



CITIES AND REGIONS

THEIR CULTURAL
RESPONSIBILITY FOR EUROPE
AND HOW THEY CAN FULFIL IT

A MANUAL

Supported by



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“WHERE ‘THE EUROPEANS’ LIVE”

An introduction by Wim Wenders

Where is the good and grand idea of Europe most alive?

No, not in the world of politics.

That's where it has more or less gone to the dogs.

Politics as such inspires nobody.

(Only politicians sometimes believe that, even now...)

Nor is Europe alive

where nationalist ideas of any sort are still cherished.

Which is often the case in Europe's capital cities and centres of power.

(And that old monster “Nationalism”

is raising its ugly head again all over the place

and with astounding regularity.)

Wherever Europe is represented as an economic entity,

as a “lobby” for business and finance,

it has become drained of life (and love) even for its own citizens.

No wonder, then, that they are so Europe-weary

and eager to take refuge in their own backyards,

away from this Europe of the bureaucrats.

Treaties between governments don't give rise to emotions,

let alone utopias;

they don't raise passions,

neither for Europe nor for its future.

Europe is a landscape of the soul.

Or rather: is seeking to become one.

But where is its soul?

Where does its heart beat...

...if not where “the Europeans” live!?

And where do they live?

In our continent’s oldest units:

its regions.

Places where people speak with their particular accent.

Places with their own weather.

Where the cuisine has its own special flavours.

Where the markets sell local types of fruits and vegetables.

Where there is something unusual about the light.

Where the songs sung are unique for that area.

Where the stories told are distinctive to that place.

In short: Where you have a sense of belonging.

Everything on this ancient continent that is special and unique

is in danger of vanishing,

of being swept away by the gusty winds of globalization.

And no national windbreaks will stop these gales –

only the good and grand idea of Europe!

Just as all these wonderful European regions

(so often, in the past, on opposite sides, divided, united,

or ravaged by war...)

can retain their idiosyncrasies

beneath Europe’s strong protecting hand,

so Europe, too, dearly needs its regions,

as its primordial cells, its hard core,

in order to assert itself

and to find its way.

In its culture!

Where else!?

And that is the sum total of its regional cultures,
much more so than that of its national ones.
The idea of “nations” has simply had its day.
A thing of the past!
Long live the wealth and diversity
of our European regions
as part of a borderlessly peaceable
Europe of the future!

Wim Wenders

FOREWORD

THE GUIDE IS FOR
ALL ADMINISTRATIVE
DEPARTMENTS
AND BELONGS ON THE DESKS
OF MAYORS, COUNCILLORS
AND SENIOR GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALS.

This publication, by the civil-society initiative 'A Soul for Europe' and the European Cultural Capital RUHR 2010, is offered as a guide to the responsibility that cities and regions bear for Europe's development and to its practical implications. The manual describes cities' and regions' cultural projects as projects for Europe and outlines the important European role that is emerging from these cultural initiatives, as well as the commitment it entails. It aims to demonstrate what this European role means in practice for cities and regions.

The European Cultural Capital RUHR 2010 intends this guide as a bequest to Europe's cities and regions, as something durable that it can give back to Europe, which will be useful beyond the year 2010. It can be an example of how Cultural Capitals, having enjoyed special attention from Europe over the course of their year, might repay the privilege by making a sustainable contribution to Europe's future.

What is true of cultural capitals is equally true of all cities and regions: the incalculable wealth of their cultural substance and the diversity of their non-material values should be appreciated not just from a local, regional or national perspective but as a resource to fuel the process of European integration. Unlike the many other tasks incumbent on cities and regions, their cultural remit cannot be transferred to centralised European bodies; the regional duty to culture remains, with its European and its international component, as an individual civic or regional responsibility. The nature of that responsibility, however, implies an obligation, in cultural affairs, to work in a European context.

This manual is intended for all members of municipal and regional administrations and players in the cultural sector who are in a position to take responsibility for strengthening the cultural aspects of their city's or region's development. It is therefore relevant not only to the staff of cultural departments but also to those working in municipal or regional development, social or economic departments and all those in charge of external relations and especially European affairs; and, transcending departmental responsibilities, it also has a place on the desks of mayors and regional political leaders, for it concerns the development of municipalities and regions in their entirety.

Dr. Volker Hassemer
Spokesperson for the initiative
'A Soul for Europe'
November 2008

PREFACES

As Mayor of Athens since 2007, I see culture as a cornerstone in policy making, and it is a high priority for me. As in the past, the municipality continues to ascribe the utmost importance in its activities to the promotion of its cultural heritage.

Efforts by the City of Athens to encourage cultural activities focus chiefly on the following areas:

- the importance of culture in enhancing everyday quality of life;
- the huge creative potential of our citizens in all relevant fields (including art, information and communication, design and fashion, to name but a few);
- the defining role of cultural output for economic and social development generally;
- the benefits of international exchange, which is a top priority for the City of Athens;
- the cultural diversity that Athens enjoys by virtue of its 140 different ethnic communities – a decisive advantage in making the link between its glorious past and its cultural achievements as a modern-day metropolis.

Nikitas Kaklamanis, Mayor of Athens

Culture is becoming increasingly important as a language through which different regions express their identity, how they are changing and how they plan to develop. When we listen to that language we realise just how heavily cities and regions rely on their cultural potential. The key to a European model for cultural development is the process of exchanging experience and accurately documenting and sharing tools that others have already used.

In this way, the cultural dimension can also become central to the development of Europe's relations with the rest of the world, and cities and regions can assume a decisive role here, with recognition from the European institutions at the highest level.

Sergio Chiamparino, Mayor of Turin

Far from being purely a distraction or a supplement of soul, culture should be at the heart of every political project. In the face of a world governed by introversion and excessive materialism, it calls into question our models of societies, our relation to the world and to others. Consequently, when Méлина Mercouri and Jack Lang first came up with the concept of the European Capital of Culture in 1985, it was a matter of “making a greater contribution to the rapprochement of the peoples of Europe”. In Lille – now a Eurometropolis –, we did not hesitate to take a gamble on culture in order to reconstruct a territory in crisis, so as to restore its inhabitants’ pride and confidence in the future and broaden our horizons.

Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the 2009 edition of *lille3000*, dedicated to “Europe XXL”, has provided an opportunity to discover a contemporary Central and Eastern Europe stretching as far as Istanbul, and above all to reflect together upon the message that Europe brings in its wake, a Europe whose founding missions were to guarantee peace and solidarity between its members, to respond to the challenges of history, to defend human rights and to bring our peoples closer together.

I therefore welcome with genuine enthusiasm the project supported by “A Soul for Europe” and “RUHR 2010”. This guide describes in detail and with sensitivity the driving forces, at local and regional level, behind our cultural policies. These initiatives that many of us are implementing in different parts of our continent must be recognised as a fundamental impulse for a joint European project.

Martine Aubry

Mayor of Lille and President of Lille Métropole Communauté Urbaine

CULTURAL PROJECTS ARE MATTERS OF PRIME IMPORTANCE AND CONCERN NOT ONLY CULTURAL DEPARTMENTS

The **economy** benefits from cultural projects and not just through the growing phenomenon of international cultural tourism and the sectors associated with it. The sustainable development of cultural structures – from craft enterprises to highly specialised technological services – supports structural change (see the example of Ferrara below) and many products, including clothing, food and buildings, are both economic and cultural assets.

Education, training, research and development are aspects of local and regional cultural potential and are closely associated with economic and social development. They derive their raw material from local culture, which is also their point of connection with contemporary cultural developments. Culture provides a focus for philosophical, social and scientific research and technological development in a huge range of fields. It also supplies a market for their application, for example when traditional craft techniques are coupled with new technology for the purposes of archaeology, conservation of historic monuments or restoration of art objects.

Social development is strengthened by the many interconnections between culture and social and economic life and the many types of activity that serve to promote social cohesion, to improve living conditions and to encourage the integration of minorities and migrants (languages and literature, for example, music, drama, games and festivals).

There is considerable overlap between **protection of the environment** and local and regional culture: from construction materials and building conditions, through the cultural contexts and consequences of using natural resources in a sustainable way (for example, for electric power) to the cultural causes and effects of climate change in cities and in the countryside.

Municipal and regional development is, in itself, an important part of any territory's cultural profile. The connection is apparent not just in the way that people relate to the cultural heritage of architecture, urban development and landscapes, but also in public and private cultural locations and forums (cinemas, stadiums, museums and galleries, for example) and their spatial connection with their environment, including public transport and other aspects.

In the field of **external relations**, transregional, international and, in many cases, global cultural networks offer an important framework of reference. Of course, cities' and regions' cultural achievements also inform the way that they present themselves to visitors, incoming residents, investors and partner regions, to the rest of their own country, to Europe and to the world.

I. THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIES AND REGIONS

European culture – the soul of Europe, if you will – dwells in its cities and regions. Cities and regions thus shape Europe's soul and bear direct responsibility for it. However, that responsibility is not borne solely by administrative departments of culture. It cuts across all departments, from municipal and regional development to economic and social affairs and external relations. All of these go to make up the cultural substance on which cities and regions draw, in the process of shaping Europe's soul.



