[512] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[513] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[514] Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture*, European Societies, 10:2,225–245, p. 226.

[515] Lähdesmäki, Tuuli (2012*), Rhetoric and cultural diversity in the making of European cultural identity*, International Journal of Cultural Policy, vol. 18, no. 1, January, p. 69.

cooperation, how to strengthen it, the role of the selection panel, national competition and so on."[516]

There was also a concern in the EC to support every member state to have the same right of access to this important event. On the same day, 22 February 2005, the MEP Helga Trüpel from Germany on behalf of the VERTS/ALE (The European Free Alliance Greens) party, added an important point, again addressing the subject of the cultural diversity that exists in the EU and the role that the European Capital of Culture has in representing this issue: "(…) I am firmly convinced that this tension between Western and Eastern Europe will lead to good cooperative projects. We also need to bear in mind that something like a new collective cultural identity is created in the individual cities. (…)." She also added that "(…) Europe has not just one soul, but many, and that is what the European cultural capitals should demonstrate in coming years."[517]

On 8 June 2005 the working groups restarted their debates about the organization of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. But none was focused on European values; instead, there were exclusively about organization and structure of the programme. Other items were already developed and presented in the main structure prepare by Coreper I.

On 24 October 2005 the European Parliament (EP) started to focus entirely on the subject of the CP. In this period, the Portuguese MEP Vasco Graça Moura participated in this process and had an important role as rapporteur , as did Jan Fígel, member of the Commission for Education, Training, Culture and Youth. In this session, there was identified the attempt of the EP to increase the budget from 400 million euros to 600 million euros, but Fígel pointed out that the commission had no condition to change the original proposal of 400 million euros, but is able to still eventually accepting some other amendments to the programme regarding its substance. He also referred to the importance of including the past in cultural events, due to its influence on the foundation of the European Union. "(…) The Commission can agree with the transfer the memorial action from the culture programme to the citizenship programme and will confirm that in a specific declaration. It is important to continue to support this action. I also

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[516] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC &language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[517] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC &language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

agree with the proposal to extend this action to the victims of Stalinist regimes. (…)" Fígel naturally praised the Programme that was presented by the Commission: "(…) The programme will actively contribute to the promotion of inter-cultural dialogue, raising awareness of a common European heritage, celebrating the richness and diversity of our cultures, and increasing openness to other cultures."[518]

Vasco Graça Moura declares, on 24 October 2005, the potential of the CP as a framework to increase the communication between the different countries. This programme could increase the cooperation between different institutions of European member states and the outside of European borders. Once again, the low financing plan was accused to be insufficient an issue raised not only by the EP, but also by the ministers of culture of the member states.

Another interesting point made by Graça Moura is the characterization of the cultural historic influences that build European culture, such as linguistic diversity and the influence of the Greco-Latin, Judaeo-Christian and Mediterranean–Muslim traditions that are part of the formation of the shared European cultural tradition: "(…) Culture should be high on the agenda of promoting the European project, with a view to reviving our common heritage, while encouraging diversity, in such a way that a balance can be struck between the centralizing and decentralizing tendencies. (…)" In this speech he points out the value of humanism present in the values of the EU and that it is connected with the essence of the European society: "(…) One of the most fascinating aspects of our civilisation lies precisely in the idea of Europe accepting itself both as a common entity and as an entity formed and characterized by an openness to its fellow human beings and to the world. (…)"[519]

This is not a new speech. But its contents are a constant presence in cultural programmes discussion, repeated over and over again. On the one hand it is considered essential to be debated, on the other hand it means that to this complex issue has not yet been found a solution, so it could evolve into something new. Maybe this is the "soul" we are looking for in

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[518] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[519] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

Europe, the "holy grail" that is in deeply need to be given a concrete shape. Or are we all in an everlasting quest for a "myth" as the European "crusade"?

Doris Pack, on behalf of the PPE-DE Group from Germany, shared the same concern as Graça Moura, on the same day, about the low budget and the ironic behaviour of the Commission, praising the importance of culture but not giving substantial support: *"While ministers of culture, and even the President of the Commission, are wont to make pious utterances stressing the significance of culture, and to sing its praises as an agent of integration, cohesion and citizenship, they should also ensure that sufficient funding is available for it.(…)"*[520] This ironic behaviour of the Commission is also found in the Council of Ministers towards the importance given to the funding of theatre projects as seen in chapter 3.

According to the authors Johannes Wienand and Christiana Wienand, European culture represents the core of the basic values and norms in a society; it is constantly changing throughout history and it represents a reflection of the identity of society. It is described as a phenomenon that is built by symbolism and narratives and that develops its place between languages and memories; it is a central point of an individual and collective identity.[521]

Miguel Portas, MEP on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group (Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left) from Portugal, states that the reasons the British government is blocking the financial approaches is because its finances are directed towards the war in Iraq that was perpetuated by the USA and followed by the UK in 2003.[522] Miguel Portas hopes the European Council will understand the message that the financial plan will be contested by the EP: "(…) the proposal of EUR 600 million is the rock-bottom minimum if the Union wishes to present itself to cultural creators and producers as an institution that still gives some value to the words it says. I would like to think that the men and women of the Committee on Culture and Education will be up to the task of assessing the final proposal from the perspective of that value."[523]

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[520] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[521] Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand (2010), *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 23.

[522] https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/war-in-iraq-begins, accessed on 30/06/2018.

[523] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

Resuming, the low budget was another constant present in the discussion about the CP: Vasco Graça Moura, Doris Pack, Miguel Portas and other MEPs expressed concerns about the insufficiency of the budget for the programme to achieve its goals. There is also a reference to the lack of interest that the British Government had at that time in supporting this kind of action. The Commission answered this question through Jan Fígel; on the same day, proposing a personal vison in which the member states are responsible for generating more funding to complement the European funds, he pointed out the following: "(…) And, I repeat, the main responsibility for cultural policy lies with the Member States. We are willing and able to support and complement this, but not to replace it."[524]

This leads to the conclusion that the Final Report about the programme refers to in the first part of this chapter: i.e. that there was insufficient funding and that this strategy proposed by Jan Fígel was not put into action by the member states or was still insufficient. Also the communication between operators and cooperation partners was considered an obstacle by the candidates for the funding, because of the diversity of languages.

On 25 October Helga Trüpel, on behalf of the VERTS/ALE Group from Germany, on the one hand, criticized the point of Vasco Graça Moura's report on adding an amendment to the CP emphasizing the cultural heritage, which could prevent a balance between contemporary art and heritage management. On the other hand, she agrees with him that the budget is too low, and she underlines the importance of supporting small projects: "(…) I can go along with the Commission's basic approach, and its three great goals of transnational mobility, transnational exchange of cultural values and inter-cultural dialogue, for all of these tie in very well, not only with the fostering of contemporary culture, but also with the management of cultural heritage. (…)"[525]

Her last point was also included in the discussion at the working groups on 28 September 2004 by most of the delegations in which they expressed concern that the small cultural or artistic operators and small countries might be excluded by the programme for

[524] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[525] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

financial reasons.[526] This is also seen in the financial guaranties of a max. 50% of the budget that are required from the applicants to be able to access the funding, as already seen in this chapter. This gives self-insurance for the EU that the project could develop its financing autonomously; on the other hand, it privilege access to the programme by institutions that already have a solid background of social recognition and finance, and this leaves newcomers behind.

The Commission responded that it was proved that in the previous Cultural Programme 2000 small organizations had been able to participate successfully, and presumed that the same would happen in this new programme regarding small projects: "(…) the evaluation of Culture 2000 had shown that small organisations with small operational capacities had successfully participated in the current programme and that small projects would have the same possibilities of access in the new programme".[527]

On 5 May 2006 the documents about the programme European Capitals of Culture for the period of 2007–2019 were approved by the parliament., without major doubts about is budget : according to the Official Journal the decision was publicised in, sufficient funds should be channelled to the programme because its proven success in the past in creating a feeling of community between the different EU members. [528]

At this stage of development of the Cultural Programme there was a concern that culture was still not regarded by all EU countries as a valuable economic asset, as referred to by Vasco Graça Moura by citing the wishes of Jean Monnet to make culture a starting point: "It is no longer possible, as Jean Monnet would have wished, to make culture the starting point, which could be a contentious notion at a time when we are concerned primarily with the priorities of economic intervention. (…)". Vasco Graça Moura described in this speech what happens with the lack of investment of the EU in culture and how difficult it is to find its rightful place in the life of European society. The economy is always seen something separate from culture and always deserving of major attention. Culture and economics should share the same importance or else Europe will lose what makes it unique in the world, as a banner of diversity, tolerance and art: "We must instead pick up the baton of culture and meet the challenges set by European integration by celebrating the variety of cultures and the cultural dimension of Europe. We live in a globalised society, in an enlarged Europe, in a time of various crises, faced

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[526] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.
[527] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.
[528] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitutional File.

with the new, streamlined and stimulating presence of the national identities and traditional cultures of almost 400 million citizens."[529]

On 24 October 2006, the debate and voting by the European Parliament on the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 took place. The MEP Vasco Graça Moura was once again the rapporteur (the person who is appointed by the EP to report on the proceedings of its meetings) on this the important subject, and it was clear in his speech that the process up to its approval had led to a second reading with new amendments, meaning it was not approved the first time by the EU Parliament, and it had to be reformulated by the working groups of the European Commission. In this second reading the same issue regarding the low budget proposed by the European Commission for the Programme was still under criticism from Graça Moura and most of the other MEPs because it meant that the programme was at risk of not fulfilling its objectives. It is also important to underline that shortly after the end of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, the Creative Europe programme was put into action on 1 January with a higher financing of 1 462 724 000 euros. This means that the critics of the MEPs relating to the budget were considered by the European Commission for the approval of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.

Vasco Graça Moura's next intervention concerned Article 3, which corresponds to the objectives of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 and the importance of constantly monitoring the preservation of the European Heritage: "(…) We must accordingly monitor, at all times, the implementation of the specific objectives laid down by the programme relating to this enormously extensive heritage, which has for centuries been ingrained in all fields of human activity. (…)" He adds the importance of this preservation because they are cultural basis of the European identity based on historic heritage and events. "(…) Given that these fields relate to our civilisation and culture, they also reflect our identity."[530]

During this debate, the Polish MEP Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański, on behalf of the UEN Group, shared concern about the restriction in the selection process of beneficiaries of the programme: "From the point of view of cultural development, and the meaning and multifunctionality of culture, the approach is too narrow to be accepted without further ado. It

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[529] See table of contents in appendix A.
[530] See table of contents in appendix A.

is essential to include action for the protection and support of the sources of culture, especially where they are under threat."[531]

The sources of culture lie in ancestral activities, among which can be included folk songs and poetry, arts and crafts, and old rituals. The protection of cultural heritage at a European level and a national level is an important issue for this Polish MEP. The conflict presented by these MEPs is reflected in the observation of Peter Pichler on the nationalism vs. supra-nationalism that the EU has had to handle since 1945.[532] Pichler proposes a vision of a multidirectional process in the EU's cultural history.[533] This vision seems not to have been understood yet by the Polish MEP. Perhaps his fear is supported by the argument presented by Christopher Bickerton; he characterizes contemporary Europe as a disintegration of national identities and national sentiment.[534] This feeling of deluded identity could be a danger for regional heritage, despite the cultural programme specified the protection of European cultural heritage on a regional basis.

In this section it was to be noted that the parliament's proposals, even when strongly supported by several MEPs, still have some difficulties in being put into practice. It is clear that the school system, the financing plan and cultural diversity are the main concerns of the EP. The budget was increased in the following cultural programme Creative Europe, but the support for European cultural access in public schools and the involvement of the parents remains a complicated subject and has not yet been addressed. This reflects the need for national governments to be the sole bearer of responsibility in this matter, which means that introducing European culture into European public schools depends on the "good faith" and motivation of the head of state. That gives EU culture a fragile, unstable and incoherent future.

2.7   Defining contributions from EU Countries

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[531] See table of contents in appendix A.

[532] Pichler, Peter (2018), *European Union Cultural History: introducing the theory of paradoxical coherence, to start mapping a field of research*, Journal of European Integration 40:1,1–16, p. 8.

[533] Pichler, Peter (2018), *European Union Cultural History: introducing the theory of paradoxical coherence, to start mapping a field of research*, Journal of European Integration 40:1,1–16, p. 7.

[534] Bickerton, Christopher (2015), *From Nation-States to Member States: European Integration as State transformation*, in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 205.

In this part of the chapter, the focus will be on the countries that have given more input of ideas for the development of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013.

During the decision process as well as in the parliamentary discussion the three countries most actively involved were France (71 interventions), Poland (68 interventions) and Portugal (61 interventions). Portugal had an important role due to Vasco Graça Moura as the rapporteur during the development of the programme. He was the contact point between working groups and the European Parliament, as seen for instant in his speech on 24 October 2005, already referred to it in this chapter.[535]

During the process by the working groups, France had always strongly supported his interest by implementing his proposal for the financial support for the cultural industries as seen in the minutes of the working groups on 8 June 2005:

"Proposes to add a new point 1.4 on no-audiovisual cultural industries, with the following characteristics:1.4. Non-audiovisual cultural industries the programme supports non-audiovisual cultural industries (books, recordings, architecture…) These non-audiovisual cultural take in the defence and the promotion of cultural diversity and intervene in the production, distribution and promotion of artistic creation. Considering the experiments conducted during projects in 2004, and the exportation of non-audiovisual cultural industries can be supported, with specific terms of selection, specific terms concerning the funding limits, co-funding regulations and number of partners."[536]

The response of the Commission to this was that the number of these projects have to be limited in order to stay below 10% of the budget.[537]

Poland was more concerned about the support of small projects and the balance between cultural diversity and individual identity and national heritage in face of the homogenization of European culture. This country joined the EU in 2004 and immediately shared its concern about the place of traditions in EU countries during the building of the CP. It may be natural that, as a newcomer, Poland did not felt instantly integrated. This could have been one of the reasons for its scepticism about the risk in the process of cultural Europeanization, even with the correct instrumentalization of the subsidiarity mechanism. But there is another reason: Poland has a

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[535] OJ   editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[536] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.
[537] OJ COD 2004/0150 Interinstitucional File.

complex and not peaceful history with his European neighbours, especially with Germany. There are still very painful resentments. Among others, regarding the German invasion in Poland 80 years ago, the demands on reparation payment due to the damage caused by the NS regime is an ongoing contentious, present in a more or less subtle way and still a restraint for a trustfully and friendly relationship. [538]

As declared by the Polish MEP Bogusław Sonik (PPE-DE), the draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs stressed the following: "(…) The Commission's draft fails to offer clear support for projects relating to the European tradition or to the common roots that are an integral part of the identity of contemporary Europe."[539] This Polish MEP shares the similar concern as his Polish counterpart Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański. Tradition and Europeanization of culture become conflicting subjects because could be considered opposed forces. Here the European motto of "united in diversity" surfaces again; it is a challenge that turns the EU into a unique political institution in constant auto-reflexive mode.

The Europeanization of the public sphere transforms it into a European public space, resulting from the free movement of people, goods, images, capital and communication – an inevitable process. It is a new level of socialization for a whole range of social actors.[540] Social integration and the cultural politics of the lifeworld have moved to the core of Europeanization.[541] The concerns of the Polish MEP are understandable given these new global influences; the fading away of regional culture and tradition promotes a sense of insecurity of the individual, and the collective community feeling could disappear. The risk of gentrification provoked by the integration of other European cultures in Polish society could increase the loss of regional identity. This is not an exclusive Polish problem. According to Wade Jacoby and Sophie Meunier, in many European countries globalization is acknowledged more as a threat

[538] Garsztecki, Stefan (2018), *Analyse: Deutsche Kriegsreparationen an Polen? Hintergründe und Einschätzungen eines nicht nur innerpolnischen Streites*, https://www.bpb.de/281439/analyse-deutsche-kriegsreparationen-an-polen-hintergruende-und-einschaetzungen-eines-nicht-nur-innerpolnischen-streites , accessed on 06/07/2020.
[539] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[540] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis* (2003), London, SAGE Publications, p. 9.
[541] Delanty, Gerard (2003), *The Making of Post-Western Europe: A civilizational Analysis*, London, SAGE Publications, p. 9.

than an opportunity,[542] as seen in the speech of the Polish MEPs. So, the European Union decided to develop tools to confront this fear by setting rules for global exchanges.[543] On the one hand this can offer a positive image to the European citizen of protection and control in face of external forces outside the EU. On the other hand, there are indications that the EU's internal diversity could sometimes undermine the ability to exercise its regulatory influence because each member state has different financial systems and global standards.[544] According to Alexandre Melo it is wrong to consider that uniformization of culture is referred as a synonym of globalization and he sets an example of the variety that exist in a society when it is open to global influence. New products and enterprises mean more variety to choose by the society , but not necessarily replacement of already existent cultural heritage.[545] This happens in culture too, new acquaintance without losing cultural heritage is possible.

This variety may become a pattern across the world, by choice of its citizens. If everyone chooses McDonalds, the haggis will disappear. Freedom of choice is bottom-up dynamic, can a bottom-down legislation prevent us of a fast-food generation? Reaching out for Kant and his Categorical imperative "Always act so that you may also wish that the maxim of your action become a universal law."[546], leaves back to education and motivation fort citizens themselves wants to be heritage protector and cultural identity preservers, not by law, but by awareness, by their own choice. Culture has to be present in education for a sustainable society.

To build a European identity the common past cannot become the only tool to fortify it: "(…) After all, it was the culture of our continent, that was centuries in the making, which shaped European identity, and continues to do so today. This culture also encourages the recognition of our common heritage and civilisation, as noted by John Paul II during a speech before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe."[547]

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[542] Jacoby, Wade and Sophie Meunier (2010), *Europe and the management of globalization*, Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford, Routledge, p. 300.

[543] Jacoby, Wade and Sophie Meunier (2010), *Europe and the management of globalization*, Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford, Routledge, p. 300.

[544] Jacoby, Wade and Sophie Meunier (2010), *Europe and the management of globalization*, Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford: Routledge, p. 306.

[545] Melo, Alexandre (2002), *Capitulo 2. Dimensões culturais da globalização*, Globalização Cultural, Lisboa, Quimera, p. 42.

[546] *KANT AND CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE,* https://www.the-philosophy.com/kant-categorical-imperative, accessed on 13/07/2018.

[547] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

This subject will be taken into account again in the next chapter based on the interpretation of concern present in the Polish MEPs' speeches, and it is going to be related to a new approach of cultural mechanism that could not only protect regional traditions but also reinvent new ones with the purpose of strengthening European cultural identity. It cannot be put aside that our common history was not always and only a friendly one. Its natural that animosities and suspicions are part of this heritage.

2.8   Defining the contribution by the political parties

The final point of this chapter is about the political parties that have contributed the most to the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, as far as they were recorded in the minutes.[548]

During this two years of its preparation, the political party that intervened more often was the PPE (European People's Party–European Democrats) with 36 interventions; it must be bear in mind that the rapporteur Vasco Graça Moura was from this party, and his intervention was already mentioned several times in this study. His colleague Erna Hennicot-Schoepges (PPE-DE), on 31 May 2006, stresses the importance of cultural education and the importance of cooperation with other cultural institutions like UNESCO[549] but also criticizes the lack of financing for communication of the cultural events perpetuated by the EU. She also describes the importance of having an intercultural dialogue within the European Parliament about the recognition of the variety of religious beliefs existing in the EU: "(…) Religions and their rejection are a key factor in the process of social identification, integration and exclusion. I would emphasise, with the support of my colleagues, the importance of this aspect of intercultural dialogue in the broader sense. (…)"[550]

This group is followed by the VERTS/ALE (Group of the Greens–European Free Alliance) with 10 interventions, like the statement by Nelly Maes, on 13 January 2004, sharing her

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[548] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[549] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[550] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

concern regarding the disappearance of different languages and warning that this will put cultural diversity in the EU in jeopardy. "(…) We should, however, be aware that the market will not rescue diversity. This is why we need instruments and resources to retain diversity, as well as opportunities of establishing this retention of cultural identity. Despite this, languages and cultures are disappearing very fast, and I am therefore delighted with the emphasis you have placed on this principle that should lead us, also for example in the contacts with the developing countries.(…)". However, she also stresses that she believes that the politics of protecting different languages corresponds to the need in the programme of protecting cultural heritage: "(…)I am convinced that each community should have the opportunity of safeguarding its own culture against oppression, for example from language imperialism. Respect for languages is one of the major assets in the enlargement of Europe, one that we have already had the pleasure of experiencing among ourselves. (…)" [551]

Further on in the debates another concern will be expressed about the representation of a single language as a neutral instrument that could prevent the hegemony of a specific European language over regional and national ones. The Esperanto language will be addressed.

The ALDE (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe) followed with 5 interventions, as for example the point of Claire Gibault, on 24 October 2005, in which she underlines the role of UNESCO as an important institution in the preservation of European culture but also the low budget that the Commission presented for the programme: "(…) I deplore the fact that culture should still be considered by the Commission as a luxury, secondary to the most crucial requirements. Is it really the case that culture is nothing but a luxury and that it is only secondary to the most crucial requirements? (…) Violence exists; it is aimed at destroying culture. One form of violence is to argue that culture is pointless. I am therefore profoundly shocked by the meagre sum in the budget package allocated to culture. (…)"[552] The violence that she describes could be related to the logic shared by Damasio in 2006 at the UNESCO convention, in which he states that without culture, the human being becomes a being without social skills, and this could destroy an whole society because culture makes us better citizens around the world.

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[551] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[552] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

The GUE/NGL (European United Left–Nordic Green Left) made 3 interventions, for example the statement by Markov on 22 February 2005, who added that the European Capitals of Culture are a valuable asset for the development of tourism in smaller cities; he further addressed the issue of the selection of the cities, stating that only two cities for each country should be nominated or else the number it would be too high: "(…) What we do need, though, is identical preselection criteria in the Member States and in the European Union, meaning that the jury would have to work according to the same criteria. I think this is extremely important and I therefore think we should pursue this idea. The title 'European Capital of Culture' is one that really is tremendously important for many cities."[553]

The last party of this list that made their statement was the NI (Non-Inscrits) party, with 3 interventions, such as the one by Marco Cappato on 13 January 2004, (in 2007 he attached himself to the political party Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe). He criticized the report made by the MEP Christa Prets on the subject of "cultural diversity" that was hailed by the MEP and commissioner Viviane Reding.[554] His critical position comes from the reflection that liberalization is the enemy of culture. He introduced an interesting subject for discussion: he describes the fascist and oppressing regimes, the enemies of regional cultural diversity, comparing their actions to the genocide perpetuated by China in its regions. According to him, culture should be based on a set of rules that do not prevent freedom of expression and speech. In this argument there is a proposal to revive the Esperanto language (Esperanto is a constructed language made up of different European ones, created by Dr Ludwik Lejzer Zamenho) as a way of developing a common form of communication between member states in the EU institutions without harming the cultural linguistic variety; this would, according to this MEP, preserve the distinct languages present in the European Union: "(…) In the explanation of vote we, the radical Members, will refer to our proposals on the Monitoring centre for linguistic policies to promote the international language Esperanto, for the right to free and non-discriminatory international communication, to preserve and maintain linguistic

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[553] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.
[554] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

diversity."[555] There was no direct response from the European Commission and other members of the European Parliament to his arguments and proposal. But in a country in which several different languages encounter a common space, the creation of a new and single language would perhaps create another important feeling of linguistic cultural identity in the EU. On the other hand, as referred to by Eric Hobsbawm, the English language has transformed itself in an English-Esperanto, dominating the other languages in the European space as a vehicle of common understanding.[556] Achim Trunk puts this into question because his concern is: how far will the spreading of the English language destroy the language diversity as a cultural heritage of Europe?[557] Only time will tell.

Viviane Reding, European Commissioner from Luxembourg (a country with three different official languages: German, French and Luxembourgish), underlines the cultural complexity of regions that speak several different languages and the need of, instead of teaching an artificial language (Esperanto) to children, teaching several ones to preserve the language diversity already existing in the EU: " (…) That Treaty prevents the Commission from proposing any instrument for harmonisation, preservation of diversity or pluralism in the media.(…)". She has a critical position towards the Maastricht Treaty because it is not able to support the language diversity existing in the EU and hopes that the Lisbon Treaty will introduce a new approach to this subject: "(…) It is concerned not only with dancing and the arts, but also – and above all – with language, minorities, the cinema and pluralism of expression, in other words the media and audiovisual technology. (…)"[558] Her opinion contradicts the view of Marco Cappato and its defends to promote the Esperanto language.

The main subjects that can to be summarized are education, the respect for cultural diversity, language, the importance of culture sustaining society and the concern of a homogenisation. The ambiguity about Europeanization of culture, is transversal across the member states and frequently refer to during the building of the cultural programme. They agreed about the existence of a common heritage and tradition that needs to be preserved and

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[555] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[556] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 12.

[557] Trunk, Achim (2010), *Eine Sprache für Europa, zwei oder viele?* in Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 210.

[558] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

highlighted, in order to create a stronger European identity. The amount of money that had been offered by the European Commission for the cultural projects is still criticized by the majority as insufficient to fulfil the ambitions of the programme. Regarding the different languages of the EU, importance was given to its teaching in order to provide skills to the younger generation to feel free to be mobile and to better understand other cultures and the diversity in the world. The concerns about the homogenization of European culture was addressed by the Commission by introducing two tools: the principle of subsidiarity (that guaranties sovereignty of the member states), and the protection of cultural heritage.

The European citizen tends to trust their national governments more than the EU policymakers.[559] To change this situation the EU has to overcome major obstacles, from their bureaucratic perspective to the democratic system that is not clear and close enough to its citizens. The European Parliament is, by nature, the institution that is closest to the European citizen: it is the only one that is elected by a direct vote of the citizens of the EU. But even if it is part of keeping the track when it comes to decision-making or defining goals, even if its powers has increased in the Lisbon Treaty, it still is far away from being the "gear" to initiate and to give velocity to the complex European "motor". Their concerns and proposals should have a major impact in the decision-making and formulating of new programmes, not only to serve as an instance to approve programmes but to be more active to propose and to develop themselves.

It is easier and more immediate to keep track on the performance of national governments than the access of the EU Parliament. National or even regional issues have a direct impact on daily life of the citizens, they are aware of what they main gain or loss by the measures and decision taken by political actors. Even if the MEPs are elected directly by the European citizens, their decision-making are less visible in the impact of their day-to-day life. It is not clear where and how the European electorate is able to follow the decision-making and discourses of the MEPs elected by them.

2.9   Conclusion

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[559] Jacoby, Wade and Sophie Meunier (2010), *Europe and the management of globalization*, Journal of European Public Policy, Oxford, Routledge, p. 302.

According to Lucien Febvre, European civilization appeared when the Roman Empire fell and he refers to the idea of European solidarity: a solidarity that exists between different peoples that carry out a complicated and continuous relationship. This solidarity is expressed by the institutions that they have in common, such as the embassies, the heads of states and treaties. It is a solidarity that does not always fulfil its duty within the big picture that is Europe.[560] Even in this moments when solidarity becomes hollow, there is an evolution of a European way of life in which solidarity has its definitive place in society. Culture has the responsibility to consolidate this feeling, and decision-maker in EU need to follow the wish of the Europeans and consolidate politically true solidarity between all members states.

Solidarity is one of the values of the EU, profoundly anchored in the concept of culture and its diverse interpretations and influences in the arts, society and politics. This was the subject of this present chapter: to contextualize culture in its wider sense, as well as the search for a frame for it, regarding political decision-making in the EU through treaties and culture programmes, the discussion about it, the concerns and pretended achievements, the criteria for the selection of the projects that were beneficiaries of the funding and some of its impacts.

The political view and support towards culture and theatre was analysed among the representatives at the negotiation of the cultural programme, by looking into the speeches made in the European Parliament and the working groups (Council of Ministers of Culture and Coreper I), and the discussion among those responsible for the creation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. During that process, there was an ongoing reflexion and reinterpretation of the needs and requests represented by the participants, and its concern to find an adequate budget for in cultural investment.

Culture is a complex concept, with different definitions presented by multiple disciplines. To develop a proper approach to this subject it started with the broadest origin of the word itself and a sociological view by Philip Smith and Alexander Riley. It was pertinent to invoke the view of two very respected contemporary European philosophers, Umberto Eco and Theodor Adorno, and a more political perspective from the former Portuguese Member of the European Parliament Vasco Graça Moura, responsible for the process of decision-making in the context

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[560] Febvre, Lucien (2001) [1999], *A Europa Génese de uma Civilização*, Lisboa, Editorial Teorema, p. 48.

of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013. Finally, there was a focus on the definition of culture presented by the European Union; the study was based on EU values.

If European culture is regarded as high culture, Adorno would agree and represent it as something unique and precious. On the one hand, this limitation gives access only to a specific social stratum. In order to give access to culture to a broader public it has to be democratized as supported by the MEP Vasco Graça Moura. With the other hand there might be a risk for European culture becoming just a another "product from the fast-food industries" and European identity might become something even more undefined. The force of globalization is transforming society into something more egalitarian, and if building a stronger and more united Europe is important, more people need to have access to it and to be included among the "elites". According to Erika Fischer-Lichte, director of the International Research Centre "Interweaving Performance Cultures" at Freie Universität Berlin, the change in collective European identity in European culture is not created and preserved by theatre but in individual works of art; the new European man needs to be redefined or else he will lose his trace.[561]

Graça Moura underlines that activities connected to history and culture have the growing support of the markets and that provides an advantage for preserving heritage and fortifying the sense of belonging and cultural values that are timeless. The European cultural creations, most of the time, had a close relationship with political and economic power.

In these three perspectives it maybe concluded that for success and continuity of cultural activities, it has to enter into the market. However, their sustain cannot rely upon the free market, for an artist has to find the ideal balance between financial survival and artistic freedom. Success and popularity should not be measured only based on financing by big corporations; the public also has the power to support and to decide which artistic venue corresponds more to their expectations and needs. The stratification of the society will ultimately be decisive in what kind culture will survive. Although unifying moments in cultural history exists: When the Beatles gave a concert in the presents of the Royalty including the Queen Mother, John Lennon addressed to the public: "For our last number, I'll like to ask you help. Will the people in the cheaper seats clap your hands? And for the rest of you, if you will just rattle your jewellery."[562]

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[561] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 7.
[562] REVISITING THE BEATLES' 'RATTLE YOUR JEWELRY' CONCERT, https://ultimateclassicrock.com/the-beatles-play-rattle-your-jewelry-concert/ , accessed on 05/07/2020.

Castells defined culture as being a collectiveness of beliefs and values that form the behaviour of the human being; the repetition of this behaviour develops traditions that impose themselves on the institutions and informal social organizations.[563] Culture differs from ideology, psychology and from individual representation in society.[564] It is a collective manifestation that transcends individual preferences, and influences others activities that are part of this culture,[565] and this has to be taken into account when thinking about the development of a cultural programme.

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 has evaluated the impact that it has in European society, and the lasting effect of these cultural events promoted by this programme is one of the its main goals. These effects have the possibility of creating a bigger cultural dimension in the European cultural geography. Rifkin adds an interesting perspective, namely that the European economy forgets that culture has never been an extension of either the market or the governing powers but, on the contrary, governments and markets are based on the culture in which they are built.[566] The mechanism that operates in the EU economy are also based on cultural factors. Such as the concept of sustainability and the shared currency in most of the member states.

In the case of the European Cultural Programme 2007–2013, access to funding is conditional on following the criteria proposed by the EU; the selection goes towards cultural operators, including cultural enterprises and cooperation projects, promotional activities and research in all cultural sectors except the audio-visual sector, for which there is a separate programme (MEDIA).[567]The countries that are eligible for the programme are EU members states, EEA countries (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway) and countries that in this time frame of 2004–2013 were applying to become an EU member (Croatia, Turkey, the North Macedonia and Serbia).[568]

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[563] Castells, Manuel (2001), *A Galáxia Internet: reflexões sobre Internet, Negócios e Sociedade*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 2ª edition, p. 55.

[564] Castells, Manuel (2001), *A Galáxia Internet: reflexões sobre Internet, Negócios e Sociedade*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 2ª edition, p. 55.

[565] Castells, Manuel (2001), *A Galáxia Internet: reflexões sobre Internet, Negócios e Sociedade*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 2ª edition, p. 55.

[566] Rifkin, Jeremy (2004), *The European Dream*, New York: Penguin Group, p. 236.

[567] *Culture in Motion The Cultural Programme 2007-2013* (2009), Luxembourg, Office for Official publications of the European Communities, p. 5.

[568] *Culture in Motion The Cultural Programme 2007-2013* (2009), Luxembourg, Office for Official publications of the European Communities, p. 5.

The Maastricht Treaty in 1992 launched individual programmes such as KALEIDOSCOPE for cultural cooperation, RAPHAEL for cultural heritage, and ARIANE for publishing and reading. These programmes were founded in 1996 by the European Union.[569] They became a platform for the formulation of the programme Culture 2000, in which they were joined into one. The Culture 2000 programme has more complex ramifications by agglomerating these three programmes, but it had less financial support than its successor. It became the basis for the creation of the Cultural Programme studied more profoundly in this chapter.

The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 was the first programme with a whole set of directives that helped to develop a path for the creative industries and small non-profit organizations. It gave guidelines to an EU more aware of the potential of culture to achieve intercultural dialogue. The Creative Europe Programme was a result of improvement developed over the previous programme. The performing arts are clearly one of the most popular creative instrument, where we can find that theatre has a strong presence and importance as seen in the evaluation of EU[570] and as pointed out in the official journal of the European Council.[571]

The structure of this Cultural Programme is based upon three strands. These strands corresponds to different categories that the artistic projects are able to apply for: cooperation projects (which correspond to strands 1.1, 1.2.1 and 1.3.1), literary translations (Strand 1.2.2), organizations active at a European level (Strand 2), special actions (strands 1.3.2, 1.3.3 and 1.3.4), and support for analysis and dissemination activities (Strand 3). The available budget of 400 million euros was differently distributed between the different strands and operational costs such as supervision and regulation of the programme. The cooperation projects are the most successful ones in fulfilling the expectation of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, which includes the performing arts, such as theatre. The conclusion from this is that it is a successful mechanism; language in theatre is crucial – if there is no understanding of the original language of the plays, theatre is able to introduce original tools to develop its understanding, visually and through other art forms such as music and plastic arts.

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[569] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomatico, p. 34.
[570] 2007, *European Cultural Values*, pdf., p. 8 http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf, accessed on 04/07/18.
[571] Official Journal of the European Union C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.

Analysing the debates it turns out that the main concerns that were voiced in the process of building the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 were linked to the budget being considered still too small to reach the ambitious goals of the programme along with the lack of support for smaller projects, the inclusion of the new member states that joined the European Union in 2004, and the difficult balance between the homogenization into one European cultural identity while preserving the country's national identity - a complexity not yet resolved by the protection of regional heritage and traditions. Following Wolfgang Schmale's analysis, EU society must accept that culture is "hybrid" or else it will be difficult to handle its daily life. The "us" is relative like in science, and in society there are still barriers for such an attitude towards an intercultural dialogue; there has to be the political will to change social attitudes to accept the cultural "hybridism" in the EU community. [572] This means also following Alexandre Melo's thought that the notion of identity as heritage, essence or roots have to be on favour of a new experience in which identity becomes a process, a translation and negotiation.[573] This represents the core of the European identity, but to turn it into something more substantiable the cultural factor is crucial. Culture builds upon a creative negotiation by presenting different perspectives, way of life, and emotions that clings a wider society together.

Nowadays the arrival of refugees from war zones and the increase in economic emigrants has led to some difficulties regarding their integration into European society. This situation has promoted new right-wing movements in Europe. The challenge for the European cultural programmes to achieve the objective of a tolerant and equal Europe has increased and found new targets. On the other hand, according to Peter A. Hall, this kind of immigration offers a solution for the problem of the ageing population in Europe; it is expected that the old age ratio in the EU will double in 2080; that will mean that there will only be two people of working age for each person over 65 years.[574]

Cultural hybridism should be addressed in school as a political priority. This plural identity is also represented by Europe's linguistic diversity, which creates a group of individuals capable

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[572] Schmale, Wolfgang (2010), *Europa und das Paradigma der Einheit*, in Wienand, Johannes and Christianne Wienand, *Die Kulturelle integration Europas*, VS Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, p. 117.

[573] Melo, Alexandre (2002), *Capitulo 2. Dimensões culturais da globalização*, Globalização Cultural, Lisboa, Quimera, p. 52.

[574] Hall, Peter A. (2015), *The European Crisis and the future of European Integration* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 47.

of challenging the bilingualism of global English[575] or, as already referred to in this chapter, the so called "Esperanto English". National cultural diversity is the only antidote to the banality of evil according to Kristeva, reinforcing her concern by stating that a federal Europe could be proposed as a solution in the search for a global balance.[576] This would also strengthen the global player that Europe should attempt to be in more ambitious ways, with its values of diplomacy and soft power. It could become a beacon of light in what is regarded by its values, of freedom, solidarity, equality and humanism. It is as well an important cooperation partner with other countries outside its borders in terms of economy, sustainability and culturally.

It has become clear in the European Parliament debates that the importance of introducing European culture into the state school system across the community is crucial to create a sense of belonging close to a European cultural identity. Without this implementation it will be difficult to integrate European culture into society. Measures have to be taken to avoid access only to an elite (such as other artists, intellectuals and the middle classes). Not all families are prepared to teach European culture, so this must be delivered by the school.

It is also noteworthy that the school system, the financing plan and cultural diversity are the main concern of the EP. The budget was increased in the future cultural programme Creative Europe, but the support for European cultural access for state schools and the involvement of the parents, remains a complicated subject and has not been addressed yet. This presents a difficulty for introducing real reform to the European approach to culture and for delivering a more ambitious plan for the next steps towards the investment in European culture.

In this chapter it has become obvious that cultural projects have a big scope, touching the life of European citizens, but not always in equal terms and accessibility at all levels. That is why the European Capitals of Culture have the function of connecting with a large part of the public, but this must have a long-lasting footprint or else it will be only something temporary and cannot promote a change in perception, on the part of the public, towards the cultural diversity existing in the European Union. Heritage and contemporary representation serve as a mutual source of inspiration and influences, as the EU is built on a mutual historical and political memory; its heritage gains a special place to be protected and invested in in the cultural

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[575] Kristeva, Julia (s.a), *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 330.
[576] Kristeva, Julia (s.a), *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 330.

programmes, such as the different representation of it by contemporary arts, for example, the reinterpretations of the British playwright William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and the German classical composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791).

In 1996 the British Arts Council stated the following:

> "For five hundred years, drama has been at the heart of England's creative life (…) England is rightly regarded as a world centre for drama and its plays are exported throughout the world (…) Just as German culture has found its highest expression in its musical tradition-or the Italian renaissance in its visual arts (…)".[577]

European cultural manifestations are presented and admired around the world, but on the other hand, Europe is also seen as a cultural museum, old fashioned and static in time. The representation and conservation of the past is a characteristic of European identity, while the future projects are complex and need to be constantly redefined and in short term. According to T. Almeida, this future could be built upon the relation that the EU has with its past, linking the amnesic reason from Habermas for EU existence, with the idea that with the common past the EU should built on it its future.[578] On the other hand he also argues that Europe should not only dwell in the common past but develop a common future.[579] Maybe a Federal one, but that step, during this period, was already put into prospective but was refused, putting major change in the European Union politics into a halt. Still, T. Almeida's thought provides a positive aspect, in which Europe constructs an identity not only with the qualities of each member state as already mentioned in this chapter, but fortifies it with its common historic past and the prospects of a common future, a future that has clear guidelines and less bureaucratic barriers to resolving problems in periods of crises and is able to strive in moments of prosperity.

The democratization of culture is still a controversial subject. It needs economic reasons to survive and that to create new publics, so the arts will never be seen only as an asset but as an important part of the daily life of the European people. By reaching out to public schools, where most of the European population and people of other ethnicities are, it could be become a vehicle to become more inclusive and integrated society. This would permit as well the exchange of cultural influences from other backgrounds in order to promote a more tolerant, just and peaceful society. According to Ulrich Beck, without the values of freedom and

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[577] Arts Council (1996) quoted by Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 5.

[578] Almeida, Onésimo, T. (2013), *O despertar do Iluminismo ou a condenação da Modernidade como única saída* in *Repensar a Europa*, Lisboa, Gradiva Edições S.A, p. 81.

[579] Almeida, Onésimo, T.(2013), *O despertar do Iluminismo ou a condenação da Modernidade como única saída* in *Repensar a Europa*, Lisboa, Gradiva Edições S.A, p.81.

democracy, without its cultural traditions and dignity, Europe is nothing.[580] Culture and universal values are the pillars that differentiate the EU from other countries. If they are despised, then the EU project is worthless, and the economy cannot sustain this political agreement of peace alone.

Hanna Arendt advises artists to mistrust politics even though their artwork belongs to the public realm.[581] She identifies a "conflict between art and politics" which "cannot and must not be solved".[582] This could signify that the building of this cultural programme by elements of the European political sphere would make it impossible to see it as a trustworthy and democratic instrument without the suspicion of political interference. As a theatre director myself I argue that on the one hand, theatre has the liberty to choose its own philosophy and political orientation, preventing to be lobbied by outsiders. It is dangerous to entrust this responsibility of political engagement only to politicians and the political machinery. This is a question that could be open to debate in a further paper. It also means that politics and art will have dual relationship, art needs to abstain from politics, by introducing a world of escapism and wonder to the audience, but it has also to be critical and attentive towards politics, or else the democracies of the countries are in danger and open to manipulation.

Art can have various responsibilities and function, and none should be classified as more important than the other. Political theatre should not be only be accessible to the intellectual elite as the more commercial form of art should not be discredited due to its value of democratizing the access to culture by a broader audience. Both sides are valid and important; the only thing that needs to be underlined is quality and access to everybody; once again the development of new publics is required.

According to Janelle Reinelt, "In European nations today, citizens may have such aspirations for a cultural identity in relation to other nations. (…) citizens take pride – or at least partisan interest – in their cultural identity. If this popular sentiment can be exploited to invigorate a re-examination of national identity in relationship to the global context without creating a new chauvinism (…)".[583] This argument by Janelle Reinelt is linked to the proposal

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[580] Beck, Ulrich (2013), *German Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p. 21.
[581] Arendt, Hanna quoted by Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 213.
[582] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 214.
[583] Reinelt, Janelle *et.al* (2008), *The Role of National Theatres in an Age of Globalization* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 234.

by Michael Coveney that in some European countries, such as England, Scotland and Ireland, the performing arts are attempting to raise their voice of civic responsibility on behalf of the audience without creating an aggressive patriotism and while celebrating cultural diversity.[584] National identity when it is presented without aggressivity has a better ability to accept a dual identity, such as an European one. This could create a healthy balance of unity in diversity in the European Union, without the fear of losing traditional or regional values and while respecting new cultures. This could also be further explored in cultural events such as Art festivals across Europe.

The next chapter will focus on the representation and analysis of the theatrical artistic projects that were supported by the European budget of the CP. It will present their importance in representing European values and their significance in the European political sphere. With that chapter theatres will be introduced as democratic instruments and as a way of creating new narratives for the European Union. It is crucial to build new publics and a new and stronger European Union.

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[584] Coveney, Michael *et.al* (2008), *The National Theatre and Civic Responsibility in the British Isle* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 186.

3.   *Homo Europaeus*: an Epic journey

3.1   Contextualization

> "Recognizing that the performing arts, including the theatre, are one of the most important expressions of the cultural life and democratic development of our societies and illustrate the fact that culture is a permanent exchange between those who create, and therefore their works, and men and women who feel the need for cultural experience transcending the logic of daily life (…)"[585] (EU ministers for culture, 1991)

This statement can be found in the *Official Journal of the European Union* in 1991. It was pronounced in a Council meeting with the agenda to work on the preparation for the opening of the free market in 1993, it was to ensure the rights of the artists and producers in the Community and to protect cultural identities in all its diversity. They decided that interference of the European Community was limited in issues that affects the establishment or the functioning of the common market.[586] In this time frame the Maastricht Treaty, launched in 1992, was prepared: as already mentioned in chapter 2, this treaty proposed for the first time consistent European cultural programme was presented.

The quotation above became an inspiration and an incentive point for this dissertation. It describes the value of theatre as a vital element in the democratic development of society and hence the importance of cultural exchange, recognising the artists responsibility for those cultural events. In this chapter, the importance of extending those experiences further into the wider non-artistic public will be addressed. If there is the need to democratize art and to use it as a democratic tool, it cannot focus only on an elite group. The Cultural Programme 2007–2013 by started to transcend these frontiers by supporting theatre projects that required direct participation of the public, giving the public their own voice. Furthermore, in this chapter, will be presented the impediments that still need to be removed in order to create an European cultural identity that touches every European citizen and builds a stronger unity between the member states.