Regional differences in the way that people interact with the natural world and its products – building materials, plants, crops, types of timber, animal products, water, soil and mineral resources etc. – help to make Europe culturally diverse in all sorts of ways, spanning food and regional cuisine, styles of dress and architecture and even health systems. (© Ursula Kröll / PIXELIO)



Three cities as the cultural mainsprings of Europe: 'Everything that stems from the three sources of Athens, Rome and Jerusalem is unconditionally European' (Paul Valéry, 1871-1945). That includes philosophy and democracy, the state and the rule of law, and Judaeo-Christian spirituality. (© H. Pellikka / Wikipedia)



Roland statues: symbols of municipal law and local jurisdiction (© Jürgen Howaldt / Wikipedia)



The second skin as a flexible expression of culture (© Ammar Abd Rabbo)



The Eurovision Song Contest: the only all-Europe cultural event, staged on television since 1956 (© Indrek Galetin / Wikipedia)

Culture – the stuff of life for Europe – consists not just of art and artworks, traditions, institutions and values. Such a conception of culture would be too narrow. Arts in the form of literature, music, drama, cinematography, architecture and urban planning are merely a slice of a much broader set of relationships that determines the cultural profile of a city or region. It embraces, to name just a few examples, public spaces and the way they are used, newspapers and other media, rules of social conduct, the organisation of work, money, languages and their use, the multicultural nature of urban society and responses to cultural diversity, laws and legal systems, religious life and the material and non-material cultural heritage, which in turn includes everything from monuments to children's games. Within this meaning, culture comprises forms of cultural expression that can be initiated, executed and financed by a wide variety of sponsoring bodies – municipalities, public institutions and foundations, non-profit-making organisations such as promotional societies or private sector players, primarily freelance artists and those who use or publish their works.

The term 'culture' as used in this guide is close to the common ethnological sense of the concept. Individual cultural phenomena are thus associated with a wider social context not as a supplementary exercise but directly and substantively, informing the approach from the outset.

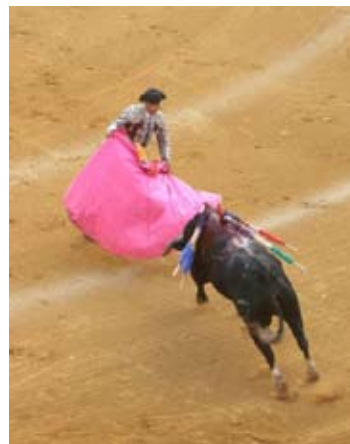


(top right) Religious festivals: every year on 24 May, thousands of Roma from every country in Europe make the annual pilgrimage to Les Saintes Maries de la Mer to celebrate St Sarah's Day.

(bottom left) The Bauhaus, epitome of European modernity. Marcel Breuer on his 'Wassily' chair (1925) (Courtesy Constance L. Breuer)

(bottom right) Jurisprudence as a cultural asset: British judges. (© LEPL)

All the aspects mentioned can be part of the contribution that cities and regions make to Europe. Even when they make that contribution not solely from their own resources, but with the help of an entire country, it is in the cultural characteristics of particular places or regions that we recognise Europe's cultural profile, for these are the places where Europe's soul comes alive.



(top left) The cultural effects of the long East-West divide in Europe and of its removal are apparent in the cultural profiles of cities and regions. (© Sven Gross-Selbeck / Wikipedia)

(bottom left) The urban market, the city and its inhabitants: embodying the cycle from cultivation, sale and preparation of products through to their consumption (© Brigitte Loosen / kunstundreisen.de)

(top right) In ancient times, martial games marked the changing seasons – a tradition at odds with contemporary cultural values. (© Michael Helmer / Wikipedia)

(bottom right) One man, one vote: the British House of Commons, 'Mother of Parliaments' (Parliamentary copyright images are reproduced with the permission of Parliament)

This implies, however, that the people involved at local level with cultural projects of European status will see themselves not merely as local and regional players, but will be conscious of their European remit.

Nor should we forget that European cities themselves must be regarded and treated as cultural assets.

*'We, the ministers responsible for urban development in the Member States of the European Union, consider European cities of all sizes which have evolved in the course of history to be valuable and irreplaceable economic, social and cultural assets.'*¹

The EU institutions have only limited powers in matters of European culture. Responsibility for culture rests with the Member States and, within them, the cities and regions of Europe. The latter thus assume a direct European obligation. No centralised European institution can ever be invested with overall responsibility for European culture. If such responsibility is to exist, it must necessarily be decentralised. Everyone who engages with the powerful potential of European culture is working not just at local or regional level: they are helping to shape Europe. The manifold substance and energy of European culture and its tremendous significance for Europe's future demand targeted strategies at operational level – and responsibility at that level lies first and foremost with cities and regions.

Criteria and objectives therefore need to be formulated to provide a sense of direction. This manual aims to suggest an operational framework for people in positions of responsibility in politics and administration and also in the cultural sector itself and its many interfaces with other sectors.

¹ Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities, 24 May 2007



The face of the Renaissance: Michelangelo, *Moses* (1515). The human body in stone as a means of expression – a manifestation of Europe's Judeo-biblical, oriental, classical and Christian roots. The subject for Sigmund Freud of a seminal text on psychoanalysis (1914).



Anthony Cragg, *Thin Skin*, 1997



Faces of European cinematography: Catherine Deneuve (© Rita Molnár / Wikipedia)

Culture is a driving force in the process of European integration. The Europe of intergovernmental treaties will also belong to the citizens of Europe to the extent that it embodies values that are genuinely meaningful to them. As well as the material necessities of life, these values concern the cultural substance in which people recognise themselves.



Art and landscape (Europos Parkas, Lithuania) Magdalena Abakanovitch, *Space of Unknown Growth* (© Bernhard Schneider)



Jewish cemetery, Prague (© Heinz Albers)

As technology has evolved and economies have become increasingly globalised, cultural processes and cultural content have also become part of new technological, social, economic and political interrelationships. The idea that originated in the 19th century of culture as an autonomous sector of activity, ideally unaffected by economic and political interactions – an idea that had never previously existed – was an attempt to apply the intellectual concept of ‘independent art’ not only to art itself but to everything cultural. The resultant restriction of the notion of culture is becoming increasingly obsolete in the light of what is actually happening. Current forms of cultural practice – on the production side, especially in the applied and latterly also in the commercial sector – both active and passive and particularly among the younger generation, are freeing themselves from this compartmentalisation of ‘culture for culture’s sake’. It is precisely in the way that culture connects with technical, legal, economic, social, political and other structures that its influence on society is apparent.

This notion is fundamentally important in the cultural practice of cities and regions for it opens a perspective on heterogeneous fields and the diversity of cultural players and transmitters of cultural values – which contribute to making European culture what it is and which fall within the remit of cities and regions, although in terms of cultural relevance they are as yet untapped and therefore unprotected and unexploited – for example, local building traditions, local cuisine, landscapes, local customs and usages and much more.

Europe is characterised by cultures of very different kinds, and their preservation is a task specifically incumbent on the citizens of Europe under the terms of the Lisbon Treaty. Recognition of that reality raises the question of how people’s individual cultures and their awareness of other cultural heritages can contribute to development and integration in Europe and help to promote a sense of

European citizenship. Culture is not something self-evident and permanently available; people are continually re-learning it and repossessing it. So we also have to ask how cities and regions can play a part in giving Europe a soul and how they can involve themselves in general efforts to shape the European Union.



(top left) The education system determines how people participate in their own culture and how they relate to alien cultures. (© Thomas Kerzner)

(top right) The National Theatre, Sofia: Austrian architecture, Cyrillic script

(bottom left) Technical innovation impelling architectural culture: the Agbar Tower in Barcelona, designed by Jean Nouvel in 2003 to house the head office of the Aguas de Barcelona group (© Alexander Z. / Wikipedia)

(bottom right) Freedom of religion – a core value of European culture, with universal application. Muslims at prayer in a mosque (© Hajor / Agência Brasil)

EXTRACT FROM THE COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL AND PARLIAMENT OF 13 JULY 2006

Cohesion policy and cities:

the urban contribution to growth and jobs in the regions

– Cities – through a sustainable cultural policy – should promote a vibrant culture, based on the availability of facilities such as cultural and scientific centres, historic quarters, museums [and] libraries and the preservation of the architectural and cultural heritage. These facilities, along with a programme of cultural activities, including for young people, make the city more attractive to citizens, businesses, workers (especially mobile and highly qualified workers) and visitors, and strengthen the image of the city, local pride and identity. Moreover, culture – and cultural tourism – is in itself a rapidly growing industry.

– An active cultural policy is a valuable tool for building bridges between communities and fostering the integration of immigrants and other newcomers to the city.

II. SPECIFIC TASKS

What are the implications of all this in terms of practical work at municipal and regional level?

1. Cities and regions need to mobilise the entire range of their cultural potential from high-class culture to mainstream culture, from subsidised culture to the cultural industry² in order to make their influence felt in the construction of a decentralised, diverse Europe ‘from the bottom up’. However, a city or region will not contribute to Europe’s cultural profile simply by identifying its assets and areas of potential, caring for them, conserving them and affording access to them. Passive possession is not enough. Sharing of cultural responsibility in Europe implies tapping that potential and putting it to work. What matters is not what a city or region possesses but what it does with what it possesses, with a view to protecting and consolidating it, and also making itself available to people – both local people and outsiders – as a cultural venue for encounters, communication and education.