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[585] *Official Journal of the European Union* C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.
[586] *Official Journal of the European Union* C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.

This chapter will present arguments about the relevance that theatre has had in European culture, political decision and society. This will be started with an historical contextualization.

In order to build the argumentation, there will be firstly a historic contextualization of the origins of European theatre, its firsts goals and how it was seen in society. This path will continue to be described until today's relevance of theatre. Further on, will be discussed the view of Umberto Eco on theatre and its impact on society. Additionally, will be explored the idea of a theatrical public sphere by Christopher Balme, Chair in Theatre Studies at the University of Munich: he bases his theory upon Jürgen Habermas's *public sphere* combining it with a theatrical perspective – therefore, *theatrical public sphere*. This process will develop a comparison with today's political characteristics presented in the political discourse of the European Parliament as a theatrical representation. The choice of projects during the CP, is based first of all on their boldness, like the choice of performance space or subjects related to European values and a critical observation will focus upon their achievement when it comes to the CP intentions.

3.1.1 Theatre's Historic roots

"Drama…an imitation of action, not the thing itself." (Aristotle, 384–322 BC)[587]

Theatre first was represented by storytelling. There are no testimony on how it began but it was certainly present in Humans before spoken language itself: it can be imagined trough body language, mimic and sounds to transfer experiences and feelings about a specific situation. The intention may have been to transmit knowledge, to educate or to create social stratification. As well Theatre is part of cultural traditions in Europe, so the importance for its historical contextualization.

Its representation appeared in religious rites and played a significant part in the transfer of tradition. It was as a spoken oration as part of a religious ceremony, such as a group of priest chanting or speaking in chorus. Later it developed into a, persona "character", from the religion

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[587] Aristotle quoted by Neil Fraser (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 7.

itself, encouraging the watcher to worship.[588] As the statement above by Aristotle declared, theatre becomes an imitation of the occurrences that are perpetuated by the action of the elements that build a society.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment, considered the actor to be inauthentic because his ever-changing personality on the stage made him inhuman and not a person: a change of identity can only be experienced and lamented as a falsification of what is authentic, as a loss of identity.[589] Instead of considering identity as something malleable and in constant transformation, Rosseau saw identity as something with consistency. This is reflected in his critic of the old rites promoted by theatrical performance: rites of passages and transformation into a new human being. Based on the concept used in Kristeva article´s title, *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?*[590]*,* mentioned in the previous chapter regarding the search of an European cultural identity, the question imposes: is there a need to promote rites of passage to create the new *Homo Europaeus*? The answer is a centre piece of this thesis.

According to Erika Fischer-Lichte, director of the International Research Centre "Interweaving Performance Cultures" at Freie Universität Berlin, theatre always represented the *conditio humana*, in which identity was represented by the work of the actor in mirroring another identity – there for creation of identity is also a transformation into another self.[591] Could that theatrical reflection of its self-representation represent the cultural EU condition bound to his motto "United in Diversity" in addition with the proliferation of different languages, form the European individual? Wolfgang Schmale already stated this, as quoted in chapter 2, about the hybridism in European cultural identity, and this is clearly represented in the transformation of each actor on stage.

The rites of passage that were carried out through theatrical representation in Ancient Greece described the transition process by which social energies circulated among members of society, and there is a change in the individual's identity, carried out through a performative process. Victor Turner, a British cultural anthropologist best known for his work on symbols

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[588] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 7

[589] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, pp. 2-3.

[590] Kristeva, Julia (s.a) *Homo Europaeus: Does A European Culture Exist?* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 330.

[591] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, pp. 2–3.

and rituals is a specialist on the subject. He creates the term "liminality" as an intrinsic factor for the transgression of boundaries in the rites of passage.[592] The ritual process presented by Turner are organized in three steps. The following analyses focuses each of them in its context within the political, cultural and social milieu of the EU:

1. The separation phase, in which the candidate/person is separated from his or her everyday life and social milieu and distanced from it. → The free movement and the possibilities of the European citizens to cross borders leaving behind their homeland.

2. The transformation phase, in which the candidate/person is brought into a condition that lies between all possible states and which allows him or her to make new and sometimes disturbing experiences and enables him or her to try on or act out different kinds of identity until he or she is ready and prepared to take on a new identity. → New influences, cultural influences and discoveries, and intercultural dialogue by traveling to different member states.

3. The incorporation phase, in which the candidate/person is re-integrated into the community, welcomed and explicitly confirmed in his or her new identity. → The transformation of the European individual when he or she arrives back in his homeland with new experiences.

The ritualistic environment built by theatrical performances was represented and used during the golden age of cultural progression in ancient Greece. These rites of passage have similarities in the creation process of European cultural identity, which is why it is so important in the European cultural programmes and in the development of a sense of European citizenship. Theatre becomes an unconscious part of European identity development and a European way of life.

During that golden age, Aristoteles wrote the first theatrical study to explained how to create a great theatrical play based on the rules of tragedy, epic theatre and comedy. In this literary work Aristoteles's *Poetics* he put an emphasis on ritualistic influences of passage and transformation represented by the chorus, always present during such epic tragedies. The birth of theatre was also described as an unique cultural form present in Europe History, as the

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[592] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, pp. 2–3.

Council of Ministers of the EU referred to: "(…) whereas the theatre, which originated in Europe, is emblematic of the European area of the performing arts."[593]

Aristoteles's *Poetics* is divided into two books: the first is on tragedy and epic and the second on comedy:

> "I propose to treat of Poetry in itself and of its various kinds, noting the essential quality of each; to inquire into the structure of the plot as requisite to a good poem; into the number and nature of the parts of which a poem is composed; and similarly into whatever else falls within the same inquiry.(…)"[594] (Aristotle 384–322 BC)

Tragedy is considered by Aristotle as being superior to epic theatre and comedy. The *mimesis* (imitative representation of the real world in art and literature) of tragedy is represented in a dramatic form in actions (emotional interpretation). This interpretation serves to arouse the emotions of pity and fear and to effect a *katharsis* (catharsis) of these emotions.[595] The *mimesis* of epic poetry is told in a narrative form in verse without emotional interpretation and is just the description of the action itself.[596] Comedy is considered even "lower" than tragedy and epic theatre by Aristotle for it represents grotesque and surreal human behaviour, through aberrations, exaggeration and sometimes even provocative interpretations with phallic symbols: comic poets, being the imitators of inferior action, should create something that is not serious and without *pathos*. The absence of *pathos* is also a characteristic that distinguishes the comic plot from the tragic.[597] More than two thousand years later another major thinker Goethe, still reflects upon this confrontation: as seen in the debate between the three characters in the Prelude of Faust (see chapter two) and even today the search for the definition upon what is cultural quality or the so called high culture and low culture, is still an everlasting journey.

Returning to the period of Ancient Greece. During his study, Aristoteles used the tragedy *Oedipus Rex* written by Sophocles (496–406 BC)[598] as an example of theatrical perfection:

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[593]Official Journal of the European Union C 300 E/157 22.10.02, p. 157.

[594]*ARISTOTLE'S POETICS*, https://community.dur.ac.uk/m.p._thompson/poetics.htm, accessed on 30/04/2019.

[595] *POETICS SUMMARY by Aristotle*, https://www.sparknotes.com/philosophy/poetics/summary/, accessed on 08/09/2019.

[596] *POETICS SUMMARY by Aristotle,* https://www.sparknotes.com/philosophy/poetics/section10/, accessed on 30/04/2019.

[597] Kitano, Masahiro (2001), *Aristotle's Theory of Comedy*, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1f8f/18187a8f993451b38165aab239acd498c1f8.pdf, accessed on 01/05/2019.

[598] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 14.

"Speak it to all;

The grief I bear, I bear it more for these

Than for my own heart"[599] (*Oedipus Rex,* 93-4)

Oedipus Rex is the story about a prophecy placed on King Laius: it was foreseen that his new born son Oedipus once an adult would kill him. So, Oedipus is sent out to die, but he survives and is adopted by the King of Corinth, Polybus. Growing up, Oedipus is told that he is going to kill his father; he thinks it is Polybus, so he leaves Corinth to try to prevent this tragedy and travels to Thebes, where unknowingly he kills his real father. Oedipus also kills the Sphinx that was haunting the city and becomes a hero. He then marries the Queen Jocasta fathering two children and not knowing that she is his real mother. Thebes fails to prosper, and when Oedipus tries to find out the reason, the truth is revealed to him. As a result of the revelation of their true relation, Jocasta hangs herself and Oedipus blinds himself, wandering forever in exile.[600] Aristotle stated in his *Poetics* that imitation had been an instinct of men since the earliest days; man learns his earliest lessons by imitation.[601] According to Ismet Tekerek, from the Aegean University, since ancient times, the intimate confront between humans, ethics, individual will and freedom has been the core of ancient Greek tragedies and this is reflected in the actions of the tragic hero and naturally in his character.[602]

Theatre had already developed a major role in society from its beginning by representing plots in which heroes were regarded as examples to follow if their deeds were heroic, even if their choice led to tragedy. They represent what men needed to avoid or else they would suffer a similar tragic end. Social ethics, values and rules were presented in these tragedies, and by imitating those behaviours a society was able to guide itself. Looking to modern time, it is possible to relate the humanistic values of the tragic hero and individualization to the EU values of freedom and ethics as described by Kant.

According to Max Hermann, pioneer in German theatre studies, theatre is something achieved by its audience and the theatre production team, and the performing action

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[599] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 20.
[600] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 15.
[601] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 26.
[602] Tekerek, Ismet (s.a)*, Connection Between Ethics and Poetics in Aristoteles*, Journal of Arts and Humanities, ISSN 2167-9045.

differentiates it from literature and fine arts.[603] In the Greek period as well as nowadays during this process, the public is given the power to turn each show into a unique experience. It could fail and it could also be a success without changing the story or the production team; it depends on the characteristics and acceptance by each audience in the different shows.

Since theatre is a social institution, realized in the organization of public performances, its effects are guaranteed as long as its criticism and new alternatives of representation are not neutralized by censors.[604] These censors exist since the earlier times until our time. The term censorship, had its origin in ancient Rome *censeo* (evaluation, classification).[605] The goal of the selected senators for this job was to supervise the moral and social conduct of the citizens and to protect the interest of the *res publica*.[606] Later in the Middle Ages the Church protocolled censorship trough the inquisition, a terrifying and powerful European network that lasted over more than five centuries. At that period the English monarchy, introduced the figure of the Lord Chamberlain whose office included screening of cultural activities. During National socialism in Germany this system of control and censorship in everything that was not conform with the regime was perfected, as is was in other political dictatorships (left or right) through their special forces to prevent anything that could upset the *status quo* imposed. Theatre was always one of the preferred targets.

In the Middle Ages Greek and Roman theatre was forgotten, and new kind of performing arts in medieval times emerged. It was the period in European culture when the influence of Greek and Roman culture fused with the influence of Catholic and Protestants religious values.

During the Middle Ages the "official" theatrical reinvention had its expression as a dramatic art both in religious and secular performances. The texts followed biblical inspirations and were mainly spoken in Latin.[607] The oldest preserved document refers to the liturgy of the

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[603] Herman, Max (1918), *Vossische Zeitung: Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, 18 July 1918, http://zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/index.php?id=dfg-viewer&set%5Bimage%5D=2&set%5Bzoom%5D=max&set%5Bdebug%5D=0&set%5Bdouble%5D=0&set%5Bmets%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fcontent.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de%2Fzefys%2FSNP27112366-19180718-0-0-0-0.xml, accessed on 25/03/2020.
[604] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 5.
[605] Lívio, Tito quoted by Pereira, Virginia Soares (s.a), *O poder da palavra e da censura em Roma*, Universidade do Minho, p.1.
[606] Plutarco quoted by Pereira, Virginia Soares (s.a), *O poder da palavra e da censura em Roma*, Universidade do Minho, p.1.
[607] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 33.

Easter mass at the beginning of the 10th century, which recreates the announcement given by the angel to the women who came to anoint the crucified corpse of Jesus at the tomb:[608]

"Quem queritis in sepulchre, o christicolatae?

Jesum Nazarenum cruzifixum, o caelicolae.

Non est, hic, surrexit, sicut praedixerat.

Ite nunciate, quia surrexit" (St Gall, Quem queritis c. 950)

The recorded version of this successful representation of this biblical scene can be found in the *Regularis Concordia* was written by the Bishop of Winchester in the 10th century.[609] The *Regularis Concordia* combined the four biblical events from the Crucifixion to the announcement of the resurrection.[610] Most of the plays were performed inside churches, at the events could also take place in another buildings or outside. In every case they were supervision by the cleric. The Church had a strong influence on their financing and in the distribution of roles of the holy people, that were mostly given to clergymen.

It was only during the 15th century that the city and the guilds took over the financing of the plays and the characters were interpreted by selected citizens.[611] The evolution of religious plays that arose in the 10th century out of purely clerical–liturgical sources however came out of control, frustrating the initial intention of the promoters: more and more the public interpreted for instance the resurrection as mythical and magic, reverting to pagan concepts and costumes the Church had tried so hard to supress. So it was forbidden and suppressed in the 16th by the church as the expression of a dialectical culture which was marked by both Christian and traditional pagan concepts and customs.[612] This points out to the fact that European culture never forgot its pagan roots, which were already present before the introduction of Christianity to the European continent. The Bishop of Metz, Amalerius (c. 780-850), considered that people started to recognize theatrical elements during the mass, and those theatrical gestures would

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[608] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 33.
[609] Nagler, A.M. (1959), *A Source Book in Theatrical History*, New York, Dover Publication, p. 39.
[610] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 33.
[611] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 35.
[612] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 35.

give more truthfulness to the way Jesus spread the word[613]: the sacred "business" became more entertaining.

Medieval theatrical festivals, with an openness to visitors from home and abroad, offered many freedoms which had no place in everyday city life and which were otherwise unacceptable; religious plays developed into an opportunity for people to display a form of piety that was steeped in the belief in magic.[614] This provoked the conservative Catholic Church into banning it: "(…) even if they represent the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, His resurrection or Nativity …, they frequently give scandal to those who are not very firm in our holy Catholic faith, when they see the disorder and excesses of these plays."[615]

The Reformation promoted by Martin Luther (1483–1546), German lecturer in theology and priest, also strongly opposed the performance of such religious plays, justifying this by claiming that they evoked a dangerous false attitude to the Passion of the Lord in the spectators: "(…) And third, they feel empathy for Christ, bewail him and lament him as an innocent man, just like women,…they should lament their own plight and that of their children".[616] According to Fisher-Lichte, the most important argument against the plays was always the "superstition" which they contained and propagated. They feared that "immoral behaviour", could be encouraged.[617]

Still, there were small travelling drama companies that escaped such persecutions. Constantly moving from village to village, they brought news and information from distant places, connecting even isolated population in a broader context. They gave people a chance to a moment of escape from the hard life that they endured and encouraging criticism of the social classes that suppressed them, such as the Church and the feudal structures.

In 1572 an Act of Parliament considered the status of performers that do not have the patronage of a baron or higher rank; they were designated rogues, vagabonds and beggars.[618]

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[613] Carlson, Marvin (1984), *Theories of the Theatre: A historical and critical survey from the Greeks to the Present*, London, Cornell University Press, p. 36.

[614] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 47.

[615] Bishop of Evora, quoted by Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 48.

[616] Martin Luther, quoted by Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 49.

[617] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 47.

[618] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 65.

The ones that wanted to pursue the liberty to speak out and put on plays that were not licensed or controlled were doomed to be poor and seen as outcasts of society.

Theatre was considered a potential menacing place in which liberty of speech and interpretation could transform a whole social system. People were illiterate, and during social critical performance they were able to understand and judge the high hierarchies, and this could put the aristocracy and the Church at risk. Censorship was a mechanism to prevent this and to control the possibilities of social uprisings.

In 1576, during the period of Queen Elisabeth I's reign in England, a new era began for theatre. The first public and commercial theatre became part of English society, when James Burbage built the first permanent professional public theatre in Shoreditch in London.[619] Censorship of dramatic texts before they were put on stage was still the norm; in 1590 a commission was created to control all plays and performances. This process was used initially to control mob violence and to suppress outspoken religious views.[620] The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor of London and the Lord Chamberlain, were placed in control of this process. "Lord Chamberlain", as already mentioned, was the designation of a function in the British aristocratic household, and he continued to have the function of censuring plays until very late, in 1968. The Mayor of London, in his letter from 28 July 1597, still regarded artistic performance as a place of: "contrivers of treason and other idele and dangerous persons to meet together (…) and what further danger may bee occaisioned by broyles plots or they should gett head, your wisdom cann conceive".[621]

In 1592 Henry Chettle (c. 1564–c. 1606), English dramatist and writer of the Elizabethan era, warned that the performances led to craftsmen and common people being drawn away from their labour in other to get some entertainment; thousands of pennies were spent in the theatre box office instead of elsewhere and this affected competition with traders.[622] This represents the power theatre had in those days as a place of escapism at a time when society was segregated, social classes were not permitted to evolve and gain other and better opportunities in life, and equal rights for everyone were still far from being achieved. Only two hundred years later, in the period of the French Revolution, 1789-1799, were those old values overthrown and

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[619] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 50.
[620] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Marlborough, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 65.
[621] Mayor of London quoted by Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 51.
[622] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 51.

changed into *liberté, égalité et fraternité*. It was a period of profound change in European culture, raising the basis of the values supported by the European Union, of freedom, equality and brotherhood, as included in the *Ode to Joy*, the anthem of Europe, written by Friedrich Schiller. During this period, French dramatic skills were influencing English theatre, putting into question the rules and strict norms of theatrical techniques, especially in the writing of the verses.[623]

According to Fischer-Lichte, theatre in that period turned into a projection of the world, because it was able to represent tension between reality and illusion and made the opposition between reality and appearance constitutive and fruitful. The search for identity in the tension between the actor and he role could be thematized, reflected and played out.[624] Such a split identity can be seen in William Shakespeare's play *Henry VI*, in which Richard III presented himself as an actor and king:[625]

> "I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
>
> Deceive ore silly that Ulysses could,
>
> And Like a Sinon, take another Troy.
>
> I can add colours to the chameleon,
>
> Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,
>
> And set the murderous Machiavel to school" (Henry VI, Part 3,III)

Shakespeare is considered a true European playwright. During the staging of his plays outside the United Kingdom, new translations of the texts were created or sometimes replaced by a more physical representation of the characters and the plot. This encouraged local traditions in other European countries to relate to the characters problems and create new ways of representing the plays during a time in which English was an unknown language for the majority of the European public. The audience varied in their social, religious and cultural backgrounds, resulting in new challenges for the first touring of the original plays outside their

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[623] Carlson, Marvin (1984), *Theories of the Theatre: A historical and critical survey from the Greeks to the Present*, London, Cornell University Press, p. 113.

[624] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 54.

[625] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 56.

known circle. The first translation of Shakespeare was influenced by the German and French dialects which were spoken during that time in the 17th century.[626]

Just for curiosity: there were theatre projects supported by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, in which the goal was to go back in time and experience a network of the historic architectural heritage of European theatre buildings from the 17th century onwards. This was developed in 2006 and organized by PERSPECTIVE from Germany, with the project name ERHT – European Route of Historic Theatres:

> "Theatre is everywhere in Europe. It is part of our civilization. But it is a fleeting art: the moment a performance is over, it continues to exist only in the memory of the spectator. Nevertheless, there is one permanent expression of this art: the theatre buildings. Every theatre building tells us something about the time when it was built, the intentions of its builders, the relationship between audience and artists, the cooperation of the artists across all borders and the change of times. Furthermore there is a European aspect to all theatres: the architectural form as we know it today was developed in Italy in the 17th century and subsequently spread all over Europe. The theatre therefore belongs to the very few truly European types of building. To make it as easy for you as possible to experience this very special European cultural heritage, selected historic theatres are being connected up to form a European Route of Historic Theatres. The European Route consists of various part routes, each combining about 10 theatres, offering a pleasant journey of about a week."[627]

This project builds a geographical space of cultural heritage that links theatrical history of the different members states.

The staging of Shakespeare in the 19th century in Europe occurred at the same time as the creation of national identities and modern nation states and was a counter point in its representation towards regional and local politics. The popular acceptance of Shakespeare's performances promoted the first pan-European identity.[628] The 19th century was also the period in which the first European intellectual elite presented the concept of a European culture for the first time, as already referred to in chapter 2.

Still today Shakespeare interferes in the European theatrical identity: from a current American perspective, productions of the English Bard's plays were criticized for assimilating the epic direction based on Berthold Brecht's technique, turning them into a completely

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[626] Mancewicz, Aneta (2016), *Performing Shakespeare in Europe*, Surrey, Literature Compass, pp. 714–716.

[627] Project Perspective, http://www.perspectiv-online.org/pages/en/european-route.php?lang=EN, accessed on 13/05/2020.

[628] Mancewicz, Aneta (2016), *Performing Shakespeare in Europe*, Surrey, Literature Compass, pp. 714–720.

European theatrical experience.[629] Brecht will be explored further in this chapter because of his political influence in 20th-century Europe, a period of two world wars and the aftermath of the Cold War.

In the mid-1750s in Germany, theatre companies still had no access to public theatres, unlike their counterparts in England and France. The companies were forced to struggle along on minimal wages, as socially outcast, "travelling people", and their pleas to perform in opera houses (the only real stages available with all the facilities needed for a play) were constantly rejected. There may be some similarities between theatre as a wandering institution and the wandering of European immigration, the constant seeking of a new place to stay and a new play to stage, once again identity is at stake. As Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), German writer, philosopher, dramatist, publicist and art critic, and representative of the Enlightenment era, stated: "We have no Theatre. We have no actors. We have no audience (…) The French stage exists, at the very least (…) whilst in the German cities, the booths are mocked by everyone.(…)".[630] This period of complete lack of support for the theatrical arts started to change in 1765 when Andreas Bergé, mime artist and impresario, built a theatre in Berlin; further constructions were realized by other private donors in Leipzig, Frankfurt and Mannheim. In 1767 the first national theatre was created in Hamburg.[631]

Foremost it is important to understand the concept of citizenship and what it represents in the relationship that theatre came to build over the centuries with the public. This will be important later on in this chapter when the public theatrical sphere will be addressed regarding the European society and politics. According to David Wiles, theatre historian at the University of Exeter, citizenship is a function, in a geographical space the citizen is part of, and that space can assume different dimensions: the local community, the city, the city-state, the nation and the republic. Of all these, it is the *republic* that has been tied most strongly to the moral ideal of the citizen. While democracy, ruled by the public, was a creation of Athens, the ideal of the republic, which implies ownership of the *res publica* or "public thing", was an invention of Rome.[632] The Roman Empire was too large for democracy, and the senatorial

[629]Mancewicz, Aneta (2016), *Performing Shakespeare in Europe*, Surrey, Literature Compass, p. 718.
[630] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing quoted by Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 146.
[631] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, pp. 150–151.
[632] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 7–8.

class was entrenched in its power. But within the Roman Republic, a space with access for the citizens the face-to-face character and the implemented democratic voting was powerful in symbolic terms, offering at least the moral right to riot when senators forgot that the state belonged to the people.[633] In a more contemporary vision Hanna Arendt, German-born American philosopher and political theorist, argues that whatever freedom exists, it "has always been spatially bounded", as the product of specific human groups.[634] Arendt argues that the *spatial* quality influences public life, so political activities are placed in a public space where citizens encounter each other. Those meetings promotes the exchange of different opinions that develop into a debate in search of a collective solution for their problems.[635] Arendt compares this space with a political sphere in which people share a common experienced world: "(…), these individuals must be able to see and talk to one another in public, to meet in a public-political space, so that their differences as well as their commonalities can emerge and become the subject of democratic debate."[636]

If citizenship and freedom are site-specific, if people depend in their decision and values on space, time and the people that surround them, it is easy to understand why theatre vailed the concept: the theatrical space that exists at a performance, can influence the perception of the message that is transmitted during the show. Site-specific performances use the space in their advantage, transforming it as part of the spectacle; the more traditional stage presentation does not use this approach, differentiating most of the time between public and performance space.

The early 19th century in Europe marked the beginning of an era in which the middle classes turned theatre into one of the most important elements of public life and culture for the first time, with the demise of classical theatre and the great age of middle-class theatre directors: August Wilhelm Iffland (1814) and Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder (1816), as well as Johan Wolfgang Goethe, who retired as the director of the Weimar theatre in 1817.[637]

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[633] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 8.

[634] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 8.

[635] «Hannah Arendt», in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arendt/#CitPubSph , accessed on 20/07/2020.

[636] «Hannah Arendt», *in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arendt/#CitPubSph , accessed on 20/07/2020.

[637] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 201.

Towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, entered the period of the modern expressionism. It represents an artistic revolution in plastic arts and performance, for example in the works of Oskar Schlemmer and the Bauhaus project,[638] and in cinema, for example *Metropolis* by Fritz Lang; this revived and renewed the role of art as an instrument of political activism and reflection. Theatre followed this evolution as J.L Styan stated that "In realism…actors sit about on chairs and talk about the weather, but expressionism they stand on chairs and shout about the world". [639]

All the innovation and dynamic were interrupted by the fascist regimes and World War II, by the profound political instability Europe was merged in. A significant number of European artist and high culture consumers emigrated to the USA because of the persecution they suffered by the fascist regimes that reigned during that period in Europa. This caused an enormous loss for contemporary European arts and enriched on the one hand the artistic venues in the USA: "Accounts still portray the National socialist regime as fundamentally genocidal, its cultural policies fatally politicised, forcing a small but influential segment of its population to leave Germany and creating an actual cultural vacuum that took decades to overcome".[640] On the other hand, in the 1960s and 1970s, American commercial proliferation of its culture through film, fashion and music conquered the European market, and Europe suddenly realized a need to counter the assault of American mass culture and its values, or rather the lack of it, according to Rietbergen.[641] This may explain the arrogant attitude that is sometimes displayed by Europeans towards US culture, a preconception still found in society today. High culture was connotated being European and low or mass culture was described mainly as being from the USA, according to the discussion between Eco and Adorno on this subject in chapter 2.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, in spite of social-economic and political instability, or maybe because of it, political theatre is very active. Its activity between and after the two World Wars exposed the cruel reality of a society that was hungry and

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[638]*Oskar Schlemmer 1921–1929 Bauhaus master*, https://www.bauhaus100.com/the-bauhaus/people/masters-and-teachers/oskar-schlemmer/, accessed on 09/09/2019.

[639] Styan,T.L. (1981), *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 3: Expressionism and Epic Theatre,* Cambridge, Cambridge Press, p. 1.

[640] F. Deshmukh, Marion (2008), *The Visual Arts and Cultural Migration in the 1930s and 1940s: A Literature Review* in *Imagining Germany from Abroad: The View from Britain and the United States (Dec., 2008)*, *Central European History* , Vol. 41, No. 4, p. 583.

[641] Rietbergen, Peter (1998), *Europe: A Cultural History*, London, Routledge, p. 453 (second edition).

demoralized. This kind of performance reflected a time of fighting, fears, reflection and rebirth from the "ashes" left behind by the wars. It questioned human values, attitudes and weakness of its condition. It was a time in which theatre became once again closer to the reality of the public. One of the artists persecuted in Germany was Berthold Brecht (1898-1956).

Before he had to leave Germany in 1933, he revived the Epic theatre historically created in ancient Greece. In the 1930s, he developed the *Verfremdungseffekt* (estrangement effect), the dissociation of the actor from his character, the "nudeness" of the sets and a critical position towards theatrical clichés. Brecht criticized the theatre of his time and questioned the constant conflict between entertainment and instruction:

> "How can the theatre be both instructive and entertaining? (…) How can the free, ignorant man of our century, with his thirst for freedom and hunger for knowledge; how can the tortured and heroic, abused and ingenious man of this great and ghastly century obtain his own theatre which help him to master the world himself?"[642]

He considered that his theatre had the answer to this problem. Theatre mirrors society and the human being that it is built of. The stage is a place of freedom, creation and experimentation, and it can be used as a tool to find new solutions and to give new answers to the questions of men.

With his experimental theatre, Brecht introduced a scientific age in the arts by experimenting with and analysing theatre's impact on the audience and finding other ways to build bridges and to promote public reactions. He was also inspired by Marxist doctrine as a foundation on which he based his "experiments" as he designed his models.[643] It was the power of this doctrine that appealed to Brecht as a cognitive method that comprehends social conditions as processes and pursues their contradictions. The theoretical core of Marxism, inspired Brecht to be integrated it in his plays, with the implication of understanding all social formations as historical and therefore changeable.[644] This represented the potential hope that the human being is able to transform itself into a better person and that change is possible through self-reflection. Within the classical European theatre, Berthold Brecht's work is the closest one to be the democratic instrument that the European Union described in the *Official*

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[642] Berthold Brecht quoted by Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 314.

[643] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 315.

[644] Silberman, Marc (2012), *Berthold Brecht Politics and Comedy*, Social Research, vol. 79, no, 1, p. 174.

Journal of the European Union in 1991.[645] According to Umberto Eco, Brecht is an author whose work appeals to the spectator's freedom to reflect and it is a rhetorical and argumentative system that stimulates a guided answer.[646]

In this period, theatre, once again, like in the ancient Greek period, became the transmitter of a critical view of society and politics. Giving the public the chance to look for answers themselves on a free and open "stage", a place for discussion was available. This was particularly crucial because it was developed in a period when the beginning of the World War II was imminent.

Hanna Arendt articulated an ideal of political theatre that meets the tradition exemplified by Brecht. It harnesses emotion to serve reason in order to lay before the spectator questions of individual choice.[647] This was the argument that appeared in connection with her statement that Dionysiac collectivism was re-enacted during German National-Socialist regime. They wanted to take advantage from the principle that theatre generates communities. This experiment in the German Volksbühne was unsuccessful because the organic sense of community that theatre promotes was too risky for the controlling fascist regime.[648] Morag Shiach considers that popular and low culture are seen as a guarantee of social stability and unity; culture has an impact on national identity, and popular taste is part of the process by which historical and political developments are negotiated and it could also become a movement of resistance and protection of regional traditions.[649] The cultural events that are present through history reflect how society was structured as well as the relations between the different social classes; this was perceptive in the cultural clashes present in the following theatrical period that began shortly after the end of the World War II.

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[645] Official Journal of the European Union C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.
[646] Eco, Umberto (1916), *Obra Aberta*, Lisboa, Relógio de Agua, p. 83.
[647] Hanna Arendt quoted by Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 214–215.
[648] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 214–215.
[649] Morag, Shiach (1989), *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender, History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to Present*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, p. 138.

The following thirty years, after the French author Jean Fourastié called "Les Trente Glorieuses", was a period of an enormous economic, social and demographic growth in Europe, until 1975 the oil crisis put an end to it.[650] But not all were able to access its prosperity.

Post-war drama gained a strong and revolutionary place, in which old social and stagnated values clash with the younger generation that questioned its place in a changed society. After the war the inequalities were still present, even with a period of reconstruction and reorientation, not everyone had the same chances of success in life.

In the 1950s the British theatrical period of "kitchen sink dramas" advanced a particular social message of left-wing ideology, like the political orientation found in Brecht's plays. The previous trend in Victorian theatre had been to depict the lives of the wealthy members of the ruling classes, mainly conservative in their politics and their ideologies.[651] This was not the case for the so-called "kitchen sink" theatre related to the "angry young men" movement: it was created by various British novelists and playwrights who emerged in the 1950s and expressed scorn and disaffection with the established socio-political order of their country. Their impatience and resentment were especially aroused by the shrinking of the British Empire (the loss of its colonies) and its humiliation in the face of that loss.[652] During that period Great Britain started to lose its power over its colonies, and one by one gained its independents leaving behind a generation that depended on that *status quo* of colonizers.[653] This promoted great confusion, and brought into ridicule their recalling and longing, to still hang into something that ceased to exist that had defined their social status of superiority and identity. The subsequent social crisis perpetuated by the younger generations frustration of inequalities and the unsettling feeling of an older generation clung in a past as conquers as well the resulting conflicts are present in this artistic movement, that represented a "cry" in this social convulsion.

The authors consciously concerned themselves with contemporary subject material; their goal was the disengagement from convention and their attacks were directed against continued class differences, snobbishness and philistinism. They wanted to undue privileges

[650] Fourastié, Jean , *Les Trente Glorieuses*, Fayard,, https://www.fayard.fr/sciences-humaines/les-trente-glorieuses-9782213006833 , accessed on 22/07/2020.

[651] *Look Back in Anger The Kitchen Sink Drama: Perspectives and Criticism,* https://www.gradesaver.com/look-back-in-anger/study-guide/the-kitchen-sink-drama-perspectives-and-criticism, accessed on 06/05/2019.

[652] Banerjee, A. (s.a) *The Bellicose Defeatism of John Osborne*, Sewanee Review, p. 37.

[653] Constance Frölich M.A, Gerhard de Groot-Rouenhoff , Nicolaus Nützel and Hermann Schäfer, *Europa Ploetz: Ereignisse und Entwicklungen*, p.119.

and confront those who did not welcome change. All this was given expression in what was known as the "angry young man", a type of modern antihero who has little in common with the radiant heroes of the literature that went before,[654] and the characters of traditional theatres.

The drivers of the movement were a new breed of intellectual, who were mostly of working class or of lower middle-class origin. The playwright John Osborne was the frontman of this "angry young men" movement at the beginning of the 1950s. They were accepted to study at prestigious universities but denied the chance of an academic career.[655] This underlined the feeling of frustration and anger towards the political and social system and the *status quo*. Their voice was expressed in cathartic moments in the plays written by John Osborne, such as *Look back in Anger*.[656] This technique of *Catharsis*, used in the ritualistic scenes of the ancient Greek theatre, revived in those plays as a catalyser for strong emotion of pain, frustration, lost and impotency. This was present in the emotional performances of the anti-heroes, a contrast with the non-emotional estrangement effect developed by Brecht. He used the Greek chorus technique to underline its message while Osborne permitted a Greek cathartic explosion of anger as a way that the young public could relate to.

Political activism got a new impulse during these periods. Theatre became a space of freedom of speech and debate and a response to obsolete political and social systems. The democratic "weapon" of theatre was reactivated, resulting in one of the most fascinating periods of theatrical production and challenging everyone from the public to politicians and high society members. A quotation by David Wiles can be add to characterise this historical contextualization: "Theatre can be played to an audience, or it can be played with an audience".[657] The influence of theatre in the development of new attitudes and self-reflection in society increases if there is a strategy to include the public in the representation. The actors speak directly to the audience and the theatrical environment involves the audience in its "world".

After this historical contextualization, that considered some of the major breakthroughs and periods of theatre and their impact on society, it is important to get back to a concept

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[654] Schlüssel, Angelika (2005), "Making a political statement or refusing to grow up—reflections on the situation of the academic youth in post-war British literature", *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 65, No. 4, December 2005, p. 385.

[655] Prsic, Jelena (2015), *Popular Culture in John Osborne´s Play Look Back in Anger*, Belgrade, p. 239.

[656] Prsic, Jelena (2015), *Popular Culture in John Osborne´s Play Look Back in Anger*, Belgrade, p. 239.

[657] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 13.

presented in chapter 2, namely that of high and low culture. It has been treated by different theorists, in order to approach the concept of the democratization of theatre. It seems pertinent to look for it in the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, in order to identify intentions in its goals and target groups.

Characteristics of both high and low culture can be applied in theatre. Basically, popular theatre is considered low culture, where the plots are clear to the public, defined and understandable. The characters have predictable behaviour and the hero of the play normally overcomes by the end all the obstacles that he was confronted with during the play. The avant-garde or "modern" interpretation of theatre have characteristics of high culture, it valorises the technical process of the play. The audience expects a complex plot that needs complex resolution that addresses philosophical questions[658], or no plot at all, no question asked and no answers insight.

According to Marvin Carlson, an American researcher in theatre studies and professor at The City University of New York, the Greek and the Shakespearean theatre were considered favoured topics to be studied by scholars in the 19th century, who classified them as the high culture of theatre. They left behind an incomplete body of research on popular and/or spectacle theatre because it was seen as undistinguished, decadent and not worth of scientific attention.[659] The same author stated that Shakespeare was considered high culture and this classification was later transferred to the work from German dramaturg Berthold Brecht, in the 20th century.[660] Epic theatre was inspired by the ritualistic techniques of the ancient Greek theatre. Historically this includes the concept that ritualistic theatrical experiences, connects a waste and diverse audience, one of the characteristic low culture.

Categorising low or high theatre was not and still isn't unanimous. Smith and Riley describes the Postmodern era in Arts as playful and fragmented, with no need of expert

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[658] Smith, Philip and Alexander Riley (2009), *Cultural Theory an introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, p.166 (Second Edition)

[659] Marvin Carlson quoted by Bratton, Jacky (2003), *New readings in Theatre History*, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, p. 8.

[660] Carlson, Marvin (2009), *Theatre is more beautiful than war: German stage directing in the late twentieth century*, Iowa, Iowa University Press, p. xii.

knowledge. Clear moral or messages are not part in postmodern art. [661] This turns the distinction between high and low culture into a very thin line.[662]

This thesis is not about postmodernism. Nevertheless, its influences cannot be denied, as cannot the need of narratives to create an European cultural identity. Lyotard, the author of the term *Grand Narratives* in his work about the postmodern condition, wrote about the complexity to define its appearance, at the same time he refers to it as an expression of the unpresentable.[663] Although he focus on science and knowledge and how society deals with it, the performing cannot be left out this concept. Clean separation, stable categorizing and certainties as the promise of the modernity are vanishing.

But in the 19th century, the concepts of high and low culture as grand narrative were still intact. The discussion about theatre for the masses and the elite appears even in Goethe's (1749–1832) Faust, as a concern of the theatre director addressing his crew:

"Make sure, above all, plenty's happening there!

They come to look, and then they want to stare.

Spin endlessly before their faces,

So the people gape amazed,

You've won them by your many paces,

You'll be the man most praised.

The mass are only moved by things en masse,

Each one, himself, will choose the bit he needs (…)."[664]

Hundred years after Goethe´s critical approach towards the discussion about cultural consumers, there was a radical change in the cultural scenario: "The cinema took over the

[661] Smith, Philip and Alexander Riley (2009), *Cultural Theory an introduction*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p.210 (Second Edition)

[662] Smith, Philip and Alexander Riley (2009), *Cultural Theory an introduction*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p.210 (Second Edition)

[663] Lyotard, Jean François (1979), *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp.71-79.

[664] Goethe, Johann Wolfgang Von*, Faust Parts I & II*, A. S. Kline https://antilogicalism.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/faust.pdf, accessed on 18/02/2020.

popular audience that had earlier supported the nineteenth-century pictorial stage".[665] A new era began. The Irish writer Yeats explained the gaps left in the theatre audience by the media. In the 1960s there was a change of attitude towards the prejudices created around popular theatre and entertainment, and the study of its history of performances, customs, street theatre and musical theatre of the "people" gained its place on the academic stage.[666]

3.2 Drama Companies and Drama Festivals approved by the Cultural Programme 2007-2013

With all these historical roots, functions and social representations theatre is still very present in the 21st century and getting attention of the EU as an important instrument for the democracy and considered as such in the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 (CP).

To be financed by the CP, projects need to submit to a selection process for their approval. Cultural programmes on their own does not produce culture. They only structure the bureaucratic process with rigorous criteria, goals and frames for the potential appliance to fulfil in order to enter into the selection process, and eventually to get access to the funding. Some of those criteria are subject of the following analysis.

In order to establish the universe of the appliance and their work, every project approved from 2006-2012, in the ambit of Culture Programme 2007-2013, was looked into. The complete list can be found in the appendix B.

The selection of projects considered in the following assessment is based on the criteria considered pertinent for the study: amount of money invested, the country that got the most support, the characteristics of the selected project, its innovativeness, its closeness to the development of a European cultural identity, its success to achieve a closer European community and, if possible, a pattern for its success and continued support. The projects closer looked at are the ones considered the most representatives in their events when it comes to intercultural dialogue.

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[665] W.B. Yeats quoted by Bratton, Jacky (2003), *New readings in Theatre History*, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, p. 13.
[666] Marvin Carlson quoted by Bratton, Jacky (2003), *New readings in Theatre History*, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, pp. 9–10.

The budget of 400 million euros for the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 (CP) was approved by the Commission and its working groups as well as by the European Parliament, amid reservations due to the funding being considered insufficient by the European Parliament as seen in chapter 2. During the period of 2007–2013, 100 theatre projects were approved. Most of them were co-financed by 50%, the rest of the financing has to be guaranteed by the applicants, this procedures could jeopardize many projects and completely exclude others namely smaller enterprises and association with fragile budgeting, to access the CP. Data on the amount given to projects during the period of 2006 are not available for research. From 2007 until 2012 a total amount of 40 038 846.74 euros was attributed to theatre projects, representing for the period in question, around 10% of the CP budget co-financed theatre projects.

The cultural programme was built essentially to promote intercultural dialogue between members states and outside European borders. To guarantee this dialogue, one of the conditions to apply for funding is international cooperation. The norm is: one of the countries declares itself the organizer and it chooses between three (Strand 1.1.) to six (Strand 1.2.1) operator countries.

Preferences for a project to be chosen are based on certain characteristics that are identified as followed: actions that explore means of long-term cooperation are especially targeted by applicants. Long-term cooperation seems to be the most favourable mechanism; this can also promote more financial security for the projects and expands into a broader dimension. The European Union, trough those projects, wishes to leave a long-lasting footprint as well as its influence and values in the members states that participate in. Another major pretention is to promote more employment and tourism and transform cultural activities, such as theatre, into something economically important and viable on a long term. Festivals are preferred in their function of creating a cultural geographical space that will remain in time, including economically and culturally achievements, that this entails.

During the period of 2007–2013, 26 countries received access to funding; the following had several projects approved: 15 projects originated from France, 14 projects from Italy, 12 from Germany and 11 from Belgium. It was taken into consideration the different strands that each project applied for: in the case of Strand 1.1 (multiannual cooperation agreement projects; projects lasting from three to five years), there were 3 projects from France, 2 from Italy and Germany, and 5 from Belgium. Each country had at least three cooperation partners. For Strand

1.2.1 (cooperation projects), France had 12 projects approved, Italy 12, Germany 10 and Belgium 6.

The member states and their selected Theatrical Projects (table 1.3)

Country	Strand	Number Projects	Name of Projects approved (2007-2013)
Germany	1.1	2	Global City - Local City, European Route of Historic Theatres
France	1.1	3	PROSPERO, Manifeste européen, Open Latitudes,
Belgium	1.1	5	Next STEP, IMAGINE 2020, Villes en scène, Next Step - The Second Generation,
Italy	1.1	2	ENPARTS, SMALL SIZE-BIG CITIZENS,
Germany	1.2.1	10	ERHT - European Route of Historic Theatres, THE ART OF DIALOGUE, EUROPAISCH-TURKISCHE THEATERBEGEGNUNGEN, A EUROPEAN MENTORSHIP, Festival Lab, Migration, Intercultural Dialogue and Integration in Europe, CONNECT CONNECT, Second Cities: Stadt als Bühne, Freiheit! Gleichheit! Brüderlichkeit!,
France	1.2.1	12	MURGA, Pôle Européen de Coopération Culturelle, YOUNG EUROPE, 1 ARTS EN FOLIES, K ET LA PISTE DU CHÂTEAU/ LE CHÂTEAU, Vagabondages, Les femmes la ville la folie, Liquid Frontiers, IDEOGRAM, Young Europe 2, WORLD CRISIS THEATRE, Un Pays des Peuples, TERRORismen,
Belgium	1.2.1	6	THE 2020 NETWORK, JAZ, Project of Generosity, Terra Incognita.europe, Richard Moors' Project, European Middle Western Arts
Italy	1.2.1	12	Teatri Migranti', FRONT/FRONTIER, DIFFERENZART, PRIMA DEL TEATRO, FOCUS ON ART AND SCIENCE IN THE PERFORMING ARTS, MASKS ON STAGE, EUROPEAN ROOTS OF ANCIENT, Crossing Paths, Meridians, Strangers: the paradoxes of hospitality, Performative Culture Cooperation for awareness on past European Dictatorship's, H.O.S.T

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

Within the 100 approved projects, 18 applied for Strand 1.1 and 82 applied for the cooperation projects, Strand 1.2. This strand is associated with actions shared by at least three cultural operators, working within and across sectors, from at least three eligible countries. The

other EU members that applied for the funding got less approved projects, for further information see appendix B.

3.2.1 Theatre projects

Considering the differences between Theatre projects and festivals regarding the time frame and their impact in society they will be analysed separately.