2. Achieving this will require a broad spectrum of cultural output and the networking of local and regional cultural activities at European level and beyond. A strategy for the targeted mobilisation of cultural resources presupposes that the requisite spaces will be created for such resources in the public realm, in the local and national media, and in economic and social terms. They include material and non-material cultural heritage and interaction by all sorts of private individuals and players from the private sector of the economy as well as from public institutions with their cultural roots – diversity in action, particularly among cultural players of the younger generation. Consolidation of

² “Culture and Creative Industries in Germany”. Research report No 577, summary of an expertise commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology, February 2009

cultural processes needs to take effect at three levels: in the production of cultural projects, in the way that it is transmitted both institutionally and informally and through the widest possible degree of public participation.

3. Cities themselves need to be confirmed in their status as European cultural achievements of the highest order. European culture has developed within the spatial and physical framework of transition from Greek city state to modern conurbation. The history of cities can be read in their topography, which embodies the cultural and political structure of European societies, including facilities for politics (the city hall, parliament or government buildings), for learning (libraries, schools and universities), for religion (churches, synagogues, mosques, monasteries and pilgrim or processional routes), for art (theatres, concert halls and museums as well as cinemas, galleries and music clubs), the economy (industry and small businesses, the cultural and creative industries), for law (the courthouse) and for sport (stadiums, sports centres, swimming pools and walking and cycle routes) as well as the public space that is the setting for these installations.

4. All areas of municipal policy – including migration, town planning, economic and social affairs – interact to foster the cultural potential that municipalities harbour. For that component to be even more useful, cultural tools need to be deployed in fields outside the ‘cultural sector’. Departments of culture and the forces of civil society must promote overall development rather than merely promoting ‘culture’ in the narrow sense. All of this reflects the thinking behind the initiative ‘A Soul for Europe’.

III. CULTURAL PROJECTS OF EUROPEAN SIGNIFICANCE

To clarify the types of cultural project that can have an effect at European level above and beyond the general aims and approaches outlined in the foregoing, a classification is proposed here under six headings. No two cities or regions will be of equal strength in this regard, but each will make its contribution to Europe under more than one heading.

The six-way classification divides the broad cultural spectrum not into areas of specialism, but rather into operational areas. This guide is concerned throughout not with the cultural property that cities and regions possess, but with their cultural practice. So what makes a city or region a player at European level is not merely its cultural potential: it is the effectiveness with which it can activate that potential for strategic ends. What counts is neither what is available (i.e. cultural ‘substance’) nor what is possible (i.e. cultural ‘potential’) but rather what contributes as an active focus of municipal and regional development.

THE SIX CATEGORIES IN OUTLINE

1. Outstanding cultural performance

This category, for particularly striking contributions to Europe’s culture, is the most comprehensive: the other five to some extent derive from and overlap with it. What do cities and regions do in order to utilise their cultural potential for their general development and consolidation? What value do they place on culture in their social, economic and political development strategies?



(© Wladyslaw / Wikipedia)



2. Lieux de mémoire – Europe's memory

Places and objects that are part of a transnational, European memory and the way they are integrated into the cultural performance of a city or region. (Examples include Thermopylae, Belém, the Bastille, Auschwitz, the Brandenburg Gate, the Golden Horn, the Roman Forum, the Alhambra, Greenwich, Lübeck and the Hanseatic League, Salzburg, the Bauhaus, FIAT 500 and the Öresund Bridge.)

3. Cultural diversity

Utilising and encouraging cultural diversity promotes a sense of European citizenship; it also contributes to the wellbeing and peaceful development of civil society. Respect for the traditional and the modern, for what is local and what is foreign, also helps in addressing the challenges of globalisation, including the issues surrounding migration, integration and minorities. In this context the ethical principles of regional culture, in terms of openness, tolerance and sustainability, are crucially important.

4. Conversion and urban renewal

The transformation of individual locations and neighbourhoods (industrial and commercial areas, agricultural areas, port and transport facilities, administrative and military installations, residential and school buildings, for example) that have undergone a radical change of use as the result of structural, economic, technological, political or social change, or have fallen out of use altogether; and the re-use of buildings and urban public spaces for new purposes.

5. Borderlands

The removal or redefinition of frontiers in Europe; the construction of cross-border links; borders as a spatial expression of diversity; the transformation of border areas into active interfaces for cultural exchange; regions where cross-border cooperation is an established tradition, and new tasks at new borders, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, in former Yugoslavia and in the countries of the former USSR.



(© euro-flyer / flickr)

6. European cultural heritage

The physical heritage including buildings, conurbations and landscapes; the non-material heritage including knowledge, oral history, religions, national costumes, songs, educational resources, symbols, languages, gestures, mimicry, customs and traditions; the regional and European dimension; the cultural heritage as historical stratification of cultural diversity in an international context.

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(© Bernhard Schneider)

1. OUTSTANDING CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

A city's or region's cultural performance can thus be classed as outstanding if it depends on the utilisation of its cultural potential as part of its overall development strategy and makes culture central to all areas of life and policy. The question is whether cultural performance, as an element of the overall strategy, ranks alongside economic and social policy.

The contribution that a city or region makes to Europe's cultural identity and to its place in the world is not based merely on the corpus of cultural assets that it has inherited. Its present-day cultural performance is equally significant.

What matters is not just potential – i.e. what is possible – but rather the use that a city or region makes of its cultural possibilities. It is also important that those involved in culture should enjoy public esteem.

'Outstanding cultural performance' is the broadest of the six categories of cultural projects of European significance. It embraces cultural gatherings, initiatives and achievements. The other five ('Europe's memory', 'cultural diversity', 'conversion', 'borderlands' and 'European cultural heritage') can be included within it.

1. EXAMPLES OF OUTSTANDING CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

a. Ferrara: from industrial output to cultural output

Over the past 15 years, Ferrara (population 133 000) has made systematic use of culture as part of a development strategy through which it is repositioning itself in Europe. A broad spectrum of internationally networked 'cultural output' (Prof. Patrizio Bianchi, Rector of the University of Ferrara) is gradually replacing the city's former industrial output. In 1995 UNESCO designated the city centre as a World Heritage site, and Ferrara is also working in different ways to connect with contemporary art and present-day culture.

Prof. Bianchi has proposed that cultural strategies for local development be informed by the concept of 'taking a bold and far-sighted grip on the new Europe'.

The idea is that Ferrara's cultural profile will be determined not by a single major cultural event – be it festival, exhibition or opera season (as in Edinburgh, Kassel or Bayreuth) – but rather by a European network of cultural installations and events of international status, some already existing, some to be developed and some of which will visit the city. All this should not only attract visitors but should also enable Ferrara to emerge over time as a diverse production centre for contemporary culture. The range is wide: from the ongoing work of the Mahler Chamber Orchestra, with Claudio Abbado, and the International Buskers Festival to jazz events and other musical happenings; and from kite and balloon festivals to the treasures of the city museums and exhibitions of international importance.



(© Ferrara Buskers Festival)

The University of Ferrara plays a key role in linking cultural bodies and activities with research and development, the academic world and technology. More than 40 laboratories are working on the application of cutting-edge technologies to the cultural heritage – from the restoration of centuries-old bronze work (the baptistery doors in Florence, for example) to the development of acoustics (as in the

Greek Theatre in Syracuse) and the conservation of contemporary artworks. According to Prof. Bianchi, culture ranks with life sciences and the environment as one of the main sectors promoting the development of new technologies. Another effect of these developments is to attract companies whose work involves cultural applications of the latest technologies.

b. The Berlin Philharmonic

Like other major world-class symphony orchestras, leading museums and libraries, the Berlin Philharmonic is becoming involved in new fields of activity and thus changing its function in society. It is seeking to appeal to an increasingly diverse audience and is investing additional effort in outreach work with children and young people, especially those whose educational prospects are limited. Alongside its familiar worldwide concert programme, the orchestra has been involved in making films and has stepped up its public-relations activity with the help of new media. The growing presence in the media of major cultural institutions has the dual effect of emphasising culture in the external image of the cities and regions where the institutions are based and of consolidating their position in Europe. Within a given region, the social impact of leading cultural institutions (not only top-class orchestras but also, for example, museums) is enhanced as they come more and more into contact with different sections of society. The Berlin Philharmonic also trains new generations of players through its Orchestral Academy.

A distinctive feature of the orchestra's cultural profile is its internal constitution. Ever since it was founded in 1882 the Philharmonic has enjoyed 'orchestral democracy', taking its own decisions about how it is administered and who can join it and appointing its own senior management. Structural characteristics of this kind play a not insignificant part in the social impact of important artistic and cultural institutions, be they orchestras, theatres, museums, art schools or whatever.



The Berlin Philharmonic's annual Europe Concert on 1 May © Monika Rittershaus (top left)

The film *Trip to Asia: globalisation* © Boomtown Media (top right)

Bringing music into education: from the film *Rhythm is it* © Boomtown Media (bottom left)



Amsterdam's **Koninklijk Concertgebouworkest**, another world-leading symphony orchestra, is constituted as an independent trust with its own board of directors. The musicians and other employees are also represented in the Concertgebouw Orchestra Association. Following the example of the Berlin Philharmonic, the Concertgebouworkest has been running its own orchestral academy since 2003.