One of the main concerns of the CP is, as repeatedly mentioned in its intention, to leave a long-lasting footprint in the European Community. That means that if there is a cultural event, it should not be a one-time and isolated event, but should reach a large public and leave lasting repercussions. The implementations of such events have to ensure access and constant visibility.

To understand some of the information given in this analysis, Strand 1.1 (Multiannual cooperation agreement projects; projects lasting from three to five years) and Strand 1.2.1 (Cooperation projects: actions shared by at least three cultural operators), according to how the CP classifies these beneficiaries, are recalled from the second chapter. The analyse of the tables that summarises the details of the theatrical projects, shows that the majority concerns workshops and activities focused on the training and inclusion of a young public. Given below are tables of contents of selected innovative projects of the CP.

Prospero (table 2.3)

Name of the Organizer	THÉATRE NATIONAL DE BRETAGNE (n:139802) : In 1949, traces its origins back to the very creation of the *Centre Dramatique de l'Ouest* (the West Centre for the Dramatic Arts). With the development of the *Maison de la Culture* (House of Culture) in 1968, those two entities began working closely together. The merging of the two institutions, in 1990, led to the creation of the TNB. In many respects the TNB is a standout Centre for the Dramatic Arts (CDN). As an European centre for theatrical and choreographic production, its mission embraces not only theatre but also dance, music, cinema and education (via the TNB School for the Dramatic Art).
Name of the Project	Prospero-European Theatre Network

Project description	"Mettre en place au niveau européen un projet théâtral basé sur la diversité et la richesse des langues; tisser des relations sans frontières entre metteurs en scène expérimentés, jeunes metteurs en scène et comédiens des pays participants; ouvrir de larges espaces d'échanges et de rencontres aux artistes et aux publics.Réalisations et tournées par des metteurs en scène reconnus; accompagnement de six jeunes metteurs en scène; stage dans un autre pays membre; mis en place d'une recherche théorique européenne; formation européenne de jeunes comédiens."[667]
Cooperation Partners	EMILIA ROMAGNA TEATRO FONDAZIONE, Italy: is the head office is in Modena where it runs two theatres (Teatro Storchi and Teatro delle Passioni). Moreover, ERT manages also two theatres in Bologna (Arena del Sole and Teatro delle Moline), one in Cesena (Teatro Bonci), one in Vignola (Teatro Fabbri) and another one in Castelfranco Emilia (Teatro Dadà).[668] THÉATRE DE LA PLACE, BE , FUNDAÇAO CENTRO CULTURAL DE BELEM, PT , SCHAUBÜHNE AM LEHNINER PLATZ, DE ,TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO, F
Organizer Country	FR
Strand	Strand.1.1
Budget given by the CP	41%: €2.200.039,00
Year of application	2007

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

In 2007, the project Prospero set a rich example of theatrical cooperation between different countries. The goal was to create a network with different European stages: the Theatre National de Bretagne France, as the main perpetuator of the project, working with Theatre da la Place, Belgium; Emilia Romagna Teatro, Italy; Fundação Centro Cultural de Belém, Portugal; Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz, Germany; and Tampereen Yliopisto, Finland. This project set an example of building bridges through the presentation in different languages and of experimental theatre without borders. It focused essentially on young people, the encounter and exchange of experiences by different participants, the realization of tours, and the training of new actors. It was clearly representative of the mechanism to develop intercultural dialogue and the recognition of diversity in theatre within the European space. This project boosts

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[667] *Prospero- European Theatre Network,* http://www.prospero-theatre.eu/en/theatre-national-de-bretagne/, accessed on 15/09/2019.
[668] *Prospero- European Theatre Network,* http://www.prospero-theatre.eu/en/theatre-national-de-bretagne/, accessed on 15/09/2019.

European theoretical research and intervention with young actors, while seeking to benefit from the diversity of stagecraft traditions in Europe.[669]

Blog the Theatre (table 3.3)

Name of the Organizer	SCHAUSPIELHAUS GRAZ (AT-158)
Name of the Project	BLOGG THE THEATER - MULTIMEDIAL FRONTIER CROSSINGS ON STAGE AND IN VIRTUAL SPACE
Project description	"Das Projekt "Blogg the Theater" hat vor, Texte für das Theater entstehen zu lassen, die diese Tendenzen aus autentischem Material, aus privaten ggf. multimedialen Internettagebüchern ("Blogs") distillieren und für diese Texte eine adäquate innovative Bühnenform zu suchen."
Cooperation Partners	ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE TEATRO GARIBALDI(IT), KATONA JOSEF THEATRE(HU), NARODOWY STARY TEATRIM. H. MODRZEJEWSKIEJ (PL), TEATRUL MUNICIPAL LUCIA STURDZA BULANDRA (RO)
Organizer Country	AT
Strand	Strand 1.2.1
Budget given by the CP	50%: €170.000,00
Year of application	2006

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php , accessed on 06/06/2016

In 2008, Blog the Theatre was a project inspired by internet blogs; it was a cross-national cooperation among theatres in Austria, Hungary, Romania and Italy. "Blog scouts" from each country searched blogs reflecting the attitudes of younger people towards life, and theatre texts were developed from theses blogs by young authors. The results were presented by young directors in Mai 2008, in three days on three different stages at the Schauspielhaus Graz in Austria.[670] This project is an original form to democratize theatre among the younger generation, empowering them to make their voices heard and inspiring them to carry out

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[669] *Culture in Motion The Cultural Programme 2007-2013* (2009), Luxembourg, Office for Official publications of the European Communities, https://hip. lisboa.ucp. pt/edocs/cde/2009_8100.pdf, accessed on 02/04/2020, p. 9.

[670] *Blog the Theatre*, https://www.schauspielhaus-graz.com/play-detail/blog-the-theatre/, accessed on 06/02/2020.

creative and cooperative work representing the values of democracy and freedom praised by the EU.

The selected blogs were as follows:[671] from Austria, "friss was du bist (eat what you are)" by Christian Winkler and "du kannst nicht immer schimmern, mein Spatz! (you cannot always shine, my darling!)" by Jörg Albrecht; from Romania "Re: Re: Re: Hamlet" by Maria Manolescu, "Buy me with a coffee" by Peca Stefan and "Scent of a Woman (Duft der Frauen)" by Daniel Popa; from Poland "Niebieska sukienka (The blue dress/Das blaue Kleid)" by Jacek Poniedzialek, "Forma przetrwalnikowa (Thesurvivalform/Dauersporen)" by Szymon Wroblewski and "Mydziecisieci (Wethekidsofthenet/Wirdiekinderdesnetzes)" by Dorota Maslowska; from Hungary "Leila Zetor – scribbling on my tights" by Ruszynák Gábor, "Sebtolvaj, online rag-tapasz (Thief of Wounds/Wundendieb)" by András Tóth and "Zsírember, azaz egy bélféreg vallomásai (Lardman/Fettmensch)" by Dömötör András; and from Italy "Insonnia. 6. a.m. girl (Insomnia 6 a.m. girl/Schlaflosigkeit 6 a.m. girl)" by Paolo Cinquemani, "Handscape" by Tino Caspanello and "Ultimo grido di libertà (Last scream of freedom/Letzter Schrei der Freiheit)" by Giuseppe Massa.

In addition to EU funding, the project was co-funded by the Regional Government of Education, Art and Culture "Kultur Steiermark", beepworld.de, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz and BINDERTRITTENWEIN Kommunikation GmbH.[672] This offered the project an opportunity to renew its application for further EU funding and participation in the programme more easily.

EUFONIA (table 4.3)

Name of the Organizer	EUFONIA cooperative society (n:513683)
Name of the Project	Strangers: the paradoxes of hospitality

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[671] *Blog the Theatre,* https://www.schauspielhaus-graz.com/play-detail/blog-the-theatre/, accessed on 03/03/2020.
[672] *Blog the Theatre*, https://www.schauspielhaus-graz.com/play-detail/blog-the-theatre/, accessed on 18/02/2020.

Project description	"The project is related to the need of facilitating the encounter of artists and people from different countries, backgrounds, cultures in order to foster reflections, debate, common artistic work about diversity and migration in the context of European communities, where theatre and arts are called to play their function of critical and civil awareness. The Project supports a cultural network of artists and cultural operators in the Euro-Mediterranean area, fostering mobility and the creation of a nomadic multi-language company (Nomadic Arts Company). A series of activities is carried out whose purpose is the encounter and common work between artists, cultural operators, young people, local population with different cultures and languages, coming from involved countries, each of whom bearer of a story of migration in his/her recent history or in the present. A path of research, workshops, artistic residencies in mobility is realized in Italy, Spain, France, United Kingdom, Greece, Cyprus, Malta. The work focuses on migration and on dynamics of inclusion/exclusion in contemporary society, as well as on the potential of creative means provided by diversity, meant as a vital source. The path of activities starts with four theatre workshops and presentations in Greece, United Kingdom, Cyprus, Malta and culminates with three artistic residencies (with workshops, joint site-specific performances, showcases, meetings, technical seminars), held in Spain, France, Italy. They involve cultural operators in mobility, for knowledge exchange and the creation of a joint performance that is played in three important sites connected to migration. Artists in mobility are joint in the Nomadic Arts Company, as a concrete tool for intercultural dialogue. A web-site, a multilingual publication and a video are edited in order to support awareness on tackled issues among people and operators. Partners work in synergy and develop since the beginning an activity of research on project issues."
Cooperation Partners	NATIONAL AND CAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS, GR ACTIONBASE STUDIO –Researching Performative Processes, MT SATIRIKO THEATRE LTD, CY THREE CULTURES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN FOUNDATION, ES UNIVERSITY OF SALENTO, IT ANDALUSIAN CENTRE OF THEATRE, ES BABELMED cultural association, IT, MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, UK UNIVERSITY PARIS VIIISAINT DENIS, FR
Organizer Country	IT
Strand	Strand.1.2.1
Budget given by the CP	50% : €170.000,00

Year of application	2010

This project resumed in the table above from the Italian group *EUFONIA cooperative society* is called *Strangers: the paradoxes of hospitality* for a reason: it expresses a concern about migration, inclusion into society, support for multi-language diversity and understanding between the different cultural operators (Spain, France, United Kingdom, Greece, Cyprus, Malta), the creation of critical and civil awareness, and the production of workshops for the local population and the young public:

> "(…) Artists in mobility are joint in the Nomadic Arts Company, as a concrete tool for intercultural dialogue. A web-site, a multilingual publication and a video are edited in order to support awareness on tackled issues among people and operators. Partners work in synergy and develop since the beginning an activity of research on project issues."[673]

In spite of that the 2015 migration wave did not had occurred yet, already there was a need and sensibility to address the issue artistically.

Spielmotor (table 5.3)

Name of the Organizer	Spielmotor München e. V. (Festival SPIELART) (n:513501)
Name of the Project	Connect Connect

Project description	"A mentorship initiative and laboratory of the contemporary in the performing arts Mentors: Alain Platel, René Pollesch, Philippe Quesne and Ong Ken Seng CONNECT CONNECT is a newly designed mentorship initiative to support emerging artists in the field of performing arts in Europe. Its goal is open up a new realm of experience and development for artists in a special "CONNECT CONNECT" setting. It examines – by mentorship and artistic means – the artistic transnational and intercultural dialog within four new theatre productions and its presentations in six European countries. At the same time it provides impulses for the younger theater generation in five steps: 1. European wide well-known and experienced theater makers each select two young colleagues – who work together to create a new performing arts work. 2. Each mentor accompanies the conceptual and rehearsal process of the two artists chosen by him. 3. These new productions will then be realized in a network of theatres and festivals of different European countries. 4. The new theatre works will be presented to the general public of a wide range of European countries. 5. Mentors, young artists and producers exchange their experience in a workshop/symposium Objectives: To sensitize established artists from different backgrounds (mentors) to the successive generation of artists. To install a project inherent intercultural and transnational dialogue between mentors and younger artists. To make available to young artists the expertise of experienced theater artists (mentors). To publicize this model for supporting artists to a European professional theater community. To give young artists who have already presented their first promising works the opportunity to present a new work on an European level, coproduced by renowned theaters and festivals. To ensure that young theater artists receive a greater attention in connection with the names of the established theatre makers."
Cooperation Partners	BALTIC CIRCLE International Theatre festival / Q-theatre, FI , CAMPO, BE ,CONSORCI MERCAT DE LES FLORS / CENTRE DE LES ARTS DEL , ES ,Forum Freies Theater e.V., DE , Republique, DK , Tanzquartier Wien GmbH, AT
Organizer Country	DE
Strand	Strand.1.2.1
Budget given the CP	49,38%: €200.000,00
Year of application	2010

From the same year as Italy's EUFONIA, the German project, *Connect Connect* promoted by *Spielmotor München e. V. (Festival SPIELART)* also developed a strong educational purpose through workshops and supported new theatre artists by mentoring them throughout their creative process in six different European countries:

"(…) To publicize this model for supporting artists to a European professional theatre community. To give young artists who have already presented their first promising works the opportunity to present a new work on a European level, coproduced by renowned theatres and festivals. To ensure that young theatre artists receive a greater attention in connection with the names of the established theatre makers."[674]

EUFONIA (table 6.3)

Name of the Organizer	EUFONIA società cooperativa (n:536406)
Name of the Project	WALLS-SEPARATE WORLDS
Project description	"Our history is marked by walls, some of them have fallen down, some others are still standing, even in Europe. Are new walls under construction? The question is strong, but not unfounded. Walls may take different shapes connected to nationalisms, xenophobia, racism. New frontiers can be built despite the big efforts made to the advancement of reconciliation and inclusiveness. Culture, indeed, plays a pivotal role in the comprehension and recognition of the other, as an indispensable factor of dialogue, integration, social cohesion in diversity. The project is related to the necessity of facilitating the encounter of artists and people from different countries, backgrounds, cultures in order to promote reflections, debate, common artistic work about diversity and mutual knowledge. The work focuses on a reflection about old and new walls in the European area, that may endanger mutual recognition and trigger separations and exclusion. The activities aim at the encounter and common work between artists, cultural operators, social scientists, young people, local population with different cultures and languages, coming from involved countries. A combined path of social research, theatre workshops, artistic residencies in mobility is realized in the 6 involved countries, respectively in Şirince (Turkey), Zakynthos (Greece), Berlin (Germany), Paris (France), Lecce (Italy), Nicosia (Cyprus).The artistic residencies foresee: intensive theatre workshops finalised at the creation of joint multilingual performances with the international groups of artists participating to activities, sessions called "International encounters between audience and artists-performativity and dialogues" with performing events and round-tables. A publication and a video are finally issued to give evidence to the activities results."
Cooperation Partners	BABELMED cultural association , IT Consortium TEATRO PUBBLICO PUGLIESE, IT CYPRUS CENTRE OF THE INTERNATIONAL THEATRE INSTITUTE, CY INTERNATIONAL THEATRE INSTITUTE ITALY, IT INTERNATIONAL THEATRE INSTITUTE UNESCO, FR PERFORMANS ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ, TR THEATRO TSI ZAKYNTHOS-EPAGGELMATIKI SKINI, GR UNIVERSITY OF SALENTO, IT UN VRAI BEAU GARS, FR

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[674] European Commission, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016.

Organizer Country	IT
Strand	Strand.1.2.1
Budget given the CP	50%: € 180.000,00
Year of application	2012

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

The group *EUFONIA società cooperative* is an example of applicant elected more than one time. Two years after their project *Strangers: the Paradox of Hospitality,* they applied again with the project "WALLS-SEPARATE WORLDS" in 2012. The main concern of the promoter is once again social cohesion and dialogue. This new project underlines the role of culture in supporting diversity and integration. It facilitates the comprehension of different backgrounds, and creates a debate and reflection about borders and how we can deconstruct those "walls". It methodologies are based on artistic residences and workshops.

> "Our history is marked by walls, some of them have fallen down, some others are still standing, even in Europe. Are new walls under construction? The question is strong, but not unfounded. Walls may take different shapes connected to nationalisms, xenophobia, racism. New frontiers can be built despite the big efforts made to the advancement of reconciliation and inclusiveness. Culture, indeed, plays a pivotal role in the comprehension and recognition of the other, as an indispensable factor of dialogue, integration, social cohesion in diversity. (…)"[675]

0090 vzw (table 7.3)

Name of the Organizer	0090 vzw (n:536222)
Name of the Project	European Middle Western Arts

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[675] European Commission, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016.

Project description	"The European Middle Western Arts project, coordinated by 0090, driven by artists'demand for more contact and transnational exchanges and by the urgent need for an active support of the creative processes, wants to connect and facilitate encounters between artists and partners, resulting in artistic dialogues reflecting on the concept of the Middle West, a hybrid space between East and West. The involved partners from BE, NL, TU & GB and their artists are interdependent, continually inspire and stimulate one another throughout the entire creative process generated by individuals with a mobile, subconscious and sharp vision. Often coming from the margins and perceiving the world from a shifted position that is cutting edge and less veiled by custom and tradition, they are able to breathe life into new forms and to visualize new feelings, thoughts, shapes, textures, techniques, and technologies. The concept of the Middle West will be elaborated in dialogue. The surroundings themselves will have a significant influence and they can make the artist feel both at home and estranged. Directing its focus on the Middle East without taking a orientalist position, artistic practices will flourish, free of prejudice and beyond the 'exotic discourse'. This project focuses on the contemporary European art scene and on the migration movements, active within that scene, according to a contemporary vision on interculturality, taking the influence of the modern nomadic status on the artist as its main focus. The project will actively offer a range of services and mediate within artistic processes, especially where research, creation, residencies and presentation are concerned. For each of the 4 productions 4 performance locations are scheduled (in at least 3 countries). At the end of the project all productions will be presented in one international Festival in Istanbul (TU), inviting art programmers all over Europe."
Cooperation Partners	Arcola Theatre Production Company, UK Stichting Productiehuis Rotterdam (Rotterdamse Schouwburg), NL Talimhane Tiyatro ve Gorsel Sanatlar Gosteri Mrk. Dan. Egt., TR
Organizer Country	BE
Strand	Strand.1.2.1
Budget given the CP	49,75%: € 200.000,00
Year of application	2012

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

With similar concerns regarding cultural exchanges with European artists as the Eufonia group, the Belgian organizer 0090 vzw implemented a project called the *European Middle Western Arts.* They developed cultural dialogue outside the European border with the Middle East. This project was shared with the Netherlands, Great Britain and Turkey. It represents the hybridity within the nomadic movement of artists and promotes intercultural dialogue. The project includes Turkey in cultural exchange even if this country has several times been put aside in his attempt to join the European Union. Never the less it is part of

Europe. The future will show how significant Turkey is problem solving when it comes to one of most emerging challenges of the EU, migration.

> "(…) The surroundings themselves will have a significant influence and they can make the artist feel both at home and estranged. Directing its focus on the Middle East without taking a orientalist position, artistic practices will flourish, free of prejudice and beyond the 'exotic discourse'. This project focuses on the contemporary European art scene and on the migration movements, active within that scene, according to a contemporary vision on interculturality, taking the influence of the modern nomadic status on the artist as its main focus. (…)"[676]

3.2.2 Theatre festivals

In his article, about the major trends in international theatre festivals, Roger Ellis refers to the spectator who flocks to artistic celebration in Avignon, Edinburgh, Sydney, New York, London or elsewhere. He then focused on European Festivals, in which he noted how audiences seem to be drawn to those events in increasing numbers, many of them returning year-after-year as if practicing a social ritual.[677] A social ritual that is emerging crossing EU borders and able to build a sense of European belonging. The importance of a common ritualistic European system will be discussed further in this chapter.

Among the total of 100 theatre projects approved by the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, 8 were theatre festivals. As mentioned before only those events that are integrated into the society have a remaining impact, one of the reasons why the CP has preferences for supporting this kind of actions: although it is not a Theatre festival (because it has its own "strand" separately from other cultural events) the European Capitals of Culture are a paradigmatic example for a long lasting foot print. Quoted by the MEP Christa Pretson: "The Capital of Culture can only be a sustainable project if it is integrated into the development of the city as part of a long-term cultural development strategy". These characteristics, based on its economical and sociological impact, creates new jobs and attract cultural tourism for the region, a major factor in the decision for approval of projects concerning theatre festivals.

In the case of the four approved projects from the *Spielmotor* group, already mentioned above, three were of drama festivals, for instance, the *Festival Lab - Theory and practice for*

[676] European Commission, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016.
[677] Ellis, Roger (2011), *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, vol. 1, no. 14, 10.2011, p. 111.

the next generation of European festival programmers (table 7.3). The festivals final outcome are eight presentations in eight different EU countries. This is organized through workshops, theoretical preparation and residencies "(…) To start a European debate on the necessity of training of young festival programmers and the test drive of a first model", as stated in the table of contents below.

Festival SPIELART (table 8.3)

Name of the Organizer	Spielmotor München e. V. (Festival SPIELART) (n:507338)
Name of the Project	Festival Lab - Theory and practice for the next generation of European festival programmers
Project description	"FESTIVAL LAB Theory and practice for the next generation of European festival programmers An initiative of 8 festivals in 8 countries FESTIVAL LAB wants to point out the necessity to give a chance to the next generation of festival programmers and to offer theoretical and practical support as well as a laboratory to test drive new program ideas. FESTIVAL LAB has the goal to create a European platform for interested postgraduate potential future festival programmers by theory and practice. It is conceived as a special program which integrates theoretical preparation (academy), practical experience and discussion (workshops), an opportunity of own professional experience (residency) and a future-oriented artistic program, designed, developed and realised by the residents as part of the program of the hosting festivals. FESTIVAL LAB is a project in three steps over two years: 1. After a European-wide call to apply for the project, 20 young potential future curators will be selected to take part in the project. 2. All selected participants will take part in a program combining theoretical and practical work in an initial 5 days academy and eight 3 days workshops at all eight participating festivals. 3. Five selected participants will be given the chance for a 1-6 months residency at one of the five co-organizing f festivals, where they conceive and develop their own European artistic program, which will then be presented as part of the hosting international festival. Objectives: - To provide young postgraduate potential festival programmers the theoretical skills for this profession, a chance to explore festival programming on a European level in practise and a opportunity to develop and realise a own program. - To present the European public and professionals new ideas and examples of future contemporary festival programming. - To start a European debate on the necessity of training of young festival programmers and the test drive of a first model."
Cooperation Partners	London International Festival of Theatre, UK , BALTIC CIRCLE International Theatre festival / Q-theatre, FI ,New Theatre Institute of Latvia (Festival Homo Novus), LV , Stowarzyszenie Rotunda (Festival Reminiscencje), PL
Organizer Country	DE
Strand	Strand 1.2.1

Budget given the CP	48,19%: 200.000,00 €
Year of application	2009

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

Another festival working with young people is the International Theatre School Festival Amsterdam from the Netherlands with the project *International Young Makers' Exchange* (table 8.3). This project allows young theatre artists to develop and to tour across the EU with their project. Its objectives are to stimulate innovation and abilities. It wants to create job opportunities and fosters careers in an intercultural environment. This project proved its success in the pilot project in 2003–2008[678]. That conferred credibility so its continuation was financed, in the same frame but with new cooperation partners:

> "(…) International exchange and showcase of live performance made by theatre students, recently graduated theatre practitioners and young emerging artists. This will consist of an annual core tour of a small number of productions touring the core partner festivals and a one-off exchange programme with productions that will not tour all festivals, but instead a selection of festivals."[679]

Festival Amsterdam (table 9.3)

Name of the Organizer	International Theatre school Festival Amsterdam (n:507320)
Name of the Project	International Young Makers' Exchange
Project description	"The International Young Makers' Exchange (IYME) is a unique collaboration between various European theatre festivals whose focus is on promoting and developing student and young emerging artists at a formative stage in their careers. The IYME programme will give young theatre practitioners a unique opportunity to tour their work to culturally diverse audiences, test their skills in an environment outside of their home countries, learn from and share new artistic practice and build up their international professional network. All in the context of safe, artistically nurturing environments designed to stimulate innovation and skills development. This mobility of theatre practitioners and artistic works creates job opportunities and fosters the development of careers on an intercultural and European level. Based on proven experience from a pilot project in 2003-2008, the IYME partner festivals strongly feel that the project will directly meet the stated objectives of the EU Culture 2007-2013 programme of: innovation, creativity, intercultural dialogue and

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[678] International Theater School Festival – ITS , https://www.amsterdam.info/events/theater-festival/ , accessed on 20/07/2020.

[679] European Commission, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016.

	excellence. Three main objectives of IYME: International exchange and showcase of live performance made by theatre students, recently graduated theatre practitioners and young emerging artists. This will consist of an annual core tour of a small number of productions touring the core partner festivals and a one-off exchange programme with productions that will not tour all festivals, but instead a selection of festivals. Professional development for international theatre students and recent graduates. A coherent programme of workshops that will stimulate skills development alongside the performance and showcase opportunities and the exchange of students with the assistance of theatre schools for co-productions. International Ensemble: An intensive training residency week for international theatre students and recent graduates where they can take risks and challenge their notions of making theatre."
Cooperation Partners	ASOCIACIÓN TEATRAKO TEATRO de Barakaldo, ES , Fábrica de Movimentos, PT
Organizer Country	NL
Strand	Strand 1.2.1
Budget given the CP	49,91%: 200.000,00 €
Year of application	2009

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

Not quite a theatre festival but a festival component had an outcome of a theatre project and has to be mentioned in this context: the Italian promoter EUFONIA, already referred to. *Strangers: the paradox of hospitality* may be considered a hybrid: passing the border from theatre project to festival as well as geographical frontiers, and characterizing the nomadic facet of the theatre performer. The preferred methodologies are workshops and artistic residencies. The outcome is presented in the different countries that are cooperation partners. The main subject is once again tackling social exclusion and reflecting on migration:

> "(…)The work focuses on migration and on dynamics of inclusion/exclusion in contemporary society, as well as on the potential of creative means provided by diversity, meant as a vital source. (…) A web-site, a multilingual publication and a video are edited in order to support awareness on tackled issues among people and operators. Partners work in synergy and develop since the beginning an activity of research on project issues."[680]

According to Bernard Faivre d'Árcier, who was cultural adviser of the French Cultural Minister Laurent Fabiusand for 16 years, festival audiences are diverse and do not belong to an

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[680] European Commission, http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/201.

elite. Theatre festivals attract people from every social background. The greatest barrier to access to culture is less financial but rather cultural in nature: the relationship to art and its values such as emotion, sensitivity, imagination as well as knowledge and pure intellect decide on the interest in cultural aspects. Appreciating art requires education, constant interest and acceptance of its rituals regardless of the actual artistic categories or typologies.[681] As recalled earlier, those rituals originated in the first theatrical performances in ancient Greece, and their presence in today's European society is almost mandatory.

Resuming the analyses of these projects: training, artistic residencies, social inclusion, diversity and intercultural dialogue are the main goals supported by the CP of EU. "Diversity is peace" as stated in 2018 by the administrator of the Gulbenkian Foundation (Portugal) Guilherme Oliveira Martins during the Lisbon Meeting of the *Music Sistema Project* that occurs across Europe promoting social inclusion through art.

Diversity is a dynamic in the European Parliament; it represents the European Union and is the closest political organ to European citizens. Being so in this case, the European Commission should pay more attention to their proposals and arguments in order to address more properly the cultural concerns and the social needs of integration and acceptance within the EU.

The architectural structure of the European Parliament is like an ancient amphitheatre and there is reason for it: like the Greek polis, the EP is composed by diversified characters debating the resolutions proposed by its superiors (European Commission and European Council). It is still a stage, still actors performing, still an audience. The play is called democracy.

3.2.3 European Economic Crisis and its effects on theatre projects

The 2008 economic crisis reached its peak in the European Union in 2009.[682] This event unfolded several dimensions, deepened by the rising age of the population and the decreasing number of contributors to social welfare. The evolution unbalanced public finances. The need of the European Union to save banks and jobs meant severely increasing public debt, with an exception in Norway and Sweden. Those high levels of public debt made it even more difficult

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[681] Faivre d'Ácier, Bernard et al. (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Theatre*, Institut für Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 225. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/, accessed on 18/02/2020.
[682] Streeck, Wolfgang and Armin Schäfer (2013), *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 3–4.

to move resources from old to new investments, since obligatory expenditure tended to consume the entire budget.[683]

The Cultural Programme was not spared by this impact. National financial support for the arts was consequently jeopardized and cut. In 2009, thirteen projects received access to funding. However, in 2010, nineteen projects were supported by funding; in 2011 the number was only ten, and in 2012 nine projects applied for it.

It is common knowledge that an increased number of productions and events in Europe faced economic problems; the same happened to public theatre and very specifically in countries with predominantly small groups working from one project to another, with small budget and depending on project funding to survive.

Project selection in financial crisis of 2008 (table 10.3)

Year application	Project name	Number applicants
2009	International Young Makers' Exchange; Festival Lab - Theory and practice for the next generation of European festival programmers; MASKS ON STAGE; Project of Generosity; EUROPEAN ROOTS OF ANCIENT; Terra Incognita.europe; Vagabondages; Shake-in the City. The art of inclusion; Les femmes, la ville, la folie: On-AiR, A European "tool for artists", mobility workshops and training programs on artist-in-residence (AiR) opportunities; Experiment diversity (with the street arts and circus!); Migration, Intercultural Dialogue and Integration in Europe, Demonstrated in the play "The Tempest" by William Shakespeare, embedded in activities of theatrical pedagogics; Crossing Paths.	13

[683] Streeck, Wolfgang and Armin Schäfer (2013), *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p. 2.

2010	TRY ANGLE Performing Arts Research Laboratories; International Young Makers in Transit; Fresh Tracks Europe: NEW ARTISTIC IDENTITIES; DNA Development of New Art, Continuum 2011 – 2013; Transnational Coproduction In Action / Meridians; Four Cities, Four Stories; Strangers: the paradoxes of hospitality; Liquid Frontiers	Frontières Liquides; IN/VISIBLE CITY; Shakespeare's Tempest: Ontology, Reconstruction & Manipulation; Community Oriented Art and Social Transformation; IDEOGRAM, Groupe transnational de recherche et de création théâtrale, entre Europe occidentale et orientale; Divina Commedia Theatre Project 2011-2012; CONNECT CONNECT; FRAGILE; UP TO NATURE; Puppet Nomad Academy II; Young Europe 2: Multilingual Creation and Education in Theatre; ANCIENT PATHOS	**19**
2011	"THE NOMADS OF BEAUTY"; Happiness; WORLD CRISIS THEATRE; Performative Culture Cooperation for awareness on past European DICTATorships; Richard Moors' Project - Art, Industrie et Politique; H.O.S.T.- Hospitality, Otherness, Society, Theatre; Second Cities: Stadt als Bühne; PIM & THEO; "PUPPET NOMAD ACADEMY III"; Discovering Theatrelands;	10
2012	"THE NOMADS OF BEAUTY"; WORLD CRISIS THEATRE; WALLS-SEPARATE WORLDS; Un Pays, des Peuples / One Land, Many Faces; "EXPERIMENTAL THEATRE ACADEMY"; TERRORismen; / Freiheit! Gleichheit! Brüderlichkeit! - Eine Erinnerung an Europa Internationales Theaterprojekt nach 'Dantons Tod' von Georg Büchner; European Middle Western Arts; Crossing Stages	9

Source: Info.http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/culture/results_compendia/results_en.php, accessed on 06/06/2016

Central Europe has repertoire theatre, where actors are on a payroll and have the security to play for the entire season. Faivre mentions the risk that the strong increase in theatrical productions may generate a blockage in communication and distribution channels, and this may cause a degree of exhaustion among the audience.[684] Theatre festivals on the other, are the favourite formula to introduce new venues and arise curiosity among the public. On the one hand, this enables the education of the public for theatre in a more ludic form, and it revives the economy of the small towns that host the festival. On the other hand, the investment can be only momentary, and the job increase provoked by these events cannot always assure a

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[684] Faivre d'Àcier, Bernard (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Theatre*, Institut fur Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, et al., p. 225. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/, accessed on 18/02/2020.

continued economic success. This does not offer stability for the cast and production team. The Cultural Programme 2007-2013 has no answer to improve this situation.

3.3   Theatre as a democratic instrument for the European Union

In 1991, the ministers for culture within the Council of the European Union recognized that theatre is one of the most important expressions of cultural life and democratic growth of society and that people can gain an experience that transcends the logic of daily life.[685] This meeting was supported by the following ministers and deputy ministers of culture: Monika Grütters from Germany, Jack Lang from France, Giulio Andreotti from Italy, Jo Ritzen from the Netherlands, René Steichen from Luxembourg, Ole Vig Jensen from Denmark, Charles Haughey from Ireland, , Tzannis Tzannetakis from Greece, Jordi Solé Tura from Spain, Manuel Frexes from Portugal, Rudolf Scholten from Austria, Tytti Isohookana-Asunmaa from Finland and Birgit Friggebo from Sweden. In the end of the meeting they concluded that theatre troughs its activity is able to create a close bond with local, regional and national communities.[686] In 2002 the Council added that: "Whereas theatre and democracy have been intrinsically linked since the beginning of their respective histories, and whereas drama and the performing arts have always mirrored society, providing public space where openness and also resistance may find expression".[687] Once again it is stated by the European Council and its political representatives, the culture ministers of the members states, that theatre is a democratic instrument, with a long history of expressing opinions and promoting public reflection not only in a space of freedom, but also as a resistance against fascist and dictatorial political regimes.

This phenomenon is considered by Jürgen Habermas as the public sphere, a space in which all citizens by right can be involved in a debate on public issues on equal terms.[688] According to Nancy Fraser, this space can be described as an arena in which speakers would set aside the differences of social stratification, based on the values of the French Revolution, and this permits free speech based on equality.[689] According to Fraser this egalitarian society is

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[685] Official Journal of the European Union C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.
[686] Official Journal of the European Union C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.
[687] Official Journal of the European Union C 300 E/157 22.10.02, p. 157.
[688] Habermas, Jurgen (1978), *L'Espace Public: Archéologie de la Publicité comme dimension constitutive da la société bourgeoise*, Paris, Payot, pp. 14–15.
[689] Fraser, Nancy (1990), *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A contribution to the Critique of Actuality Existing Democracy*, DUKE University Press, Social Text, No. 25/26, pp. 56–80.

not based on homogeneity, on the contrary, it is a culturally diverse community, in its values, identities and cultural styles. A multiplicity of publics is evoked, and this is considered an ideal participatory parity.[690] Relating this ideal to the EU, it is a challenge to build a cultural programme that is balanced and that represents the multitudes of cultures that exits in each member state.

Christopher Balme refers to the theatrical perspective on his concept of public sphere, calling it a theatrical public sphere. As an example, he mentions the Münchener Kammerspiele, a drama company founded in 1911 by the city of Munich, Germany. This company calls itself the theatre of the city and wants to be a place of art and debate, a public sphere. Balme describes a show that was set up by actors dressed in costumes representing various protest movements of the past century, from suffragettes to anti-nuclear protester. On the other hand, even in such a democratic environment, these shows are still almost exclusively accessible to an elite group because of tickets prices, language or cultural codes that can become barriers to attending the theatre.[691] Balme reduces its justification for the limited access to those events to ticket prices, cultural codes and languages. There is lack of scientific research about how appreciation, curiosity and interest of the global public interferes with the participation in those events. What other factors could be related and pertinent to look into? Could the proposal, as already requested by the MEPs, to turn cultural education in public school as mandatory have a significant impact in tomorrow's cultural public?

Today the normal performative venues, no matter how innovative, revolutionary or taboo breaking they are, have little engagement with the public sphere. Theatre has throughout the last century transformed the "rowdy, event-based, explosive reunion" into a place focused on the aesthetic absorption that has been obtained at the cost of its publicness.[692] On the other hand, according to Janelle Reinelt, the elite public that visits the theatres that present European subjects are perhaps the public that identifies themselves as European citizens.[693] However this is a selected group. It maybe stated that a larger part of the European public could be reached

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[690] Fraser, Nancy (1990), *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A contribution to the Critique of Actuality Existing Democracy*, DUKE University Press, Social Text, No. 25/26, pp. 56–80.

[691] B. Balme, Christopher (2014), *The Theatrical Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 2.

[692] B. Balme, Christopher (2014), *The Theatrical Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 3.

[693] Reinelt, Janelle (2001), *Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a "New" Europe*, Theatre Journal, vol. 53, no. 3 p. 384.

through a continuous propagation of European values and that those values in return could enrich the participation in European cultural activities. This mutual reinforcing will allow a stronger and more participated public sphere.

The concept of geographical cultural space, already mentioned in chapter 2, is pertinent at this stage. In order to democratize and unify a cultural European phenomenon, the transcending of borders by the cooperation partners in the projects is a start.

Vera Dantas, in her book *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu,* quoted Forest saying that culture could be a vehicle for the European values of tolerance, democracy, diversity and pluralism as the European way of life and adds that, for example, since Antiquity until the present time, from Sophocles to Brecht and Becket, European theatre has always been connected to democracy, providing a platform for free speech.[694]

According to Reinelt, pan-European plays need to be related directly to current events that occur across Europe in order to simultaneously transmit a local and a more broadly European message.[695] Naturally, if there are subjects to which Europeans could all relate, the sense of community would increase and be strengthened. The reflection of life as found on the stage also becomes a reflection of Europe itself. According to Ellis, these events also develop a pan-European public and relate to Reinelt's statement about this impact in theatre festivals across borders: [696] "know they will work across Europe and abroad."[697] That statement may confirm that with these theatre festivals the goal of the European concept "united in diversity" can be achieved.

Jürgen Berger, critic for *Theater heute*, points out that in Europe, the interlinked festivals and co-production holds "far greater significance than the influence of the individual theatre makers and production facilities".[698] These festivals are considered as an opportunity of democratization of culture and create the impression that they strengthen local identity. They

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[694] Forest quoted by Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensão Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomático, p. 55.
[695] Reinelt, Janelle et al. (2008), *The Role of National Theatres in an Age of Globalization* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 230.
[696] Ellis, Roger (2011), *Serving Publics: International Theater Festivals and their Global Audiences*, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, vol. 1, no. 14, 10.2011. p. 112.
[697] Reinelt, Janelle et al. (2008), *The Role of National Theatres in an Age of Globalization* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 230.
[698] Jurgen Berger quoted by Ellis, Roger, *Serving Publics: International Theater Festivals and their Global Audiences,* International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, vol. 1, no. 14, 10.2011. p. 112.

also open opportunity for new business.[699] Many more contemporary authors could be quoted that support this vision.

But critical voices exist. The first concern, already mentioned in chapter 1 and contemplated in the European legislation is about the regional cultural heritage. The second is more complex. It is about the soul theatres itself.

Among the theatre projects that were supported by the programme, are four projects related to Shakespeare's work and one to Berthold Brecht, but more conceptual and innovative projects are the major part in the selection for financial support because the main goal is to contribute to intercultural dialogue and innovation rather than focus on the authors themselves. This kind of projects are supported by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 with Strand 1.1 on multiannual cooperation (see chapter 2). Still Kalina Stefanov, a theatre critic from Sophia, remains wary of the transnational megahits, such as Shakespeare plays, dominating so many festivals that suppresses local, regional and national cultures; she asks: "Isn't the concept of "national" one of the few refuges for cultural identity in the globalized world?"[700]

Unfortunately, there is no simple answer to that question. Once again it shows how ambiguous the cultural programme promoted by the European Union is and the complexity of finding a balance when it comes to create a common European cultural feeling versus cultural identity on a national level of the member states. Who is jeopardizing who? Who needs more protection, investment and building up?

Now to theatre itself: against most theories and intentions, Joe Kelleher stated that to instrumentalise theatre as a mean of guiding our actions and changing the world does not work and never will.[701] Rebecca Hillman, lecturer in drama at the University of Exeter, adds that political theatre in the 60s and 70s was often discredited as idealistic and outdated, whether the observation is based on its status in changing sociocultural and philosophical contexts or on its formal qualities.[702] The writer Hans-Theis Lehmann suggested that political conflicts increasingly escapes its true meaning and lost its messages in the stage direction; he argues

[699] Faivre d'Ácier, Bernard (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Theatre*, Institut für Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, et al., p. 226. https://ifacca.org/es/noticias/2007/01/22/progress-europe-culture-report/, accessed on 18/02/2020
[700] Stefanova, Kalina, International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, vol. 1, no. 14, 10.2011, p. 113.
[701] Kelleher, Joe (2009),*Theatre and Politics*, Houndmills, Palgrave, p. 57.
[702] Hillman, Rebeca (2015),*(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 380.

therefore that the place of political statement or debate is outside theatres, representing politics in the domain of "real politics" instead of being in a scenic representation.[703] These authors arguments go against the essence of theatre across the ages; historically, at least since the Greeks, theatre was used as a mirror for and of society and thus political.

Across the centuries theatre became the object of censorship for political reasons, in order to control it and to prevent social uproar: this monitoring effort proves the theatre potential as a political and social agitator. In Europe, censorship was still active until the late 1960s, as seen at the beginning of this chapter on the topic of the historic roots of theatre. Aristotle, with his construct of the *rhetoric triangle*, laid the foundation of influencing power as the essence of this performative art [704]:

- *Ethos* - The technique of the writer to demonstrate credibility and trustworthiness on the message that he wants to transmit.
- *Logos* - The ability of the text to overcome the critical position of the audience and to ensure that its message is understood.
- *Pathos* - The content in the play that reaches out to emotion, values and beliefs of the public.

The *Pathos* is developed through the presence of catharsis and ritualistic action during the performance. The use of a ritualistic theatre creates a transcendent sense of belonging between the members of the social community. Brecht reinterpreted the Aristotelian rhetoric: actors (called rhetor) develop a speech in which the public will be educated (*docere*), entertained (*delectare*) and moved (*movere*) in order to create a common space between the actors and the audience, re-enacting *the polis* in which they become transformers of a new reality.[705]

Nevertheless, according to Hillman, the concept of live performance as having the efficiency to provoke political change remained contested, although politically motivated performances demonstrate and facilitates change, especially in terms of improving people's lives and working conditions. Such practices are carried out by companies and activists in the UK and elsewhere to contribute to the so-called old-fashioned (and ideologically influenced)

[703] Hans-Theis Lehmann quoted by Hillman, Rebeca (2015*),(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 382.
[704] Agosta, Rebeca, *The Rhetorical Triangle*, https://pages.uncc.edu/unccwrc/blog/2017/08/28/the-rhetorical-triangle/ , accessed on 23/07/2020.
[705] Vidal, Francesca (s.a), *The importance of rhetoric for Bert Brecht – The spectatator as an active listener*, https://wp.uni-koblenz.de/vidal/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2017/03/BrechtunddieRhetorik.pdf, p.1, accessed on 23/07/2020.

mantra "educate, agitate and organize".[706] Historically, these words where the slogan for a social reform in India fighting against the conditions of the "untouchables".[707]

Maria Shevtsova holds the Chair of Drama and Theatre Arts at Goldsmiths at the University of London and questioned what kind of political attitude can be developed in an era regarded as the end of ideologies, characterized by an overwhelming global economic and democratic crisis that involves the increasing disempowerment of the citizens.[708] The "mantra" can still be found as part of theatrical activism and some are supported by the CP with projects that focus on education and questioning. But will this "mantra-organized" public change, today, leave a long-lasting footprint and positive response as it did a century ago? This can only be answered by introducing a sociological study about the subsequent effects, especially on a regional basis, left by the theatrical projects. Hillman also pointed out that in the financial crisis of 2007 there was a resurgence of political activism that has been followed by a recuperation of political intervention on stage. There was a growing exposure to radical political positions and frameworks including communist philosophy in theatre.[709] When crisis are over which kind of foot print will remain?

3.3.1 *Homo Europaeus post-modernis*

The *Homo Europaeus* lives in a challenging society in profound change called de-traditionalization. This concept is supported by the sociologists Giddens, Beck and Lash; de-traditionalization, in the understanding of the authors, does not necessarily mean a society without tradition but a new use of tradition, a more critical and reflexive one: the concept refers to a new social order where tradition changes it status.[710] Eric Hobsbawm points out that we cannot just assume that the invention of new traditions is a replacement for old traditions, by eliminating everything that was build and transmitted through time. New tradition should not fill the gap left by the old ones when they stagnate. Old traditions need to adapt to the demands

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[706] Hillman, Rebeca (2015*),(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 380.

[707] Ambedkar, Babasaheb (1979), *Writings and Speeches*, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Vol.1, p.357.

[708] Shevtova, Maria (2016), *Political Theatre in Europe: East to West, 2007-2014*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXII, p. 146.

[709] Hillman, Rebeca (2015*),(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 383.

[710] Gradíssimo, Ana Rebeca Steingräber (2009), *Historic Roots in Postmodern Society: A Theatrical Perspective*, p. 4.

of the modern world.[711] Hobsbawm considers that today's society is changing so quickly and in a way so unpredictably that nothing that we inherited can be taken for granted any longer.[712] He also argues that the changes in society are occurring in a such a vertiginous evolution that the need for constant creation of new tradition can lead to the formation of unfunctional clusters.[713] This means that by the end, the important rehearsal and repetitive behaviour that establishes a tradition is not able to occur. However, accumulation of new behaviours has no chance to be experienced and accepted to be functional in order to become a "new tradition", the adaptation of old traditions could prevent that clustering.[714] Consequently Hobsbawm created the concept of invented tradition: a patchwork of practices with rules and rituals of a symbolic nature that intended to introduce certain values and norms through repetitive behaviour and always with a connection to the past.[715] In relation to the construction of a new European social order through these practises, this may work within a solid frame of repetitive traditional and ritualistic behaviour of cultural action within the European Union. This could be developed through the already mentioned, technical and conceptual characteristics of theatre practices.

The question asked by Kelleher is about outdated theatrical activism opposes the concerns of Shevtsova regarding a lack of ideology in society. Theatre is able to build bridges between different cultures through historic representation (re-enactment theatre) and storytelling as it always did, confronting the audience with the past - and with tradition. This confrontation develops a reflection about present society and projects into the future by giving it instruments to understand it.[716] It reinforces knowledge and myth that interferes with how the world and social relations are perceived and accepted or put into question. According to Foucault, the presentation of ritualistic performances, have always been part of a social

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[711] Hobsbawm, Eric (1983), *Introduction: Inventing Traditions* in *The invention of tradition* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 4–5.

[712] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 56.

[713] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 56.

[714] Hobsbawm, Eric (2013), *Fractured times: Culture and Society in the twentieth century*, London, Little Brown, p. 56.

[715] Hobsbawm, Eric (1983), *Introduction: Inventing Traditions* in *The invention of tradition* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 1.

[716] Gradíssimo, Ana Rebeca Steingräber (2009), *Historic Roots in Postmodern Society: A Theatrical Perspective*, p. 6.

container and an important factor in maintaining the balance of power structures.[717] Is re-enactment theatre a representative method of performance that sustains "grand narrative"? Lyotard, considers that that narrative has no longer a place in a post-modern society.[718]

The security, prosperity and ongoing economic grows and welfare, traditionally supplied by the grand narrative failed. The huge worldwide economic crises hit Europe strong. The young generation that entered the work force in the beginning of the century had to face an economic crisis and loss of opportunity to prosper. Their protest movement revealed a lack of consistency without any ideological background to support their indignation, transforming their revolt into something fragile. As observed by the journalist Daniel Oliveira in his article in the journal *Expresso* in 2011: "(…) eles nascem sem ideologia, mas só a ideologia lhes pode dar sentido. (…) Num tempo em que tudo é gasosos, só a solidez das grandes narrativas pode tornar material o que corre o risco de se perder no ar (…)".[719] In time of crisis the solid ground provided by *grand narratives* is easier to live with than with "floating objects".

What to win and what to lose with the Europeanization of culture in this larger spectrum of European space? In chapter 2 the polish MEP Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański underlined his concern of the Europeanization of regional heritage; his fear of losing those self-assured grand narratives represented by old tradition and ritual that could be jeopardized by the influence of the CP and the cultural exchange with other European countries is legitimate. New traditions and rituals are required because people need clearness, safety, revisability and norms that allows passages into new periods in life. This creates a sense of belonging and community. The work of the British drama company Welfare State International, from 1968 onwards, was recognized as producing new narratives by creating new rituals that replaces the old tradition in their form, but not in their importance and meaning. Tony Coult argues that the work of Welfare State International created new myths, new hybrid styles and a new celebration based on old tradition. John Fox, one of the founders of Welfare International, justified their goals as follows:

> "We are looking for a culture where more people could actively participate and gain power to celebrate moments that are wonderful and significant: moments such as building their own houses, naming children, burying the dead, announcing partnerships, marking anniversaries, creating sacred space and producing whatever theatre, music and jokes are useful in an evolving world society – even a new society in which success is

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[717] Foucault quoted by Gradíssimo, Ana Rebeca Steingräber (2009), *Historic Roots in Postmodern Society: A Theatrical Perspective*, p. 5.

[718] Lyotard, Jean François (1979), *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp.37-38.

[719] Oliveira, Daniel (2011), "Fora de Ordem", *Jornal Expresso*, 12 March 2011.

secondary to satisfaction and where a state of creative being is more valuable than a predicted career."[720]

The European Union needs to find new ways to enact itself; it requires the young generation to reintroduce these reforms. The patchwork biographies that are found in this generation need to search for a new grand narrative… an European one. As Lähdesmäki affirms, the EU needs a narrative that would increase unity in Europe and that would promote European integration, which is urgent due to the economic, political and humanitarian crises Europe has faced throughout its history.[721] And still faces.

Re-enactment theatre shows us a past world of old traditions with examples to follow and orienting values. Grand narratives that gives us an opportunity to filter and the possibility to choose and to take from the past what is useful in the present to prepare for the future.[722] Habermas stated, as already quoted in this study, that Europe unites itself by "amnesic reason".[723] Treaties, alliances, conflicts, pandemics, wars, stories of hatred and love, heroes, marriage of convenience, scientific achievements and cultural genius: an infinite number of links in a chain that bounds all together. Most of all was presented on stage. This common History can be represented by re-enactment theatre. Janelle Reinelt describes theatre as being well suited in a period of social crises to influence and to reflect the course of history through the presentation of mimesis, transformative models and critical observation.[724]

Shevtsova, focusing on the period 2007–2014, realized that even if each theatre project features a distinctive and unique voice, none of them is an isolated case specially because societies in the present century are not hermetic.[725] They interconnect, they are part of a global market and they are increasingly politically interdependent. Theatre develops a critical,

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[720]Fox, John (2005), "Whose Culture?" in *Conference Agenda, ArtsProfessional*, 26 September 2005, https://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/magazine/article/conference-agenda-whose-culture, accessed on 05/10/2019.

[721] Lähdesmäki, Tuuli (2018), *Founding myths of European Union Europe and the workings power in the European Union heritage and history initiatives*, Jyväskylä, SAGE, European Journal of Cultural Studies, p. 3.

[722] Giddens, Anthony, Ulrich Beck, Scott Lash (1994), *Modernização Reflexiva: Política, Tradição e Estética na Ordem Social Moderna*, Oeiras, Celta Editores, p. 59.

[723] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p.11

[724] Reinelt, Janelle (2001), *Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a "New" Europe*, Theatre Journal, Vol. 53, No. 3, p. 366.

[725]Shevtova, Maria (2016), *Political Theatre in Europe: East to West, 2007-2014*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXII, pp. 155–156.

mistrustful and scathing perception about today's political forces.[726] The theatrical projects supported by the CP have in their resumé the development of intercultural dialogue and networking as one of their main objectives. But on the subject of the creation of new traditions and rituals that are able to fortify its endorsement of intercultural dialogue, there are still some flaws. A community needs these clear, connected and repetitive moments. Is the Cultural Programme clear about that, when it challenges promoters for new projects? There is no evidence that points into this direction.

In Germany and France political theatre has made its work more specific to the subjects of economy, cultural manifestations and capitalism. The subjects are not new, but its pertinence is renewed and important again to reflect today's society. The world is starting to be divided into two parts: one that welcomes cultural diversity and another that opposes it. This is felt across Europe too and has become one on the main subjects of discussion in the European institutions and in the general society over last few years.

Political plays become a tool for this discussion. Following Berthold Brecht's epic theatre movement, the contemporary American playwright David Hare states that political plays should operate as "the interaction of what you are saying and what the audience is thinking, and as a transitional aid to understanding, rather that the ultimate solution to men's problems."[727]

Theatre should be used as a place of debate but also of wonder and fascination; if it becomes too intellectual and follows the tastes only of an elite group, its space for debate will be reduced. It should also be allowed to use its power to make people marvel and to continue to present its democratic speech to a wider public from all social and financial strata. A wide range of options should be present in all cultural activities.

3.4 The contribution of theatre in today's Europe

The uncertainty of the role of (contemporary) theatre could be linked to a more general concern about the fate of theatre itself, loudly asserting the vital importance of live performance

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[726] Shevtova, Maria (2016), *Political Theatre in Europe: East to West, 2007-2014*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXII, pp. 155–156.

[727] David Hare quoted by Hillman, Rebeca (2015*),(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI p. 384.

in a world of increasingly virtual reality,[728] a thought shared by Jacky Bratton, emeritus professor for drama and theatre at Royal Holloway, University of London. So, what are the features of this performing art that could still make it a crucial form of art in today's European society? How can theatre compete, even co-exist, with an overwhelming offer of virtual panoply?

Eva Urban, a Senior Research Fellow at the Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace Ireland, wrote an article about the use of city spaces for contemporary Irish site-specific theatre production to explore histories of oppression and social injustice and to imagine a new human practice for society.[729] This perspective was developed in the production *The Conquest of Happiness* inspired by Bertrand Russel's dedication to human happiness, focussing on war and suffering. Those ideals also challenged authoritarianism and explored humanistic ideas.[730] Authoritarianism is based on economic structures as the root of conflict, violence and human suffering. This project supported the ideals of love, solidarity, critical citizenship and internationalism as an integral part.[731]

> "While oppressive political and economic systems are contested, and while retaliation against gross inequality needs to be boosted and strengthened, it is worthwhile negotiating and reconstructing discursive and practical frameworks for theatre as an agent for change, to evolve its efficacy for the future."[732]

The resurgence of authoritarianism regimes are present in today's European society, implicating racism, gender issues, xenophobia, and restraining of democratic rights. The responses that theatre is able contribute with, through the diverse use of non-conventional theatre spaces, is a proof of flexibility that theatre represents. Once again it reveals its ability to constructs different worlds in different places, and this represents the diversity that exists in Europe: the adaptability, the renewal of ways to express itself and to connect to the public without forgetting its roots of rituals and traditions as a cultural transmitter and an active "voice" for change.

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[728] Bratton, Jacky (2003), *New readings in Theatre History*, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, p. 3.

[729] Urban, Eva (2015) *Actors in the Same Tragedy: Bertrand Russel, Humanism, and The Conquest of Happiness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, pp. 343–344.

[730] Urban, Eva (2015) *Actors in the Same Tragedy: Bertrand Russel, Humanism, and The Conquest of Happiness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, pp. 343–344.

[731] Urban, Eva (2015) *Actors in the Same Tragedy: Bertrand Russel, Humanism, and The Conquest of Happiness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, pp. 343–344.

[732] Hillman, Rebeca (2015*),(Re)constructing Political Theatre: Discursive and Practical Frameworks for Theatre as an Agent for Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. XXXI, p. 395.

Theatre practitioners characteristically have a strong awareness of theatrical tradition, and if they are aware how art and politics have always been interlinked, they would find new creative resources to address present political situations.[733] Reinelt adds that theatre alone cannot change the world, but its unique form can promote embodied and imagined knowledge to express and support the potential for social imagination. The challenges Europe is facing today needs to reinforce imagination, identification, tradition and innovation, suitable subjects for theatre's flexible skills.[734]

Dragan Klaic warns that the national theatres will lose credibility if they continue to act indifferently towards cultural diversity issues and evade the inclusion of other ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups on stage. Recognizing the capacity to enhance intercultural competence over national tradition, the theatre may become a force to shape a notion of European citizenship.[735] Some national theatres with bilateral and multilateral international co-productions were supported by the European Cultural Programme 2007–2013 in cooperation projects:[736] the National Theatre of Brittany in 2007 with the project Prospero (already discussed in this chapter); the Theatre National of Luxembourg in 2009 with the project Migration, Intercultural Dialogue and Integration in Europe, with the play "The Tempest" by William Shakespeare; the Miskolc National Theatre of Hungary in 2010 with the project Young Europe 2: Multilingual Creation and Education in Theatre; the National Theatre of Bordeaux in 2011 with the project Next Step – The Second Generation. This means that only four national theatres participated in these international cooperation projects throughout the CP; all the other applicants came from associations and other private companies.

Going back to Bratton's concern in the beginning of this section: virtual reality is not able to create a true collective feeling. Even so technical manipulation may produce more intense sensations via virtual reality, theatre, just the same, may present in a life performance not just "true reality": on stage it may produce sounds, images, environments and strange creatures.

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[733] Reinelt, Janelle (2001), *Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a "New" Europe*, Theatre Journal, Vol. 53, No.3 p.366

[734] Reinelt, Janelle (2001), *Performing Europe: Identity Formation for a "New" Europe*, Theatre Journal, Vol. 53, No.3 p.366

[735] Klaic, Dragan et. al (2008), *National Theatres Undermined by the Withering of the Nation-State* in in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 226.

[736] See appendix 2.

"Everyone tries out what he can:

Don't fail to show me, I'm your man,

Your trap-doors, and your scenery.

Use heavenly lights, the big and small,

Squander stars in any number,

Rocky cliffs, and fire, and water,

Birds and creatures, use them all.

So in our narrow playhouse waken

The whole wide circle of creation,

And stride, deliberately, as well,

From Heaven, through the world, to Hell."[737]

So, both pure virtual experience and theatre can provide a vision of what maybe reality or not, with an invitation to a more or less dynamic interaction. However, Theatre can survive with one strong argument: Collectiveness. Theatre needs an audience. It creates an observing system: the theatrical sphere.

The impact of collective feeling within the audience, the presence of others, the consciousness of the human condition, the awareness to one´s surrounding and the capacity to experience together, is one of the uniqueness of Theatre: it can marvel. The co-spectator is part of the theatrical dynamic and certainly a most interesting subject to be approached but could not be addressed as it deserved in the frame of this research.

A critical and participating European public represents the core of the Europeans that use theatre as a democratic instrument. It becomes a place of discussion outside the European political institutions, and it needs access to them. Does this awareness exists in the cultural decision-makers? Does the Cultural Programmes reflect this need? When that accesses is granted, the EU gains an ally for democracy. Recognizing that the *European theatrical sphere*

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[737]Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von*, Faust Parts I & II*, A. S. Kline https://antilogicalism.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/faust.pdf, accessed on 26/07/2020.

can be a consciously and reflexive space in society to make decisions, for debate and decision on the European Union's future, this could be part of the solution towards a more connected society.

3.5   Conclusion

Theatre is an ancient cultural activity. It proved to be an important instrument to build a relationship with its public. This affirmation stands on the historical contextualization and is reinforced by the arguments presented by some European thinkers. Theatre becomes a controversial subject when related to politics and the force it has to promote organic unity among the community.

In the first half of the 20th century, theatre experienced a major change and attempts to develop new and inspiring approaches, such as modern expressionist theatre. This period is particularly important because it influenced political theatre during the time in which Europe suffered two world wars. This kind of performance mirrored a time of revolutions, fears, questioning, reflection and rebirth from the "ashes" left behind by the wars.

Epic theatre from ancient Greece, was revived by the German playwright Berthold Brecht. He invented the *Verfremdungseffekt* (estrangement effect), which involves the dissociation of the actor from his character and the "nudeness" of the sets. He stated a critical position towards theatrical clichés. With his experimental theatre, Brecht introduced an element of a scientific age into the arts. He was inspired by Marxist doctrine as a foundation on what he based his "experiments" as he designed his model. Karl Marx's social theory allowed him to formulate the issues of his theatre for the scientific age precisely.[738]

After World War II, the British period of "kitchen sink drama", represented by the "angry young men" movement was led by the British playwright John Osborne at the beginning of the 1950s. It was established by various British novelists and playwrights working with the "angry young men", they expressed scorn for and disaffection with the established socio-political order of their country. Their impatience and resentment were especially aroused by what they perceived as the hypocrisy and mediocrity of the upper and middle classes. Political activism was enhanced during these periods, and theatre became once again space of freedom

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[738] Fischer-Lichte, Erika (2002), *History of European Drama and Theatre*, London, Routledge, p. 315.

of speech and debate, confronting obsolete political and socially imposed system. The democratic "weapon" of theatre was reactivated, creating one of the most fascinating periods of theatrical production, challenging all social strata.

This present study did not focus on the audio-visual industry but its place in the European cultural spectrum cannot be overlooked: it belongs to single branch outside the CP called the MEDIA Programme with a budget of 755 million euros,[739] nearly 20 times more investment than in theatre. This programme, similar to the CP, developed training for professionals, developed production projects, and was concerned with the distribution of artistic works (in this case film and audio-visual programmes). MEDIA supported artistic projects relating to film and audio-visual programmes, supported film festivals, and promoted use of new technology.[740]

The film industry had more financial support with the argument that it is a more popular cultural instrument than theatre, that attracts more audience and due its nature can be easier replicated. But they have similar goals of spreading European cultural diversity. Theatre can be the very spirit of excitement, engaging the public in a manner that film and television can never hope to achieve, according to Neil Fraser, Director of Technical Training and writer at RADA (Royal Academy of Dramatic Art).[741] This is reinforced by Coveney, "Television drama, with several but too many exceptions is definitely a poor relation today to the theatre. Theatre has relocated its own voice as a place of tribunal, debate, dissent and indeed celebration."[742] If this is an intrinsic power own by theatre, why does it have so much less financial support compared to MEDIA? Theatre has constant production costs, when staged.

This brings us back to the period of the origins of theatre, when the Greeks used it not only for escapism and entertainment but also for public awakening. This is what theatre is all about. Theatre cannot belong to an elite anymore. The lack of investment will always position it in that stratum and prevent people from going out of their "shell". Mirroring reality can reinforce and safeguard the fragile democracy of today's society and turn it into emancipated civic exercise, resistant and awake to defend European cultural life-style. Mark Ravenhill, a

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[739] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd, p. 9.

[740] *MEDIA programme (2007-2013)*, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/previous-programmes/media_en, accessed on 09/07/2018.

[741] Fraser, Neil (2004), *Theatre History Explained*, Wilshire, The Crowood Press Ltd, p. 5.

[742] Coveney, Michael et al. (2008), *The National Theatre and Civic Responsibility in the British Isle* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, pp. 180–181.

contemporary British playwright, intended that after the presentation of one of his plays to a young audience, it would have encouraged the spectators "to go out into the world and ask some new questions about it."[743] It is more than time to introduce theatre to a broader audience and give it the input that has been given to the media industry. Theatre creates a sense of collectiveness because emotions are shared in a room in which everyone is visible. It is flexible about the choice of space and immerses itself in the public that is invited to go on fictional journeys. It is stated by the Council of Ministers (represented by the cultural ministers of the member states) that theatre: "(…) in contrast to the audiovisuality industry, occupies limited amount of time and space."[744] That may be true about the staging itself, but not about his possible enduring impact. The question is what kind of criteria are applied when it comes to decided funding? How are values calculated?

Still, it seems that theatre has achieved a special status in the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 itself, its importance being underlined by the European Union. Performing arts are favoured above literature and music. At least, that is the official statement, but this is not necessarily reflected by the budget attribution: only around 10% was directed at theatre.

Actions that explore the means of long-term cooperation are especially targeted by applicants. Long-term cooperation seems to be the most favourable mechanism; this can also promote more financial security for the projects. It follows the goal of the European Union to leave a long-lasting footprint as well as influence and values. Another goal is to promote more employment and tourism and transform cultural activities, such as theatre, into something economically significant and viable. Theatre festivals are preferred by the European Union, because of the diversity of cultural exchange, economic potential and attraction of tourism, providing a source of continuity after the event. Favouring economic interest in cultural activities selected by the Cultural Programmes was not subtle. Instead the EU seems to postpone into second place potential outcomes like social inclusion, solidarity and cultural dialogue, contradicting its bestseller motto "united in diversity" when it comes to create the *Homo Europeaus*.

The projects mentioned in this chapter, selected by the Cultural Programme 2007-2013, are based on their innovation and the creation of a cultural geographical space in the EU. They

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[743] Mark Ravenhill quoted by Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 4.
[744] Official Journal of the European Union C 300 E/157 22.10.02, p. 157.

promote cultural dialogue, technological innovation and the exploration of new spaces in trans-national cooperation. The support for newcomers and young artists in the theatrical field is considered priority as well as the concern how to connect with the public.

Some projects deserve a closer look. In the case of Italy, the group *EUFONIA cooperative society* with *Strangers: the paradoxes of hospitality* and *WALLS-SEPARATE WORLDS* is mainly concerned with migration and different backgrounds. This project creates a debate and reflection upon borders, organizing artistic residences and workshops. The German project *Connect Connect* promoted by *Spielmotor München e. V. (Festival SPIELART)* has a strong educational purpose, it supports new theatre artists in six different European member states. The project *European Middle Western Arts,* promoted by the group 0090 vzw from Belgian, worked with partners outside European border, reaching out to the Middle East.

The French project *Prospero*, was and important example explored in this chapter, of theatrical cooperation between different countries. It was clearly representative of the mechanism to develop intercultural dialogue and the recognition of diversity in theatre within the European space.

> "Le Pillouër enthuses about the Prospero project. With its subtitle – six towns, one project, one joint theatre – this four-year programme funded by EU money grew out of an observation that the tragedy of Europe is that it built itself starting with the common market. If only we had started with culture."[745]

Blog the Theatre was another successful geographical cultural network, a cross-national cooperation project among theatres from Austria, Hungary, Romania and Italy.

Another way to enhance cultural space is the promotion of "European City of Culture", connecting European cities with common cultural projects and events with the duration of one year, and that may emphasize longer lasting alliances between regional entities.

The drama company Welfare State International innovated their theatrical intervention based on tradition and rituals. John Fox's social observation is still valid and important today: "Currently we live in a materialistic society; religious beliefs are declining and there is no structure of myth. We try to find archetypes that are universally shared, and present them in an idiom accessible to a broad audience".[746] According to Giddens it is an error to think that

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[745] *Herzberg,   Nathaniel,   Can   theatre   save   Europe?,* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/25/can-theatre-save-europe-eu, accessed on 14/09/2019.
[746] John Fox quoted by Coult, Tony (1983), *One Foot on the Ground, One Foot Moving: An introduction to the work of Welfare State International*, London, Metheun, p. 1.

traditions have stagnated; they evolve with time but can also adapt fast: they are constantly invented and reinvented.[747] There is no easy answer when it comes to define the place of Culture and specially Theatre in contemporary society.

There was a concern expressed by the Polish MEP Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański, about the influence of the Cultural Programme 2007–2013, the cultural transborder exchanges and subsequent reinforcement of Europeanization its risk for regional heritage. Melo states that the fear of cultural uniformization of a country comes from the weak cultural politics development by the local governments.[748] The question remains, regarding culture, if there can only be "one"? Are they conflicting parts? Is Europeanization kind of an opposing alternative to local cultural tradition or are they concealable or even complementary? Who is responsible to protect one and the other?

According to Reinelt the future must be created in global terms, in relation to other cultures, languages, customs, values, and traditions. The ambiguity in the European Union regarding the anxiety about safe-keeping national identity versus the need to transition to a European one is very perceptive. Reinelt describes the theatrical stage as a potentially fruitful place for representing these anxieties and exploring some possible configurations for a global future,[749] such as an European one.

New traditions and rituals are certainly required in a network system across the EU because individuals and collectives need transparency and some orientation, to accept new periods of the community life and to creates a sense of belonging. As Hobsbawm points out, in spite of the invention of many new traditions and customs, these have not filled the gap left by the old ones in society because the past has become less relevant.[750] This is a point on which the EU needs to secure the course, for its identity, for now, is still built upon past memories. Without the past, the EU needs to create a new reason for its existence. A new narrative has to be consistent and on solid ground. Anything else without truthfulness, will be considered artificial and much more difficult to accept.

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[747] Giddens, Anthony (2000), *3. Tradição* in *O Mundo na Era da Globalização,* Lisboa, Presença, p. 48.

[748] Melo, Alexandre (2002), *Capitulo 2. Dimensões culturais da globalização*, Globalização Cultural, Lisboa, Quimera, p. 44.

[749] Reinelt, Janelle et al. (2008), *The Role of National Theatres in an Age of Globalization* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 237.

[750] Hobsbawm, Eric (1983), *Introduction: Inventing Traditions* in *The invention of tradition* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 11.

It was underlined by Hobsbawm that traditions and rituals should not only be a social and political construct.[751]Rituals, ceremonies and repetition have important social functions and are already used in politics. Nevertheless it has to be considered and respected that tradition changes, two antagonistic forces emerges opposing the cosmopolitanism (the main characteristic of European society) and fundamentalism (which is currently on the rise in Europe).[752]

Quoting Reinelt again: "In European nations today, citizens may have such aspirations for a cultural identity in relation to other nations. Ireland and Estonia have served as particular examples here, but citizens of many countries take pride – or at least partisan interest – in their cultural identity. If this popular sentiment can be exploited to invigorate a re-examination of national identity in relationship to the global context without creating a new chauvinism, (…)".[753] A healthy relationship with national culture and identity does not necessarily imply an aggressive national feeling. It is possible to create a healthy balance of unity in diversity in the European Union, without the fear of losing traditional or regional values while respecting new cultures. In spite of critical voices theatre throughout history proved that its Epic journey in the society is not over yet.

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[751] Hobsbawm, Eric (1983), *Introduction: Inventing Traditions* in *The invention of tradition* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 264.
[752] Giddens, Anthony (2000), *3. Tradição* in *O Mundo na Era da Globalização,* Lisboa, Presença, p. 52.
[753] Reinelt, Janelle et al. (2008), *The Role of National Theatres in an Age of Globalization* in S.E. Wilmer *National Theatre in a Changing Europe*, London, Palgrave, p. 234.

Conclusion

The 1755 earthquake in Lisbon was one of the first examples of early European solidarity across the continent: "(…) A strong network of aid was established between Portugal and its European counterparts. From Spain, France, Great Britain and the German States help was sent in the shape of currency, food, building supplies, human expertise and labour force.(…)"[754] By this period, Lisbon was one of the wealthiest cities in the world and an important part in the global trade network. Eighteenth-century Europe was discovering the powerful force of information spread in newspapers and letters: "(…)Newspapers rapidly developed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries benefiting from an increasing number of readers interested in what was happening all over Europe as well as in other regions of the recently "discovered" (…)".[755]

This offered the European elite, that lived in the capitals, the opportunity to get in touch with what was happening all over the world. The Lisbon earthquake was perhaps the first event to become major news across Europe – in fact it was felt until Finland with contemporary reports of ships being torn from their anchorage.[756] In Britain, Lisbon was suddenly catapulted to the first pages of the newspapers: its history, its location and chief urban features were the subject of extensive reports.[757] On the other hand: not only solidarity, but economic reasons induced a wave of interest. The British parliament donated over 100.000 pounds, an attention that obviously was related to trade relations between the capitals. This catastrophe unleashed a variety of cultural manifestation. The city of Hamburg, with trading firms allocated in Lisbon, even requested a *cantata* from George Telemann in 1756. Voltaire, who was staying in Switzerland in November 1755, dedicated his poem *Poème sur les desástre de Lisbonne* that

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[754] Murteira, Helena (2004), *The Lisbon earthquake of 1755: the catastrophe and its European repercussions*, *Economia Global e Gestão (Global Economics and Management Review)* Lisboa , Vol.10*,* https://lisbon-pre-1755-earthquake.org/en/the-lisbon-earthquake-of-1755-the-catastrophe-and-its-european-repercussions/, accessed on 26/02/2020.
[755] . Murteira, Helena (2004), *The Lisbon earthquake of 1755: the catastrophe and its European repercussions*, *Economia Global e Gestão (Global Economics and Management Review)* Lisboa , Vol.10*,* https://lisbon-pre-1755-earthquake.org/en/the-lisbon-earthquake-of-1755-the-catastrophe-and-its-european-repercussions/, accessed on 26/02/2020.
[756] Lauer, Gerhard (2008), *Das Erdbeben von Lissabon Ereignis, Wahrnehmung und Deutung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* , Göttingen, Universitätsverlag, p. 225.
[757] . Murteira, Helena (2004), *The Lisbon earthquake of 1755: the catastrophe and its European repercussions*, *Economia Global e Gestão (Global Economics and Management Review)* Lisboa , Vol.10*,* https://lisbon-pre-1755-earthquake.org/en/the-lisbon-earthquake-of-1755-the-catastrophe-and-its-european-repercussions/, accessed on 26/02/2020.

activated philosophical exchange with the European intellectual elite, like Rosseau and Kant.[758] Impressive engravings, even if at that time still an expensive reproduction techniques, gave the illiterate population access to the horrors and destruction "Je schrecklicher je besser, vorausgesetzt man ist in Sicherheit"[759], satisfying some macabre-curiosity and as a mean of alert. The Earthquake awoke political and clerical narratives about power and morals. Like today the world was in turmoil.

Between economic interest and solidarity as the European Union's main values, the present research began with the historical evolution of the European institutions and their responsibility since the founding fathers.

In 1946 the European countries were struggling to overcome another destruction, this time caused by World War II, which ended in 1945. The "politics of memory",[760] a term used by José Magone, becomes an important dimension in many European countries. It reflects the concept that holds the European Union together: its common history. During this period, European countries affected by World War II had concerns about a revival of nationalism and the threat represented by the USSR. It was time to build a multilateral relationship between the states so they could revive their economies and feed the millions that survived the war, while avoiding another war between the European countries. There was an urgent need to push for a rapid and powerful manoeuvre. The Marshall Plan was introduced as an agreement between the American government and countries such as France and United Kingdom. This plan provoked a dependency on American products, finance and power in the destroyed European countries; on the other hand, it also rapidly reconstructed their infrastructure and economy.

This period also saw the flourishing of the interwar period political movements, such as the federalists in 1957, asking for European political unity by promoting a federal Europe. They rejected nationalism and believed in the construction of democracy and peace. Soon one of the first European parties, called the Union of European Federalists, was created. This party

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[758] Lauer, Gerhard (2008), *Das Erdbeben von Lissabon Ereignis, Wahrnehmung und Deutung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* , Göttingen, Universitätsverlag, pp. 231-233.
[759] Kant quoted by Wolschner, Klaus, http://www.medien-gesellschaft.de/html/lissabon_1755.html , accessed on 16/08/2020.
[760] Magone, M.José (2015), *Routledge Handbook of European Politics*, New York, Routledge, p. 3.

had its roots in the Enlightenment values and the philosophical ideas of Immanuel Kant and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.[761]

Needs were identified. Treaties where designed, discussed and signed in order to fulfil them. Treaties are the pillars on which the European Union (EU) is organised, and they were reformulated and updated in the course of constant reform of the European Union, resulting in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty, the Treaty of Rome, the Brussels Treaty, the Single European Act treaty, the Maastricht Treaty, the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Treaty of Nice and the Constitutional Treaty (it was signed but never came into force) and the current Treaty of Lisbon.

The Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the Lisbon Treaty (2009), influenced the political structure of the EU with emphasis on cultural politics. The Cultural Programme 2007-2013 embraced a major variety of cultural events. The accession of the Central and Eastern European countries in 2004 raised the number of member states up to 28 and its budget was hugely increased compared to its predecessor Culture 2000. Globalization forced EU policies to invest more in cohesion between the member states. The means to improve the living standards and long-term economy at a regional level creates an interdependence between the community and the region, but it also can build bridges of solidarity between the member states. "The second comment that I would like to make is that we have heard several times that the problem is not the enlargement or globalisation per se but the way in which we are prepared ourselves and are still preparing ourselves. I think that politics, civil society and social partners need to catch up. There's an enormous amount of catching up to do and we have to invest in that."[762] In order to understand what kind of policies the EU created to "catch up" with civil society and social partners, leads to the main question of this research:

Is the Cultural Programme 2007-2013 (CP) corresponding to what was the intention manifested by the political actors of the EU?

The Maastricht Treaty in 1992 launched separate programmes such as Kaleidoscope for cultural cooperation, Raphael for cultural heritage, and Ariane for publishing and reading.

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[761] Dinan, Desmond (2014), *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, p. 2.

[762] Fishler, Franz (2006), "The Sound of Europe" Conference in 27 and 28 January 2006, Salzburg, vol. I, p.96.

These programmes were founded in 1996,[763] to become later a platform for the formulation of the programme Culture 2000, in which they were joined into one. The Common Market, according to Enrique Bánus, Professor of European Literature and Director of the Centre for European Studies at the University of Navarra, had already opened the frontiers for the exchange of cultural production before this was underlined by the Maastricht Treaty, in the form of cultural goods.[764]

In order to answer the main question of this research, the political actors implied had to be identified. In chapter 2 the making of the CP was extensively described. The political actors in the first stage of creation were Coreper I, the Commission, the Council and the Committee of Cultural Affairs. In this stage many voices needed to be heard and aligned and a consensus has to be mediated before it is delivered to the European Parliament to be approved. For this specific part of the research it was not possible to get access to the first draft that was structured by the Coreper I. The manifestation of the very first intention is missing in this research. In spite of this fragility the main question was kept, and the identified intention belongs to the political actors of the working groups.

In an already complicated political decision-making process, the 10 member states that had just joined the EU had to be integrated in the working groups with formal and informal dynamics already in place. That means that the intercultural dialogue, proposed as a main goal for the CP, was already a meta-issue present during its construction. The complex and ambiguous motto "United in Diversity" was repeated endlessly in the speeches like a mantra trying to convince that it could be done. It is a transversal intention in the CP. Translating "United" with Europeanisation and "Diversity" into Tradition, the conflict is in the open. The opposites emerged in the working group discussion and in the parliamentary debates during the CP approval. The fear of the cultural harmonization and the risk of losing regional and national identity could be contained by the laws of the subsidiarity mechanism. So it is not a question of the CP but of political confidence and *bona fides*. The ongoing self-reflexive process like

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[763] Dantas, Vera (2007), *A Dimensao Cultural do Projecto Europeu*, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Diplomatico, p. 34.
[764] Bánus, Enrique, et al. (2007) *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Culture in EU Policy*, Institut für Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p. 67.

Schmale[765] calls it, should promote maturity and reveal a more consistent "personality", but the European "adolescence" is taking a long way.

Like any other project the CP started with an idea, drafted by the Coreper I and passed over the European Commission: the intention was to develop cooperation between stakeholders, artists and cultural institutions [766] in the countries that participate in the programme. One of the main concerns was to reinforce the European citizenship trough transnational mobility of the people that work in the cultural sectors, transnational circulation of artists and cultural works, products and last but not least: intercultural dialogue. On the way the CP was meant to transmit values of the EU like tolerance and solidarity.[767] But those intentions were not clear and visible in the minutes of the working groups. The most present subjects (166 proposals) were related to formal agreements, like language, number of cooperation partners, general structure, time frame, operators, legislation and procedures; followed by the discussion of budget and financing (62 proposals), cultural industry (22 proposals) and long-lasting projects (16 proposals). Specific cultural subjects were less referred in the discussion: European Heritage (8 proposals), European Capital of Culture (7 proposals), diversity of cultural expression (7 proposals), diffusion of European Culture (4 proposals). Objectives based on values supposed to be more present such as transnational cooperation, discrimination, creativity and innovation were only discussed once. It was no surprise that the economic agenda was a major concern trough out the process:

> "In recent years, culture has increasingly come to be seen as not just a legitimate focus for policy in its own right but also as providing myriad social and economic benefits.(…) This contribution of culture to Europe´s economic development is of increasing interest given the recent global downturn."[768]

Jürgen Habermas underlines that the European Union still has a path to go before it can achieve stabilization: he states the necessity of steps in which the economic pressure of political decisions are guided by democratic jurisdiction rather than by bureaucratic-governance.[769] However there seems to be too much space given by the EU political actors of

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[765] Schmale, Wolfgang (2008), *Geschichte und Zukunft der Europäischen identität*, Stuttgard, Kohlhammer GmbH, p.130.

[766] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd.,p.ii.

[767] Official Journal of the European Union, 7th of November 2006, C 270/12.

[768] Rampton, James and Andrew McCoshan (2010), *Interim Evaluation of the Culture Programme 2007-13* Birmingham, ECORYS UK Ltd., p.i.

[769] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p. 83.

the decision-making core to the "increasing interest" to economical and bureaucratic issues. Culture is seen as an economic asset, but there may be an advantage to it: to be more easily accepted and welcomed by the promoters, or even actively seek.

Cultural projects have a big scope, touching the life of the European citizens, but not always in equal terms and accessibility at all levels. That is why the European Capitals of Culture has the assignment to connect with a large part of the public. As repeatedly referred, projects should have a long-lasting footprint, not only to be economical viable with an impact in local structure, employment or tourism, but also to give a chance to change perception of the public towards the cultural diversity existing in the European Union. This intention was strongly encouraged in the CP. Capital of Culture had their own strand, as had the multi-annual cooperation projects. Recalling Stoica and Chirodea, culture has to be considered not only as a mechanism to produce wealth for the community but also as a participatory factor of democratization in the European regions. [770]

One item stood out: 17 proposals were about the Holocaust. This concern with the past was already mentioned in chapter 2 in which Habermas considers that the late notion of human dignity as a constitutional and international right only seems to be heavily emphasized in the historical context of this event and World War II. The "moral weight of dignity" is always present according to Jürgen Habermas as an "amnesic reason".[771] Eduardo Lourenço takes even a more polemic reflection about European culture as "being dead because it is based on the dead".[772]

Unlike their colleagues from the working-groups, the European Parliament debate discussed the CP contents extensively. The subjects that had a major presence in their minutes were, beside the Capital of Culture and the budget for the CP: protection of cultural heritage, cultural diversity, language, and European Cultural Identity. These intentions of the MEPs are well reflected in the CP. Stoica and Chirodea point out that access to culture changes

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[770] Stoica, Aline and Florentina Chirodea (2015), *The role of culture in the regional development process. Sibiu-European Capital of Culture 2007,* Debater a Europa, n. 12, pp. 136–137.

[771] Habermas, Jürgen (2012), *Um Ensaio sobre a constituição da Europa*, Lisboa, edições 70, p. 11.

[772] Lourenço, Eduardo (1994), *A Europa Desencantada: para uma mitologia Europeia*, Lisboa, Gradiva, p.26.

community attitudes and improves the mental state, for example by increasing the self-esteem of the individual and improving sociability.[773]

Two items stand out in the debates: the first concerns the insufficient budget to achieve the defined goals insistently referred by the MEPS, who claimed a substantial increase. However the Commission was relentless showing no leverage to alter the 400 million euros of the initial budget. Even with this statement of Jan Fígel, it was clear that the importance given to culture was in theory represented as crucial but did not found the same valorisation in its budget. "(…) We start with culture. This is highly symbolic and very important because we believe that, as in the past, culture can provide many important answers to the future of Europe. Let me remind you that in December 2004 President Barroso said that cultural values rank higher than economic ones, because the economy helps us to live, but it is culture that makes life worth living. (…)"[774]

The second item sets the importance of culture to be present in the public schools. Reinforced several times and with emphasis in the discussion as a main concern of the MEPS, yet it was not attended in the CP. It became clear in the EP debates that introducing European culture into the state school system across the community is fundamental, in order to promote tolerance and social inclusion. The impact of social unrest and discrimination in the society is difficult to cope with and has its price, prevention is always cheaper than harm and risk reduction. The maxim of *pricipiis obsta* was not taken into account. The intention of democratising culture trough education was simply ignored in the CP, limiting its goals as followed:

"(a) to promote the transnational mobility of cultural players;

(b) to encourage the transnational circulation of works and cultural and artistic products;

(c) to encourage intercultural dialogue." [775]

The theatre projects supported by the Cultural Programme 2007–2013 did not entirely fulfil the needs required to rise the *Homo Europaeus* as suggested by Monnet and Kristeva.

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[773] Stoica, Aline and Florentina Chirodea (2015), *The role of culture in the regional development process. Sibiu-European Capital of Culture 2007,* Debater a Europa, n. 12, pp. 136–137.
[774] See appendix A.
[775] OJ, DECISION No 1855/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL. of 12 December 2006 establishing the Culture Programme (2007 to 2013).

They are mainly concerned with supporting innovative digital art forms, intercultural dialogue and the building of lasting theatrical networks. Those factors are all important but are not sufficient to develop a lasting cultural mark that reaches much further than its usual public target. What it is missing? New narratives, traditions, rituals and myths able to root the people.

The European values should be supported by a new vision of Europe, that is not chained to its past but focused on the future, to build a solid European Cultural Identity. The future citizens have to be approached and attended so their sense of belonging becomes natural in order to carry on the European ideals, as largely recognized by the political actors. Why was it no attempted? First of all and most certainly due to the titanic enterprise to interfere in 28 different schools systems, to frame the substance of such an intervention, to clarify the EU values and to work with the resistance of the respective national institutions.

Another answer may be found in the second question of this study. Considering that even the European institution, in its document "The development of European identity/identities", published in 2012, titles it as an "unfinished business"[776], it is pertinent to ask:

Why is it necessary to build an European Cultural identity and what is needed to achieve it?

In the perspective of the European Commission it is presented as "a mosaic of situation-specific identity rather than identities being nested one within another"[777] The European Cultural Identity is built through synergies between the intersection of tradition with the creation of contemporary culture.[778] Those two components determine its "hybridity" and difficult shape and to share. However, it serves as a mutual source of inspiration and influence, as the EU is built on a mutual historical and political memory; the CP protects its heritage whilst working on inclusion of new contemporary artistic influences.

> "Culture is not a luxury for the Community, but an existential necessity and Europe's future depends on Culture. Everybody seems to be convinced that the

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[776] European Commission (2012), *The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business A POLICY REVIEW,* https://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/policy_reviews/development-of-european-identity-identities_en.pdf , p.1, accessed on 18/08/2020.

[777] European Commission (2012), *The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business A POLICY REVIEW,* https://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/policy_reviews/development-of-european-identity-identities_en.pdf , pp.5-6, accessed on 18/08/2020.

[778] Matias, Joana Maria Santos (2009), *Identidade Cultural Europeia: Idealismo, projecto ou realidade?*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 85.

political Europeanisation process will not succeed if cultural Europeanisation fails".[779]

This statement of a political actor, the former European Commissioner José Manuel Barroso, "seems" to underline that the future of the European Union, depends on the fortification of its identity, and described culture as mechanism of Europeanisation that has to succeed to save the European project. The dark past of Europe still hounds the political agenda and the fears of reignition of that animosity and the consequently failing of the open economical market will split it again and again. In moments of crisis, traditional stereotypes are reinforced by the members states, and if there is distrust between them, the polity does not work properly in the European Union.[780] In the parliamentary debates, for instant, the Polish MEP Bogusław Sonik (PPE-DE Group) shares the same concern as his Polish counterpart Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański according to which tradition and Europeanisation of culture become antagonists. Consequently, this line of thinking presents the fear of losing the regional and national identity in favour of the European Cultural identity. These concerns have to be addressed; otherwise, underneath, it could interfere in each and all other negotiations. This would have also prevented Brexit, that occurred in 2016.

The creation of a European Cultural Identity reinforces the sentiment of community and a natural acceptance of other cultural influences, accepting the European "patchwork pattern" that defines its identity. This is the "unfinished business" working for a communication in equal terms and in a more harmonious way with the European neighbours.

During the first period of the European institutions, Jean Monnet is supposed to have said "Europe is made, now we have to make Europeans".[781] This phrasing raises questions. Is it ethical and democratic, is it even possible to "manufacture" human beings? Treaties are the first stepping stone for the development of a common European sense of belonging. It serves as the fundament that grants welfare, equality and gender rights, security and justice accessible to all. Its implementation is called the process of Europeanisation. When this is successful than the European identity will come naturally? Was this the logic of the founding father?

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[779] José Manuel Barroso quoted by Schwencke, Olaf et.al (2007), *Culture Report: Progress Europe, Culture in EU Policy*, Institut für Auslandbeziehung and Robert Bosch Stiftung, p.78.

[780] Alesina, Alberto (2015), *Rules, cooperation and trust in the Euro Area* in *The search for Europe: Contrasting approaches*, Open Mind Project, BBVA, p. 70.

[781] Jean Monnet quoted by Sassatelli, Monica (2008), *European Cultural Space in the European cities of Culture, European Societies*, 10:2,225–24, p. 228.

Acceptance of identity is unlikely be imposed by laws, treaties or coercion. Even if identity is passed on and grows into a collective, it will always have a component of personal decision, an active choice made by the individuum *vis a vis* a whole range of offers regarding values, life-style and ways to relate to each other in private and in the public sphere. The options have to be attractive and the values convincing in order to make citizens adhere, but most of all they have to be accessible by all to ensure equality and prevent unnecessary social unrest.

To gain a more colourful and solid ground, Theatre is a co-creator of Europeanisation, it facilitates the decision to be part. It is an attractive and stimulating instrument, it touches the emotions of the people, and that perpetuates a broader sense of belonging. It is fundamental that it reaches out to local and regional realities, that it manages to diversify its dialogue and that it cooperates with a variety of different partners.