Alongside their function as public meeting places and bases for their orchestras, buildings like the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam and the Berlin Philharmonie are extremely important public symbols in their cities, and they constitute emblematic focus points in the urban landscape.



Concertgebouw Amsterdam (1888) © Hans-Peter Harmsen / World 666



Philharmonie Berlin (1963) © Manfred Brückels / Wikipedia

Even smaller, local cultural institutions have a significance that transfers to the place where they operate and to an entire city or region.

Typical are the many independently organised, multifunctional cultural centres that have been established in all sorts of former industrial, military, transport and port facilities. Some of them are organisationally linked within the **Trans Europe Halles** (TEH) network. They are capable of making a decisive cultural contribution to their cities and regions and, in many cases, the name of a place or facility has become synonymous with the connection between an entire region, a young creative scene and innovative forms of cultural output: examples include the Mejeriet (Dairy), the Kulturbrauerei, Culture Factory, Stanica (the Station) and the Ufa-Fabrik. Cultural installations of this type often function as precursors of structural change in former industrial areas as they develop into service or technology centres (see the ‘conversion’ category below) or pilot the development of new types of output within the cultural sector itself.

Laznia Nowa (Nowa Huta/ Kraków, Poland)
(top left)

Pécs, Hungary – European Cultural Capital 2010 Inner-city parish church, formerly the Gazi Khassim mosque, 1543-1546 The Christian church retains the Ottoman architecture of the mosque, which in turn borrowed the Byzantine style of the Hagia Sophia. © hr / Wikipedia (top right)

Hagia Sophia (537). After the conquest of 1453, the Byzantine Empire's principal building over 500 years became the model for Ottoman mosque architecture. © Robert Raderschatt / Wikipedia (bottom)



c. Santral Istanbul

Santral Istanbul is one of Europe's biggest cultural projects of recent years and it is the core facility for contemporary cultural and artistic activity in the Megacity of Istanbul ('santral' is Turkish for 'centre').

In preparation for Istanbul's year as European Cultural Capital in 2010, the city's Bilgi University has transformed the Silahtara power plant in the Golden Horn neighbourhood – which, as the first electricity generating station in the Ottoman Empire, is an outstanding example of industrial/cultural heritage – into a cultural centre with a highly ambitious mission.

Santral Istanbul will stand alongside the city's world-renowned museums and its historic heritage from the Classical, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, as a contribution to its cultural modernisation. The 118 000 m² site houses a museum of modern art, an energy museum, a versatile cultural and study centre and a platform



© Manfred / Picasa

for young artists. Within the precincts are a library that can accommodate 1000 readers, a documentation centre, a three-screen cinema complex and a number of restaurants and cafés. The surrounding urban neighbourhood participates in numerous cultural programmes. As well as the Bilgi University, the project has

several private sponsors. The Ministry of Energy has handed over the site for an initial period of 20 years.

The project aims to harness the economic and social effects of its creative potential and the transformative power of education and contemporary art, as well as international networking around the conversion initiative, to promote Istanbul's development as a contemporary player on the international cultural stage.

2. QUESTIONS ABOUT PRACTICE IN THE FIELD OF OUTSTANDING CULTURAL PERFORMANCE

The following is intended to supply those responsible for development in cities or regions with suggestions on the strategic advancement of their activities – whether in the public or the voluntary sector – in a European perspective. It should encourage them to tap into local cultural potential in a more sustained way than before in order to develop an outstanding cultural profile for their city or region and, in so doing, to assume a European remit. It should also assist in the process of identifying partners for the relevant activities, whether locally, at national level or further afield.

The list is not intended as a questionnaire or an inventory, but rather as a working tool for use in the local situation.

a. stock-taking

- Are there cultural projects, institutions or areas of potential in your city or region that contribute to Europe's cultural image in the world?
- Does your city or region possess places that are particularly important to Europe's memory, special potential for cultural diversity, outstanding conversion or urban renewal projects, cross-border activities or important aspects of the European cultural heritage?

- What traditions or historical events play a defining role in the cultural profile of your city or region?
- How can your city or region extend the spectrum of its cultural performance as between popular and high culture, tradition and contemporary culture, and independent and institutional activities?
- How can it develop its cultural infrastructure?
- How can it expand that part of its cultural performance that is of European relevance?

b. The status of culture in municipal and regional practice

- Do the various municipal or regional policy departments (for economic, social and environmental affairs, education, higher education and research, municipal or regional development and European affairs) have a cultural remit and cultural objectives in relation to the city's or region's place in Europe?
- What proportion of the public budget does the city or region invest in cultural projects with this European dimension?
- Does your city or region deliberately use culture as a force for social and economic development?
- What is the status of regional clusters in the culture sector?
- To what extent do the mayor, Minister-President (or prefect or equivalent) and the members of the municipal council or regional or provincial assembly concern themselves with cultural issues of European importance?
- Are cultural elements present in public places and does public space itself play a part in the city's or region's cultural life?
- What is the status of the city's or region's cultural projects in its public-relations work?
- Does your city or region make practical use of works produced by international or European institutions on the role of culture in municipal or regional development (for example the European Commission's Culture Agenda, the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) Agenda 21 for Culture, the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity, the 'Intercultural Cities' document produced by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, or the European

Commission's Cohesion Report?³

- Is public expenditure on culture seen in the context of its overall interdependence? In other words, is it deployed strategically as an investment in the future?

c. Connections with Europe

- What is the relationship between these projects, institutions and areas of potential and other cities and regions in Europe?
- Which of these projects, institutions and areas of potential are exceptional in Europe, and how can their special nature be publicly appreciated?
- Which of them have counterparts in other European countries, and how can the similarities be publicly appreciated?
- Are there players in the cultural economy of European standing or fame?

d. Connections with the contemporary scene

- How do these projects relate to contemporary developments in international culture?
- How, as part of its cultural profile, does the city or region highlight similarities with such international developments or with features that make the local projects distinct?
- Does the city or region support and utilise the activities of creative young people, cultural innovation and new forms of cultural output?
- How does the city or region hand on traditions, both current-

3 Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament of 13 July 2006 (fourth Cohesion Report); Commission Communication of 10 May 2007 on a European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World; Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities (Council of the European Union, 25 May 2007); Agenda 21 for Culture, United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), September 2006; Intercultural cities: governance and policies for diverse communities - Joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission (2008 ff); UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001)

ly and with a view to the future? (To quote Franz Liszt: 'Tradition is not the worship of ashes, but the preservation of fire.')

- Has there been identification of the cultural industry potential in the municipality that could contribute to its development in the future?
- What share do publicly funded, private voluntary, commercial, institutional and non-institutional activities have in the overall output of the municipality or region? How are these activities distributed?

e. Participation by civil society

- How are members of the public, private initiatives and cultural enterprises involved in local and regional cultural activity; are there institutional or organisational links among public and private facilities, programmes and activities that have a European outlook?
- Does the city or region have a current overview of its cultural potential and resources (material and immaterial, institutional and personal) and the way they are used in relation to European objectives?
- Does the city or region facilitate or promote public discussion about the European significance of culture for the community?
- What sort of public recognition is given to cultural commitment in your city or region?

f. Inter-municipal, transregional and international cooperation

- Are cultural projects, institutions and areas of potential in your city or region linked into national, international, European or global networks?
- If your city or region is or has been a European Cultural Capital, what does it intend to leave as a sustainable legacy to Europe?
- How is your city or region linked to the activities of former, current or future European Cultural Capitals?
- Is there a link with the UNESCO Creative Cities Network?

3. COMMENTS ON THE 'OUTSTANDING CULTURAL PERFORMANCE' CATEGORY

Given the growing importance of cultural factors in the political and economic development of societies, culture as a theme should be a matter of the utmost importance in cities and regions and should not simply be relegated to a specialist department with inevitably limited resources. In the case of environmental affairs, this principle has been recognised for a number of years now, ever since it was generally acknowledged that highly complex policy responses were required, given the fundamental importance of natural resources. It is currently becoming clear, in the writings of Richard Florida for example (see Wolfgang Kaschuba's observations below), that the same applies to cultural resources.

Among the arguments for systematic development of cultural excellence in cities and regions is the systemic interrelationship of culture with so many areas of life in Europe: social cohesion, economic progress and external relations being just three examples. Other sectors that might equally be mentioned include health, environment and education.

a. Social cohesion

EU enlargement and the acceleration of migratory processes are producing an increasingly diverse cultural mix within cities and regions. Creating cohesive social structures on a basis of cultural diversity is a task on a European scale and also one that poses very specific challenges for civil society and officialdom at city and regional level. Cities and regions need to prioritise the pursuit of efficient cultural strategies, not only as a means of averting the negative consequences of cultural diversity for certain sections of society – consequences ranging from segregation to armed aggression – but also as a means of actively using the productive

potential of greater cultural diversity for the good of society as a whole. Through their cultural projects, cities and regions become active players in this process at European level.⁴

b. External relations

Culture (in its broadest sense) does more than other areas of activity to equip a city or region for exchanges with the wider world. This applies equally in inter-municipal or transregional relations, at national level and in international relations within Europe and beyond it. The more meticulously an internal intercultural dialogue is conducted with cultural minorities in a given city or region, the more productive will be the contacts established with their countries of origin – and vice versa. The cultural exchange that goes with international partnerships is likewise a basis for successful external relations.