The stage is a free place, where culture can rehearse democracy as an unifying symbolic act trough new rituals and narratives. This is part of the answer to the third question of this research.

Can Theatre give a decisive contribution to a new public sphere that can fortify the European cultural identity?

> "Recognizing that the performing arts, including the theatre, are one of the most important expressions of cultural life and democratic development of our societies and illustrate the fact that culture is a permanent exchange between those who create, and therefore their works, and men and women who feel the need for cultural experience transcending the logic of daily life, (…) theatre is closely bound up with the life of local, regional and national communities (….)"[782] (EU Ministers for Culture)

Theatre presents the public with a deeper understanding of today's reality, it promotes reflection and sometimes instant reaction towards what is encountered. This is the contribution of Theatre to the public sphere. It is in this public sphere that according to Wiles theatre and citizenship converge, a citizenship that Arendt underlined as being part of a broader and diverse world. This conversion is highlighted by the concept developed by Cristopher Balme's theatrical public sphere.

With a strong and growing presence of the mass media, public opinion seems ever more open to virtual manipulation, so it becomes increasingly irrelevant to talk of democracy in the absence of a functional "public sphere". Theatre, over the centuries has been a place of real

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[782] Official Journal of the European Union C 188/3 19.7.1991, p. 3.

public,[783] a space of "public sphere", able to maintain its critical and independent voice, able to fortify the European Cultural Identity.

> "The performing arts … have indeed a certain affinity with politics. Performing artists … need the presence of others before whom they can appear …. The Greek polis once was precisely that "form of government" which provided men with a space of appearances where they could act, with a kind of theatre where freedom could appear."[784]

The British playwright David Greig proposed the idea that truly political theatre creates a world in which change is possible and that theatre is political in its nature.[785] It becomes an instrument of communication, manipulation, questioning, debate and also a weapon of resistance. The Italian Marco Cappato, MEP from the NI (Non-Inscrits) on 13 January 2004 describes fascist and oppressive regimes as the enemies of regional cultural diversity. According to him, culture should be based on a set of rules that do not prevent freedom of expression and speech.[786] Following that logic: Theatre can serve as a "touchstone" for political regime: in a democracy, theatre is free and able to grow, in a dictatorship the stage is censured or even forbidden. As the European Cultural Identity is profoundly bound to democracy, so is the free theatrical public sphere. It is not only Theatre that owes democracy, it also democracy that owes theatre, in mutual safeguarding.

Nicholas Hytner, director of the Royal National Theatre (2003-2015) expresses the value of theatre in a diverse world such as the European Union: "We want to tell stories that chart the way the nation is changing. We want to bring front-line reports from new communities and generations, and we want to see the present redefined in the context of the past".[787] Living Democracy, as is Theatre, are in an everlasting process of change, with new forms of presentation on stage as in the parliament. Both are required to attend the public within the European sphere.

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[783] Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ISBN 978-1-107-42805-5, p. 208.

[784] Hanna Arendt quoted by Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, ISBN 978-1-107-42805-5, p. 22.

[785] Greig, David (2007), *Rough Theatre*, in Graham Saunders and Rebecca D´Monté (orgs) *Cool Britannia?:British Political Drama in the 1990s,* Hampshire, Palgrave , p. 212.

[786] OJ editions, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20040113&secondRef=TOC&language=EN, accessed on 27/02/18.

[787] Nicholas Hytner quoted by Wiles, David (2011), *Theatre and Citizenship: the history of a practice,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 6.

Nearly five thousand years ago, long before the Greeks or the Romans or the Celts, the *Homo Europeaus* existed: the Bell beaker culture shared their techniques, there aesthetic and their genes. They travelled, dialogued, traded, learnt and lived together, from the Tajo delta to Turkey, from Ireland to Sicily.

The European theatrical sphere is a contemporary space in society to approach, to share and debate the European Union's future citezen: innovative and at the same time rooted through its traditional rituals in grand but more global narratives based on European values, that define and produce everlasting moments and movements of expression. Could that be the new *Homo Europeaus*?

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Appendix A : Minutes of the debates of the European Parliament

Data	Assunto	País	Orador	Texto
17/01/2007	Abertura da Presidencia do Conselho Alemã na EU	DE	Angela Merkel - DE	"Foi também o pont+E1:E41o de partida para os primeiros passos em direcção à Europa depois de 1945: nem o Tratado que instituía a Comunidade Europeia do Carvão e do Aço, nem, na realidade, os Tratados de Roma se ocuparam – ou ocuparam-se pouco – com a nossa cultura, e mesmo no Tratado de Maastricht apenas lhe é feita uma referência marginal. No entanto, nenhum destes Tratados teria sido possível sem uma visão de uma Europa comum, uma visão, portanto, daquilo que constitui a essência da Europa. Estes Tratados, contudo, abordavam já questões importantes relativas à coexistência europeia, tendo conseguido responder a algumas delas. Aprender uns com os outros conduz a novos
31/01/2007	Intervenções de um minuto (Artigo 144º do Regimento)	PL	Zbigniew Zaleski (PPE-DE). – (PL)	" Senhor Presidente, todas as Presidências tentam deixar uma marca particular própria. A Europa está a empreender um processo formal de reorganização, de olhos postos no futuro. Isso é perfeitamente normal, mas seria um erro pretender construir o futuro a partir do nada, criando um novo tipo de homem. A URSS tentou fazê-lo e o resultado foi um tenebroso fracasso. A Europa tem de ter em conta toda a sua história, com o seu cortejo de glórias e tragédias. É importante extrair da verdade histórica os valores que provaram e foram cruciais na superação de crises passadas. Entre esses têm um lugar proeminente os valores cristãos, no sentido mais lato do termo. Tais valores constituem um referencial
13/02/2007	Pergunta nº55,Assunto: Desenvolvimento			http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20070213&secondRef=ITEM-009&language=PT#2-216
12/03/2007	Gestão colectiva transfronteiriça			http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20070312+ITEMS+DOC+XML+V0//PT&language=PT#creitem20
21/05/2007	Intervneçoes de 1 minuto	GR	**Marie Panayotopoulos-Cassiotou (PPE-DE). GR**	Senhora Presidente, também eu gostaria de juntar a minha fraca voz à de todos aqueles cidadãos europeus que, perante o ressurgimento do sonho de um Tratado pan-europeu, de um Tratado da União Europeia, gostariam de ver no mesmo uma referência à verdade histórica da origem da Europa.Esses cidadãos gostariam de ver no Tratado a afirmação de que as raízes da nossa civilização se encontram na antiga civilização greco-romana e nos valores cristãos que se tornaram valores universais embora sob outros nomes.Esse registo da verdade histórica não entra em conflito com a tolerância religiosa nem com as ideias liberais que todos defendemos enquanto Europeus.http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20070521+ITEM-014+DOC+XML+V0//PT&language=PT
21/05/2007	Intervenços de de 1 minuto	PL	Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański- PL	*Senhora Presidente, o princípio do multilinguismo é um dos pilares da União Europeia. O que este significa é que cada uma das 23 línguas oficiais tem a mesma posição, ou seja, goza de igual estatuto em relação às restantes. Significa também que cada cidadão tem direito à informação da União Europeia na sua língua materna.Até à data, a forma como a Comissão Europeia tem atribuído o financiamento à política de informação contradiz o supracitado princípio. Um exemplo é o canal de televisão Euronews, que é apoiado pelo orçamento da União Europeia. Todos os Estados-Membros contribuem para o orçamento, mas as emissões são feitas apenas em seis línguas oficiais Em meu entender, a política do multilinguismo deve*

18/01/2006	**Apresentação do programa da Presidência austríaca**	Preside nte da Comissa o	**Durao Barroso (Presidente da Comissao)**	"Neste contexto, permitam-me insistir muito especialmente nas acções ligadas à cidadania, nomeadamente a cultura e a juventude. É necessário um esforço suplementar neste domínio para dar resposta ao nosso compromisso comum que visa aproximar a nossa acção dos nossos cidadãos e valorizar a dimensão europeia." " A minha visão é a visão de uma Europa mais forte que ofereça um quadro político, económico e social sólido aos nossos cidadãos, uma Europa baseada na cultura, uma Europa baseada em valores comuns. É uma Europa de democracia, de responsabilidade democrática e de transparência. No mundo conturbado dos nossos dias, precisamos mais do que nunca de uma União Europeia forte, de uma União Europeia que promova a segurança, os direitos humanos e o respeito pelo Estado de direito." " O principal trunfo da União é um núcleo de valores comuns e uma valiosa cultura que deverão
18/01/2006	Apresentação do programa da Presidência austríaca	UK	**Graham Watson**	"Se quiser reconstituir a confiança no projecto europeu, precisa de convencer os Europeus de que a UE trabalha para servir os seus interesses. O Programa Erasmus é um dos nossos projectos mais visíveis e bem sucedidos, mas ainda assim o Conselho procura reduzir o orçamento para os jovens. O projecto Airbus é um triunfo do esforço comum, mas dificilmente se poderá reproduzi-lo, atendendo à verba demasiado reduzida para investigação e desenvolvimento." http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=CRE&reference=20060118&secondRef=I TEM-002&language=PT
18/01/2006	**Apresentação do programa da Presidência austríaca**	DE	Silvana Koch-Mehrin	" Senhor Presidente, Senhor Presidente em exercício do Conselho, muitas e importantes tarefas se deparam a V. Exa. nos próximos seis meses. Enumerou essas tarefas e a maior parte delas tem a ver com o nosso trabalho quotidiano aqui no Parlamento. Creio, no entanto, que tem pela frente uma tarefa bastante mais elementar, nomeadamente a redescoberta da identidade europeia. Se essa identidade comum não for visível, coloca-se imediatamente a seguinte questão: de onde é que a União Europeia retira então a sua legitimidade? Tem de procurar repostas para a pergunta que visa saber se a Europa vale a pena para mim ou para qualquer outra pessoa. Vale a pena politicamente? Vale a pena financeiramente? No meu quotidiano, em que é que a Europa se torna visível? O que me demonstra que sou europeia? É por esta razão que é necessário que V. Exas. conduzam um debate público. Que sejam permitidos
01/02/2006	Intervençoes de 1 minuto	UK	**Gerard Batten (IND/DEM) -UK**	" Senhor Presidente, recentemente, a imprensa britânica noticiou a realização de uma conferência em Salzburgo a convite da Presidência austríaca. O propósito, aparentemente, era discutir a forma como a Europa poderia estar novamente mais perto dos seus cidadãos. Acontece que este evento coincidiu, mais ou menos, com o 250º aniversário do imortal e glorioso Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Mozart foi apresentado nesta Conferência como uma espécie de primeiro federalista europeu, nada mais, nada menos, pelo facto de na sua curta carreira ter viajado largamente pela Europa. Contudo, quais eram as opiniões políticas de Mozart, se é que tinha algumas? Ao ouvir as notícias do levantamento do cerco de Gibraltar pelos Ingleses e da vitória sobre a marinha francesa em Trincomalee

04/04/2006	Capitais Europeias da Cultura (2007-2019) (debate)	PL	Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański-PL	Senhor Presidente, muita experiência se ganhou com os eventos da Capital Europeia da Cultura. As celebrações tiveram consequências positivas e negativas. Do lado positivo, registámos um florescimento de actividade criativa, o intercâmbio cultural no estrangeiro e o patrocínio de eventos culturais. As cidades foram promovidas e as ambições culturais dos seus cidadãos despertadas. Do lado negativo, poderia mencionar-se a concentração de esforços e recursos em eventos culturais específicos à expensas de movimentos culturais e sociais na cidade ou região em causa. Poderia também referir-se a falta de uma avaliação de impacto circunstanciada do programa executado e a imposição aos Estados-Membros e às autoridades municipais de critérios que muitas vezes são inadequados às necessidades e tradições das cidades e regiões. Devo também comentar a falta de clareza e transparência no
04/04/2006	Capitais Europeias da Cultura (2007-2019) (debate)	DE	Helga Trüpel,-DE	"Senhor Presidente, começo por agradecer à senhora deputada Prets o empenho e competência que revelou no trabalho sobre este relatório. Embora alguns dos oradores que me antecederam já tenham mencionado os problemas que surgiram em casos específicos, gostaria de salientar que, por enquanto, a história das capitais europeias da cultura tem sido, de um modo geral, uma história de sucesso. Quem ficou a ganhar foram não só as cidades nomeadas para capitais da cultura, mas também a Europa como um todo, pois as capitais europeias da cultura evidenciaram, vezes sem conta, o quão diversificada, rica e variada é a cultura europeia.Gostaria, todavia, de focar dois aspectos desta nova versão do relatório, que considero especialmente importantes. Em primeiro lugar, a ideia da sustentabilidade exige que a acção da capital da cultura não se baseie apenas num evento, mas contribua efectivamente para incentivar uma maior interacção social, uma maior promoção das artes e da cultura, e também novos conceitos arquitectónicos. Aqui inclui-se também a questão da reforma estrutural e da importância das
04/04/2006	Capitais Europeias da Cultura (2007-2019) (debate)	DE	Doris Pack -DE	"Senhor Presidente, embora já se tenha dito tudo o que havia a dizer sobre este assunto, gostaria ainda de acrescentar uma coisa, pois desejo realmente que a Capital Europeia da Cultura se torne, de facto, naquilo que sempre imaginámos que fosse, nomeadamente um suporte publicitário para a cultura europeia. A cooperação outrora intergovernamental – tratava-se, de facto, de uma acção governamental – tornou-se agora numa questão interinstitucional. Isso significa que a nossa cooperação é excelente e que, tal como a senhora deputada Prets acabou de dizer, a nossa voz foi ouvida.Reclamámos, durante anos, que o júri deveria ter algo de substancial para avaliar e seleccionar e que as cidades deveriam esforçar-se por revelar um valor acrescentado europeu em vez de se limitarem a exibir apenas aquilo que já possuem. Esta acção, em particular, consciencializa-nos para a importância da cultura europeia. As cidades são os vectores culturais e mediadores culturais da União Europeia. Este concurso oferece-lhes a oportunidade de reunirem um grande conjunto de elementos e propicia a cooperação transfronteiriça entre culturas regionais.Não poderia estar mais de acordo quanto à importância de se

| 04/04/2006 | Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate) | IT | Giusto Catania-IT | *"Senhor Presidente, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, a questão da cidadania é fulcral para o relançamento do projecto político da União Europeia.Não existem atalhos para revitalizar o papel da Europa à escala global. O que é necessário é criar um verdadeiro processo constituinte, evitando as tentativas de ressuscitar um tratado constitucional que foi morto e eliminado por vontade popular. É necessário construir uma sociedade intercultural, valorizando a identidade mestiça da Europa e, sobretudo, facilitar a integração dos imigrantes e o alargamento dos direitos de cidadania.Por essa razão, também pensamos que o conceito de cidadania europeia deve estar estreitamente ligado à residência, com o objectivo explícito de facilitar a inclusão. Quanto a isso, pensamos que o programa "Cidadãos para a Europa" pode constituir um instrumento útil e válido para a promoção dos direitos de cidadania europeia, direitos esses que deverão, cada vez mais, ser dissociados dos critérios nacionais.As acções do programa merecem a nossa aprovação, e refiro-me em especial aos projectos de geminação entre cidades e à memória europeia activa. No entanto, penso que devemos ser claros quanto a este último ponto. O século XX foi um século de guerras e regimes autoritários, tendo havido um número incontável de vítimas das deportações e dos extermínios em massa perpetrados pelos regimes nazi e estalinista. Contudo, a história europeia do século XX não pode ser comemorada sem recordar as vítimas dos seus regimes fascistas: em Itália, os fascistas privaram os homens e as mulheres da sua liberdade durante duas décadas, existindo muitos laços entre o regime italiano e o nazismo.Só recentemente a Espanha, Portugal e a Grécia reconquistaram a democracia e a liberdade. O antifascismo é um valor europeu e não pode ser reduzido a um acontecimento nacional, e por isso pensamos que, neste momento, é bom recordar as vítimas do fascismo, a fim de evitar que acontecimentos semelhantes possam voltar a repetir-se. Continuam a existir hoje, na Europa, grupos neo-fascistas que se alimentam* |
| 04/04/2006 | Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate) | DE | Karin Resetarits -DE | Senhor Presidente, gostaria de agradecer em particular ao relator, senhor deputado Takkula, o empenho dedicado a uma matéria que é vital para a União Europeia.A Europa deveria estar no coração dos seus cidadãos. É esta a ideia básica subjacente ao programa em apreço. O objectivo é promover mais a cidadania europeia activa. Trata-se de melhorar a integração dos cidadãos, considerando que a maioria deles rejeita a Europa e sabe demasiado pouco sobre os ideais, valores e objectivos europeus. A União Europeia é alheia à maioria dos cidadãos, que não a consideram sua pátria. A política de integração europeia está a fracassar. Para muitos, a Europa é demasiado pesada, demasiado complicada, demasiado ininteligível, demasiado fria. Por isso, a abordagem do relator de suscitar o interesse pela Europa em áreas que dão prazer aos cidadãos, como, por exemplo, os clubes desportivos, as iniciativas culturais e as actividades de lazer, é muito viável.Gostaria de defender hoje aqui a promoção de mais eventos de Eurovisão através da televisão. Um Festival da Canção por ano não é suficiente para transmitir, de forma duradoura, a diversidade deste continente aos nossos cidadãos. Porque não havemos de realizar também um Festival de Cinema Europeu, por exemplo, ou concursos de dança |

04/04/2006	Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate)	PT	Miguel Portas-PT	Comecemos pelo nome do programa: "Cidadãos pela Europa" ou "Europa pelos cidadãos"? A diferença não é o resultado de um lapso da Comissão. É consequência da cultura que domina as instituições europeias. Não haverá novos cidadãos pela Europa enquanto a Europa das instituições continuar a alimentar, com as suas políticas, as fracturas sociais e identitárias. Nenhum programa para a cidadania resolve este divórcio. Mas se ele, desde o nome, for o reflexo do autismo que mora em cima, então, muito pior!Por isso aplaudo a mudança no nome, embora gostaria da coerência que ainda falta. Insisto, por isso, em três aspectos: face à escassez de recursos há duas opções possíveis, ou se concentra o dinheiro em poucas acções de grande visibilidade ou ele é distribuído por projectos que promovem a cidadania europeia. O relator optou pelo compromisso procurando melhorar a posição da segunda opção. Eu teria sido mais radical. Não tenho nada contra grandes eventos, mas tenho tudo contra a mentira. A maior virtude deste programa é poder ser executado pelas redes associativas que, no terreno, alimentam a cidadania. Qualquer desvio a esta opção perverte a própria ideia de cidadania. Por isso também não é sustentável a pretensão de se consignar um montante substancial dos apoios a seis instituições, que agora são oito, sem concurso de
4 de Abril 2006	Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate)	UK	Thomas Wise-UK	"Senhor Presidente, gostaria de fazer uma pequena experiência. Peço às pessoas presentes no Hemiciclo que retirem os auscultadores durante três segundos. Um, dois, três. O que é que ouviram? Absolutamente nada! Apenas o silêncio que antecede os protestos contra este documento legislativo. Contém propostas para fazer alguma coisa? Não! Vai resolver as grandes dificuldades dos 450 milhões de pessoas que lutam para ganhar a vida ou encontrar solução para os problemas quotidianos? A resposta é, de novo, não. Todos sabemos que um presente que oferecemos mas que não tem qualquer utilização pouco vale para quem o recebe, que não fez esforços para o obter. Quão barata é, afinal, a cidadania europeia, que vamos impor às pessoas, quando elas não a desejam, não a podem recusar nem renunciar a ela! Cá vamos de novo! Mais um enorme projecto de propaganda para distorcer e escamotear a verdade. O projecto parece ter como base a esperança de que o programa seja a cura para o cepticismo que grassa no continente. Fraca participação nas eleições europeias, forte oposição ao alargamento e a rejeição da Constituição vão ser, ao que parece, solucionadas através de 235 milhões de euros gastos em projectos para convencer as pessoas de que a UE está a fazer algo positivo a seu favor.Parece uma cidadania pré-paga. Assim que acabar o primeiro pacote os preços aumentam. A UE não vai dar ouvidos à população que devia representar. Em vez disso, tenta forçar o seu caminho para uma posição a favor da integração. Mas a integração europeia é, justamente, aquilo a que as pessoas cada vez mais se opõem. Porquê? Porque todos os países estão, lentamente, a acordar para a realidade e a realidade é que o tamanho único não serve a todos na zona euro, assim como uma cidadania única não

| 04/04/2006 | Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate) | EST | Marianne Mikko-EE | *"Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, o relatório do senhor deputado Takkula diz respeito a uma questão de extrema importância. Felicito-o pelo seu trabalho.Hoje, a União Europeia está a tornar-se numa feira onde os políticos dos Estados-Membros se norteiam apenas pelos seus próprios interesses e pelo objectivo de satisfazer o seu eleitorado. Não existe suficientemente, entre os cidadãos dos Estados-Membros da União Europeia, o sentimento de que sejam efectivamente cidadãos da Europa. A fim de desenvolver um sentimento de cidadania, é importante que conheçamos a história uns dos outros.Antes e depois da Segunda Guerra Mundial, muitos povos europeus sofreram sob o jugo de governos totalitários. O meu país, a Estónia, foi riscado do mapa por um dos ditadores mais cruéis da história, Estaline. Deixámos de ter bandeira e hino nacionais, e a nossa capital passou a ser Moscovo.O irmão gémeo do estalinismo foi o nazismo. Estas duas ideologias, que nasceram na mesma época, dividiram entre si a Europa, com o Pacto entre Hitler e Estaline. Estaline ficou com toda a parte Oriental da Europa sob regime ditatorial durante meio século. A máquina de guerra de Hitler subjugou violentamente as partes da Europa Ocidental em que os ditadores locais não conseguiram agarrar o poder para si próprios.Ao procurar que se recordem da mesma forma as vítimas do nazismo e do estalinismo, luto contra a aceitação meramente simbólica dos novos Estados-* |
| 04/04/2006 | Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate) | UK | Alexander Stubb-UK | Senhor Presidente, tenho duas observações a fazer, uma sobre o relatório e a outra de índole mais geral.Em primeiro lugar, gostaria de felicitar o meu amigo, senhor deputado Takkula, pelo seu relatório. Trata-se do seu primeiro relatório, é um documento de fôlego e o resultado é excelente, pois o senhor deputado conseguiu incluir todos os pontos fundamentais. Apoio este documento ao mais ínfimo pormenor. Apoio também toda a parte referente a Estaline e Hitler. Reconheço que, apesar de não ser membro da comissão, subscrevo plenamente as afirmações da senhora deputada Pack. É surpreendente que o Presidente da comissão, o senhor deputado Sifunakis, tenha uma posição diametralmente oposta à que foi decidida pela comissão, mas deixemos isso de parte.Se eu não conhecesse bem o senhor deputado Takkula, depois de ter lido este relatório poderia, até, pensar que o nosso colega é federalista, mas talvez não o seja, afinal.A minha observação mais geral prende-se com a cidadania europeia e a cidadania nacional. Há quem pareça pensar que estamos, de alguma forma, a tentar criar um protótipo europeu, mas não concordo com esse ponto de vista. Eu sou federalista mas entendo que a identidade é, antes de mais, local, a seguir nacional e só depois |

04/04/2006	Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa» (2007-2013) (debate)	IT	Iles Braghetto-IT	Desenvolver uma identidade europeia, melhorar a compreensão e a integração recíprocas e valorizar a diversidade através do diálogo são objectivos fundamentais para a consolidação da União Europeia.A unidade europeia não pode ser imposta de cima para baixo, deve antes ser fruto do sentido de responsabilidade de cada indivíduo. Os intervenientes devem ser as famílias, os agrupamentos sociais, o voluntariado alargado e as associações de base.Aproximar as pessoas e encorajar o encontro entre as comunidades locais para que possa haver troca de experiências, opiniões e valores é necessário para o amadurecimento de uma cidadania europeia. Ser cidadão da Europa significa fazer parte de uma cultura que tem no centro a riqueza de uma vida responsavelmente vivida, criativamente amada e corajosamente testemunhada no encontro com todos. Conservemos uma memória activa, em que os horrores de que nós, europeus, fomos testemunhas, possam servir de aviso para um futuro diferente. Na minha cidade, Pádua, na minha região, o Véneto, essa memória dará vida à criação de um Museu da Memória em Villa Venier, no município de Vo'Euganeo. Por isso o programa "Cidadãos Pela Europa" é
05/04/2006	Textos aprovados :Programa «Cidadãos para a Europa»			"O programa contribui para os seguintes objectivos gerais:-mobilizar os cidadãos para interagir e participar na construção de uma Europa cada vez mais próxima, plural, justa, democrática e vocacionada para o mundo, unida e enriquecida pela sua diversidade cultural, aprofundando assim o conceito de cidadania europeia ;–criar e reforçar uma identidade europeia, baseada em valores, na história, na cultura comuns reconhecidos e na cidadania europeia, fonte da legitimidade das instituições –fomentar o conhecimento e a compreensão mútuos entre cidadãos europeus, incentivar o respeito e o apreço pela diversidade cultural e o multilinguismo , contribuindo do mesmo passo para o diálogo intercultural, particularmente combatendo o racismo, a xenofobia e todas as formas de discriminação e intolerância ;–reforçar a tomada em conta dos requisitos associados à cidadania europeia por parte das instituições nacionais, regionais e locais, sejam elas eleitas, administrativas ou de assistência aos cidadãos.Artigo 2º Objectivos específicos do programa,O programa tem os seguintes objectivos específicos, em conformidade com os objectivos fundamentais do Tratado, que serão executados numa base transnacional:a)congregar os membros de comunidades locais de toda a Europa para partilhar e trocar experiências, opiniões e valores, aprender com os ensinamentos da história e preparar o futuro;b)fomentar acções, debates e reflexões relacionados com a cidadania europeia e a democracia, os valores partilhados e uma história e cultura comuns através da cooperação a nível
05/04/2006	Textos aprovados :Programa "Capital Europeia da Cultura" para os anos de 2007 a 2019			http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2006-0128+0+DOC+XML+V0//PT&language=PT#BKMD-5

07/09/2006	European Parliament resolution on the protection of the European natural,	*The European Parliament ,*	*The European Parliament ,*	Calls on the Commission, principally within the framework of the Culture (2007-2013) Programme, to give partner networks in the various Member States the opportunity of implementing multiannual projects to promote well-preserved traditional communities, with a population of, say, less than 1000;http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2006-0355+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	EL	Nikolaos Sifunakis (PSE), rapporteur.	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, this is an important day for me personally and, at the same time, for my colleagues and for the Committee on Culture and Education because, following an entire project lasting about one year, I have the pleasure today of presenting to plenary my report on the protection of the European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions.For centuries, with simple materials and means, people living in the countryside and islands of Europe, obeying the basic rules of the human scale and the mildness of the natural environment, have managed to create a man-made heritage of huge aesthetic value.This humble heritage, the protection and promotion of which is not only a cultural obligation but also a development need, has in many countries of Europe, at the responsibility of the governments, been altered considerably as a result of social and technological developments, unbridled economic exploitation and overdevelopment, which has, on the one hand, altered the place and destroyed – especially on the small scale of the islands – the wonderful balance between the natural and man-made environment and, on the other hand, destroyed highly-productive farmland.The purpose of my report is to formulate specific proposals for the protection, promotion and long-term management of this rich heritage in rural and island regions in Europe, for the benefit of the quality of life of all European citizens. My proposals contained in the report are directed at the European Union, the Member States, local and regional authorities and European citizens, who are called upon to take specific measures to maintain and promote it. Due to limited time, I shall comment on just a few of them:First of all, the Union needs to acquire a comprehensive cultural heritage strategy. This will be achieved provided that the European Commission, when preparing its legislative proposals, examines in detail the repercussions of the proposals on culture, on the cultural heritage and, most importantly, on the popular architectural heritage which artisans have created by hand over the centuries. In this way, action beneficial to the heritage will be integrated into every Union policy.First of all, the Union needs to acquire a comprehensive cultural heritage strategy. This will be achieved provided that the European Commission, when preparing its legislative proposals, examines in detail the repercussions of the proposals on culture, on the cultural heritage and, most importantly, on the popular architectural heritage which artisans have created by hand over the centuries. In this way, action beneficial to the heritage will be integrated into every Union policy.Given that Community programmes in the culture sector do not offer adequate funding, additional funds to maintain the heritage must be found, together with other Community resources; within the framework of the common agricultural policy, in the

| 07/09/2006 | European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate) | **Franco Frattini**, *Vice-President of the Commission* | **Franco Frattini,** *Vice-President of the Commission* | "Within the framework of the Treaty, the Commission encourages Member States to use all the opportunities offered by European financial instruments – the structural funds, for example – for investment in cultural heritage projects. Such investments are clearly important means for the creation of new employment opportunities and for economic growth. They therefore contribute to regional development and regeneration.In this respect, the European Commission, and the services of my colleague Mr Figel' in particular, are monitoring all European programmes and ensuring that the financial instruments incorporate cultural aspects into their objectives. As a result, over the last few years, we have witnessed a marked improvement. I am very pleased at this development and could give you examples of Member States, such as Greece or Portugal, that have grasped the opportunities offered by Community support frameworks and have introduced operational programmes for cultural heritage.The Commission also encourages cooperation between Member States in the field of culture and cultural heritage through the Culture 2000 Programme. In the near future, these efforts will continue through the newly proposed Culture Programme 2007-2013.Thanks to the sound cooperation between the three institutions – and I should like to take this opportunity to thank, again on behalf of Mr Figel', the rapporteur, Mr Graça Moura – this new programme for 2007-2013 will hopefully be adopted before the end of the year. In this context, partnerships such as those proposed in the report could be considered for funding in the near future.As the report also recognises, the European Commission is very active in its efforts to increase awareness of the importance of cultural heritage through actions such as the European Prize for Cultural Heritage and the joint action undertaken with the Council of Europe on European Heritage Days. In the future, we could consider ways of enlarging the scope and having the European Parliament's concerns better |

07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	PT	**Vasco Graça Moura,** *on behalf of the PPE-DE Group .*	"In addition to the cultural interests at stake, it must be highlighted that there is a human, social and economic interest agenda involved in taking these ideas seriously. The Sifunakis report does the right thing by proposing a range of political priorities in order to reach those goals. For example, a systematic survey and study of this heritage and the recognition of its variety and versatility, the creation of a legislative framework to guarantee its protection, incorporating incentives for the conservation of traditional buildings, financial assistance, the continuation of traditional activities such as farming and arts and crafts, the conservation of traditional professions and local know-how, the restoration of natural habitats and architecture, the training of craftsmen, the adoption of new methods and techniques, the promotion of initiatives as part of the framework of Community programmes aimed at creating a European heritage inventory, and, lastly, the promotion of all the tangible and intangible elements that make up this heritage. The document before us is an extremely broad tapestry, and covers many more points than I have mentioned. Defending the heritage of rural and island areas in this way is also a means of reversing the trend towards the abandonment of many of the places concerned and of creating focal points for attracting jobs and generating wealth and sustainable development. The authorities in my country have emphasised that the policy of the heritage of the rural world should be based on three main axes: sustainable balance between the population and the surrounding area; integrated action, meaning genuine cooperation between the various levels of authority and the local populations; and constant dialogue with local people, interested parties who actually know their own needs. Some of the points mentioned have already been proposed by the Commission for the period 2007 to 2013 and it is hoped that a well-balanced policy on rural and island heritage can help to reverse current negative trends. The Krakow
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	DE	**Christa Prets,** *on behalf of the PSE Group . – (DE)*	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, if the importance of cultural heritage in Europe's rural and island regions is to be recognised, we must go beyond the mere statements of principle on which politicians are so often keen, and urgently adopt a complete range of measures aimed at protecting, restoring and promoting it. Mr President, Commissioner, that the maintenance and protection of Europe's cultural heritage is of major importance and also constitutes a major task is not a matter for doubt, and it is not irrelevant that there are various agreements, such as for example those of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, that record these efforts and highlight the positive developments achieved. Even so, when discussing the protection of our cultural heritage, which focuses primarily on preserving the cultural achievements of the past, what should be borne in mind is that culture is a dynamic and diverse process, so, while cultural policy has to be concerned with the maintenance and conservation of our cultural heritage, it must also take responsibility for the creation of cultural networks for contemporary culture and artistic trends that serve as a basis for the cultural heritage of the future. It is very important that people's awareness of the cultural treasures of their own country and of Europe be fostered, and a European Cultural Heritage Year will certainly be able to highlight a number of them and make them more aware of their importance. More use can and should be made of the resources that the European Union makes available – in the shape of

07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	DE	**Helga Trüpel,** *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group .- DE*	Mr President, Commissioner Frattini, ladies and gentlemen, I, too, will begin by saying that I see it as fundamental that European cultural policy means not only protecting our cultural heritage and emphasising our cultural diversity, but, of course, also promoting – and in a pro-active manner too – the cause of contemporary art, and that the strength of European cultural policy must inevitably lie in considering all these things as a whole. I do nevertheless regard this report as important, in that it attempts to raise awareness of the diversity of European culture and of Europe's cultural heritage. Anyone who has had the opportunity to travel through Europe, whether to islands such as Madeira, the Canaries, Cyprus or Malta, or to visit rural areas in Tuscany, Scotland, Latvia, Finland, Poland or Provence, knows the beauty and diversity of this European cultural heritage and how readily people can be persuaded to take a
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	PL	**Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański,** *on behalf of the UEN Group -PL*	"Mr President, Mr Sifunakis' report is highly significant, as it draws attention to the need to deal with the basis of national culture, that is with traditional culture that still lives on, particularly in rural and island communities. To date, the main thrust of the efforts made by the European Union, including this House and the European Commission has been towards establishing a universal European culture – a culture for all. As yet nobody has succeeded in implementing this doctrine and nobody will, because cultures arises from the collection of values developed by people coming together to form national groups. Culture binds a nation together, but also serves to distinguish it from other nations through its beauty, richness, cultural individuality and traditions that bind a people together and which are often known as its heritage. We in the European Union must therefore foster linguistic diversity, because language is the basis of culture, and also popular culture, which is the basis of national culture. In addition, we must protect the cultural monuments and spiritual values that are disappearing, including folklore, handicrafts and trades which are dying out as civilisation and technology advance and mass production takes over. Preserving the richness of individual cultures along with the beauty of the landscape and human beings' natural environment, provides an opportunity for the
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	UK	**Thomas Wise,** *on behalf of the IND/DEM Group -UK*	Mr President, I have not met many people who are not in favour of the protection of natural, architectural or cultural heritage. Indeed, much of my constituency, the East of England, fits the bill as a rural area. That is, of course, as long as some of the misguided, unsustainable development plans from Mr John Prescott, our Deputy Prime Minister, can be halted. Great Britain is an island with its own extensive natural and architectural heritage. However, although at face value this report has noble intentions, it serves to threaten Britain's heritage. The proposals in the report have the specific aim of subsuming Britain's distinct and diverse culture into the federalist fairytale creation of a common European culture. Sadly, many MEPs see culture purely as a tool for promoting European integration and pursuing a delusional project called 'a United States of Europe'. Why can people here not understand that there is so such thing as a common European culture, no common history and no common heritage, just as

07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate)	IT	Luca Romagnoli (NI). -IT	Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, Mr Sifunakis's report can certainly be endorsed for its intentions, although in my view what it states in its first paragraph about European identity needs changing to acknowledge the fact that the people of Europe clearly share the same cultural mosaic already. If anything, they do not understand some of the confusing mechanisms of European Union interventions, which are all too often intended just to regulate and to standardise. Our cultural, natural and architectural heritage could perhaps be more appropriately spoken of as architecture, landscape, and historical and landscape assets, terms that together better describe the integration that can be sought in the synergy between the natural landscape and the human landscape. Even so, it certainly plays a vital part in spreading social, economic and environmental welfare, especially in those areas of our Europe where not just the landscape but also the socioeconomic and demographic fabric is vulnerable. I should also have liked a more precise clarification of the concept of small traditional communities: the
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	EL	Manolis Mavrommatis (PPE-DE). – (EL)	Mr President, Commissioner, first I should like to thank my compatriot Nikos Sifunakis on his excellent work. Commissioner, cultural heritage is an important element in the identity and historical development of the peoples of Europe. Consequently, protecting and maintaining it is particularly important to the education of the new generation and respect for the European identity while, irrespective of its European dimension, its local dimension is a fundamental value for European citizens. We all know that the spotlights are turned towards the big cities where the most well-known monuments are to be found. Nonetheless, it is a fact that the European countryside, which accounts for 90% of European territory, is being damaged by desertion and economic stagnation. Special attention must therefore be given to protecting and promoting the natural and architectural cultural heritage of island and other rural regions of Europe, given that
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	ES	Maria Badia i Cutchet (PSE). – ES	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to begin by congratulating the rapporteur, Mr Sifunakis, on his work, which stresses the specific nature and importance of European natural, cultural and artistic heritage, which generates many benefits, social and cultural as well as environmental and economic. Rapid urban growth, social and technological progress, modern methods of farming and economic and urban development present rural and island communities, which, as has been pointed out here, make up the majority of the territory of the enlarged European Union, with important challenges. At a time, therefore, when, on the one hand, the abandonment of the countryside, depopulation and economic crisis, and, on the other, fires and the proliferation of natural disasters demonstrate the urgent need for agricultural professionals who can work on and look after our environment and ensure the sustainability and the future of our territory and our countryside, this report is very timely, because it stresses the need to implement an effective policy based essentially on a sustainable balance between the population and the environment and on an integrated approach to traditional agricultural areas, particularly rural communities. Drawing up a

07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	?	**Bernat Joan i Marí (Verts/ALE)**	Mr President, firstly I would like to welcome this excellent report and thank the rapporteur for his work. Preserving the natural environment is one of the main goals of the European Union. Our present and future task is to also establish the goal of preserving Europe's architectural and cultural heritage, and that is especially important for small islands. It is really important to preserve natural assets, but in small ecosystems, the environment, human settlements and cultural heritage are fully interconnected. I come from Ibiza, an island that is suffering the effects of the construction of two disproportionately large highways. Because of these works, several important elements of cultural heritage have been destroyed. Archaeological sites and
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	PL	Janusz Wojciechowski (UEN)- PL	Mr President, I would like to express my support and gratitude for Mr Sifunakis' report and endorse all the words of commendation uttered today regarding this document. Through the report, the European Parliament has expressed its concern for the architectural heritage of rural Europe. This is an important legacy, but unfortunately it is frequently unappreciated and forgotten. Today we are living in a rapidly-changing world. Rural areas that had changed little over the centuries, have undergone a drastic transformation in recent decades. Farming methods and implements have been transformed, the nature of farm work has changed radically, and rural architecture has also changed. Until the1960s, the buildings in rural areas of
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	DE	Andreas Mölzer (NI) -DE	Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, it is no secret that we are living in a time of headlong economic and social change, which leaves our minds increasingly in search of stability, security and guidance. One place in which we can find such security is in our intellectual, cultural and architectural heritage, and increased popular interest in this heritage, and increased awareness of it and respect for it, testify to that. it is that respect that should lead us to prevent any recurrence of the sort of destruction – deliberate destruction – of this intellectual, cultural and architectural heritage that was seen during the inferno of two world wars in the course of the twentieth century, and such as was aimed for and planned in Eastern Europe under 'really existing Socialism', Stalinism and Communism, and is, lamentably, practised at the present time by the brutal modernism supported by the political Left. I also believe that Europe's historical and cultural heritage, in particular that of rural areas, must not be considered solely in economic terms, nor should it serve only the interests of tourism. I believe that it is advisable to
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	SL	Ljudmila Novak (PPE–DE).-SL	The preservation of the architectural cultural heritage in rural and island regions also represents the preservation of European cultural diversity and the roots of individual nations. By destroying this heritage, a nation severs its ancestral ties and tears up its roots. Attempts to achieve ever greater inter–connectedness mean that areas of new growth in European cities are becoming increasingly alike. This is why it is extremely important for each nation to preserve those characteristics which give it its distinct identity. Certainly, the most genuine cultural and natural heritage is to be found in rural regions. It needs maintenance; otherwise it becomes dilapidated and falls into disrepair. This is our greatest challenge because the restoration of listed buildings and rural core areas is a very expensive and time–consuming business. At the same time, however, the living conditions in these buildings are less than suitable for modern circumstances, which is why many owners see cultural heritage as a burden rather than a source of joy and pride. Similarly, our old crafts are disappearing because they cannot provide

07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	ES	**Antonio López-Istúriz White (PPE-DE)-ES**	*Mr President, Commissioner, I would like to begin by congratulating the rapporteur, Mr Sifunakis, on his wonderful report. Thanks to that report, we are able to hold an extremely interesting debate, because once again it emphasises something that I and many people here present consider to be absolutely crucial in the Union, particularly over recent years: at last, we are becoming aware of the impact on island regions of their island characteristics. I therefore welcome today's report's special reference to the protection and promotion of the natural, architectural and cultural heritage of Europe's island regions. In this regard, the fact that the rapporteur comes from the Island of Crete, cradle of Minoan civilisation, Europe's oldest civilisation, and that I come from the Balearic Islands, the location of the Naveta des Tudons, also considered to be Europe's oldest example of building, from around 1 500 B.C., makes us both particularly sensitive to the need to encourage the European Union to adopt measures to protect and revive Europe's cultural heritage. To this end, the Government of the Balearic*
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	IT	**Giuseppe Castiglione (PPE-DE). -IT**	It is therefore a priority to protect this vast heritage and to prepare a plan for local development aimed at implementing and encouraging the enhancement of culture and environmental resources, to make them a tool for growth in our currently struggling economy. That means first of all improving overall conditions in the countryside, including not only restoring and preserving architecture from both a monumental and a landscape point of view, but also taking into consideration the people who live in and share the reality of small rural villages. That means combating the rural exodus; providing incentives for youth training; rescuing local crafts and traditional farming practices; giving a boost to old trades and new professionalism, including by funding the development and use of new technologies; and ensuring that the landscape is maintained, not only by preserving green areas but, above all, by using local tree and plant species so as not to change the culture of the place. The people who live in these areas must be provided with all the means necessary to be able to carry on their traditions in their towns,
07/09/2006	European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions (debate	**Franco Frattini, Vice-President of the Commission**	**Franco Frattini,** *Vice-President of the Commission*	Mr President, I should like to begin by sincerely thanking all those who have made an important contribution to this debate, in the form of ideas and of truly interesting suggestions, and I fully intend to inform Mr Figel' about them. I should like to go back over just two points: that of the funding of the Culture 2000 project and that of the proposal, put forward specifically by the rapporteur, to make 2009 the European Cultural Heritage Year. With regard to the first point, as you know far better than I do, the Culture 2000 project, which had a budget of EUR 167 million, is now due to be allocated EUR 400 million. The budget has thus been substantially increased thanks to the contribution and the political support of the European Parliament. As regards the second issue concerning the European year, the Commission is taking the proposal made very
24/10/2006	**Culture programme (2007-2013)**	**President**		The next item is the recommendation for second reading by the Committee on Culture and Education (A6-0343/2006) on the Council common position for adopting a decision of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing the Culture Programme (2007-2013)(06235/3/2006 – C6-0269/2006 – 2004/0150(COD)) (Rapporteur: Mr Graça Moura).