Many cities and regions possess a fund of cultural experience and competence in relation to exchange with particular countries or regions of the world. This often applies, for example, in the case of former trading centres or port cities. This type of local and regional expertise is similarly valuable with regard to both international relations within the EU and exchange between Europe and the rest of the world.

Collectively, the cultural competence that has been acquired at municipal and regional level is a valuable resource, of which greater use should be made not only under the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy but also to promote Europe's economic relationships.

c. Economic progress

Cultural factors impact on the economic progress of cities and regions in four main ways.

Firstly, from a fiscal point of view, far from adding to costs, the cultural sector is actually a desirable factor in terms of attracting inward investment.

⁴ See also Intercultural cities: governance and policies for diverse communities - Joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission (2008-2009) – www.coe.int/interculturalcities.

Secondly, the cultural sector itself is a fast-growing area of the economy, which, according to the KEA study on *The Economy of Culture* (www.keanet.eu/ecoculturepage.html), now accounts for three to five per cent of the economic output of a municipality. In Europe the growth rates for cultural company start-ups are mostly above the average for the rest of the economy.

The products of the cultural and creative industries generally derive from copyrighted works and, in a digital knowledge-based society, they are clearly becoming more closely intertwined with many other sectors of the economy. Given the numerous economic effects that are induced in the process, Jeremy Rifkin thinks that the cultural industry will become the leading branch of the economy in the future.⁵

Thirdly, the growing significance of cultural factors in Europe's overall economic development inevitably enhances the importance of the local and regional areas where European culture has its roots and where it is a living phenomenon.

Fourthly, there are numerous types of interaction between the cultural sector and tourism, which is an important area of Europe's economy: culture is important in giving people reasons to travel, and cultural tourism increases cultural understanding of Europe and in turn stimulates productivity in the cultural sector.

4. AN ACADEMIC COMMENTARY ON 'OUTSTANDING CULTURAL PERFORMANCE'

Wolfgang Kaschuba

A European cultural profile?

A few years ago, an academic study sent ripples of alarm across the USA. Researcher Richard Florida had conducted an extensive exploration of the current situation and future prospects of American cities⁶ and had reached the sensational conclusion that

5 Rifkin, Jeremy (2000), *The Age of Access*, New York

6 See Florida, Richard (2004), *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*, New York

those prospects would be determined principally by 'culture'. One of Florida's core findings, which caused dismay particularly in the prudish Midwest, is best encapsulated in his concise heading: 'Why cities without gays and rock bands are losing the economic development race'.

It became clear to Florida from his research in hundreds of American cities and regions that their ability to face the future would be determined principally by members of the 'creative class'. Under that heading he included people employed in high-tech and cultural industries – from silicon chip and software production through other knowledge-based industries to various branches of municipal and regional services, as well as music publishing, tourism, research and high culture. He calculated that around one third of all employees were included in this group, which in recent years had demonstrated a high degree of productivity and social mobility, and not just in the United States. It was obvious that creative people do not relocate primarily in order to follow expanding labour markets or to enhance their earnings; instead, they tend to be guided by a 'cultural compass'. They want to be surrounded by a cultural atmosphere that is intense and highly diverse, in which they and their families can live and work – an urban or regional environment characterised by multiplicity, variety, tolerance and openness. Ethnic and social diversity are obviously aspects of this, as are diversity of lifestyles and leisure options, an attractive scene for music and other cultural activities and, indeed, 'gays and rock bands'.

Florida's work demonstrated for the first time in detail, and on the basis of hard empirical data, the rapid rise of culture in recent decades as a crucial factor in the image of cities and regions as locations for investment. On the one hand, culture itself is generating more and more employment and becoming increasingly profitable and, at the same time, it is serving entire societies in this Late Modern era literally as a means of keeping body

and soul together.⁷ This only applies, of course, if we understand culture to include not just the traditional high-cultural activities of the 19th century European bourgeoisie with their theatres, opera houses, museums and universities, but rather the whole spectrum of cultural activities and practices that go on around us every day – soccer and rap being just as important and typical as reading or theatre-going. Only in this sense can culture embody the ‘symbolic capital’ of our cities and regions⁸ – a resource on which our societies depend for their existence and one, indeed, which brought them into existence in the first place!

While we may not necessarily agree with all of Florida’s ideas or conclusions, it is clear that significant findings from his research in the USA can be transposed to Europe. In fact, many of them may actually be more applicable here because the symbolic capital of European cities and regions is even more diverse and intense than that of their counterparts in the USA; we are more familiar with it and, most significantly, it carries an even greater charge of tradition. In ways ranging from physical environment to mental outlook, European cities and communities are characterised by a diversity of traditions – in terms of architecture, monuments and the history associated with them, art and literature and established policies of commemoration – which has long been part of local and global imagery and already has its own function both in people’s memories and as a form of logo. The Moselle and the Ruhr, Alsace and Tuscany, Vienna and Stratford on Avon are all, in this way, landmarks on the European mind-map for viticulture and gastronomy, industry and political history, cultural and natural landscape, and the history of art and literature. In turn, they provide sustainable nourishment for a collective European memory of particular places and regions, while at the same time attracting to those places and regions part of the remarkable up-

NOT ONLY PARIS AND LONDON
ARE IMPORTANT HERE, BUT
ALSO ULM, DERRY AND
POZNAN

⁷ See, for example, Hannerz, Ulf (1992), *Cultural complexity: studies in the social organization of meaning*, New York.

⁸ See Zukin, Sharon (1996), *The culture of cities*, Oxford.

surge in European tourist traffic.⁹ Tourism as a field of knowledge quite literally produces and consumes ‘places of experience’.

This European map is different from the map of world-famous, or even internationally famous, places, and the differences reside in increasingly intricate details of cultural topography, underscoring the point that not just Paris and London are important here but also Ulm, Metz, Derry and Poznan. For not only do smaller cities and regions possess in abundance what Florida calls their own ‘creative class’, in crafts and industries, music and the youth scene, but they also have parish churches and cathedrals, natural and historic sites, town halls and castles, libraries and museums, market places and shopping malls and their own funds of history and stories, their own memories and their range of voices. In short, these are material and mental reminders of historic events and the diverse products of cultural processes which give almost every place an accent of its own, while at the same time linking its past and present with those of other places and spaces.

In fact, many such links extend beyond regional or national boundaries, towards other parts of Europe, because stories, literature, religion, architecture, art, music and youth culture have seldom been halted at official frontiers, just as they are not halted today. Instead, they evolve generously on a big canvas, reminding us once again that our history and our present consist much more of connections between people and ideas than they do of distances and separation. However, the European connections are visible and will remain visible only if they are explicitly used as points of reference and orientation, in other words if they are consciously integrated into European memory – in defiance of local chauvinist thinking – and if European memory can in turn generate a European consciousness. This European identity could be seen as part of the liberal thinking and tolerance that Florida identifies as the only feasible approach to the future: a capacity to think and feel without restriction in terms of references or horizons.

9 See Kaschuba, Wolfgang (2004), *Die Überwindung der Distanz: Zeit und Raum in der europäischen Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main.

This openness has two further dimensions. On the one hand, it empowers us to reject the strategic abuse of culture as a ‘mark of distinction’ – the false oppositions that are established on the bases of ‘good taste’ or ‘cultural loyalty’ between supposedly ‘high culture’ and popular culture, or between what is claimed as national culture and what is deemed foreign culture. To some extent, constructions of this kind express another European tradition – a reductionist or nationalist approach to culture – but that is a tradition that we, unlike others, need to abandon.

On the other hand, there is an implied readiness to conduct a dialogue, within the framework of these European identities, between our images of ourselves and others’ images of us, and that means recognising and taking seriously views from outside. Our own images of our cities and regions are collectively in a state of flux. They are a mixture of prejudice and knowledge, cliché and experience, regional logos and national stereotypes. There has never been so much discussion in the media and on the street of what ‘we’ and ‘they’ are like – ‘we’ and ‘they’ being Berliners, Londoners, Poles, Sicilians, Bavarians or whatever. For some time now there has actually been no clear distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ at this level, for we have all become to some extent tourists in our own cities: seeking the unknown, seeking history, seeking the exotic, seeking experience – in a word, seeking culture.

For some time now we have thought in terms of cultural ‘scapes’ and ‘flows’, in images and imaginings of broad landscapes and global cultural processes that have a direct and formative impact on our own world:¹⁰ holiday landscapes, migratory routes, music scenes or ways of life, which are increasingly close to us thanks

¹⁰ See Appadurai, Arjun (1997), *Modernity at large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Delhi.

to the new media and our new mobility. Yet it is 'European' landscapes that we continue to envisage most frequently and most intensively: cities, routes and views. In other words, we imaginatively project ourselves and our familiar worlds into European connections and exchanges.