24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	PT	**Vasco Graça Moura (PPE-DE), rapporteur**	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, the process that will culminate in the vote on the Culture Framework Programme 2007-2013 at second reading has been complex and slow: slow essentially because of a series of setbacks regarding the financial perspective, as we all recall, and complex due to the nature of the issue and to the varied range of contributions to the debate from all members of the other committees that issued their opinions with the members of the committee directly concerned.What ensued from all of these contributions was rich dialogue on the Culture Framework Programme 2007-2013, which subsequently went from first reading to the current stage of proceedings. This process was marked by formal and informal interventions from both the Commission and the Council, leading to fruitful exchanges of views and consensus positions that can only be viewed as extremely positive.As a result of all of this, most of the amendments adopted by this Chamber at first reading have been enshrined in the common position. Of these amendments, I wish to highlight the explicit reference, in the recitals and in the body of Article 3, to the importance of a common cultural heritage shared by Europeans, an idea that encapsulates the objectives of the programme.We must accordingly monitor, at all times, the implementation of the specific objectives laid down by the programme relating to this enormously extensive heritage, which has for centuries been
24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)		**Ján Figeľ, Member of the Commission.**	Mr President, I am pleased to be here at the end of the second round of negotiations. I sense a very positive feeling about proceeding with the final vote and decision. We are now looking at the range of programmes for which I am responsible, including youth, education and the citizenship programme.We start with culture. This is highly symbolic and very important because we believe that, as in the past, culture can provide many important answers to the future of Europe. Let me remind you that in December 2004 President Barroso said that cultural values rank higher than economic ones, because the economy helps us to live, but it is culture that makes life worth living.I am pleased to say that an excellent climate of cooperation between our institutions characterised the whole legislative process and brought us to a very satisfactory compromise. I should particularly like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Graça Moura, for his excellent work and, for similar reasons, the whole Committee on Culture and Education.
24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	PL	**Bogusław Sonik, on behalf of the PPE-DE Group.**	Mr President, I support the overall aim of this programme, namely strengthening the common European cultural area and reinforcing the sense of European citizenship. These are very laudable aims.I was, however, surprised to read, in part of the Council's common position of June of this year, that the Culture Programme (2007-2013) contributes to, I quote 'the strengthening of the transversal objectives of the Community, by contributing to the elimination of all discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age, or sexual orientation'. Transversal Community objectives – what kind of newspeak is that, ladies and gentlemen? Are we witnessing a renaissance of Socialist Realism? Does this all mean that the key criterion used in the assessment of future projects will be their supposed impact on

24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	FR	Guy Bono, on behalf of the PSE Group.	Mr President, allow me to start by congratulating the rapporteur, Mr Graça Moura, on the work he has done on the fundamental topic of the Culture 2007 programme and, in particular, on the agreement he has reached on behalf of the European Parliament.I would like briefly to go over the three points that I championed for the Socialist Group in the European Parliament within the Committee on Culture and Education. Firstly, with regard to the transversal aspect of the programme, it must be noted that the agreement reached goes in the right direction: nobody can object to increasing the coherence of the programme, which will make it possible to put a stop to the fragmentation that for a long time has characterised the European Union's cultural activities. However, intentions are one thing, and the resources proposed are quite another.I
24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	FR	Claire Gibault, on behalf of the ALDE Group.	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, to start with I would like to congratulate Mr Graça Moura on the quality of his work and to thank him for the favourable attention he always paid to our proposals. His report is excellent, which is hardly surprising coming from this Portuguese writer who is such an ardent defender of the Portuguese language.As shadow rapporteur for the Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, I would urge Parliament to give him its full support. This programme covers the following objectives: promoting the transnational mobility of people working in the culture sector, encouraging the transnational circulation of works of art and cultural and artistic products, and promoting intercultural dialogue. That said, one wonders how, with such a limited budget, we will be able
24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	DE	Helga Trüpel, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group	Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I too would like to start by thanking Mr Graça Moura for his work on this important aspect of our European policy.People like to quote, whenever we discuss the significance of cultural policy for Europe, the saying to the effect that 'You do not fall in love with the internal market', for Europe adds up to more than just the internal market, even though it is something we cannot do without. Europe has a great deal to do with the cultural identity and our cultural riches, which we want to preserve and develop. Culture can divide people from one another, particularly when it emphasises differences, but our cultural policy is aimed at bringing the people of Europe together through culture, establishing contacts between them, making it possible for them to establish contact with, and feel a sense of
24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	PL	Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański , on behalf of the UEN Group	Mr President, a nation's standard of living is a function of material assets, but its identity is determined by its culture, in the broadest sense of the term. Culture is a nation's true wealth, and the driving force behind its existence and development. Culture also constitutes a platform where nations can reach understanding and integrate. Culture develops through a historical process. It does not take kindly to brutal interventions or to being forced to develop along specific lines. Culture needs freedom.The Culture Programme (2007-2013) we are debating today is intended to organise the aims and restrict their number. It also aims to support the transnational mobility of people working in the cultural sector, the transnational circulation of works of art, as well as of artistic and cultural products, and also intercultural dialogue.From the
24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)	IT	Alessandro Battilocchio (NI).	Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I speak on behalf of the new Italian Socialist Party.European cultural heritage is a major part of our Union's wealth and I am therefore grateful to the three institutions for the efforts made so far to safeguard and promote it.The great value of the Culture programme, which I hope will also be retained in the next programming period, lies not only in promoting the mobility of persons and works in the sector within the Community, but above all in the great opportunity that this represents for small operators and small communities in the EU to keep their own histories and identities alive.Promoting individual cultures at local level is in fact extremely valuable, as much for the European Union in general, which bases its unity and strength on the diversity within its

24/10/2006	Culture programme (2007-2013)		**Ján Figeľ, Member of the Commission**	Mr President, I welcome the very positive responses; there may be still some pressure for doing more. We all want to do more for culture, because it is important for the European mentality and European identity; for living together in one broader and broader house. I think that the best narrative of Europe is diversity and unity. Diversity growing means an invitation to promote and deepen unity, and unity based on values is mostly promoted via our cultural programme.I am sure that some points that were mostly to do with the budget are invitations to do more in future. If you recall the previous programme, we had seven cents per culture, per year, per citizen – Mr Bono mentioned that now we will have 15 cents. There were invitations to do ten times more – 70 cents per culture. I just want to remind people that the budgetary authority in
24/10/2006	Culture programme(2007-2013)	**President**		Debate is closed-The vote will take place today, at 12 noon. Annex – Commission statement. The Commission would like to draw the legislative authority's attention to the need for the financial package mentioned in the basic act establishing the culture programme (2007-2013) to be expressed at current prices, and for this to be done no later than on its final publication in the Official Journal. This corresponds to the standard budgetary practice and will help to ensure, with all due transparency, that the legislative authority's decision is complied with. For the programme in question, the sum at current prices amounts to EUR 400 million.
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**Andris Piebalgs, *Member of the Commission .***	Andris Piebalgs, *Member of the Commission .*	

31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	FR	**Erna Hennicot-Schoepges (PPE-DE),** *rapporteur*	Annex – Commission statement
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	FR	**Patrick Gaubert (PPE-DE),** *draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Foreign Affairs*	
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	PL	**Lidia Joanna Geringer de Oedenberg (PSE),** *draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Budgets .* -PL	The Commission would like to draw the legislative authority's attention to the need for the financial package mentioned in the basic act establishing the culture programme (2007-2013) to be expressed at current prices, and for this to be done no later than on its final publication in the Official Journal. This corresponds to the standard budgetary practice and will help to ensure, with all due transparency, that the legislative authority's decision is complied with. For the programme in question, the sum at current prices amounts to EUR 400 million.

31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**EL**	**Rodi Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou (PPE-DE),** *draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality.- EL*	We must accordingly monitor, at all times, the implementation of the specific objectives laid down by the programme relating to this enormously extensive heritage, which has for centuries been ingrained in all fields of human activity. Given that these fields relate to our civilisation and culture, they also reflect our identity.
31/05/ 2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**DE**	**Doris Pack,** *on behalf of the PPE-DE Group* . -DE	
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**ES**	**Maria Badia i Cutchet,** *on behalf of the PSE Group* .-ES	It has also been possible to agree on satisfactory arrangements for the duration of the actions, scheduled to take between one and five years; for the intervention of cultural operators, the number of which per country will vary according to the nature of the action; and for the funds from the budget granted to each of the sectors concerned, in particular the granting of additional resources for cooperation measures, that is to say, for smaller projects, as opposed to larger-scale or multiannual cooperation projects. This will make it possible to consider actions by small-scale operators, who tend to be closest to the citizens, without neglecting the larger-scale, more visible actions that involve more countries over a longer period of time.
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**LT**	**Jolanta Dičkutė,** *on behalf of the ALDE Group* . LT	

			Bernat Joan i Marí, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group* .	In addition to all of this, I would like to highlight the provision for special actions aimed at raising awareness among Europe's citizens of cultural diversity in the Member States. Some of these actions are already provided for, such as the European capitals of culture, and support for European bodies operating in the field of culture, which, very importantly, function as ambassadors for European culture, and many of which have received crucial backing from Parliament in the past.
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**Bernat Joan i Marí,** *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group* .		
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**PL**	**Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański,** *on behalf of the UEN Group* . -PL	
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**CS**	**Nina Škottová (PPE-DE).** – *(CS)*	If the rules change on account of the financial regulations in force and these bodies thus find themselves having to apply for the aid they need under the Culture Programme 2007-2013, it is vital that they are not overlooked and that they remain able to pursue their actions.
31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**Andris Piebalgs,** *Member of the Commission* .	**Andris Piebalgs,** *Member of the Commission* .	

31/05/2006	European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)	**Preside nt. The** debate	**President**	The Commission and the Council expect that the multidisciplinary nature of the programme will make it highly flexible and able to support many innovative proposals. In spite of some reservations that I expressed during the debate at first reading, I sincerely hope that they are
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	**Presid** ent	**President**	
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	**Ján Figeľ, Membe r of the Commi ssion**	**Ján Figeľ,** *Member of the Commission*	Against this backdrop of the institutions working together and heading in the same direction, there is just one negative point, which is easy to spot. I refer to what can only be described as the very meagre resources granted to the Culture Programme 2007-2013. At first reading, a number of us who contributed to the debate – in other words, not only me, the rapporteur – drew attention to this point.
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	**DE**	**Christa Prets (PSE),** *rapporteur- DE*	

04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	DE	**Doris Pack,** *on behalf of the PPE-DE Group . -DE*	This is a third generation programme aimed at going further and being more effective than previous ones. It is a programme that encompasses a broader range of actions and boasts a larger number of interested Member States. It also involves higher management and monitoring costs, and yet the budgetary appropriation falls well short of what it needs to achieve these objectives and well short of what all those responsible – the members of the Commission, the ministers of culture, the cultural agents and operators, and the politicians – feel is absolutely vital.
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	EL	**Nikolaos Sifunakis,** *on behalf of the PSE Group.-EL*	
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	IT	**Alfonso Andria,** *on behalf of the ALDE Group. -IT*	Even so, I feel that we should express the wish that the Culture Programme 2007-2013 is a great success and that it makes an eloquent contribution to the development of the Europe to which we are all committed.

04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	DE	**Helga Trüpel,** *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group -DE*	Mr President, I should like to start by thanking Mrs Prets for her committed and competent work on this report. Even though some of the previous speakers have already mentioned the problems that occurred in specific cases, I should like to emphasise that, so far, the history of the European capitals of culture has by and large been a successful one. The individual cities named as capitals of culture have benefited, but so has Europe as a whole, because, time and again, these European capitals of culture have made it clear how diverse, rich and varied European culture is. Nevertheless, I should like to focus on two aspects of this redrafted report that are particularly important to me. Firstly, the idea of sustainability requires the capital of culture action not to be purely event-based, but to make a real contribution to encouraging greater social interaction, more promotion of art and culture, and new architectural designs.
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	PL	**Zdzisław Zbigniew Podkański,** *on behalf of the UEN Group . -PL*	Mr President, much experience has been gained from European Capital of Culture events. The celebrations have had both positive and negative consequences. On the positive side, we have noted a flourishing of creative activity, cultural exchanges abroad and patronage for cultural events. The cities have been promoted and their citizens' cultural ambitions awakened. On the negative side, I could mention the concentration of effort and resources on specific cultural events at the expense of social and cultural movements in the city and region concerned. I could also refer to the lack of a detailed impact assessment of the programme undertaken, and the imposition on Member States and city authorities of criteria that are often inappropriate to the needs and traditions of the cities and regions. I should comment too on the lack of clarity and transparency regarding the financing of activities from European funds. Latterly, a tendency
04/04/2006	**European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate**	FR	**Erna Hennicot-Schoepges (PPE-DE)- FR**	Mr President, Commissioner, I have placed on record a minority opinion in accordance with Rule 48 of our Rules of Procedure and I shall not vote in favour of this draft. Nonetheless, I thank Mrs Prets for her work. I shall give you the reasons for my position. The project that aims to designate each year a European Capital of Culture gave rise, at the time of its inception, to enthusiasm and to a desire to stand out from the crowd, as well as to the awareness that culture is a valuable asset. For a decade now, the Commission and Parliament have been trying to inject a new dynamic into the project, but they have gone about it using the same resources that are crippling the European project in general. Instead of rebuilding the initial enthusiasm, with citizens who were supposed to identify with the project, the Commission and Parliament are setting themselves up as judges. With my amendments, my proposal was to give the Member States the task of designating the European Capital of Culture according to their own criteria. That would have encouraged them to shoulder their responsibilities. Instead

04/04/2006	European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate	Marios Matsak is (ALDE)	**Marios Matsakis (ALDE)**	Mr President, needless to say I totally disagree with the previous speaker, with all respect. I wish to congratulate Mrs Prets on a thorough and carefully set out report. It is universally recognised that the programme of the European City of Culture, or European Capital of Culture as it was later renamed, is a well-tried and very useful concept and much credit must be given to those who set it up back in the mid-1980s, especially to the then Greek Culture Minister, Melina Mercouri. She was indeed an inspirational and talented woman who, in her stormy life, fought courageously for democracy and for the promotion of European unity through culture. Programmes such as the one we are discussing tonight indisputably help bring European citizens closer together and strengthen the bonds between them. They help promote understanding amongst our people and increase the appreciation of and respect for each
04/04/2006	European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate	SL	**Ljudmila Novak (PPE-DE)-SL**	*In a culturally and ethnically diverse Europe, it is very important that we build bridges between nations. Our guiding principle must be, and must continue to be, to preserve our own culture and to become acquainted with the cultural riches of other nations. Culture is the most unobtrusive and effective link that binds nations who want to live in peace and mutual cooperation. The European Capital of Culture makes such a link possible. At the same time, it also offers an opportunity to many host cities for greater investment in cultural facilities and projects, with long–term positive effects on the economy. This project also encourages citizens to become culturally involved and to familiarise themselves with culture in all its dimensions. I also welcome the proposal for a prize to be awarded if a city meets the criteria for the European Capital of Culture, as previous organisers have, in many cases, complained about a*
04/04/2006	European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate	PL	**Bogusław Sonik (PPE-DE)-PL**	Mr President, along with eight other European cities, my home city of Krakow, in Poland, was the European Capital of Culture for 2000. It was my pleasant duty to serve as Director of the European Capital of Culture programme at the time. I should like to state that the European Capitals of Culture programme is the most notable of the programmes emphasising the cultural unity of our continent. Furthermore, it is a programme that arose from the citizens' initiative. It did not come about on the initiative of any institution such as the Commission or Parliament. Greece and Mrs Mercouri in particular deserve to be congratulated on the idea of finding a way to show what Europe is all about, and what the cultural unity of our continent actually means. In fact, it would be right and proper for this award to be named after Mrs Mercouri, who was then the Greek Minister for Culture, since this is what Greece and Mrs Mercouri deserve. How
04/04/2006	European Capital of Culture (2007 - 2019) (debate	SK	**Ján Figeľ,** *Member of the Commission .*	I think that the Capital of Culture programme is as popular in the field of culture as Erasmus is in the area of education. Both programmes are approximately 20 years old, and should we so wish, we could say much about the past and future of these programmes. I am convinced that not only the Committee but also Parliament is keen to make sure that the Capital of Culture programme becomes even better and more popular, and I believe that we are heading in that direction. I would only like to add that the fact that ten cities in Germany and eleven cities in Hungary are competing for the 2010 title reflects an interest, competitiveness and movement or dynamism in the field of culture and cultural heritage, which is good for the whole of Europe. I would like to thank you all and to say that we are actually doing many of the things that Mr Sonik has mentioned in the field of information, consultancy and assistance. We would also

04/04/2006	Capital of Culture (2007 -	nt. The debate	**President.** The debate is closed.	The vote will take place tomorrow, Wednesday.
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	**Ján Figeľ,** *Member of the Commission*	**Ján Figeľ,** *Member of the Commission*	Mr President, I should like to express my gratitude to the author of this report on Culture 2007, Mr Graça Moura, for his excellent work and for the sound cooperation between our two institutions. I am very pleased that the general line proposed by the Commission has been welcomed by Parliament and that the draft report agrees with the main objectives of our proposal. This focus on objectives will enable the programme to deliver more European added value. Although support for the projects is clearly a key component of the programme, the draft report also approves the Commission's proposal to go beyond the mere 'project approach' and support organisations, studies and the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation. As you know, the Commission proposal does not mention any sector specifically. Our intention is to cover all fields of artistic and cultural life without any prejudice and to promote cross-sectoral activities. On the budget, I am very grateful that this programme has received a great deal of political support in the House, from both committees and groups, and I am glad to see that you propose even stronger financial backing for this cooperation. I agree that the increase to EUR 600 million proposed by Parliament would make it easier for the programme to attain its objectives and to reach a critical mass, but the Commission cannot amend its original proposal; we are waiting for the agreement on the financial perspective. I am pleased to say that the Commission is able to accept either word-for-word or in substance some of the other amendments contained in the report. The Commission can agree with the transfer the memorial action from the culture programme to the citizenship programme and will confirm that in a specific declaration. It is important to continue to support this action. I also agree with the proposal to extend this action to the victims of Stalinist regimes. On translation, as I said in my introduction, no sector is specifically mentioned. However, we understand Parliament's request to include a reference to literary translation in the annex to the decision in order to take into account the specific conditions in this field of activity. Some of you very rightly

			Vasco Graça Moura (PPE-DE), rapporteur .-PT	We see ourselves as Europeans, in spite of all our differences. This is down to European culture, which encompasses the shared, dynamic heritage formed by our specific characteristics and our linguistic diversity, elements that come together to form a complex tapestry in which the Greco-Latin, Judeo-Christian and Mediterranean-Muslim traditions are all brought to the fore, whilst ensuring that none of those traditions is able to dominate. Culture should be high on the agenda of promoting the European project, with a view to reviving our common heritage, while encouraging diversity, in such a way that a balance can be struck between the centralising and decentralising tendencies. In order words, we must take measures that acknowledge the value of our common heritage and must enable the 400 million-plus citizens of the Union to find out more about each other within their specific cultural and linguistic identities. It would clearly be wrong to speak of European cultural integration. One of the most fascinating aspects of our civilisation lies precisely in the idea of Europe accepting itself both as a common entity and as an entity formed and characterised by an openness to its fellow human beings and to the world. Culture 2007-2013 should, first and foremost, be a framework programme, not for integration, but for increased cultural communication between the citizens of Europe, and should be effected on a Europe-wide scale and built on the foundations of its values. Accordingly, European culture policy must always concentrate on providing a European added value. Otherwise, it will cease to have any meaning and will become indistinguishable from national policy on culture. What is more, cooperation is crucial between the European institutions, the Member States, the cultural players and participants from all Member States, as well as their transnational networks. The purpose of this is to make common cultural policy a reality. The 2007-2013 'Culture' programme is a third generation programme. It takes on board the experience of the previous ones and seeks to adopt the most appropriate solutions on the basis of that experience. I must say that, personally, I would have preferred it to have been formed along the lines of the first generation – Raphael, Ariane and Kaleidoscope – with the areas of art, literature, the performing arts and cultural heritage properly marked out. Resources are scarce, yet the number of applications for aid continues to grow. In order for policy to be effective, it must be focused on a small number of clear, well-
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	PT		
			Alexandra Dobolyi (PSE), rapporteur for the opinion of the Committee on Foreign Affairs- UH	Mr President, first of all I would like to thank the rapporteur for his wonderful work. I am certain that he had invested a considerable amount of time in it. Globalisation is an irreversible fact. As a result, cultural supply and the system of relationships between people and other nations have expanded to an incredible extent. National particularities are relaxed in some areas, and as a result of the interaction between cultures, national identity has acquired a new significance. The new circumstances cast a different light on national and common European identity. In this context I would like to stress that in a globalised world culture is one of the most important means of strengthening, deepening and promoting common European identity, while preserving the multicultural diversity of nations. The evaluation conducted by the Committee, based on extensive consultation, pointed out that rationalisation and strengthening are a requirement in this area of community activities, as well. It is important to stress that in order to achieve effective results and avoid unnecessary duplication, community activities must be closely interconnected in the areas of culture and education, youth, sport, research and discrimination. Community activities must supplement one another and must be harmonised. In order to achieve higher efficiency, the extent of cooperation between Member States and regional
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	HU		

24/10/2005	Culture 2007	PL	**Bogusław Sonik (PPE-DE)**, *draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs - PL*	Mr President, Parliament's draft resolution on the Culture 2007 programme (2007-2013) is likely to promote creativity and strengthen mutual awareness of the culture and history of the nations of Europe, as well as boosting cooperation in this field. One of the most important steps we could take towards this goal would be to identify the protection of cultural heritage of European significance as one of the fundamental goals of the Culture 2007 programme. The Commission's draft fails to offer clear support for projects relating to the European tradition or to the common roots that are an integral part of the identity of contemporary Europe. After all, it was the culture of our continent, that was centuries in the making, which shaped European identity, and continues to do so today. This culture also encourages the recognition of our common heritage and civilisation, as noted by John Paul II during a speech before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. As a member of the Association of European Capitals of Culture, I have had first-hand experience of the enthusiasm generated by the European Capital of Culture initiatives among the people of our continent. Such initiatives allow millions of citizens to participate in artistic, informative and instructive projects of enormous educational merit. This effort on the part of artists and cultural operators gives us good reason
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	DE	**Doris Pack,** *on behalf of the PPE-DE Group* -DE	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, this programme represents a challenge to what we call European cultural policy, for the absence of a real cultural policy puts at risk the idea that the European Union should unite not merely states but also peoples, particularly at a time when the European Union cannot be other than seriously concerned about its own future. Such a European cultural policy could well help to bring together the needs of the cultural world and those of the public, thereby addressing the soul of Europe as nothing else can, and with it, people's hearts, for it is with their hearts, more than with their minds, that people will be prepared to vote 'yes' in a referendum. We take the view – although I note that the Commission does not – that the cultural actions should be biased towards the starting-up of small and medium-sized projects, for it is these that can help to make visible the cultural riches of the European Union's individual regions and promote real public awareness of them. I hope that I will, for a change, find more sympathy for this idea from the Council than from the Commission. While ministers of culture, and even the President of the Commission, are wont to make pious utterances stressing the significance of culture, and to sing its praises as an agent of integration, cohesion and citizenship, they should also ensure that sufficient funding is available
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	FR	**Guy Bono,** *on behalf of the PSE Group* -FR	Firstly, as regards the horizontal aspect of the programme, it must be noted that the Commission's proposal reflects good intentions, which are along the right lines. No one need oppose strengthening the coherence of the programme in order to put a stop to the fragmentation, which for so long has characterised the EU's action with regard to culture. However, there are the intentions, on the one hand, and the resources proposed, on the other. I therefore come to my second point: the matter of the budget. It is no use the European Union setting ambitious objectives, such as promoting cultural diversity and cultural cooperation, if the budget available is not adjusted. We have therefore called for a logical increase in the budget allocated to this programme so that it can fulfil the task assigned to culture, namely that of contributing to the development of a European culture and a European identity, both of which will enable countries to put a stop to their excessive national self-interest and, consequently, to come out of the crisis that the EU is currently going through. My third point concerns the

24/10/2005	Culture 2007	FR	**Claire Gibault,** *on behalf of the ALDE Group* -FR	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, the report by Mr Graça Moura on the Culture 2007 programme for the period 2007-2013 wholly fulfils the expectations of culture professionals. It is balanced, consistent and demanding. It attaches great importance to the content of the proposals, it prioritises cultural diversity and it is committed to the development of European citizenship. I thank Mr Graça Moura for his listening skills and for the quality of the dialogue that we have been able to establish. I too am particularly delighted that it was possible for the cultural industries to be recognised in a recital of this report. I personally took a tough stand in calling for them to be included in this programme, and even if this result still falls far short of the mark, the progress made is by no means insignificant and deserves to be pointed out. I will continue to defend the position whereby the cultural industries contribute to promoting European culture: they generate employment and give economic added value to the cultural sector. There is even less reason to neglect the cultural industries inasmuch as they are the
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	DE	*Helga Trüpel,* *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group -DE*	Mr President, Commissioner Figel', ladies and gentlemen, over recent months, this House has seen a campaign waged in support of culture, which called for a European cultural budget amounting to 70 cents per inhabitant per annum. At present, we allocate EUR 35 million to the overall European cultural budget, and that, being equivalent to the amount received by a major theatre in Germany, is a shameful figure. Now that the Wall has come down and we have 25 Member States, we really want Europeans to encounter each other anew; we really want cultural exchange and more information; we want Western and Eastern Europe to have a real opportunity to establish contact with each other, but the present budget makes that impossible. The reason why my group has raised the figures that the Commission proposed or that have now emerged from the Committee was that we need 10 times as much as we have at present.
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	PT	**Miguel Portas,** *on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group* -PT	For the Commission and the Council, culture is a matter of the EU's visibility, which has been, and continues to be, the real aim of the 'Culture' programme. The first plus point of the Graça Moura report is that it distances itself from this view that cultural creations can be used for the purposes of political promotion. This is not the only plus point, in fact. The Commission and the Council want maximum visibility with minimum resources, and therefore channel aid into a few actions, bodies and initiatives. This is a bad move. In the name of visibility, there has been a shortfall in Europe of so many projects that rely on it. This is a further trend that the report seeks to rectify, on its own terms. It supports projects up to two years, simplifies procedures for obtaining financial support, makes a commitment to transparency in application processes and places value on heritage and linguistic diversity in the programme's objectives. These are more than enough reasons to vote in favour of the report. The British Presidency continues to block the financial perspective. As we know, Mr Blair has his priorities elsewhere, but I feel that everyone present is agreed on one point; the proposal of EUR 600 million is the rock-bottom minimum if the Union wishes to present itself to cultural creators and producers as an institution that still gives some value to the words it says. I would like to think that the men and women of

24/10/2005	Culture 2007	FR	**Erna Hennicot-Schoepges (PPE-DE)-FR**	Mr President, I should like to congratulate our rapporteur on his report. My criticisms are not, of course, directed at his report, but instead concern the mindset with which the matter of culture is addressed by the Council and by the Commission. The Constitution would have given us the foundation for tackling a common cultural policy, based on the diversity of cultures and on mutual acceptance of the principles of freedom and of human rights. However, the Constitution did not go so far as to grant culture the status of a real Community policy, which was an argument for not voting in favour of it. The objective that should be achieved by increasing our knowledge of others is precisely the objective sought by all of our countries. Doing away with the fear of others is a prerequisite for attaining a life led in peace in a society of genuine cultural pluralism. Learning about differences: that is the objective of a common cultural policy. Among the Commission's objectives, the mobility of persons leads me once again, Commissioner – and I am well aware that you yourself are not the person with responsibility – to ask the following question: where, in all of this, is the work of the Council on problems related to social security, taxation and status, which prevent people from being truly mobile, not to mention its work on the lack of financial resources to support real exchanges between the new Member
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	EL	**Nikolaos Sifunakis (PSE). -EL**	Mr President, Commissioner, the Culture 2007 programme is the main means for implementing Community action in the field of culture. It sets a series of important objectives, such as the cross-border mobility of cultural agencies in Europe, the transnational movement of artists and cultural works and cultural dialogue, objectives which cannot be implemented satisfactorily by the Member States due to their transnational character. However, we must not forget that the programme is also the means for financing these objectives. We cannot therefore set objectives for culture without at the same time proposing what the financial resources will be with which we shall achieve them. Consequently we, as the European Parliament, must propose a specific amount in the budget. However, when we talk about the objectives of the programme, we must emphasise that the maintenance and knowledge of cultural heritage must be expressly included in the objectives of this programme. Among these plans, prime position must continue to be given to actions which aim to rescue the architectural heritage of Europe. Another point which we must also keep an eye on is facilitating the participation of small agencies in the programme, which is often difficult. Our rapporteur, Mr Graça Moura, who has done an excellent job, is well versed in this subject and his report takes account of the needs of
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	LT	**Margarita Starkevičiūtė (ALDE)- LT**	It is symbolic that in the same week when the leaders of Europe's countries will debate the challenges of globalisation, the Parliament is discussing the EU cultural programme. It is symbolic because in the future culture industries will probably become the European Union's main competitive advantage. We will be unable to compete in terms of labour costs or cost effectiveness. Therefore, it is very important to promote creativity and more attention must be devoted to this in the cultural programme. I disagree with the European Commission's opinion that the more participants in the cultural programme, the more visible it is. This is a grandiose view, whereas we must look towards cultural originality. This originality is certainly not achieved through the number of operators, and this should not be increased. Another important aspect, which is relevant to the promotion of culture and creativity, is namely the multilateral exchange process. Of course, it is very important for us to preserve our cultural heritage, but the cultural programme must put a clear emphasis on the future and the creative generation of new ideas. Thank you.

			Bernat Joan i Marí (Verts/ALE).	Mr President, as we face the financial perspective of Culture 2007 we are very worried about an issue that the European Union has not yet properly addressed: the promotion of marginalised languages and of minority languages within the EU. I would like to refer specifically to the budget problems for the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, whose main goal is to maintain real language diversity in the European Union. According to the Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, each linguistic community has the right to maintain and develop its own language and pass it on to future generations. In the European Union we have official languages, minority languages and languages like Catalan that, being majority languages in their own country, are not in the first or second groups. The EU has to provide support for all these languages and for linguistic diversity in Europe. That means a budget is needed for minority languages and for the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. I know that is against the Jacobinist language policy that is practised in some European states, but the EU will work to promote diversity, democracy and freedom and to maintain real equality between
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	Bernat Joan i Marí (Verts/ ALE).		
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	ET	Marianne Mikko (PSE). ET	Mr President, Commissioner, esteemed rapporteur, ladies and gentlemen. The 'Culture 2007' report that is presently before Parliament, after being accepted at the cultural commission, has lost all the amendments referring to the preservation of the memory of the crimes of Stalinism. In terms of total number of deaths, Stalinism was no less tragic than Nazism. Mass deportation and concentration camps were part of the arsenal of both regimes. In my homeland, Estonia, nearly 10% of the population was deported and killed under the leadership of Stalin. Elderly people and children represented more than half of the number of those deported. Even pregnant women were shown no mercy. Stalinism and Nazism are two sides of the same ideology. They were conceived together. They divided Europe through the Hitler-Stalin pact. After the expansion of the European Union, we cannot avoid passing judgment on the crimes of Stalinism, which were mainly committed in Eastern Europe. That judgment alone symbolises that we are members of one European family. The bearers of a misanthropic ideology remain a threat to us. Their face changes as necessary, but inside, Neo-Nazis, national Bolsheviks, neo-
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	ES	Maria Badia I Cutchet (PSE) -ES	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, we European citizens must take pleasure from the approval of this programme: a cultural programme, renewed for 2007-2013. It demonstrates the importance that the European Union attaches to the citizens, adopting a programme aimed at improving the dissemination of the culture and history of all of the peoples of Europe, at conserving and protecting the cultural heritage of the Union and promoting artistic, literary and audiovisual creativity. This programme, furthermore, is essential for facing the challenge of enlargement and also in terms of developing an awareness of European citizenship, because only through the dissemination of our common cultural values can we illustrate the different foundations of our European identity. But this programme will also be open to many countries that are not Members of the European Union. Given, therefore, the programme's very ambitious objectives, we must have a budget to match. In this regard, I believe that the needs defined by the European Cultural Foundation in July 2004, calling for an annual budget of EUR 315 million, quite reasonably pointed to the need for a more generous

24/10/2005	Culture 2007	DE	**Christa Prets (PSE). -DE**	Mr President, Commissioner, earlier this year, various cultural organisations mounted, with support from Parliament and the Commission, the action '70 cents per citizen'. It was clear to all how important this was in telling us all the things we could do with 70 cents and how much we ended up being left with. I must now join the ranks of those who keep coming back to money, but it is a fact that we cannot implement the demanding cultural programme with the budget that is available to us. The cultural programme as set out in the report ranges from the preservation of the cultural heritage to contemporary cultural events; it makes reference to linguistic diversity and to minority languages, and I believe that this is where there is a need for
24/10/2005	Culture 2007	SK	**Ján Figeľ,** *Member of the Commission* . -SK	Thank you very much for your numerous expressions of encouragement and for your statements advocating European cultural cooperation. Let me remind you that only a few years ago, and certainly before Maastricht, many would have said that this is not an agenda for Parliament, the Union or the Commission. More, much more is needed today. There is also greater political will for this kind of cooperation, and I am confident that it will bear fruit, because it is necessary. The first reason for this is globalisation, and the risk it brings of losing our identity. The second is European integration itself, which does not mean the integration or harmonisation of cultures, but the shaping of a community of cultures, where diversity is an asset and where unity is based on common values. Never before have themes and phenomena like identity, citizenship and culture been so intensively discussed and elaborated on in European institutions. I see this as a sign of the times, a signal that we are moving from the
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	DE	**Prets (PSE),** *rapporteur-DE*	Mr President, Commissioner, nearly 20 years ago, on 13 June 1985, the idea of the European Capital of Culture was submitted to the Council of Ministers of Culture at the instigation of Melina Mercouri, the then Greek Minister of Culture, and the relevant resolution was duly adopted. Her aim was to make specific cultural aspects of the city, region or country concerned accessible to the European public. After 20 years of the European Capital of Culture programme, we can draw some conclusions, as identified in the Palmer study of August 2004.There is no doubt that being selected as a European Capital of Culture has a positive impact on the city concerned as regards new cultural initiatives, the expansion of cultural infrastructure, artistic endeavours and trends, its reputation, its international status and the scope for further cultural development. This goes hand-in-hand with an increase in the number of visitors and receipts, but also in expenditure. Although the European Capital of Culture has a special attraction for people interested in culture, the European aspect has not totally caught on. The cultural dimension is often overshadowed by political ambitions, and the European dimension has not always been in the forefront. The Capital of Culture can only be a sustainable project if it is integrated into the development of the city as part of a long-term cultural development strategy. A great deal has changed over the last 20 years as regards cultural and artistic development in cities, particularly in the European Union, making it necessary to amend the decision adopted at that time. For example, the sequence of cities to be nominated up to 2019 does not take account of the 10 new Member States which joined the EU on enlargement in May last year. However, in order not to upset the sequence that has now been established, there is a proposal that for each year a city from one of the new Member States should be added in, so as to create a balance. We could not justify making these countries wait until 2019 for their turn. The common position before us is deficient in some

22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	SK	**Figeľ,** *Member of the Commission -SK*	Ladies and gentlemen, in November 2003 the European Commission adopted a proposal amending the 1999 Decision establishing the Community instrument entitled European Capital of Culture. This Decision covered the years 2005-2019, which is where we are now. The sole purpose of the Commission's proposal, which you have before you now, is to enable the ten new Member States to participate in this cultural activity as soon as possible from a position of parity with the other Member States, thus applying the principle of equality. This means that, beginning in 2009, the new Member States will be hosting the European Capital of Culture, both in cooperation and in competition with the other Member States. In 2009, as already mentioned, it will be Lithuania together with Austria. In the second phase, as requested by the European Parliament, I am proposing a further change to the Council before this summer, which will mean an in-depth analysis or an in-depth review of the selection procedure for this Community activity.As was rightly pointed out by Christa Prets, this proposal should include, among other things, the European dimension in cooperation, how to strengthen it, the role of the selection
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	DE	**Pack (PPE-DE),** *on behalf of the PPE-DE Group. -DE*	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, we would not be having to discuss the European Capital of Culture at all today if back in 1999 the Council of Ministers had not totally – and quite outrageously – ignored the expected new Member States right up to 2019. Only ministers can come up with such ideas: the Members of this House were already wiser back then.We therefore have to put matters right today, and we are ready to support that. In future we will have two cities, one from the 15 old Member States and one from the new Member States. I totally support that, as it will also mean cooperation between two cultural capitals. In 2010, for example, that will involve a German city and a Hungarian one. Mrs Prets is of course quite right in saying that the financial resources will not be adequate for this. Once you have made a mistake, the punishment is that much more severe. In short, we will need more money for the cultural capitals in future, and that should also be provided under the financial framework.I believe, unlike Mrs Prets, that each country should submit at least two cities to the
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	?	**Hegyi (PSE),** *on behalf of the PSE Group .*	Mr President, I generally welcome Mrs Prets' excellent report. I also welcome the idea of enlarging the European Capital of Culture initiative to include the new Member States. Some people perhaps think it would be better to have only one Capital of Culture per year, alternating yearly between the EU 15 of the old Member States and the EU 10 of new Member States. In this way, we could ensure that all the events are concentrated in one city. That would be a logical solution, but many old Member States have already waited a long time to enjoy the prestige and to have the possibility of having a Capital of Culture.This doubling of the possibilities should be welcomed subject to one crucial condition: the two capitals should be equal in every way, including finance. It is the responsibility of the Commission, the governments and the city councils, as well as of the media. I urge everyone to understand this concern and make every possible step to ensure equality in real terms. To have first-rate and

22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	DE	**Trüpel (Verts/ALE),** *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group -DE*	Mr President, I would like to support the previous speakers and stress that the European Capitals of Culture programme has so far been a success story. You can always find individual areas where things could be done still better, but all in all we have seen that for all these cities the process of self-understanding – with meetings across Europe opening their eyes to European horizons – has helped to strengthen not only the identity of those cities but also a new understanding within Europe.Mrs Pack was quite right to say that we now recognise that it was a mistake not to include Eastern Europe in the decision adopted in 1999. So we are right to be correcting that error here now and to provide for a new arrangement as from 2009, on the basis of which not just one country from the old Member States but also a city from one of the Eastern European Member States is also included.I am firmly convinced that this tension between Western and Eastern Europe will lead to good cooperative projects. We also need to
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	DE	**Markov (GUE/NGL),** *on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group. -DE*	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, my group supports this Council common position despite its evident shortcomings, because we believe that it lays the foundations for creating a fair system of financing, and because it of course also solves the problem that all the previous speakers have referred to: up to now, no provision at all has been made for the new European Union Member States.The title 'European Capital of Culture' provides European cities and their citizens with an attractive opportunity to make themselves known across Europe, and also to display their cultural, scientific, architectural and historical merits and achievements. Against the background of their application to become a cultural capital, many cities have developed their own development plan, and these development plans, regardless of whether these cities have subsequently been nominated by their countries or not, give a tremendous boost to development. It leads to work on their infrastructure and to restoration,
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	EL	**Karatzaferis (IND/DEM),** *on behalf of the IND/DEM Group -EL*	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, the idea of a capital of culture is perhaps the best idea within the framework of the European Union. It is the idea of a famous actress and Greek Minister for Culture who, in her Oscar-winning song 'Never on Sunday', made Piraeus the cultural capital of the world during the 1960s.I believe culture is the primary product in Europe, taking precedence over the economy, the army and diplomacy. Come and make history with the proposal which I am going to make to you, Commissioner. Let us make the 'dead city' of Ammohostos next year's capital of culture, the only dead city on our continent, our continent of grand civilisations, of the Mycenaean civilisation, of the Minoan civilisation, of the Roman civilisation. Ammohostos has been a dead city for 30 years and is the only dead city in the world. Come and let us make it the capital of culture, come and let us breathe life into a city which barbarity has deprived of life. Come and let us make it the capital of culture and win

22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	?	**Crowley (UEN),** *on behalf of the UEN Group*	Mr President, I would like to congratulate the rapporteur on her work on this particular issue and also to thank the Commissioner in advance for his ongoing work and assistance in promoting a very important aspect of European Union life: the issue of culture.Today I speak as the representative of a city in Ireland that is the present capital of culture: Cork. Having researched this enormously over the last seven years prior to submitting Cork's nomination, one of the key issues we saw as being important in designating a city as a capital of culture was that it allowed for greater understanding of the diversity of the cultures and traditions which exist within the European Union. After the most recent enlargement that diversity is even greater and has expanded across the whole continent. That is why I particularly welcome the decision to have two capitals of culture operating in the east and west, as it were, of the continent.One key element that is lacking with regard to the overall structure is the financial support available to
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	FR	**Hennicot-Schoepges (PPE-DE).** -FR	Mr President, whilst I share the criticisms of the decision taken by the Council of Ministers as regards the ten new countries' accession, we must also ask whether the Council of Ministers of Culture still takes decisions by unanimity.Given that large countries such as Germany have sought to maintain unanimity for all decisions, we have now chosen a complicated system, which will be – although I hope not – burdened with excessive bureaucracy, and will take no account of the jury's opinion when deciding between candidate cities. We saw the example of Patras, on 6 May of last year, which was named European capital of culture for 2006 by unanimous Council decision, despite the jury's opinion to the contrary. Perhaps this is more a case of an interinstitutional malaise that goes beyond the framework of this debate.I should like to congratulate our rapporteur, not least for all the financial benefit that she has brought. These decisions are now, of course, in the hands of the Commission, which must incorporate new
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	FI	**Paasilinna (PSE) -FI**	Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for the excellent work that has been done. During its 20-year history, the Capital of Culture project has proved to be a success. In many cities, people have become involved who would not otherwise participate. Lowering the threshold and broadening the cultural arena is therefore a positive thing.Why do we not broaden the scope of the Capital of Culture idea, however? Currently, 70% of us live in cities. The city is our closest cultural environment. However, cities have all too often been built mainly as traffic hubs. Noise and pollution levels therefore rise to inhumane proportions. Most Central Europeans have to put up with permanent noise pollution.Noise and pollution have become significant cultural factors. Commissioner, cities should be developed into the cultural hubs of a knowledge-based economy, in accordance with the Lisbon Strategy. We are evolving into a digital network-aided cultural society. A Capital of Culture is hardly likely to grow up around a

22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	PT	**Graça Moura (PPE-DE)- PT**	Mr President, Commissioner, at a point in history when it is becoming increasingly important for Europeans to learn more about one another, in terms of human and cultural diversity, the European Capitals of Culture programme is a highly effective means of achieving this aim.Europe's increased size following the latest enlargement clearly justifies the idea of designating two European Capitals of Culture per year. Yet, as the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats has already pointed out, Community financing must be adequate and appropriate.The European Capital of Culture is a highly prestigious award, but the city concerned is not expected to use European Capital of Culture funding from the Community for urban regeneration or other works of that ilk. The funding specifically earmarked for the programme is expected to help to highlight its role as a European city and as a cultural hub. Nor is the European Capital of Culture event expected to
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	PL	**Sonik (PPE-DE). -PL**	Mr President, the European Capital of Culture is the most readily understood and visible of all the programmes aimed at promoting the idea of a common Europe. At a time when we are constantly being told of the public's lack of interest in European issues, and when the idea of a common Europe is becoming ever more frequently associated only with debts and dull discussions on some technical aspect or other of the way in which the European institutions are organised, the Capital of Culture project is a commendable exception.Anyone who was in Lille last year when the city held the title of European Capital of Culture, or who has been in Cracow, which shared the title of Capital of Culture with eight other European cities in 2000, or indeed in many other Capitals of Culture, cannot have failed to notice the public's enormous interest in Europe and the great enthusiasm demonstrated by the large numbers of citizens who took part in remarkable cultural events. Such occasions are an opportunity for all the critics of European integration to see the enthusiasm, joy and expectation with which the public greets outstanding cultural events inspired by the quest for common European roots.Genuine and lively dialogue
22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	SL	**Novak (PPE-DE). -SL**	I welcome the proposal whereby from 2009 the new Member States of the European Union will also have the opportunity to stand as candidates for the 'European capital of culture' event. In my own country of Slovenia we celebrate every 8 February as a cultural holiday, and this is also a national holiday. On that day visits to exhibitions and museums are free, and numerous cultural events take place around the holiday. Nevertheless there is no shortage of people in Slovenia, too, who claim that culture is merely something superfluous and unnecessary, since it brings in no money directly. However, during the time of the holiday at least, we are more intensively preoccupied with the importance and value of culture, and we attend events that we would not normally find the time to attend.It is precisely due to the preservation of its cultural heritage and language that the Slovenian nation of just two million people survived all the ravages of the world wars and the aspirations of neighbouring nations to erase us from the

22/02/2005	European Capital of Culture - 2005 to 2019	?	Figeľ, *Commission* .	Mr President, I should like to thank Members for their expressions of either group or individual support. This is good for European culture, for the European Union and for the future of Europe.Mr Paasilinna asked whether we are going back to the past or forward into the future. The 1999 decision needs to be adapted to take account of the situation in the new enlarged Union. It is about culture, not so much about geography or economics. We also need to prepare for Bulgarian and Romanian accession so as not to create the additional question of whether incoming countries are included in this cooperation or given special consideration. We also need to set up mechanisms for the future relating to finance, city selection and jury criteria. We must do this to promote the European dimension and many other issues that have either already been raised or will be discussed at a later stage.I would like to assure you that we can already see added value: Germany has 10 candidate cities and Hungary has 11. Even before a
21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	FR	Reding, *Commission* . -FR	Mr President, we are going to begin with what I consider to be the soul of Europe, the most positive thing in Europe, which shows our citizens that they do exist, and which gives them a forum where they can express themselves in all their diversity. I believe that the European Cities of Culture, now to be called European Capitals of Culture, have in that sense, over the years, assumed great importance in the European cultural landscape. They are a shared cultural space. They show our diversities at their best.Of course, the formula has developed over time: the scheme was launched in 1985 on the initiative of Melina Mercouri, and cities were originally designated by means of an inter-governmental process. We have come a long way since then, and the event has become a Community action following the 1999 decision.The process is still developing, and it will go on developing. What we shall be looking at and deciding on today will be one stage in that development. Why will it be only one stage? It will be one stage because we are on the eve of a historic event which will change the destiny of the European Union. I am talking, of course, about enlargement, which ought to be taken into account when we are considering European Capitals of Culture, hence the Commission proposal which we are debating today.The purpose of this proposal is to allow the rapid integration of the new Member States into the 'European Capital of Culture' initiative. That does not mean that we do not have to think quickly about other changes which might prove necessary. Moreover, we are all in agreement on the fact that radical changes will have to be made to the current decision, and in any case we are already working on that. A study is in progress involving the European Capitals of Culture for the years 1995 to 2004. The results of that study, which will become known in the second half of 2004, will form the basis of our reflections and later, I presume, of the action we take to develop new rules.However, today we cannot make the new Member States wait any longer. They must be able to participate, like the others, in this action, which is so much appreciated. We must therefore give them the welcome that is their due. They have already made great efforts in order to obtain entry into the present Union. They cannot be kept out of the 'European Capital of Culture' event. The integration of the new Member States is already a priority, and it needs to be done very quickly. That is why the Commission wishes to separate the stage involving the integration of the new Member

| | | | | Rocard (PSE), *rapporteur-FR* | Mr President, Commissioner, the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport has the honour to submit for debate, and then to a vote here in this House, a report about which there has been much discussion. It brings to a temporary conclusion an adventure which has been somewhat unhappy. It is a report on which your rapporteur is in the minority, so all I can do is to tell you its history. This is the first time, in the two and a half years during which I have been fortunate enough to work with Mrs Reding, that I find myself in disagreement with her – friendly disagreement, but very clear disagreement nevertheless. She is well aware of this. She has even alluded to it briefly.The idea that every year one city in Europe should be the European Capital of Culture is an idea that originated with Melina Mercouri in 1985. At first, Mr President, that idea had a brilliant future, at a time when fierce competition brought together a number of candidate cities in a contest to win a single designation, and when a jury of experts gave its verdict on the real European interests of each of the plans of the candidate cities.In 1999, the unfortunate Decision 1419 was proposed by the Council, supported by the Commission and approved by Parliament, and it governs, until 2019, as Mrs Reding has just reminded us, the list of Member States which, at the rate of just one per year, are responsible for proposing the European Capital of Culture. First of all, that decision takes no account of the fact that, even at the time, there was a prospect of the possible accession of at least ten new Member States, and the fact that it did not do so is unacceptable. Secondly, it left itself open to criticism, if not scandal, in both legal and political terms, since it practically prohibits the European Parliament in the next two legislative periods, i.e. those beginning in 1999 and 2004, from exercising, for five years, its powers to contribute towards the annual choice of the European Capital of Culture.Finally – and this is at least as serious – although some Member States have submitted to the European institutions and the jury a list of two or three cities, thereby enabling a real choice to be made between them on the basis of the dynamism, innovation and European dimension of the projects, not all have done so. Member States' recent choices have often related to a single city, chosen for reasons concerned with the local-election policies of the government currently in power, and without the city in question having shown any real interest in assuming this role. This amounts to forced labour, all the more so since assistance from the European budget for these activities represents less than 5% of the |
| 21/04/2004 | European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019 | FR | | | |

21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	DE	**Pack (PPE-DE).** – *(DE)*		Mr President, I would have been quite happy to applaud Mr Rocard had it not been for the unfortunate fact that not everything he said was in line with what I am going to say. That is why I could not give him the applause I would have liked to give. The fact is that I cannot act without thinking; I have to be guided by the facts.The Capital of Culture that we are discussing today is something like a beacon of light in the small amount of cultural policy that we are allowed to deal with, so I am happy that we are carrying the torch onwards. The idea has been around for a long time now; it originated with a Greek lady Member of this House, and I think we can take pride in it. I also agree with Mr Rocard's demand that the choice should be of at least two cities. It was after all we who introduced this idea, and I think, Commissioner, that it can be put into practice right now.In this Capital of Culture, European diversity ought to be much more visible than it has been up to now, and so I do not think that these amendments run counter to what the Commissioner wants to do. I therefore ask her to consider whether she cannot perhaps incorporate this.Secondly, I have to reiterate how much we all regret the Council of Ministers' decision, none more than I, as I, back in 1999, was furiously angry about the Council of Ministers' decision, seeing it as short-sighted and guided by national considerations. At the time, the Council of Ministers knew as well as we did that the European Union was going to be
21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	DE	**Prets (PSE) -DE**		Mr President, Commissioner Reding, thanks are due to Melina Mercouri for coming up with the idea of a European Capital of Culture, since being the European Capital of Culture is a challenge to reflect contemporary artistic creativity; it promotes discussion and enables people to make their minds up; it promotes awareness of the values of our cultural heritage and leaves behind visible signs, such as, for example, the Kunsthaus in Graz, which was last year's Capital of Culture, a building which, even though it is also very important that such signs should also reflect modern architecture, has been the subject of much debate.I agree with my fellow-Members and with those who have spoken before me that the decision taken in 1999 was quite simply wrong. However much it took lead times, procedures for withdrawal, and so on, into consideration, this decision went too far. What was mistaken about it was not only its failure to take the future new Member States into account, but also the fact that it completely bypasses
21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	FR	**Flautre (Verts/ALE).- FR**		Mr President, I really want to support the proposals of the rapporteur and Chairman of the Committee, Mr Rocard. There is no need to go into the appalling nature of the decision in 1999, which established selection entirely leaving out the ten countries that are joining us in less than a month. The solution proposed by the Commission, which aimed to split the procedure in two, would mean that for much too long a period – until 2019 – there would be two colleges, which is quite the opposite to integration. Integration does not mean continuing with two colleges within the Union and its selection and decision-making processes made up of old and new Member States. I think that this goes entirely against the desired objective, which we say is for them to become members. Therefore, and also for other reasons, I think it is wise to stop this in 2010.The other reasons are linked to the evaluation that is taking place, which you mentioned, Commissioner. I think that the deviations that have been highlighted by Mr Rocard, which are

21/04/2004	**European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019**	?	**Perry (PPE-DE).**	Mr President, the European Capital of Culture programme is one of the European Union's success stories. It gets Europe out of Brussels and Strasbourg and into the hearts and minds of people right across Europe. Cities compete to become the Capital of Culture - which is regarded as an accolade - and indeed they should.In Britain, Glasgow's time as the European Capital of Culture in 1990 was a real success story. Today it is the third most visited city in Britain. Glasgow's urban renaissance provided a blueprint for others and I am sure that Liverpool - the home of the Beatles as nobody needs reminding - will have great success during its year in 2008. As an MEP from the south-east of England, I am only sorry that our candidates of Canterbury, Brighton and Oxford were not chosen. Any one of them would have been a great Capital of Culture.As an English Conservative I have great respect for our French Socialist President of the Committee on Culture; I admire the first quality, I will excuse the second! In this
21/04/2004	**European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019**	DE	**Junker (PSE)- DE**	Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I actually wish we had been able to have an open debate in this House on optimising the way in which Europe's Capital of Culture is chosen. Instead, we have to deal with what has to be called some kind of emergency solution or repair job. It has been said, and quite rightly, that it was utterly egoistic of the Council to come to a snap decision to make use of all the present Member States by 2019, in the full knowledge that we would have unification to deal with, in the shape of enlargement. Now that enlargement is imminent and it has dawned on some people that it cannot be right and proper to put these countries off until 2020 or even later, the Commission has now come up with this tandem solution– and a solution it is, although I have to tell you, Commissioner, that it does of course leave a disagreeable aftertaste. I think you are aware of that too. I will readily concede, though, that you have tried to make the best of it, and it really is a great shame that we in this House are in two
21/04/2004	**European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019**	DE	**Hieronymi (PPE-DE).- DE**	Mr President, Commissioner Reding, we are in full agreement with what we have now heard, namely that the decision taken by the Council was premature and false. Now, though, I think we should do everything possible to make the best of it, in the interests of the countries concerned and, above all, of European culture. Much as I would, theoretically speaking, have preferred our Chairman's clear and purist solution, I nevertheless think it is now time to turn the tables. We should now see this necessary solution not as an emergency measure but as a positive opportunity to set forth Europe's cultural diversity by having not just one Capital of Culture, but – and why ever not? – two capitals for this great Europe of ours, embracing for the first time East and West and symbolising our cultural diversity. There must then be no distinction between old and new Member States; there must be two equal cities, symbolising the cultural diversity of Europe.What will then be important is that the concept, the vision, that underlies the

			Vila Abelló (PPE-DE) -ES	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, before I start I would like to say that I have been a Member of the European Parliament for just 19 days and this is my first speech to this illustrious House, and perhaps the last, but I do not think it is audacious of me to talk about culture today, because for the last eight years I have been Managing Director of Euronews, a European channel which has observed and broadcast the activities of Parliament, the Commission and the Council, but which has also put an enormous amount of effort into observing and broadcasting European cultural activities, whether official or not. And as a person from outside who can perhaps comment with fewer political implications, I would like to say that culture is very broad, it has many facets and that two European capitals is not excessive. In sport we have two Olympic games, in winter and in summer, within the same year, and no harm is done. Culture is perhaps even broader and we cannot deny the new
21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	ES		
21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	?	President.	Thank you very much, Mr Vila.I would like to say that you give the impression of having been an MEP for many years given your mastery of the situation. We congratulate you on this maiden speech and we hope it is not your last.
21/04/2004	European Capital of Culture' event for 2005 - 2019	FR	Reding, *Commission - FR*	Mr President, first of all, as I will not have another opportunity in this House, allow me to congratulate the Chairman of the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport, my colleague and friend Mr Rocard. We have done some good work over the last few years. I regret that it has to end on a disagreement. We do not, however, disagree on the fundamental issue, because we have the same fundamental idea: to ensure that European capitals of culture continue to be real springboards for European cultures and diversity. Unfortunately, the fact that the Treaties require unanimity in cultural matters does not allow us to go any further, which is what we really need to do. This is why, while we hope to soon have a new treaty establishing majority decisions on cultural matters, which would help us enormously to make progress in many areas, we should propose a radical review as soon as possible of the
25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	?	President.	The next item is the debate on the report (A5-0080/2004) by Mr Graça Moura, on behalf of the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport, on the role of schools and learning at school in giving the greatest number of people access to culture.

25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	PT		**Graça Moura (PPE-DE),** *rapporteur* . -PT	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, access to culture is a sine qua non for the all-round development of any human being. It is, additionally, an essential requirement of any Western European-style representative democracy, a factor in eliminating inequality and an increasingly important factor for progress and development.Culture must, therefore, constitute one of the most solid platforms supporting a Europe of the citizens. It is no longer possible, as Jean Monnet would have wished, to make culture the starting point, which could be a contentious notion at a time when we are concerned primarily with the priorities of economic intervention. We must instead pick up the baton of culture and meet the challenges set by European integration by celebrating the variety of cultures and the cultural dimension of Europe.We live in a globalised society, in an enlarged Europe, in a time of various crises, faced with the new, streamlined and stimulating presence of the national identities and traditional cultures of almost 400 million citizens. In this context, politicians must give serious attention to issues of access to culture and of constructing a European worldview, an image capable of incorporating differences into its procedures, whilst ensuring that these differences are respected and valued, in a pluralistic, tolerant and dynamic way.We therefore call on the
25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	FR		**Reding,** *Commission* . - FR	Mr President, Mr Graça Moura, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to thank the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport, and above all its rapporteur, Mr Vasco Graça Moura, for a clear-sighted report which stresses the interface between schools and culture. I should like to broaden the scope of the discussion so as to include, as well as schools in the strict sense of the word, the school of life which is the family. That is where it all starts, and later it continues at school. I am very happy to see, Mr President, that as always Parliament not only supports what the Commission is doing but also adds raison d'être to the new ideas being developed by the Commission, thereby helping it to forge ahead.You are right in saying that we cannot build Europe solely on the basis of the economy and finance. Europe is constructed on the basis of men and women, and therefore of cultures. I agree with you in recognising that education systems ought to guarantee that, by the time they complete their secondary education, students possess the knowledge and skills which are necessary for them to prepare to assume their roles as citizens in Europe. I say 'ought to' because the reality is somewhat different, as we are all well aware. Even though students sometimes learn about their own regional or national roots, they are still a very long way off from learning about the roots of others, the roots of their neighbours. During a previous debate on the subject of youth, I gave you a figure. It referred to the Comenius programme, which links together schools in the European Union, so as to enable young people to participate in joint projects, thereby learning about the cultures of neighbouring countries. Well, despite the fact that two million students took part in this programme, that represents only one per cent of the population of our schools. We are therefore still a long way from achieving our aims. We are doing the right thing, but we are not doing enough, and we need to be aware of this.Our education programmes are therefore trying to respond to the desire of both the rapporteur and the Committee on Culture,

25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	?		Beazley (PPE-DE)	Mr President, I have three minutes to make a speech about the importance of culture for our children and the future of the education systems across the European Union. As a famous French historian might have commented, 'cauchemar': this is not a subject which should be treated lightly. Commissioner Reding is absolutely right that our own national governments should be encouraged to support the initiative of the rapporteur, supported by the Commission, that when it comes to programmes and projects affecting education, they might consider a certain generosity of spirit and indeed financial generosity towards the programmes that we are commonly working to support.At the base of this misunderstanding is the notion that culture is purely national. Of course a part of culture is national, but as the rapporteur points out, we have many identities; we have a local and a regional identity and indeed a European identity. It is not a historical accident that the rapporteur's country and my country, England, share the same patron saint – St George. Unhappily perhaps, this may have something to do with the fact that England and Portugal, allies of old, founded this union in battle – a crusade – in the Iberian Peninsula. Our children must of course learn about conflict and disagreement and their disastrous consequences, but they should also learn about what brings people together:
25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	DE		Junker (PSE). - DE	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, Mr Graça Moura has submitted a report that shows how the school can indeed provide public access to culture. As you rightly pointed out though, Commissioner, there is a large gap between the theory that we have before us and the practice in European schools. In order to close this gap, we need to be more aware that in our changing and complex times, schools play a crucial role in creating cultural openness. This does not mean that we disregard the national cultural heritage, rather it means creating a wider cultural openness in which we live together beyond the bounds of borders and without hostility having a chance even to arise.Looking back upon my own school days, I have a very clear memory of a school exchange that took place with Sweden. At that time, the war had just ended and Germany was not a popular country. The Swedes were however willing to engage in a cultural dialogue with school pupils from my country. This left a lasting mark upon me, and I
25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	NL		Sanders-ten Holte (ELDR) -NL	Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I should first of all like to congratulate Mr Graça Moura warmly on his initiative in discussing the role of education in relation to culture and its dissemination, and, schooling, being compulsory across Europe, is a good instrument to bring culture, including common European culture, to citizens of the future.Education can play a significant role in this and make the parents, and with them the children, aware of what culture has to offer. Europe is not only an economic project but also, above all, a cultural project; what unites us is culture and cultural diversity. Moreover, I think that it is in the interest of enlargement that the different perspectives of culture are discussed; the accession countries have a different view of our history, and there is still a long road ahead of us before we can all acknowledge and recognise what we have in common. I would like to point out, though, that

25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	ES	Zabell (PPE-DE). -ES	Mr President, Commissioner, I would like to thank the rapporteur, Mr Graça Moura, for all the work he has done on this report.I believe it is vitally important to provide greater numbers of citizens with access to culture. Schools, for good reason, must play a very important role in this regard, although I must also say that I completely agree with the Commission that this is not just the responsibility of the schools. It is also the responsibility of families. It is also vital that children have the opportunity to know what surrounds them, both at local and at regional level, at national level and at European level. This is where we have to be much more involved and play a more important role.In Spain we often get the impression that children have little knowledge of their national culture, let alone of European culture. We all know that it is important that children identify with their city, their town, their region and their country, but it
25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture	DE	Prets (PSE) -DE	Mr President, Commissioner, what exactly is the role of public schools? How far does it extend and in what does it consist? In his report, Mr Graça Moura deals very well with these questions. He considers the extent to which culture should be taught in schools and also at how far this should be financed and supported. These issues are, of course, mutually dependent. I think it is very important to teach culture in schools if we want young people to be aware of and confident about their identity, and capable of becoming active European citizens. We need to work on this and introduce young people to cultural exchange as early as possible. We also need to learn how to teach young people about conflict resolution, as this is something that we would expect schools to include in their lessons on culture and is a prerequisite for achieving the goals set in Lisbon which have been mentioned many times already today.We cannot ignore
25/02/2004	Schools and access to culture		Gutiérrez-Cortines (PPE-DE).	Mr President, I must congratulate Mr Graça Moura because this document is the result of a common conviction, of a professional approach dedicated to culture. To advocate common learning in schools at a time when nationalist arguments are increasing seems to me to be courageous and worthy of our gratitude. I say it is worthy of praise because fundamentally, although this document appears to be written with a light touch, it defends the universality of knowledge and wisdom to the hilt. We also note a degree of rebelliousness against an exaggerated interpretation of subsidiarity. We in this House argue that education for an integrated Europe does not end simply with the euro or other common economic aspects, but that it must be the result of a sense of belonging, of a common project which must be based on history, on knowing who we are, what our common foundations are and, above all, where the principles and values of our times are to be found and what the thinking behind the united Europe we are moving towards is.Furthermore, I believe there has been an unbalanced development of the European system. Common policies have been enhanced every day, but there has been fear of making progress on the creation of common store of knowledge. Nationalisms – I repeat – with an inbred, small-minded and egotistical interpretation of the administration of knowledge and education have increased

25/02/2004	**Schools and access to culture**	FI	**Iivari (PSE). -FI**	Mr President, Commissioner, although education in the Union is the responsibility of the Member States, there are many channels in the European Union for the support of cultural education in schools. The main ones are the multiannual programmes, such as Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci and Culture 2000. They all encourage cultural creativity and mobility, intercultural dialogue and knowledge of the history of the European peoples. The learning of languages, something which is closely tied to cultural skills, has an important role to play in Union policy. In 2001 we celebrated the European Year of Languages.I am pleased that the rapporteur highlights the importance of knowledge of European history and cultural heritage in his report. The history of our continent is not only wars and bloodshed but also a fruitful interaction that has enriched our national cultures. We can see that many artists who have been essential to the identity of independent nation-states have at the same time been important European players.With enlargement of the Union there will be a need to raise awareness of the culture and history of the new and the old Member States, as the report quite
13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	?	**President.**	The next item is a report (A5-0477/2003) by Mrs Prets, on behalf of the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport, on preserving and promoting cultural diversity in an enlarged Europe: the role of the European regions and international organisations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe (2002/2269(INI)).
13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	DE	**Prets (PSE),** *rapporteur. – DE*	Madam President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, it is difficult to define cultural diversity, a concept just as complicated and complex as that of culture itself. Cultures are constantly subject to a changing and moving process and this dynamism is an impulse for human progress. Nevertheless, we shall have to produce a formal definition of cultural policy, cultural goods and services, and of course cultural diversity, particularly in connection with agreements under the aegis of international organisations like the WTO or the proposed international instrument on cultural diversity. In a Eurobarometer survey on enlargement in April 2003, Europe's citizens described culture as one of the major winners in the enlargement process, alongside environment and trade. This testifies to the international organisations' commitment to safeguarding and promoting cultural diversity. Cultural diversity forms an integral part of the European Union's identity, and will include other cultures after the accession of the new countries. The EU's external borders are shifting towards a faultline with very different cultural regions. From 2004, the European Union will be the direct neighbour of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova. Parallels and similarities can be identified despite the existing differences, which can be explained through migration and intercultural dialogue. The aim, especially in view of enlargement, is to create stronger relations among both minority and marginalised cultures and stronger cultures so that no cultural conflict occurs, but instead cultural dialogue promotes mutual understanding in the interests of peace. Safeguarding cultural diversity does not mean fencing it in and preserving it. It means opening it up, offering individual development and marketing opportunities without subjecting it to current market mechanisms. It is the basic pillar for identity and an economic factor at the same time. This

			Reding, *Commission.* -FR	Madam President, Mrs Prets, honourable Members, this is not the first report that the European Parliament has adopted on the subject of cultural diversity. It forms part of a long chain of ideas which supplement, repeat and strengthen each other. That is precisely why reports such as this one are so important, because each time they recall us to order and show us that Parliament is present, that it is keeping its eye on things and that it is not going to fall asleep on the job. It is ensuring that cultural diversity is a fundamental part of the European Union's internal and external policies.I should like to offer my sincere thanks to Mrs Prets for this report, which is in line with what the European Parliament, the mouthpiece of European citizens, has always wanted. You are right, Mrs Prets: cultural diversity is a fight, a fight in our everyday lives, and we are not fighting it alone: we need allies. On this point I welcome the continuous and long-standing support of the European Parliament, support which warms my heart and which never weakens, and support which helps the Commission to make progress in its actions aimed at implementing the Treaty in the area of cultural diversity.In this respect, Madam President, the Prets report invites us to think about what is at stake. There are many things at stake, and Mrs Prets has listed them. First of all there are national policies, with increasingly difficult budgets admittedly, but it is essential that a part of those budgets should continue to be allocated to culture, to its diversity, and to the protection, particularly in the context of cultural production, to those who are weakest, so that our great cultural wealth here in Europe can continue to survive. Then there are our foreign policies, and I welcome, as you all do, the fact that we have just won this battle at international level – and it is only a battle, not the whole war – in managing to persuade the majority of the nations of the world to follow us in our fight so that, with regard to international trade as well, we can preserve our cultural stakes. We do indeed need principles to follow if the Union's action, both within and beyond its borders, is to reflect our commitment to that cultural diversity which is our source of life.I believe that this process, which is absolutely unique in Europe, and which we must have invented because it would not have been possible to copy it since it did not yet exist anywhere else, has served as an example throughout the world. I often hear that sentiment expressed on my travels to various countries, large or small, where people say to me, 'The way in which you protect your minorities and support your cultures, whether large or small, important or less important, is leading the way for us to follow'.
13/01/ 2004	**Cultural diversity**	**FR**		
			Maes (Verts/ALE), *draftsman of the opinion of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy -NL*	Madam President, cultural diversity is a popular concept in the European Union. Most of the time, however, we avoid the problem of cultural identity, because that is far more sensitive, certainly where definitions are concerned. This is why I should like to talk about this.Mrs Prets' report largely draws on my ideas and on those of other Members, and I should like to thank her for the way in which we have been able to work together. I therefore endorse what both the rapporteur and Commissioner Reding have said in their fine speeches to this House.My guiding principle is that respect for a community's cultural identity is a condition for peaceful coexistence. It is also a condition for the integration of people into another cultural community without this leading to frustration and alienation. Anyone who fails to respect a person's culture does not respect the person himself, does not invite mutual respect and does not show any signs of being prepared to engage in a cultural dialogue which, in a world of ever more far-reaching
13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	**NL**		

13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	FR	Beazley (PPE-DE)-FR	Madam President, Commissioner, Mrs Prets, I have listened quite carefully to what our Commissioner has said. I am sorry, but I did not really hear the answer to the clear and precise questions contained in this report. In paragraph 45, if I have understood it correctly, there is a question which is addressed directly to you, Commissioner, and that is whether or not you intend to send, on behalf of the Commission, a communication to the Council and to Parliament, which will relate specifically to a UNESCO convention on cultural diversity. If I have understood you correctly, you spoke about this question at length but I did not learn whether or not Parliament can expect a communication from you. If the answer is yes, can you tell me on what date, during the course of this year, you intend to send that communication?There is a great deal one could say about cultural diversity and its importance. This debate does not give us sufficient time. It is significant that we should be discussing this subject at 11.50 p.m., Harold Macmillan – the British Prime Minister and grandfather of a current Member here – who, over
13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	DE	Junker (PSE).-DE	Madam President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to address one particular issue where there has so far been no protection of cultural diversity in the way this Parliament would wish, and where this situation is likely to continue. I am referring to the concentration of electronic media, especially television, which, as we know, is the key medium influencing public opinion. Protecting media diversity is also an important element in protecting cultural diversity and cultural identity. We cannot leave the task of affording this protection to the European judicial system, gratifying though today's judgment by the Italian constitutional court may be. My earnest expectation of the international legal instrument that we hope for is that it will establish conditions which genuinely help to promote diversity in the media.Commissioner, you have been talking about battles and wars, and we have a major battle on our hands here. Without
13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	ES	Vallvé (ELDR)-ES	Madam President, Commissioner, I would firstly like to congratulate the rapporteur, Mrs Prets, on her report and also Mrs Maes, on the opinion she has produced on behalf of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy.In Europe there is both unity and plurality, and it is in the field of culture that this plurality manifests itself in the clearest and most obvious way. There is plurality at European level, but also within each European State; and often, these different cultures within the States transcend the borders which mark State territories.In this regard, the existence of different languages in the States, as in the case of my mother tongue, Catalan, used by ten million people, is a manifestation of this plurality. When we talk about cultural plurality, in cases where this culture also has a differentiated history, its own linguistic characteristics and a structural form of society, we are

			Fraisse (GUE/NGL). -FR	cultural diversity, I do not think that my tone will be as optimistic as that of the first few speakers, in particular yours, Commissioner. There are several reasons for this.The first reason is that, until a very short time ago, this convention, or this international instrument, was nothing more than a Utopian idea. I remember organising, together with my group, a public hearing in the autumn of 2002, in order to launch this idea before Parliament. I believe that we should be modest about this, and I would not say that this idea came from Europe and from the European Union. It came from, among others, countries like Canada, and from countries throughout the world which have established links with certain European countries. Therefore, though I can only applaud the fact that this Utopia is becoming a reality within the European Union, I do think that we should show a little more modesty.If I call for modesty, it is because I would not like to see this future convention becoming merely the latest in a long line of declarations. We know all about declarations in favour of cultural diversity. We can make them, but then we have to draw up a restrictive and legislative convention which makes it possible to settle differences in a context which is that of the market. I would like to say that cultural diversity is also tied in with the question of the market. We must not disguise the fact that combining cultural diversity and
13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	FR		
13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	FR	Mayol i Raynal (Verts/ALE)-FR	Madam President, the world is not a commodity. This anti-globalisation movement slogan could form the epigraph of our debate. If the world is not to be a commodity, we must fight against the iron law of financially solvent supply and demand, which affects all aspects of life. Fortunately, resistance against the disillusionment of the world is becoming organised. Some of us will shortly be among those Members of this House who will be attending the World Social Forum.Languages, cultures, collective identities and peoples have the indefeasible right to resist Mac World. In this sense, the report which has been submitted to us is a step in the right
13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	DE	Ebner (PPE-DE). -DE	Madam President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, the issue of cultural diversity is one which we must constantly address. In fact, we do not need to go as far as the WTO; in this Parliament, we have repeatedly debated whether culture and the market are compatible, for example on the issue of fixing of book pricing and on the issue of copyright, and we have seen that there are widely divergent views, not only within this House but also between this House and the Commission in some cases. Within the Commission too, views have varied very widely, and I am referring especially to the previous Commission in this context. Certainly, we battled out the issue with Commissioner van Miert on several occasions.I believe that cultural diversity, as a sensible countermeasure to the melting pot, is an absolute necessity and I am most grateful to Mrs Prets for producing this very comprehensive and detailed report. I also thank Commissioner Reding for providing such a detailed overview of the work from her own perspective and for pointing out that this House is and should remain the natural ally of the
13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	FI	Iivari (PSE).-FI	Madam President, much is spoken about preserving and enhancing European cultural heritage. For cultures to really flourish we need concrete action as well as speeches. I believe that the report by my colleague Mrs Prets will help us make some progress. There should be support for the Convention on cultural diversity as proposed by UNESCO's General Conference.I think the rapporteur's approach to examining culture as part of all the EU's different policy areas is a welcome one. This way of considering the matter should also be extended to practical action. The Culture 2000 programme is the most conspicuous but by no means the only instrument. Money is channelled from the Structural Funds to projects in the field of culture, but the take-up

13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	IT	**Martelli (ELDR).IT**	Madam President, as our rapporteur rightly said it is difficult and even risky to define cultural diversity, almost like defining culture itself. Nevertheless, the resolution, proposed precisely on the basis of a concept that is difficult and risky, does not hesitate, for a good 47 paragraphs, to claim to regulate, standardise and promote so-called cultural diversity, thus deluding itself, in the age of the Internet, that it can halt the liberalisation and globalisation of culture, information and knowledge. In this way, after in the past having risked dying of nationalism, fascism and communism, today Europe risks dying of legalism.The text of this resolution is a clear example of this. Its contents challenge the principle of non-contradiction and even basic common sense and end up settling for vulgar hypocrisy. It is furthermore hypocritical to consider each type of cultural product as equally worthy, not just of survival but also of being promoted, and equating liberal culture with authoritarian culture, the culture of infibulation with the culture of sexual equality, the culture of tolerance with that of racism and anti-Semitism.In truth, the
13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	IT	**Cappato (NI)-IT**	Madam President, it would seem from the report that culture's enemy is the liberalisation of the markets and the World Trade Organisation and that individual States are the bastion of culture or cultures. This is not the case: individual States and nationalist ideologies were the ones that wiped out cultures and people in the past. Commissioner Reding, China has carried out the worst cases of genocide of people and of culture and continues to do so: the Tibetan people and their culture, the Uighur people and their culture. China cannot be held up in this Chamber as an example of fruitful cooperation for cultural diversity, at least if we are using the old idea of the Cultural Revolution as a reference for the word 'cultural'.Cultural diversity is not, in the
13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	ES	**Zabell (PPE-DE). -ES**	Madam President, I would like to thank the Commissioner for all her efforts in favour of European culture and the rapporteur, Mrs Prets, for the work she has done and above all for dealing with the many amendments.My country, Spain, is a country with great cultural diversity and wealth and we are naturally entirely in favour of cultural diversity. Nevertheless, I would like to say that we would have liked the report, rather than referring to non-uniform cultural identities, to have referred to the plurality of cultural identities in the European Union.The focus

			Oreja Arburúa (PPE-DE) - ES	Madam President, I would like firstly, of course, to congratulate the rapporteur on her initiative, and also congratulate the Commissioner on her speech – and I have taken the liberty of taking some notes on her speech, which I will quote from her when talking about cultural diversity on other occasions.I am speaking in this Chamber as a Spaniard, as a member of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats and as a Basque. I come from a country in which we have our own language, a native language in addition to Castilian, which is Basque, and which has a culture that goes back millennia, as does our language.I agree with the rapporteur on the importance of preserving linguistic diversity. I also agree that we must monitor the treatment of minority languages, including autochthonous languages.In an increasingly united Europe, in an increasingly globalised world, we must pay special attention to cultural diversity. The wealth of Europe – and what differentiates us from other regions of the world, as the Commissioner has said – undoubtedly lies in our cultural diversity, and we must try to export that model.We must prevent the Union from becoming a means for standardisation, and I would like to point out that the preamble to the draft Constitution spoke of a 'Europe united in diversity'.Nevertheless, we must prevent the appropriation of cultural and linguistic diversity for political purposes. We must not accept the idea that the defence of language or culture, which belongs to all of us, can be used as a political weapon, a missile, or even a means for possible discrimination or division between us. Neither language nor the defence of language can be a reason for discrimination. Let us remember that this aspect is taken up in the draft Constitution. We must respect cultural and linguistic diversity, it is true, but we must not impose it. Respect for diversity also consists of respecting those people who speak another language.Euskera must be preserved in the Basque Country, without question, but we must not impose it or discriminate against those who do not speak it. Certain nationalist parties who have tried to use language as a political tool have moved on from racial nationalism to linguistic nationalism. I believe that culture is the inheritance of all of us, we must all defend it and nobody must appropriate it for themselves.Please allow me to end by quoting from the preamble to the Constitution which reads, 'while remaining proud of their own national identities and history, the peoples of Europe are determined to transcend their ancient divisions and, united ever more closely, to forge a common destiny'.
13/01/2004	**Cultural diversity**	**ES**		

13/01/2004	Cultural diversity	FR	Reding, Commission -FR	session, I shall not reply to all those who – and at a quarter past midnight I can well understand why – have left the House. I would still like, however, to say a few words which I have set my heart on. It is as a Luxembourg woman that I am speaking to you, and it was this Luxembourg woman who developed, with you, the European Year of Languages, of all languages without exception, whether recognised languages, non-recognised languages, majority languages or minority languages, because I have always maintained that there are no great languages and minor languages: there are only maternal languages and they are all, by definition, great.We are going to continue in that direction. We have drawn up our action plan on languages on the basis of this multilingualism, quite rightly, and let me tell you that multilingualism includes those of our languages which are not official, but it certainly does not include Esperanto, because we have enough living languages in difficulty without creating, in addition, artificial languages. Therefore, let us teach languages to our children, and on this point I am happy to see that almost all – in fact I would say all – our education ministers are making an effort, and some of them are starting from scratch. They are making an effort to introduce languages into primary education. In the last two years enormous progress has been made. We still have a long way to go, but we are moving forward, and at least those ministers who are not making an effort have a guilty conscience. It is up to you, Members of the European Parliament, to continue to give them a guilty conscience, so that reforms are implemented at local, regional and national level. In addition, the Commissioner repeats to every minister he sees that continued multilingualism in Europe is a matter of survival.For now, I should like to reply to certain specific questions, even though those Members who asked them are no longer in the House. On the question of UNESCO and our allies, it is clear that, in UNESCO, we need all the countries in order to constitute a majority to adopt a convention on cultural diversity. We also need, at worldwide level, to serve as an example of cultural diversity. What we are trying to do then – and we are succeeding, by serving as an example and insisting on respect for minorities – is to bring about changes in attitude, particularly in those countries – and some of them have been mentioned – which are very far from being perfect, and we all know who they are. You know this, you who are Members of the European Parliament, because you discuss the matter constantly, but we can only help these minorities by taking them with us and telling them that we will not allow them to be left aside, not by building a wall between those who are right and those who are wrong.I should like to give you a very specific example, Last May, for the first time we opened the Cannes Film Festival with European Cinema Day. Twenty-five ministers, proud of their
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Appendix B : Minutes of the working groups of the Programme Culture 2007-2013

Date	Country	Subject	Proposal	Comission	Pag.
28/09/2004	FR	First Strand	Inclusion of Cultural Industries on all Cultural actions	Programm will be open to industries , but it could not be na industry support ptrogramme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty.	3
28/09/2004	Mojority of the delegation	**Cooperation focal points** : Expressed concern that small operators na/ or countries might finf themselvs excluded from the Programme.		Pointed out that the ecaluation of the Culkt.2002 had shown that smal organisations with smal operational capacities had succefulky participated in the current programme and that smal projectshave the same possibilities of access in thenew programme	3
28/09/2004	Some delegations	Coopeartion Focal Points : might provoque confusion with cultural contact points	PT : propposes " A focal point consists of six operatores from at least four diferent countries, set through a coopertaion agreement between all co-organisers, with the objective of participating in the programme… each focal point has hada lead operators representing the other organisations, who is responsable to the comission	Focal points should be based on a cooperetion agreement	3
28/09/2004	ES ,PT, GR	Period of the finacila support	Minimum ofa period of three years		4
28/09/2004	SE ,EE, GR	Gap duration of the Projects	consider that the gap between the duration of projects under Stran1.1 (5 years) and under strnd 1.2 (1 year) is too big.	Underlines that the percentage rates could be rewied once the budgetaru envelop for the programme has been agreed upon	5
28/09/2004	Several delegations	desagreed with the increse to four operators from three in current progremme		explained that the average number of operators was already 3,86%and due account should also be taken of the increase in number of Member States from 15 to 25	5
28/09/2004	BE,FI,SI	were not in favour of the raisin of the threshold from 50.000 to 60.000		Explainnad that average contribuition was already in the order of 150.00 euros and that the rise in the threshold was a warranted by	5
28/09/2004	SE		extension to 2 years gap, between 1.1and 1.2		5

28/09/2004	Some delegations		experessed cpouncern that he percentage of the budget for comunety support is to low	Pointed out that this represents a rise of 15% compared to the current programme	5
28/09/2004	FIN		favour of givin priority to the European Capital of Culture events		6
28/09/2004	FIN , SE		Consider that the 17%of the Budget is to high for Special Actions		7
07/10/2004	FR	Article 1 -Duration of the Programme	add " and all categories of operators, including enterprises of cultural sector		2
07/10/2004	FR	First Strand- Support for cultural actions	Inclusion of Cultural Industries on all Cultural actions	Programm will be open to industries , but it could not be na industry support ptrogramme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty.	3
07/10/2004	A majority of delegations	First Strand -Support cultural actions , Cooperation	"Expressed councern that small operators and/or countries might find themselves escluded from participation in the programme"	Stated that the evaluation of Culture 2000 had shown that small organistions with small operational capcities had successfuly participated in the current programme and that small projects would have the same possibilities of access in the new programme"	3
	Some delegations	Fisrt Strand- Support cultural actions, Coperation f	pointed out that this name might give rise to confusion with the " cultural contact points"		3
07/10/2004	PT	First Strand ,Cooperation focal points	Proposes five different countries instead of six	Delegations are more or less evenly split about minimu of five countries instead of six	3
07/10/2004	BE,MT,PL	First Strand , Cooperation focal points	suggest five operators from five diferent contries		3
07/10/2004	EE	First Strand,Cooperation focal points	Proposes to add : Proportionality and fair representation between the member states as well as other participants in order to assure the diversity of cultural expression should be observed and encouraged		3
07/10/2004	SI	First Strand , Cooperation focal points	points with one or more operators from new members states		3
07/10/2004	EE,ES,GR,Pl,PT	First Strand , Duration of the support	Propose from 3 to 5 years		4
07/10/2004	SE	gap between stand 1.2 (5 years) and 1.2 (1 year) to big			4
07/10/2004	FI	First Strand , Duration of the support	ask for greater flexibility		4

07/10/2004	PT	First Strand, cooperation projects	Proposes to add: During this period some co-organizer may be substituted as long as the objective and the number of countries represeted remain the same		4
07/10/2004	DE ,SE	First Strand, cooperation projects	Consider that the total budget that support 1.1 is to high, and the share of total budget for 1.2 is to low		5
07/10/2004	EE,PL	First Strand ,cooperation projects	suggest that 32% of the total budget be allocated this type of support	Underlines that the percentage rates could be reviewede once the budgetary envelopfor the programme has been agreed upon.	5
07/10/2004	Several delegation	First Stand, Cooperation mesures	queried the increse to 4 operators from three in the current programme	Explaned that he avberage number of operators was already 3,86% and that due account should also be taken of the increase in the number of Member States from 15 to 25 states	5
07/10/2004	SI	First Strand,cooperation mesures	senytecnce:Each cooperation partnership wil include at least one cultural operator from a new member state		5
07/10/2004	BE,EE,FI,SI	First Strand, Comunety support	Are not favourable to raisin the threshold from 50.000 to 60.000	already in order of 150000euros and that the raise in the threshold was warranted by inflation alone	6
07/10/2004	EE , PL , SE	Support period of 12 month	Propose for a minimum of 12 and maximum 24 month		6
07/10/2004	Some delegation	about 24% from the budget for support	expressed concern at the percenage beeing to low		6
07/10/2004	EE,PL	about 24% from the budget for support	suggest a 30%	Pointed out thathis represents arise of 15 % rise compared to the current programme	6
07/10/2004	PT	and externaly Rewordin to diffusion of the European Culture	diffusion of European Culture		6
07/10/2004	FI	European visibility and trans European cultural cooperation	favour of givin priority to the European Capital of Culture events		7
07/10/2004	FI, SE	Aproix. 17% of the budget for communety suppor	Consider the percenatge to high		7
07/10/2004	EE ,PL	Aproix. 17% of the budget for communety suppor	propose 15 % of thye Budget		7
07/10/2004	Comission	Strand 2 Support for Eu Bodies active at EU levels	This strand corresponts to the texyt of EP and Council decision 21.04.04		8

07/10/2004	PT, This proposal was supported by various delegations	Strand 2 Support for Eu Bodies active at EU levels	to add " or with actions to save people from Holocaust	Indicated that it would be essential to have clear and objective criteria for support to this type of actions	8
07/10/2004	General consesus	Srtand 2.2	should be limited to tha holocaust		9
07/10/2004	PT	Strand 2.2	proposes to add" asw well as actions to celebrate those who, under extreme condotions,people rescued people from thegolocaust"		8
07/10/2004		Strand 2 Support for cultural contact points		Presidency proposal to reflect delegations wishes ro give higher prioritiey to cultrura contact points under this strand	10
07/10/2004	FR	Strand 2 Support for cultural contact points	"Suggest to add " on a multiannual basis"		10
07/10/2004	FR,UK	Srand 2 Support for cultural contact points	"Proposes to spacify how cultural contact points would be appointed"		10
07/10/2004	FR	Strand 2 Support fo cultural contact points	community support will be given to projects initiated by the Cultursl Contact		10
07/10/2004	FR	Stardn 2 Support for cultural contact points	previous one in Order to reflect its higher degree of priority		10
07/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	" are of the view that this action should be given a lower priority"		11
07/10/2004	IE	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	and actively advance the priorities of the programme		11
07/10/2004	SI	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	"Proposes to add " and policy development"		11
07/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	" Propose to add "Creators" "		11
07/10/2004	FI	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	" prefers no t to includ statisrical support		11
07/10/2004	PT	dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation	proposes to add " Via internet"		11
07/10/2004	PT	disseminatio of information in the field of cultural cooperation	disssemination of information concerning the cultural programme"		11

18/10/2004	FR	Article 1 -Duration of the Programme	proposes to add " and all categories of operators, including enterprises of cultural sector	Is of the view that this would put too much emphasis on one category of operators	2
18/10/2004	FR,CY,ES,GR	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	suggest to add " and cultural industries		3
18/10/2004	AT,DK, CION (comission)	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	Against such addition		3
18/10/2004	IT,GR	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	proposes to adda fourth objective on cultural heritage along line of Art.1 Of Culture 2000 programme		3
18/10/2004	PT	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	proposes to add a littera D) : to stress the importnace of heritage of European dimension		3
18/10/2004	Es, CY, FI	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	would prefer to add areference to cultural haritage in paragraph 1 of article 3		3
18/10/2004	AT,DK, CION (comission)		Prefer not to mention cultural heritage in order to keep the programme open	Cion pointed out thatthere had previosly been consensus on the proposed objectives as set out in March Communication from the comission	3
18/10/2004	BE	Article 4-tha programme s field of action	stresses that this name could lead to possible confusion with the " cultural contact points		3
18/10/2004	MT	Article 4-tha programme s field of action	support for action of the Holocaust from the alinea B)		4
18/10/2004	PT	Article 4-tha programme s field of action alinea B)	suggest to add "nazi" before camps as well the memory of actions to save people from the holocaust at the end of the alinea B)		4
18/10/2004	SI	Article 4-tha programme s field of action alinea C	Suggets to add" Policy development" to it	Requests some clarification about the meaning of this wording	4
18/10/2004	PT	Article 7 - Complementary with other community	Suggest to add " all kinds of" discrimination		5
18/10/2004	PT	Article 8 - Implementation , management procedir	Suggest to delete " including priorities"	give flexibility in the implementation of the programme and the room for manoeuvre in management procedure.	6
18/10/2004	FR	Article 9- Comittee	Is concerned that the selection is no longer to the management procedure		6

18/10/2004	Cion	Article 10- Cultural Contact Points		In answer to several delegations who declared themselves in favour of multiannual financing, Cion stated that it was investigatong whether this was possible under art. 54 of the new financial regulations	7
18/10/2004	FR	Strand 1 - Support for cultural actions	Proposes to mention cultural industries in all three actions of the first strand	cultural industries, as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the explanatory memorandum, but that it could not be na industy support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty	11
18/10/2004	Some delegations	Strand 1.1 - Cooperation focal points	pointed out that this name might give rise to confusion with the " cultural contact points"	Presidency proposal to answer delegation councerns on participation of small operators/countries to the programme	11
18/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 1.1 - Cooperation focal points	prefer to have a minimum of five countries instead of six		11
18/10/2004	BE, MT,PL	Strand 1.1 - Cooperation focal points	suggest five operators from five diferent contries		11
18/10/2004	MT	Srtand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	scruteny and reservation , about five operators from five diferent contries		11
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 1.1 - Cooperation focal points	worded as follow " A focal point consists of six operators from at least six different countries,set through a cooperation afreement between all co-organiseres, with the objective of partiucipati8ng in the progremme... Each focal point has a lead operator representing the other organisations,who is responsable to the		11
18/10/2004	EE	Strand 1.1 - Cooperation focal points	Proportionality and fair representatio between the Member States as well as the other participants in order to assure the diversity of cultural expressions should be observed and encouraged"	States that qualityu should not be çleft behind	11
18/10/2004	SI , CY,LV,PL,SK	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	Priority will be given to focal points with more operators from new members states"		11