We should, however, bear in mind four basic rules that apply to cultural profiles generally and to European cultural profiles in particular. Firstly, identity references of this kind cannot be created at will. We cannot construct or invent culture and tradition like some sort of fantasy; they must necessarily be plausible, which demands real points of reference to collective history, experience and memory. That is why Essen will never plausibly be presented as a winter sports centre, nor Berlin as a capital of carnival. Secondly, these self-images and identity-references ought never to become static; they should remain amenable to process and to shaping. For they will inevitably be read in different ways – depending on whether the reader is a local or an outsider, young or old, part of an elite or vulnerable. And self-images that have been confined to museums, or mummified, are merely boring and rebarbative. Thirdly, and despite the foregoing, European references and images are not self-generating; they must be actively sought out, nurtured and kept in the public eye, for the European dimension is often not immediately obvious. So sketching out identities implies a strategic remit to use local resources appropriately.

CITIES AND REGIONS WERE
CREATED BY MOVEMENT AND
IMMIGRATION.

Fourthly and most importantly, a European cultural profile cannot be narrow, homogenous or fundamentalist. Historically, socially and ethnically it needs to demonstrate 'cultural diversity', displaying a range of traits and characteristics associated with different groups and traditions, ideas and values. For we must re-

member that today's European cities and regions came into being historically out of movement and immigration and they therefore embody a 'cultural mix' in the best sense. That mix and the openness that goes with it are the very things we need to defend: against nationalists and religious fundamentalists of every stripe and against the equally serious threat of neo-liberal privatisation and commercialisation of cultural territory, traditions and ideas.¹¹ If we fail in the task we shall lose a key historical driver for identification and integration in Europe. Without cultural diversity and local transparency, the very terms 'Europe' and 'culture' will be hollow!

11 See Miles, Steven and Miles, Malcolm (2004), *Consuming Cities*, Basingstoke and New York.

2. *Lieux de mémoire* – Europe's memory

Pierre Nora defines *lieux de mémoire* [places of memory] as part of the history of nations and part of their collective conscience. It is possible to transpose this nationally defined concept into a European geography of places of collective memory – ranging from places renowned in Greek and Roman times (Salamis, for example, scene of a naval battle that secured Europe) to those associated with the recent past (such as Auschwitz) or the present (for example, the spot where Hungarian border officials opened the fence to Austria in 1989 and, in so doing, set Europe on course for reunification).

1. EXAMPLES OF *LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE*

6 August 1950 near Weiler-St Germanshof

On 6 August 1950 near Weiler-St Germanshof several hundred students from nine European countries (France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, the UK, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark) closed in on both sides of the German-French border – in those days still strictly controlled – in order to stage a peaceful ‘storming’ of the frontier post. Before the eyes of the powerless Customs officials, the barriers on both sides were sawed through, lifted from their stanchions and carried off to fuel a ‘European bonfire’. The two groups of students gathered round the fire in ‘no-man’s land’, hoisted the green and white flag of European Union and made a solemn declaration. On the eve of a sitting of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg they called for the establishment of a European Parliament, a European constitution and a European passport. While it may have been merely symbolic, their pro-European demonstration is recognised today as the first initiative for European unification involving young people.

'I took part in that demonstration with tremendous enthusiasm, and I shall always remember it as one of the great moments in my life. The sense of solidarity and community spirit that we experienced that day sowed the seed of hope that, in future, war between two Western European countries would become an impossibility.'

Loïc Philip, who, aged 18, accompanied his father André Philip, a member of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, on the demonstration in 1950.



In 2007, Aktionsgemeinschaft Bobenthal-St Germanshof e.V. and the REGIO PAMINA cross-border association erected a European memorial at the former St Germanshof border post. © Herbert Breiner

Source: REGIO PAMINA Special-purpose Association

Schengen European memorial (Luxembourg, 1985)

On 14 June 1985 the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the Schengen Accord (named after a village in Luxembourg where it borders Germany and France) on the abolition of border controls on persons crossing between any of the signatory countries. The Schengen area has been expanded several times since 1995: Austria joined it in 1997 and Den-

mark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden followed suit in 2000. In December 2007 the European Council decided to abolish border controls at the internal frontiers between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

Source: German Foreign Office



Sopron, Hungary

On 19 August 1989 some 600 holidaymakers from the GDR took advantage of a 'Paneuropa-Union' festival at Sopron on the Hungarian-Austrian border to cross the frontier into Austria as refugees, while the Hungarian border guards made deliberately obvious efforts not to notice anything untoward. The Sopron incident triggered a wave of refugee movement from the GDR, via Hungary and Austria, to West Germany – effectively tearing down the 'Iron Curtain'. Annual commemorations are held on the site of this historic event.



Austria's Foreign Minister, Alois Mock, and Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn had symbolically dismantled the first piece of barbed-wire fence between their countries at Sopron on 27 June 1989. © APA (left)

In December 1989 Czech Foreign Minister Jiří Dienstbier and his West German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, made a similar gesture on the German-Czech border near Waidhaus European Commission. © Representation in Austria / Thomas Preiss

Weiler-St Germanshof, Schengen, Waidhaus and Sopron are also good examples of cultural performance in Category 5 – 'Borderlands'.

A PHOTOGRAPH AS A LIEU DE MÉMOIRE

Berlin: the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (inaugurated in 2005). The site of this memorial has become a European place of remembrance although it is not one of the sites of the crime that is commemorated.



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The fall of the Berlin Wall

November 1989: People from East and West Germany celebrate the opening of the border in the Potsdamer Platz



© Songkran / flickr

The 'Middle of Europe'

In spatial terms, Europe is a historical and cultural construct within which a number of individual and often small places have assumed a special central or peripheral position – as the 'mid-point of Europe', its southernmost, northernmost, easternmost or westernmost tip, or its highest or lowest point. Nordkap, Cap Finistère and Cabo de Finisterre (= *finis terrae* or 'the end of the earth') are examples.

'*Mitteleuropa*' is a concept that evolved to counter the marginalising effect of the East/West divide.

As a consequence of the two world wars, the coordinates of European awareness had been deliberately shifted, highlighting the notion of an 'Eastern Europe', which during the Cold War ceased to be central and slipped from the consciousness of the rest of Europe. In the 1980s the notion of '*Mitteleuropa*' began to be discussed again by civil society in the countries concerned, reviving an older historical and conceptual geography of the continent. (Karl Schlögel, *Die Mitte liegt ostwärts*, 1986). The regions and cities whose names are associated with the idea include Ljubljana, Krakow, Budapest and Prague.

In 1989 French geographers from the *Institut Géographique National* calculated that the geographical centre of Europe lay at a point north of **Vilnius** in the village of **Purnuškės** in Lithuania, with the coordinates 54° 54' north by 25° 19' east. Their calculation was based on the following as the geographical limits of Europe:

- north: Spitzbergen at 80° 45' north by 20° 35' east;
- south: Canary Islands at 27° 38' north by 17° 58' west;
- east: Ural mountains at 67° 59' north by 66° 10' east
- west: Azores at 39° 27' north by 31° 16' west



Source: www.europosparkas.lt



© Wojsyl / Wikipedia

Gintaras Karosas: Monument of the Centre of Europe, Europos Parkas near Vilnius. Stones set into the ground indicate the directions and distances of all the European capitals from the continent's midpoint.

Since 1987 sculptor Gintaras Karosas (born in 1968) has gradually been turning a neglected forest area into a European outdoor museum (Europos Parkas). The 55-hectar sculpture park currently houses more than 90 works by artists from 27 countries.

The middle of the EU

With the second enlargement of the EU in 2007, the geographic centre of the European Union shifted – ‘to a wheat field outside of the German town Gelnhausen, in Hesse’, or to be more precise the Meerholz area of the Main-Kinzig District. ‘According to the Institut Géographique National, the exact location is at 50° 10’ 21” north, 9° 9’ 0” east.’

Previously, according to the same institute, the midpoint had been near Viroinval in Belgium (50° 0’ 33” north, 4° 39’ 59” east)

and then, following the first enlargement in 2004, at the coordinates 50° 31' 31" north, 7° 35' 50" east, near Kleinmaischeid outside Neuwied.

Source: Wikipedia

Srebrenica

In July 1995 as many as 8 000 Bosnians – mainly male and aged between 12 and 77 – were killed in the Srebrenica area. Neither UN troops nor the EU came to the victims' aid. The massacre was carried out by members of the army of Republika Srpska under the direction of Ratko Mladić, police officers and Serbian paramilitaries. The killers buried thousands of bodies in mass graves. In the following weeks the remains were disinterred and moved to various different locations in an effort to cover up what had occurred. UN courts classified the Srebrenica massacre as genocide.

In November 2004 the Government of Republika Srpska apologised for the first time for the violations of human rights that had taken place in and around Srebrenica in July 1995.



© Sam Walker

A family visiting the Srebrenica Memorial center of Potocari. Excavations recovered 307 bodies from mass graves in eastern Bosnia; they were identified as those of Muslims killed by Bosnian-Serb forces in the Srebrenica area.

Guernica

The aerial bombardment of the small Basque town of Guernica on 26 April 1937 was the first example in military history of this form of attack on a civilian population and the first breach by the German Luftwaffe of international military conventions. The number of victims is still unknown. The German Condor Legion was responsible for most of the bombing but the Italian Corpo Truppe Volontarie also took part. For these reasons the events in Guernica assumed international significance.

Guernica has a Peace Museum, attached to the *Gemika Gogoratuz* ('Remember Guernica') Peace Research Centre, which opened in 1987.

A work of art as a lieu de mémoire: Pablo Picasso was commissioned by the Spanish Republic to produce his monumental work entitled *Guernica* for the Spanish pavilion at the 1937 World Exhibition in Paris. One of the major artworks of the 20th century, it hung in the Museum of Modern Art in New York until the end of the Franco dictatorship in 1981. In accordance with Picasso's instructions, only then was it brought to Madrid.

Olympia

Olympia (in Greek *Ολυμπία*) was a shrine to Zeus in the north-western part of the Peloponnese peninsula and the venue in ancient times for the Olympic Games. Taking part in the Games and especially winning were matters of considerable cultural significance.

The first Olympic Games have been dated to 776 BC. That is when the Olympic 'calendar' began and the games were held at four-yearly intervals for more than a millennium.

In 394 Emperor Theodosius banned the Olympic Games, which Christendom condemned as a 'pagan' event. The statue of Zeus was taken from Olympia to Constantinople, the shrine was ransacked and in 426 the Temple of Zeus was burned to the ground. In the 6th century the site was damaged by earth tremors and it was subsequently covered by alluvium.



The remains of the ancient site of Palaistra, the training ground for long-jump and martial arts. © Matěj Bařha / Wikipedia

In the early 19th century, British and French archaeologists began the first excavations to uncover the shrine; the German Institute of Archaeology took over the work in 1875 and it has continued since then with some breaks.

In 1894, at the instigation of Pierre de Coubertin, it was decided at a conference at the Sorbonne in Paris, to reintroduce the Olympic Games on the model of the ancient games at Olympia. The first Olympic Games of modern times took place in Athens in 1896.



The Olympic flag was designed in 1913 and it has been in use since the 1920 games in Antwerp. The five rings on a white background symbolise the five continents and every national flag in the world uses at least one of the six colours – white, black, red, blue, green and yellow.

2. QUESTIONS ABOUT PRACTICE IN THE FIELD OF LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE

The following is intended to supply those responsible for development in cities or regions with suggestions on the strategic advancement of their activities – whether in the public or the voluntary sector – in a European perspective. It should encourage them to identify significant places and objects of testimony, not only in their own interests but also as part of a European memory. It should also facilitate the process of identifying partners who could assist in protecting lieux de mémoire and highlighting their importance at European level.

The list is not intended as a questionnaire or an inventory, but rather as a working tool for use in the local situation.

a. A stock-taking

- What places or objects of testimony in your city or region are significant in terms of European memory?
- Are they connected with the cultural diversity of your city or region, with cross-border cultural activities or with European cultural heritage?
- What traditions and historical events, achievements or conflicts are associated with these places or objects of testimony?
- Are they part of popular, everyday culture or of high culture?

b. Status in municipal and regional practice

- Are *lieux de mémoire* present in public places; is the public aware of them (as tourist attractions or as a focus of academic interest or civic commitment)?
- What is their status within the city's or region's cultural profile, in its development strategy and in its public-relations effort?
- What status can they be afforded through the city's or region's handling of European affairs?

c. Connections with Europe

- What is the relationship between these *lieux de mémoire* and other cities, countries or regions of Europe?
- Which of them are special or exceptional in Europe, and how can their special nature be publicly appreciated?
- Which of them have counterparts in other European countries, and how can the similarities be publicly appreciated?
- What is the status of these places or objects of testimony in the context of your city's or region's European relations?
- How can regionally or nationally important *lieux de mémoire* acquire a European dimension?
- Are they interpreted abroad in a way different from their local interpretation?
- Are they the subject of international debate?
- Is responsibility for these places or objects of testimony regarded as a matter of European concern?

d. Connections with the contemporary scene

- What is the relationship between these places or objects of testimony and current developments in Europe?
- How are they made accessible to young people?
- Is there controversy about their significance?
- Is this a matter of public debate, and when and where is that debate conducted?

e. Participation by civil society

- What infrastructure does the city or region possess for making these places or objects of testimony publicly accessible?
- Is information about these places or objects of testimony available in more than one language and are they the focus of public events or media reporting?
- How are members of the public, private initiatives and

cultural enterprises involved in caring for and interpreting these places or objects of testimony; are there institutional or organisational links between public and private bodies, programmes and activities?

f. Inter-municipal, transregional and international cooperation

- Are there exchanges that link places or objects of testimony in your city or region with similar places in other cities or regions of your country or elsewhere in Europe?
- Does the city or region take initiatives from other countries into account in the presentation and interpretation of its *lieux de mémoire*?

3. COMMENTS ON THE *LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE* CATEGORY

Europeans are quite familiar with regional and national *lieux de mémoire*, whose defining principle is a sense of separateness, but the first building blocks of a shared European history have yet to be laid. Although in 1989 an interaction began between regional consciousness and globalisation, creating a certain degree of movement, the slow process of redetermining what constitutes Europe has not yet reached the point where places that are meaningful to one nation, or perhaps two neighbouring nations, are also recognised as having a broader dimension within the geography of European history. This could apply, for example, to Versailles, to Rome (in relation to the Treaty of Rome) or to places formerly associated with the Iron Curtain, such as the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

Because different nations and regions have their own images of European history, such places will never have the same, unequivocal significance for everyone. The scene of a victory for one side is the scene of a defeat for the other, and most such places owe their European status to deep layers of controversial interpretation. Yet precisely because *lieux de mémoire* are significant in so

many different ways, presentation of the varying interpretations promotes understanding of other perspectives – and that is the first prerequisite for intercultural dialogue and European civic consciousness.

There are examples of competing memories and also of national loss of memory as the result of destruction, migration or expulsion, and in these cases the collective European memory can supply the link between remembrance and place: the lost culture of the shtetl in central and Eastern Europe comes to mind here.

Places of remembrance are important pillars of collective memory. However, they need not be identical with the location of the events which they commemorate. Not only the actual scenes of events, but also the symbolic places subsequently associated with them can become *lieux de mémoire* – the Berlin monument to the murdered Jews of Europe being an example.

4. AN ACADEMIC COMMENTARY ON LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE

Kirstin Schäfer

Can we envisage a collective European culture of remembrance?

More than 20 years ago the French historian and publisher Pierre Nora embarked on a project to list *lieux de mémoire* with the help of historical analysis. For him, such places were a tangible expression of forces which, at the deepest level, held France together as a nation. ‘My intention,’ he explained, ‘was to conduct an in-depth analysis of those places where the collective memory of France as a nation is most evident – where it takes shape or is embodied.’ Such places may simply be monuments, statues of great leaders, war memorials or the graves of the French kings in Saint Denis. Symbols and emblems like the tricolour and the Marseillaise fall into the same category, as do buildings – all seeds from which the French collective memory has grown, taking shape like

a net of threads both substantive and ephemeral, holding the national consciousness together in an elusive yet extremely profound sense.¹²

Following on from Nora, many cultural researchers have set out in the quest of memory. In Italy,¹³ the Netherlands,¹⁴ Denmark,¹⁵ Austria,¹⁶ Luxembourg¹⁷ and Germany,¹⁸ publications have appeared that respond to Nora's challenge of 'working out how, typically, a given country relates to the past'.

'MEMORY DIVIDES BUT
HISTORY UNITES'
PIERRE NORA

It is noticeable, however, that this research into the culture of commemoration remains largely confined within national frameworks – even when the themes or objects being commemorated are of transnational or European concern. The example of Auschwitz is particularly instructive in that regard. Over recent decades, Auschwitz has increasingly assumed a central place in collective memory, and a process of universalisation has taken place, elevating Auschwitz to the status of a 'signature' location of the 20th century. Alongside that process, however, there has been a parallel process of differentiation and highly specific appropriation, with the result that each country and culture has its own distinct conception of Auschwitz, which it has linked to oth-

12 Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols, Paris 1984-1992. See also the recent single-volume collection of extracts from Nora's work translated into German: Pierre Nora (ed.), *Erinnerungsorte Frankreichs*, Munich, 2005.

13 Mario Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria*, 3 vols, Rome and Bari 1997, 1998

14 Pim de Boer and Willem Frijhoff (eds), *Lieux de mémoire et identités nationales*, Amsterdam 1993; Nicolaas C. F. van Sas (ed.), *Waar de blanke top der duinen en andere vaderlandse herinneringen*, Amsterdam 1995

15 Ole Feldbaek (ed.), *Dansk identitetshistorie*, Copenhagen 1991, 1992

16 Moritz Csaky (ed.), *Orte des Gedächtnisses*, Vienna, 2000 ff

17 Sonja Kmec, Benoît Majerus, Michel Margue and Pit Peporte (eds), *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg, Erinnerungsorte in Luxemburg*, Luxembourg 2007

18 Etienne François and Hagen Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols, Munich 2001. A French translation of part of this work has been published under the title *Mémoires allemandes*, Paris 2007.

er associations. Auschwitz is not only a European – and indeed international – lieu de mémoire, but also a Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, German, French, Italian, Dutch and American one and its significance is structured differently in each case.¹⁹

Recent decades have very clearly seen a rapid decline in the political and economic importance of the nation state and its ability to shape its own future. Yet European nations continue to constitute communities of memory in the sense suggested by Ernest Renan in 1882 when he observed that: ‘What makes a nation is common ownership of a rich legacy of memories.’²⁰

* *

How should we approach this paradoxical finding that while, on the one hand, memory is a transnational phenomenon, on the other hand national contexts continue to shape our memories? Working from the premise that European memory is, in most cases, transmitted and perceived through a fragmenting national prism, we ought to favour an approach that highlights the structural overlap and interconnection between different cultures of memory, demonstrating how they mutually inform and determine one another and how, ultimately, they are interdependent. In a Franco-German context, Strasbourg Cathedral, Versailles and Napoleon are examples of a type of shared lieu de mémoire that has equal relevance in both the German and French cultures of memory. In a German-Polish context there are two examples: Tannenberg/Grunwald, on the one hand, and Willy Brandt’s genuflection before the monument to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising on the other.