18/10/2004	AT,CZ;DK;HU;LT;PT;UK;Ci on	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	are of the view that preferencial treatmentshould rather be mentioned in the calls for proposals rather than text of the decision		11
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	some of the co-organisers may be substitued as long as the objective and tyhe number of counntries representad		12
18/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	Scruteny and reservation , about the three to five years of support		12
18/10/2004	DE ,SE	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Consider that the total budget that support 1.1 is to high, and the share of total budget for 1.2 is to low		13
18/10/2004	EE, PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	suggest that 32% of the total budget be allocated this type of support	Underlines that the percentge rates should only be discussed once the budgetary envelop for the programme has been agreed upon.	13
18/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	queried the increse to 4 operators from three in the current programme		13
18/10/2004	PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Is in favour of three operators	Explained vthat he average number fo operators was already 3,86% and that due account should also be taken of the increase in the number odf States from 15 to 25	13
18/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Scrutny reservation		13
18/10/2004	SI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Proposes toi add the following sentence:" Each coopertaion partnership will include at least one cultural operator from a new member state"		13
18/10/2004	PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Proposes the following wording " Priority will be given to quality projects wich involve one or more operators from new Member states or candidate countries"		13
18/10/2004	BE,EE,FI,SI ,PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Are not favourable to raisin the threshold from 50.000 to 60.000	Explained taht the average contribution was already in order of 150 000 euros and that the raise in the threshold was warranted by inflation alone.	14
18/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	Scrutny reservation		14

18/10/2004	EE,PL, SE	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	suggest for a minimum of 12 and maximum of 24 month of support		14
18/10/2004	FI	Strand 1.2 -Cooperation mesures	specific cicumstances support can be applied for the continuation of bthe pojects for up to 24 month"		14
18/10/2004	Some delegations	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	expressed concern at the percenage beeing to low		14
18/10/2004	EE ,PL	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Suggest a percentage of 30%		14
18/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Scrutny reservation	Pointed out taht this represent5de a 15% rise compared to the current programme	14
18/10/2004		Strand 1.3 - Special actions		Prresidency suggestion to take account of PT and FR comments	14
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	new wording " diffusion of the European Culture"		14
18/10/2004	FI	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	in order to stress the importance of the Capital of Culture event, proposes to chnage the order of those two paragraphs, which read as follow : " Significant support will be given... " and		15
18/10/2004	FI ,SE	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Consider that this percentage is too high vthe 17% of the budget Comi«unety support		15
18/10/2004	EE, PL	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Suggest 15% of the budget Comunety support		15
18/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Scrutny reservation		15
18/10/2004	Comission/ Prewsidency	Strand 2 - Support for European Bodies active at a European level		In answer to several requests for clarification on this strand , they pointed out that it corresponds to the text of the EP and Council decision of 21.04.2004 on support of bodies active at Europena level in thye field of culture	16
18/10/2004	PT , several delegations	Strand 2 - Support for European Bodies active at a	Suggest to add: " or with actions to save people from the holocaust"	Cion indicated that it would be essential to have clear and objective criteria fo support to this type of actions. There was ageneral consesus that action 2.2 should be limited to the	16
18/10/2004	MT	Strand 2 - Support for European Bodies active at a	Scrutiny reservation on the phrase " commemoration... deportation..."		16

18/10/2004	MT	Strand 2.2 - Support for action for the preservation and commemoration of thye main sites and archgives associated with the	Scrutiny reservation		17
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 2 - Support for European Bodies active at a	Propose to add " as well actions to celebrate those who, under extreme conditions, rescued people from the holocaust"		17
18/10/2004		Strand 3 - Support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation		Presidency proposal to reflect delegations wishes ro give higher prioritiey to cultrura contact points under this strand	18
18/10/2004	FR	Strand 3 - Support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation	Suggest to add2 multiannual basis"	Coments under article 10 , page 7	18
18/10/2004	FR, UK	Strand 3 - Support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation	propose to specify how cultural contact points would be appointed		18
18/10/2004	FR, PL	Strand 3 - Support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation	Proposes to add" a specific community support will be given to projects by the cultural Contact Point network"		18
18/10/2004	FR	Strand 3 - Support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation	previous one in order to reflect its higher degree of priority		18
18/10/2004	AT , DE	Strand 3 - Support for analyses and for the collection and dissemination of information in the field of cultural cooperation	Propose to replace this indent by " provide information on the other community programmes open for cultural projects if required"		18
18/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 3.2- Support for anlyses in the field of cultural cooperation	are of the view that this action should be given a lower priority		19
18/10/2004	IE	Strand 3.2- Support for anlyses in the field of cultural cooperation	thinks that studies should be targeted and actively advance the priorities of the programme		19
18/10/2004	SI	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cultural coopertaion	Propose to add " and policy development"		19
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	suggest to add " Creators"		19

18/10/2004	SI	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cultural coopertaion	Proposes the following wording " and diversity of cultural policies creating favourable conditions for them…"		19
18/10/2004	FI	Strand 3.2 -Support for analyses in the field of cult	Projects aimed at collectiond and analysing statistics will be particurlry encouraged.		19
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.3 -Support for collection and dissemination cultural coopertaion	proposes to add " Via internet"		19
18/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.3 -Support for collection and dissemination cultural coopertaion	Proposes to delete 2 and dissemination of the information concerning the cultural programme"		19
27/10/2004	FR	Article 1- Establisment and duration of the progra	proposes to add " and all categories of operators, including enterprises of cultural sector	Os the view that this would put emphasis on one category of operators	8
27/10/2004	FR	Article 1- Establisment and duration of the progra	the phrase " and all categories of operators , provided that a refernce tp" cultural industries" is added in Article 3 and a new recital worded as follow is inserted :" Le Conseil, dans sa resolution du 19 decembre 2002 mettant en oeuvre le plan de travail en mariere de culture, le Parlement europeen dans sa resolution" undustries culturelles" de septembre 2003 et le Comite economique et social ,		8
27/10/2004	FR , CY , ES,GR, IT	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	Suggests to add " and cultural industries"	CION ,AT,DK,IE gainst such addition	8
27/10/2004	IT ,GR	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	proposre to add a fourth objective on cultural heriage along the lines of Art. 1 b) of the Culture 2000 programme		8
27/10/2004	PT	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	proposes to insert a letra d, as follow d) to stree the importance of heriatge of European dimension"		8
27/10/2004	ES, CY, FI	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	cultural haritage in paragraph 1 of article 3		8
27/10/2004	AT ,DK,Cion	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	Prefer not to mention cultural heritage in order to keep the programme open	Cion pointed out thatthere had previosly been consensus on the proposed objectives as set out in March Communication from the comission	8

27/10/2004	UK	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	the following sentence after the objectives " specific indicators and targets relating to each of theses objectives are laid out in annez" and na annex on smart objectives as set out in		8
27/10/2004	BE	Article 4- The programmes field of action	stresses that this name could lead to possible confusion with the " cultural contact points"		10
27/10/2004	PT	Article 4-The programmes field of action	suggests to add " nazi" before camps and " as well as the memory of actions to save people from the holocaust" at the end of the alinea b)		10
27/10/2004	LU,LT,LV,PL	Article 4-The programmes field of action	against limiting this actions to the holocaust		10
27/10/2004	FR,HU,IE,PT	Article 4-The programmes field of action	in favour of limiting to the holocaust		10
27/10/2004	GR	Article 4- The programmes field of action	"Suggest to put the emphaisis on the World War II events	Comission Sttes that it would be impotrtant to give clear definitions should the scope be widened	10
27/10/2004	DK	Article 4 - The programme fiel of action	" Proposes 2 alternative wording according to the option that will finaly be retained : " Version 1: in case it is decided to put emphasis on the Holocaust : Support of actions for the presrevation and commemoration of the main sites and memorials of the mass deportations, the former concentration camps, and other large-scale sites of mass extermination and matyrdom of the Holocaust ; as well as archives documentating theses events, in order to keep the memory of the vistims alive"		10
27/10/2004	MT	Article 4 - The programme fiel of action	"Is of the view tha these activities should be placed back under the general heading of support for bodies active at the European level in the field of Culture. Argues that current wording is inconsistent with Desicion 792/2004/EC and that these activities are not		10

27/10/2004	SI	Article 5 - Provisions concerning third countries	" Suggests to add " and policy dvelopment"	Comission requests some clarification about the meaning of this wording	11
27/10/2004	PT	Article 9- Comittee	" Suggest to delete " including priorities".	Cion explained that this provision was important to give flexibility in thye implementation of the programme and room for manouver in the management procedure.	
27/10/2004	FR	Article 9- Comittee	"is concerned tha the selection of the projects is no longer subject to the manegemnet procedure"		13
27/10/2004	Several Delegations	Article 10- Cultural Contact Points	" decdlared themselvrs in favour of multiannual financing	"Cion stated that it was investigation whether this was possible under art.54 of the new	14
27/10/2004	FR	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	"Prosposes to mention cultural industries in all three actions of the first strand"	"The comission pointed out that the proegramme would open to cultural industries, as indicated in paragraph 2 of section 3.3.3 of the explanatory memorandum, but that it could not be na industry support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty."	
27/10/2004	Some delegations	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	"pointed out that this name might rise to confusion with " cultural contact points"		18
27/10/2004	The Presidency	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation focal points	Proposal to answer delegation concerns on participation of small		18
27/10/2004	AT	Strand 1 - Support for cultural actions ,Cooperatio	Scrutny reservation. Is concerned that finacial autonomy might be difficult to achieve		18
27/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	"prefer to have minimum of five countries instead of six"		18
27/10/2004	BE,MT,PL	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	" Suggest five operators from five different countries"		18
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	Scutny and reservation		18
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 1 - Support for cultural actions ,Cooperatio	follow : " A focaal point consists of six operators from at least six diferent countries , set through a cooperation agreement between all co-organisers, with the objective of participating in the		18

27/10/2004	EE	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	fair representation between the Members States as well as the other participants in order to assure the diversity of cultural expressions should be observed and emncouraged"	"The Comission States that quality should not be left behind"	18
27/10/2004	SI , CY , LV,PL , SK	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	" Priority will be given to focal points with one more operators from new mwmber states"		18
27/10/2004	CION , AT, CZ,DK,HU,LT,PT,UK	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	"are of the view that preferential treatment should rather be mentioned in thye calls for proposals rather that in the		18
27/10/2004	Presidency	Strand 1 - Support for cultural actions, Cooperatio	" 500.000 for all activities of the coopertaion focal points"		19
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	"Proposes to add the following sentence :" During this period some of the co-organisers may be substituted as long as the objective and the number of countries represented remain the same		19
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	Scruteny and reservation		19
27/10/2004	DE ,SE	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	Consider that the share of the total budget allocated to support under 1.1 is to high, and conversely, that the share of the total budget under 1.2 is to low."		19
27/10/2004	EE, PL	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	" Suggest that the 32 % of the total budget rates should be allocated to this type of support"	The Comission underlines that the percentage rates should only be discussed once the budgettary envelop fo rth eprogramme has been agreed upon.	19
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1 -Support for cultural actions, cooperation	Scruteny and reservation		19
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	"Prioruty shall be given to creativity and innovation		20
27/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	" querie the increse to four operators from three in the corrent programme"		20
27/10/2004	PL	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	" in favour of thtree operators"	Comission explained that the average number of operators was already 3,86% and that due account should also be taken of the increase in thye number of Members States from 15 to 25.	20
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Scrutny reservation		20

27/10/2004	SI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Proposes to add the following sentence " Each cooperation partnership will include at least one cultural operatot from a new member state"		20
27/10/2004	PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Proposes the following wording " Priority will be given to quality projects wich involve one or more operators from new Member states or candidate countries"		20
27/10/2004	BE,EE,FI,PL,SI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" are not in favourof raising the threshold from 50 000 to 60 000 euros	The Comission explained taht the average contribution was already in the oder of 150 000 euros and that the raise in the threshold was warranted by infation alone"	21
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	" Scrutney and reservation"		21
27/10/2004	EE , PL,SE	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	suggest for a minimum of 12 and maximum of 24 month of support		21
27/10/2004	FI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Proposes the following wordimg " under specific circunstances support can be applied for the continuation of the		21
27/10/2004	Some delegations	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"expressed concern at the percenage beeing to low"		21
27/10/2004	EE,PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Suggest a percentage of 30%"	The Comission pointed out that this represented a 15% rise compared to the current programme	21
27/10/2004	Presidency	Strand 1.3 - Special actions		coments	21
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Propose new wording " diffusion of the European Culture		21
27/10/2004	FI	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" In order to stress the importance of the European Capital of Culture event, Propose to change the order of those two paragraphs, wihch would read as follows: -" Signicant support will be		22
27/10/2004	FI,SE	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	"Consider this percentage to high"		22
27/10/2004	EE,PL	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" suggest 15%"		22
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	"Scrutny reservation"		22
27/10/2004	Presidency , Comission	Strand 2-Support Bodies active at European level	" In answer to several requests for clarification on this strand, poited out that it corresponds to the text of EP and Council decision of April the 21 April 2004		23

27/10/2004	PT	Strand 2-Support Bodies active at European level	"Suggest to add " os with actions to save people from the holocaust."This proposal was supported by various delegations .		23
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 2-Support Bodies active at European level	Scrutneny on the phrse " commemoration….deportation"		23
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 2-Support Bodies active at European level	"Proposes to add 2 as well as actions to celebrate those,who, under extrem conditions, rescued peoipl from the		24
27/10/2004	MT	Strand 2-Support Bodies active at European level	"Scrutny reservation"		24
27/10/2004	Presidency	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	to give higher priority to cultural contact points under this strand"		25
27/10/2004	FR	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Suggests to add: on a multianual basis".	Comission comot page 14 article 10	25
27/10/2004	FR ,UK	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Proposes to add " A specifiuc community support will be given to projects initiated by the Cultural Contact		25
27/10/2004	FR	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	" Proposes to move this intendt before the previous one in order to refelct its higher degree of priority.		25
27/10/2004	AT, DE	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	provide information on the other Communety programmes open for cultural projects if required"		25
27/10/2004	Several delegations	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" are of the view that this action should be given a lower priority"		
27/10/2004	IE	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" thinks that studies should be targeted and actively advance the priorities of the programme"		26
27/10/2004	SI	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" Proposes to add "and policy development."		26
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" suggests to add "creators" "		26
27/10/2004	SI	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	of the diversity of cuyltural policies creating favourable conditions for them…""		26
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.3- Support for dissemination in the field c	"Proposes to add " via internet"		26
27/10/2004	PT	Strand 3.3- Support for dissemination in the field c	dissemination of information concerning the cultural programme"		26
29/10/2004	FR,UK	above-mentioned draft Decision based on article 151 of the TEC to the European Parliament and	"have entered parliamentary scrutiny reservations"		1

08/10/2005	Presidency	Article 3- Objectives of the programme- Common	" compromise proposal"		9
08/06/2005	FR	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	" Proposes to add " and non-audivisual cultural industries (book and music industries, architecture…)		9
08/06/2005	FR	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	audivisual cultural insdustries" in article 4.1 a), to insert in the Annex a new strand 1.4 on non-audiovisual cultural industries, and to add two new recitals as follow: New recital 8 " Whereas initiatiatives in tnefield of cultural cooperation have been undertaken withhin the budget lines opened between 2002 and 2004 to support preparitory actions of cultutralncooperation in the perspective of the new programme" New recital 10 " The council, in its conclusions of 16 November 2004 on the Work Plan for culture 2005-2006, the European		9
08/06/2005	ES	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	while stressingthat the programme is, as it should, open to projects from cultural industries,feel that this would constitute a fundamental shift in the programme and have strong reservations."		9
08/06/2005	Presidency	Article 4- The programmes field of action	"Compromise propopsal"		10
08/06/2005	Uk	Article 8 - Implementation , management procedir	"Proposes to add a new point d)", wich would read as follow : (d) in addition to c), specicaly a table of objectives and indicators bwich are specific, measurable,achievable, relevant, and tied, against wich the programme should be evaluated"	The presidency suggests to insert this in anew recital, as follows: "The procedures for monitoring and evaluating the programme should make use of objectives and indicators wich are specific, measurable,achievable, relevant, and timed"	13
08/06/2005	FR	Article 9- Comittee	" is Concerned that the selection of projects is no longer sunject to the management procedure."		13
08/06/2005	Several delegation	Artcle 10-Cultural Contact Points	"In favour of multianual financing"	Cion stated that it was investigating whether this was possible under art. 54 of the new financial regulations	14

08/06/2005	FR	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	" proposes to add a fouth strand on non audivisual cultural industries"	"Pointed out that the programme would open to cultural industries, as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the explanatory memorandum, but that it could not be na industy support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty"	19
08/06/2005	AT	Strand 1 - Support for cultural actions	scuthy and reservation. Is councerned that finacial autonomy might be dificult to achieve		19
08/06/2005	Several delegations	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	"prefer to have minimum of five countries instead of six"		19
08/06/2005	BE,MT,PL	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	"Suggest five operators from five different countries"		19
08/06/2005	MT	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	" Scrutney and reservation"		19
08/06/2005	PT	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	as follow:" A focal point consists of six operators organisers, with the objective of participating in the programme… Each focal point has a lead operator		19
08/06/2005	EE	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	sentence:" Proportionality and fair representation between the Member sates as well as other participants in	The Comission states that quality should not be left behind	19
08/06/2005	SI,CY,LV,PL,SK	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	Priority will be given to focal points with one or more operators from new members states"		19
08/06/2005	AT,CZ,DK,HU,LT,PT,UK,Ci on	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	are of the view taht preferencial treatment should rather be mentioned in the calls for the proposals rather that in the text of the decision."		19
08/06/2005	PT	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	During this preiod some of the co-organisers may be substituted as long as the objective and the number of countries represented remain the same"		20
08/06/2005	MT	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	" Scrutney and reservation"		20
08/06/2005	DE ,SE	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	"Consider that the share of the total budget be allocated to this type of support."	rates should only be discussed once the budgettary envelop fo rth eprogramme has been agreed upon."	20
08/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	Proposes to delete the sentence "Prioruty shall be given to creativity and innovation		21

08/06/2005	SI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Each cooperation partnership will include at least one cultural operators from a new member state"		21
08/06/2005	PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Proposes the following wording: " Priority will be given to quality projects wich involve one or more operators from new Member States or candidate		21
08/06/2005	BE,EE,FI,PL,SI	Strand 1.2- Cooperation mesures	" are not in favourof raising the threshold from 50 000 to 60 000 euros	The Comission explained taht the average contribution was already in the oder of 150 000 euros and that the raise in the threshold was warranted by infation alone"	22
08/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Scrutny reservation"		22
08/06/2005	EE,PL,SE	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Suggest : For a minnimum of 12 and maximum of 24 months"		22
08/06/2005	FI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	specific circunstances support can be applied for the continuation of the projects for up the 24 months."		22
08/06/2005	Some delegations	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Expresses concern at that percentage being to low"		22
08/06/2005	EE,PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Suggest a percentage of 30%."		22
08/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Scrutny reservation"	"The Comission pointed out that this represented a 15% rise compared to the current programme"	22
08/06/2005	Presidency	Strand 1.4-Special actions	" Suggestion to take account PT and FR comments."		22
08/06/2005	PT	Strand 1.4-Special actions	" new wording proposal " diffusion of the European Culture"		22
08/06/2005	FI	Strand 1.4-Special actions	In order to stress the importance of European Capital of Culture event, proposes to chnage the order of those two paragraph, wich would read as follows: Significant support will be		23
08/06/2005	FI,SE	Strand 1.4-Special actions	"Consider that this percetange is to high."		23
08/06/2005	EE,PL	Strand 1.4-Special actions	"Suggest 15% "		23
08/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.4-Special actions	"Scrutny reservation"		23

08/06/2005	SK	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	" proposes tant the CCPs be entrusted with the task of distribuiting mobility grants under a new Mobility Fund"		26
08/06/2005	Cion ,UK	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	" Is of the view that this scheme would be difficult to reconcile with sound efficiency and would impose on CCps a disproportionate administrative burden"		26
08/06/2005	FR	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	" Suggests to add: " on a multianual basis".		26
08/06/2005	FR, UK	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Propose to specify how cultural contact points would be appointed."		26
08/06/2005	Presidency	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Compromise propopsal"		26
08/06/2005	Several delegations	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" are of the view that this action should be given a lower priority"		27
08/06/2005	IE	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" Thinks that studies should be targeted and actively advance the priorities of the programme."		27
08/06/2005	Presidency	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	"Compromise propopsal"		27
08/06/2005	FI	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	"Proposes to delete last sentence"		27
08/06/2005	PT	Strand 3.3- Support for dissemination in the field	"Proposes to delete " and the dissemination of information concerning the cultural programme"		27
21/06/2005	Cion	Decision of the Eu parlament and the Council, estabilishing the Culture 2007	General waiting reservation		2
21/06/2005	FR,UK	Decision of the Eu parlament and the Council, estabilishing the Culture 2007	Parliamentary scrutiny reservations		2
21/06/2005	FR	Decision of the Eu parlament and the Council, estabilishing the Culture 2007	proposes to add a new recital 7), wich would read as follow: " Given the achievements in the field of cultural cooperation developed in the scope of funds granted between 2002 and 2004 to		4
21/06/2005	Council	Decision of the Eu parlament and the Council, estabilishing the Culture 2007	8) Resulotion of the Council nof 25 June 2002 and 19 December 2003, referred to above		4

21/06/2005	FR	Decision of the Eu parlament and the Council, estabilishing the Culture 2007	follow: " The council, in its conclusion of November 16th 2004 concerning the workplan on cultura«e (2005-2006), the European Parliament, in its resolution " Cultural Industries" of September 2003, and the Economic and Social Committee,		4
21/06/2005	FR with support of ES	Article 3 -Objectives of the Programme	"Proposes to add " and non-audivisual cultural industries (book publishing,recording industry, architecture...)" See also footnotes 6 and		9
21/06/2005	Several delegation	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	, (..)while stressing that the programme is, as it should, open to projects from cultural undustries, feel that this would constitute a fundamental shift in the		9
21/06/2005	FR	Article 4- The programmes field of action	"Proposes to add non -audivisual cultural industries in point a)"		10
21/06/2005	SI	Article 4-The programmes field of action	"Scrutny reservation"		10
21/06/2005	FR	Article 9- Comittee	" reservation on thefact that the selection of the projects is no longer subject to the mangement procedure"		12
21/06/2005	Cion	Aricle 11-Financial Provisions	"positive scrutiny reservation while waitting for the opinion of its Legal Service		14
21/06/2005	Cion	Article 13-Monitoring and evaluation	"positive scrutiny reservation on deletion, while waitting for the opinion of its Legal Service"		15
21/06/2005	AT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Scrutny reservation. Is concerned that finacila autonomy might be difficult to achieve."		17
21/06/2005	Several delegations	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	" Prefer to have a minimum of five countries instead of six."		17
21/06/2005	BE, MT,PL	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"suggest five operators from five diferent contries"		17
21/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	" Scrutney and reservation"		17
21/06/2005	EE	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	sentence:" Proportionality and fair representation between the Member States as well as other perticipants in order to assure the diversity of cultural	"The Comission States that quality should not be left behind"	17

21/06/2005	SI, support by CY ,LV,PL,SK	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	sentence:" Priority will be given to focal points with one or more operators from new member states"		17
21/06/2005	AT,CZ,DK,HU,LT,PT,UK,Ci on	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	treatment should rather be mentioned in the calls for tthe proposals rather that in the text of the decision."		17
21/06/2005	PT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	" Proposes to add the following sentence: " During this period some of the co-organisers may be substituted as long as the objective and the number of the		18
21/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Scrutiny and reservation"		18
21/06/2005	DE ,SE	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Consider that the share of the total budget allocated to support 1.1 is to hogh, and conversely, that the share of		18
21/06/2005	EE,PL	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	" Suggest that the 32 % of the total budget rates should be allocated to this type of support"	"The Comission underlines that the percentage rates should only be discussed once the budgettary envelop fo rth eprogramme has been agreed upon."	18
21/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Scrutiny reservation"		18
21/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Scutiny reservation"		18
21/06/2005	Several delegation	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"queried the increase to four operators from three in the current programme		19
21/06/2005	PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" in favour of thtree operators"	"The Comission explained that the average of operators was already 3,86% and that due account should also be taken of the increase in the number of Mamber states from 15 to 25."	19
21/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Scrutiny reservation"		19
21/06/2005	SI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Proposes to add the following senteces Each cooperation partnership will include at least one cultural operator from a new member state"		19
21/06/2005	PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Proposes the following wording: Priority will be given to quality projects wich involve one or more operators from new Member States or candidate		19

21/06/2005	BE,EE,FI,PL,SI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" are not in favourof raising the threshold from 50 000 to 60 000 euros"	contribution was already in the oder of 150 000 euros and that the raise in the threshold was warranted by infation alone"	19
21/06/2005	Some delegation	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Exprssed concern at that percentage beeing too low."		19
21/06/2005	EE,PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Suggest a percentage of 30%"		19
21/06/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Scrutiny reservation"	The Comission pointed out that this represented a 15% rise compared to the current programme	19
21/06/2005	Presidency	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	"Take account of the PT and FR Comments"		20
21/06/2005	PT	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" new wording proposal " diffusion of the European Culture"		20
21/06/2005	FI	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" Prposes to change the order of those two paragraphs, wich would read as follows:-2Significant support will be given...(rest unchanged)-"Special actions		20
21/06/2005	FI ,SE	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" Consider the this percentage is to high"		21

21/06/2005	FR	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" Proposes to add a new point 1.4 on no-aodiovisual cultural industries, with the following characteristics:"1.4.Non-audiovisual cultural industries The programme supports non-audivisualcultural industries (books,recordings,architecture…) These non-audivisual cultural partake in the defence and the promotion of cultural diversity and intervene in the production, distribution and promotion of artisric creation. Considering the experiments conducted during projects in 2004, and the exportation of non-audivisual cultural industries can be supported, with specific terms of selection,specific terms concerning the funding limits,co-funding regulations and number of partner."These projects can be defined as multiannual cooperative cultural projects (with a minimum duration of 36 months) calling for a participation and financing of cultural industries related to the field of activity in question,without any advanced	The comission pointed out that the programme would be open to cultural indsutries, as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the esplanatory memorandum, but that it could not be na industry support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty.	21
21/06/2005	Sk	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Proposes that the CCps be entrusted with the task of distributing mobility grants under a new Mobility Fund."		24
21/06/2005	Cion, Uk	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Is of the view thathis scheme would be difficult to reconcile with sound efficiency and would impose on CCps a disporpotionate administrative burdem (..)…" Furthermore , that would imply		24
21/06/2005	Several delegation	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"while taking note the Comission´s comments, found that the idea was interesting."		24
21/06/2005	FR	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	" Scrutney and reservation"		24
21/06/2005	Several delegations	Strand 3.2- Support for analyses in the field of cult	" are of the view that this action should be given a lower priority"		25

21/06/2005	IE	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" thinks that studies should be targeted and actively advance the priorities of the programme"		25
21/06/2005	SI	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" Scrutney and reservation"		25
27/07/2005	FR	Article 8-Implementation	projects is no longer subject to the manegemnet procedure and proposes adding a indent (b) , wich would read as follows 8b9b the financial support to be provided by the comunety , amounts,		3
27/07/2005	PL ,EE ,SE,MT,CY,IT, AT,BE	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Propose reducing the number to 5opeartors from 5 dieferent countries"		4
27/07/2005	Cion ,FI	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Prefer 4 operators from 3 diferent countries"		5
27/07/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservations.Prefer its original proposal of 60.000 euros."		6
16/09/2005	Cion	Decision of the Eu parlament and the Council, esta	general waitting resevation		2
16/09/2005	FR,MT,UK	Decision of the EU parlament and the Council , est	" parliamentary scrutny and reservation"		2
16/09/2005	FR	Decision of the EU parlament and the Council , est	"Proposes to add a new recital 8), wich would read as follow: " Given the achievements in the fielod of cultural cooperation developed in the scope of funds granted between 2002 and 2004 to		4
16/09/2005	FR	Decision of the EU parlament and the Council , est	follows: " The council , in its conclusions of the November 16th 2004 concerning the work plan on Culture (2005-2006), the European Parliament, in its resolution "Cultural Industries" of September 2003,		4
16/09/2005	PE , Council	Decision European Capitals of Culture	Decision 1419/1999/EC of May 1999 establibing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event fo the		5
16/09/2005	FR , CY,CZ,ES,IT,PT,RO	Article 3- Objectives of the Programme	cultiural industries (book publishing, recording industries, architecture...)"		9
16/09/2005	PT	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	" Supports the proposal provided it is compatible with art.151 legal basis.		9
16/09/2005	AT,BE,DE,DK,GR,IE,MT,N L,PL,SE,SK	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	"are agaijts the proposal"		9

16/09/2005	FR	Article 4-The programmes field of action	" Proposes to add non-audivisual cultural industries in point a) "		10
16/09/2005	FR, CY,DK,ES,IT,NL,PT,SE	Article 8-Implementation	" Propose to add na intednt d), wich would read as follows: " d) the financial suport to be provided by the Community, amounts,duration, distribution and benefiacies".	Comission stressed that bringing individual project selection within scope of the mangement procedure would add months to the selection timetable,with only limited add value,given the fact that the cell for proposals (including selection criteria) wich base the	12
16/09/2005	AT,BE,CY,EE,IT,MT,SE,PL	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Proposes reducing the number to 5 operators from 5 different countries."		17
16/09/2005	DE ,SE	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"consider that the share of the total budget allocated to support under 1.1 is too high, and conversely, that the share of the total bugget under 1.2 is to low."		18
16/09/2005	EE, PL	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	budget rates should be allocated to this type of support"		18
16/09/2005	MT	Strand 1.1- Cooperation focal points	"Scrutiny and reservation"	rates should only be discussed once the budgetery envelop for the programme has been agreed upon."	18
16/09/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Reservation. Would prefer 4 operators from 3 different countries."		19
16/09/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservations.Prefer its original proposal of 60.000 euros."		19
16/09/2005	EE ,PL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Suggests a percentage of 30% "		19
16/09/2005	MT	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Scrutiny reservation"	represented a 15% rise compared to the current programme."	19
16/09/2005	FI,SE	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" Consider the this percentage is to high"		21
16/09/2005	EE,PL	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	" suggest 15%"		21

16/09/2005	FR	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	aodiovisusal cultural industries, with the following characteristics:"1.4.Non-audiovisual cultural industries The programme supports non-audivisualcultural industries (books,recordings,architecture...) These non-audivisual cultural partake in the defence and the promotion of cultural diversity and intervene in the production, distribution and promotion of artisric creation. Considering the experiments conducted during projects in 2004, and the exportation of non-audivisual cultural industries can be supported, with specific terms of selection,specific terms concerning the funding limits,co-funding regulations and number of partner."These projects can be defined as multiannual cooperative cultural projects (with a minimum duration of 36 months) calling for a participation and financing of cultural industries related to the field of activity in question,without any advanced budgetaryn grant by field of activity. The amount of the grant will have to be above 500,00Euros a year per project.It will be possible to set it between 500.00	"the Commission pointed out that ythe programme would be open to cultural industries,as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the explanatory memoranduym, but that it could not be na industry support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty"	21
16/09/2005	SK	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"Proposes that the CCPs be entrusted with the task of distributing mobility grants under a new Mobility Fund."		24
16/09/2005	Cion	Strand 3.1-Support for cultural contact points	"is of the view that this scheme would be difficult to reconcile with sound efficiecy and would impose on the CCPs aq disproprotionate administrative burden.		24
07/10/2005	Cion	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	General waiting reservation		2
07/10/2005	FR,MT,UK	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	Parliamentary scrutiny reservations		2
07/10/2005	Presidency	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	"Invites seggsetions on thye name of the programme"		2

07/10/2005	FR	Decision of the European Paliament and of the Co	cultural cooperation developed in the scope of funds granted between 2002 and 2004 to support preliminary actions		4
07/10/2005	Cion	Decision of th European Parliament and of the Cou	" Reservation"		5
07/10/2005	Presidency	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	" Invites suggestrion on a nmae for the " cooperation focal points" "		5
07/10/2005	LT,Lv,Pl,SK	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	" scrutiny and reservation on deletion:"		6
07/10/2005	Cion	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	" Reservation"		7
07/10/2005	Comission	Article 2-Budget	the implementation of this programme for the period refered to in Article 1 shall be set at 408 million euros. 2.Annueal appropriations shall be autorised by the		10
07/10/2005	FR,CY,ES,IT,PT,RO	Article 3- Objectives of the programme	" proposes to add "annd non-audivisual cultural industries (book publishing, recordingg industries, architecture…)"		10
07/10/2005	PT	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	" Supports the proposal provided it is compatible with art.151 legal basis.		10
07/10/2005	AT,DE,DK,DK,GR,HU,IE,MT,NL,PL,SE,SK	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	"are agaitns the proposal"		10
07/10/2005	FR	Article 4-The programmes field of action	" Proposes to add non-audivisual cultural industries in point a) "		
07/10/2005	LT,Lv,Pl,SK	Article 4-The programmes field of action	"Reservation on deletion"	declaration to the effect that the action under second strand 2.2 of the Annex and its corresponding final budget (to be agreed under the financial perspectives from 2007 to 2013) will be transferred to " Citizens for Europe"	11
07/10/2005	FR, CY,DK,ES,IT,NL,PT,SE	Article 8-Implementation	"Proposes to add na intend d) , which would read as follows: " d) the finacial support to be provided by the community, amounts,duration,distribuition and befeciaries."	"Comission stressed that bringing individual projects selection within scope of the m,anagement procedure would add months to the seelction timetable, with only limited added value, giuven the fact that the calls for the proposals (including selection criteria) wihivh base thr selection are part of this procedure	13
07/10/2005	AT,BE,CY,EE,IT,MT,SE,PL	Strand 1- Support for cultural actions	"Proposes reducing the number to 5 operators from 5 different countries."		18

07/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Reservation. Would prefer 4 operators from 3 different countries."		19
07/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservation.Preferes its original proposal of 60 000 euro"		20
07/10/2005	FR	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	"Proposes to add a new point 1.4 on no-aodiovisusal cultural industries, with the following characteristics:1.4.Non-audiovisual cultural industries The programme supports non-audivisualcultural industries (books,recordings,architecture…) These non-audivisual cultural partake in the defence and the promotion of cultural diversity and intervene in the production, distribution and promotion of artisric creation. Considering the experiments conducted during projects in 2004, and the exportation of non-audivisual cultural industries can be supported, with specific terms of selection,specific terms concerning the funding limits,co-funding regulations and number of partner."These projects can be defined as multiannual cooperative cultural projects (with a minimum duration of 36 months) calling for a participation and financing of cultural industries related to the field of	"the Commission pointed out that ythe programme would be open to cultural industries,as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the explanatory memoranduym, but that it could not be na industry support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty"	22
07/10/2005	LV,LT,PL,SK	Strand 2-Support Bodies active at European level	"Reservation on deletion"		23
13/10/2005	Cion	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	"General waiting reservation"		2
13/10/2005	FR	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	" Proposes to add the following sentence to 9 (a):"Moreover, the preparatory actions for cooperation on cultural matters promoted between 2002-2004		5
13/10/2005	SK	Decision of the European Parliament and of the co	" Prposes including " and preparatory"		5
13/10/2005	SK	Decision of the European Parliament and of the council	"Proposes replacing measures will be taken" by " the commission and the Member States will take measures"		8

13/10/2005	Comission	Article 2-Budget	"Proposes : 1. The finacial framework for the implementation of this programme for the period refered to in Article 1 shall be set at 408 million euros. 2.Annueal appropriations shall be autorised by the		10
13/10/2005	FR , CY,CZ,ES,IT,PT,RO	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	"Proposes to add " and non-audivisual cultural industries (book publishing,recording industry,		
13/10/2005	PT	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	"Supports the proposal provided it is compatible with art.151 legal basis."		10
13/10/2005	AT,DE,DK,DK,GR,HU,IE,MT,NL,PL,SE,SK	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	"are againts the proposal"		10
13/10/2005	FR	Article 4-The programmes field of action	" Prosposes to add non-audivisual cultural industries under point a) "		11
13/10/2005	SK	Article 4-The programmes field of action	"and preparatory"		11
13/10/2005	FR,CY,DK,ES,IT,NL,PT,SE	Article 8-Implementation	" Proposes to add and intend d), wich would read as follows: " d) the financial support to be providde by the comunity, amounts,duration, distribution and benefeciaries."	Comission stressed that bringing individual projects selection within scope of the m,anagement procedure would add months to the seelction timetable, with only limited added value, giuven the fact that the calls for the proposals (including selection criteria) wihivh	13
13/10/2005	SK	Article 10- Cultural Contact Points	Proposes inserting the following : " Support and preparatory actions: If necessary, Member States,supported by the Comission, can establish support schemes for the individual mobility of culturalplayuers in order to address their low participation in the programme.This support will take the form of travel grants for cultural oprators in order to		15
13/10/2005	SK	Article 11-Financial provisions	"Proposees including :" particularly in order to enable individual mobility of the cultural players"		15
13/10/2005	AT,BE,CY,EE,EL,IT,MT,SE,PL	Strand 1.1-Multianual cooperation groups	" Prposes reducing the number from 6 to 5 operators from 5 different countries"		19
13/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	" Reservation. Would prefer 4 operators from 3 different countries."		20

13/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservatin.Prefers its original proposal of 60 000 euro"		21
13/10/2005	FR	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	"Proposes to add a new point 1.4 on no-aodiovisusal cultural industries, with the following characteristics:"1.4.Non-audiovisual cultural industries The programme supports non-audivisualcultural industries (books,recordings,architecture…) These non-audivisual cultural partake in the defence and the promotion of cultural diversity and intervene in the production, distribution and promotion of artisric creation. Considering the experiments conducted during projects in 2004, and the exportation of non-audivisual cultural industries can be supported, with specific terms of selection,specific terms concerning the funding limits,co-funding regulations and number of partner."These projects can be defined as multiannual cooperative cultural projects (with a minimum duration of 36 months) calling for a participation and financing of cultural industries related to the field of activity in question,without any advanced budgetaryn grant by field of activity. The amount of the grant will have to be above 500,00Euros a year per project.It will be possible to set it between 500.00	the Commission pointed out that ythe programme would be open to cultural industries,as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the explanatory memoranduym, but that it could not be na industry support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty	23
13/10/2005	SK	Strand 3- Support for analyses and for the collectio	"Include " and preparatory"		25
13/10/2005	Sk	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	" include " and praparatory"		27
13/10/2005	SK	Strand 3.2-Support of analyses in the field of cultu	preapartory activities , necessary fo the developmemnt of projects of transnational cooperation, eligible in the first strand of the programme could be provoided through mobility funds. These support schemes , operating at national level, could be set up on a voluntary basis		27
21/10/2005	Cion	Decision of the E.p and the council	"General waiting reservation"		4

21/10/2005	FR,CY,DK,ES,IT,NL,PT,SE	Article 8-Implementation	"proposes to add na intend d) , which would read as follows: " d) the finacial support to be provided by the community, amounts,duration,distribution and benefeciaries."	comission stressed that the bringiung individual project selection within the scope of themanagement procedure would add months to theselection timetable,with only limited added value,given the fact that the calls for proposals (wich include the selection criteria) are already part of this procedure and that all	15
21/10/2005	BE,CY,EE,EL,IT,MT,PL	Strand 1.1-Multianual cooperation groups	" propose reducing the number from 6 to 5 operators from 5 different countries"		20
21/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"reservation.would prefer 4 operators from 3 diferrent countries"		21
21/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservation.Preferes its original proposal of 60 000 euro"		22
21/10/2005	SK	Information Comunication and activities aimed at maximising the impact of Projects-Members States	"Reservation,pending written information from the comission"		29
24/10/2005	Cion	Decision of the E.p and the council	"General waiting reservation"		4
24/10/2005	Presidency	Article 1- Establisment and duration of the progra	"compromise propopsal" all categories of cultural operators"		11
24/10/2005	Comission	Article 2-Budget	1 .The financial framework for the implementation of this programme for the period refered to the article 1 shall be set for 408million euro. 2. Annual appropriation shall be autorised by the		12
24/10/2005	FR, CY, CZ,ES,IT, PT,RO	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	cultural industries (book publishing,recording industries,		12
24/10/2005	PT	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	" Supports the proposal provided it is compatible with art.151 legal basis.		12
24/10/2005	AT,DE,DK,DK,GR,HU,IE,MT,NL,PL,SE,SK	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	" are against the proposal"	"Presidency compromise proposal: insert "and industries"	12
24/10/2005	FR	Article 4-The programmes field of action	"Proposes to add non -audivisual cultural industries in point a)"		13
24/10/2005	FR,CY,DK,ES,IT,NL,PT,SE	Article 8-Implementation	"proposes to add na intend d), wich would be read as follows: "d) the financial support to be provided by the Communety, amounts, duration, distribution, benefiaciaries."	Comission stressed that the bringiung individual project selection within the scope of themanagement procedure would add months to theselection timetable,with only limited added value,given the fact that the calls for proposals (wich include the selection criteria)	15

24/10/2005	BE,CY,EE,EL,IT,MT,PL	Strand 1.1-Multianual cooperation groups	"Proposes reducing the number from 6 to 5 operators from 5 diferent countries"		20
24/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"reservation.would prefer 4 operators from 3 diferrent countries"		21
24/10/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservation.Preferes its original proposal of 60 000 euro"		22
24/10/2005	FR	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	Proposes to add a new point 1.4 on no-aodiovisusal cultural industries, with the following characteristics:1.4.Non-audiovisual cultural industries The programme supports non-audivisualcultural industries (books,recordings,architecture…) These non-audivisual cultural partake in the defence and the promotion of cultural diversity and intervene in the production, distribution and promotion of artisric creation. Considering the experiments conducted during projects in 2004, and the exportation of non-audivisual cultural industries can be supported, with specific terms of selection,specific terms concerning the funding limits,co-funding regulations and number of partner."These projects can be defined as multiannual cooperative cultural projects (with a minimum duration of 36 months) calling for a participation and financing of cultural industries related to the field of activity in question,without any advanced budgetaryn grant by field of activity. The amount of the grant will have to be above 500,00Euros a year per project.It will be possible to set it between 500.00	"the Commission pointed out that ythe programme would be open to cultural industries,as indicated in paragraph 2 section 3.3.1 of the explanatory memoranduym, but that it could not be na industry support programme, as it was based on article 151 of the Treaty."	24
24/10/2005	SK	Members States	"reservation ,pending written information from the Comission."		30
03/11/2005	SK	Mobility Grants	"Reservation,pending written information from the comission"		8

08/11/2005	Cion	Decision of the E.p and the council	"General waiting reservation"		4
08/11/2005	DE	Article 3-Objectives of the Programme	"Reservation"		12
08/11/2005	Cion	Article 8-Implementation	"reservation on the new paragraph and subparagrapg 2 (d) "		15
08/11/2005	EL	Strand 1.1-Multianual cooperation groups	"Proposes reducing the number from 6 operators from 6 diferent countries to 5operators from 5 diferent countries" "		20
08/11/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservation. Would prefer four operators (from 3 different countries)".		21
08/11/2005	Cion	Strand 1.2 -Cooperation mesures	" Reservation. Prefers its original proposal from 60 000 euro."		22
23/11/2005	Cion	Decision of the E.p and the council	"General waiting reservation"		2
05/05/2006	Cion	Article 8-Implementation	"Reservation"		15
05/05/2006	Cion,FR,IE,LT,NL	Strand 1.1-Multianual cooperation groups	"Wishes to maintaimnd its original proposal and have aproximatly 36% of the budjetd spend in multianual		21
05/05/2006	Cion , FR,IE,LT,NL	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	and have aproximatly 24% of the budjetd spend on cooperation mesures"		22
05/05/2006	Cion,FR,IE,LT,NL	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	and have aproximatly 17% of the budjetd spend on special actions."		23
05/05/2006	IT	Overal Budget Breakdown	"Scrutiny reservation on programme management costs,wich will be run by the Executive Agency"		30
11/05/2006	Cion	Strand 1.1-Multianual cooperation groups	" Rservation. Maintaimnd its original proposal of 36% "		20
11/05/2006	Cion	Strand 1.2-Cooperation mesures	"Reservation.Mantains its original proposal of 24%"		21
11/05/2006	Cion	Strand 1.3 - Special actions	"Reservation.Mantains its original proposal of 17%"		22