In addition to these explicitly shared European *lieux de mémoire* there are also many places that could be characterised as implicitly shared. To my mind, they include places which, at first glance, typ-

19 See, on these issues, Monika Flacke (ed.), *Mythen der Nationen 1945. Arena der Erinnerungen*, 2 vols, Mainz 2004.

20 Ernst Renan, ‘Was ist eine Nation?’, in Michael Jeismann and Henning Ritter (eds), *Grenzfälle. Über alten und neuen Nationalismus*, Leipzig 1993, p. 308

ify the specificities of a given country and its culture of memory, but prove on closer inspection to be European places of memory too. Versailles, again, may be an example here for it is more than just a French *lieu de mémoire*. As both a palace and a community, Versailles was, from the outset, a model that was imitated, imported or criticised everywhere from Spain to Sweden and from Italy to Russia. Versailles was the site of the proclamation of the German Empire in 1871 and, most importantly, of the signing of the 1919-1920 peace treaties, which were intended to bring about a fundamentally new order in Europe and which did indeed make a lasting mark on European history.²¹ Versailles is also, of course, a place that has always attracted artists and guests from all over Europe; a place which, thanks to travel writers, is known and discussed throughout Europe; and a place that is visited every year by millions of people from all the European countries and further afield.

* *

With all due caution, I have concluded that, over recent decades, cultures of memory in every European country have been caught up in a radical process of change, with the result that, alongside the still dominant national perspective, a European dimension is becoming increasingly important in attitudes to the past. Top-down and Brussels-based initiatives have been able to play only a secondary role in this regard because the media through which they are conveyed (flags, anthems, identical passports, car stickers, and coins and notes in the euro zone, for example) are strikingly conventional and they do not seem to have contributed effectively to a stronger European identity. Much more significant, in my view, have been the diverse and mostly indirect 'bottom-up' processes of rapprochement associated with the increasingly numerous connections between European countries and cultures and with the emergence of a European society (Hartmut

21 Hagen Schulze, 'Versailles', in François and Schulze, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, pp 407-421; Gerd Krumeich (ed.), *Versailles 1919: Ziele, Wirkung, Wahrnehmung*, Essen 2001

Kaelble).²² One example of this process is the growing tendency, in curriculum planning in different European countries, to highlight the European dimension in history. After several decades when the priority was ‘sanitisation’ of textbooks to remove all trace of nationalistic prejudice, efforts are now being made to situate and interpret the history of particular countries in its European context – indeed, the first volume of a joint Franco-German history has just appeared, and it is intended as the precursor of a European history.²³

The subject of the emerging European *lieux de mémoire* is, as we have seen, a broad one. To date, it has been much less intensively researched than national cultures of memory. Most of the problems with such research stem from our dual role as both witnesses of and active participants in this changing culture of memory. Problems are also caused by the fact that, for these new European *lieux de mémoire*, outside perspectives are just as important and formative as the domestic one. Pierre Nora made the observation that ‘Memory divides but history unites,’ and added: ‘Bearing that in mind, an accurate knowledge of individual cultures of memory would seem to sharpen our view of what constitutes the culture of memory that Europeans hold in common. A genuinely shared sense of belonging can grow only from a deeper understanding of differences.’²⁴

22 Hartmut Kaelble, *Wege zur Demokratie: Von der Französischen Revolution zur Europäischen Union*, Stuttgart 2001, and *Sozialgeschichte Europas 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich 2007

23 See, for example, the collected essays of Jean-Pierre Rioux, Rémi Brague, John Horne, Guy Hermet, Robert Frank, Etienne François, Dominique Schnapper and Dominique Borne in *Vingtième Siècle*, 71 (2001), pp 55-109, under the heading ‘Apprendre l’histoire de l’Europe’ [‘Learning the history of Europe’]. See in particular Peter Geiss and Guillaume Le Quintrec (eds), *Histoire/Geschichte, l’Europe et le monde depuis 1945*, Paris 2006, and *Histoire/Geschichte, Europa und die Welt seit 1945*, Leipzig 2006.

24 Pierre Nora, ‘Nachwort’, in Etienne François and Hagen Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 3, p. 686

3. CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Cultural diversity ranks as one of Europe's major assets, and one of the most important cultural contributions that cities and regions make is to the social integration of people from different cultures. As cities and regions become ever more diverse in ethnic, religious and cultural terms, that contribution will be increasingly necessary. Many players from civil society and institutions need to be involved in harnessing the productive power of a pluralist society and combating tendencies towards compartmentalisation.

1. EXAMPLES FROM THE FIELD OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The Day of Dialogue in Rotterdam, Amsterdam other cities in the Netherlands



© Edwin van Eis

‘Days of Dialogue’ are an instrument that can be used in a relatively simple way to enable people of different ages, with diverse cultural backgrounds and ethnic identities, to talk to one another about living together in a city capable of drawing on its diversity. The Day of Dialogue increases social cohesion in a city by focusing on an ‘us-culture’ instead of a ‘them-culture’.

The Days of Dialogue model can be transferred successfully to other cities and countries. The simple but powerful concept can be replicated repeatedly and can engage many organisations and citizens.

The Dutch project has taken the form of an initiative by citizens and organisations to set up dialogue tables, at which six to eight people are invited to talk together about a central theme. Each table is facilitated by a person who has had prior training in the dialogue method. The facilitator needs intensive preparation because establishing dialogue is an unfamiliar process for most people.

A dialogue is not the same as a debate. A dialogue remains open-ended whereas a debate implies conclusions. In general, people are more used to debating or discussing a topic than they are to researching it through dialogue.

A good, carefully organised dialogue along the lines described above will take two to three hours. Participants are asked not to try to convince each other (as in a debate) but to share their personal experiences and build on one another’s ideas. Since people are invited to talk about experiences, the Day of Dialogue is accessible to everybody. High-school students can talk to politicians and religious leaders. Everybody is equal in dialogue.

In almost all the cities involved, the mayors act as patrons of the Day of Dialogue and the event is covered by the local media.

www.nederlandindialoog.nl

The Berlin Karneval der Kulturen [Carnival of Cultures]



© Daniela Incoronato

The **Carnival of Cultures** is a multicultural mass event in Berlin, which has taken place every year since 1996. It is organised by the Berlin Werkstatt der Kulturen and supported by the Senate. As residents of the metropolis with the highest proportion of migrants in Germany, the Berliners who initiated and organise the event are particularly concerned that the spectacle, staged over several days, should help to promote integration and counter people's fears of being 'swamped' by foreigners. With its traditional parades and a whole range of music and theatre events, the carnival concept works as a colourful, peaceful and tolerant demonstration of cultural diversity.

Source: Wikipedia

'Belfast visits the Berlin *Karneval der Kulturen*' (2008, Year of Intercultural Dialogue)

Three city ambassadors undertook a four-day visit to the city of Berlin to investigate its Carnival of Cultures. 'Overall, the exchange was enlightening and encouraging – parades this size and so varied do exist and there is no real reason why Belfast can't get to this stage in the coming years.'

<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/Policies/Cities/Berlin2.pdf>

Germany has similar multicultural parades in Bielefeld, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Cologne and Saarbrücken. Forerunners of the tradition in Europe were the Notting Hill Carnival in London and Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval.

Zomercarnaval, Rotterdam

As the practice of celebrating carnival spread from its origins in Europe almost right around the globe, it developed a chain of individual identities and forms. Even within Europe, the German and Dutch forms of carnival are very different from that of the Nice Carnival in France. In each country the carnival phenome-

non has taken on a character of its own, especially in the Caribbean area. The most famous Caribbean-style carnival is in Rio, of course, but Trinidad and Tenerife have their own versions too, with artistically distinctive forms of expression.

Globalisation has resulted in the Caribbean translation of this originally Western cultural expression appearing in a new guise. A noted example is the Mardi Gras celebration in New Orleans but the new Caribbean style has also made its way back to Europe, the best examples being Notting Hill Carnival and the Rotterdam Zomercarnaval [Summer Carnival]. Initially an Antillean and Aruban occasion, Summer Carnival has grown over the years into an event with which many cultures can identify. Nowadays Surinam, Brazil, Cape Verde and Bolivia are among the visible influences. People have come together, giving birth to a new national tradition. Summer carnival has developed its own content and its own artistic profile as the fusion of influences from diverse points of the compass has resulted in the creation of an event with a character all of its own.

Summertime carnival parades represent a break with the historical and ritualistic origin of the carnevale (abstention from meat eating), which was held to mark the start of a 14-day pre-Easter period of fasting, and was thus associated with a cold time of year. In some of its historical forms (as in Venice, Basel, Cologne, Rottweil and Nice) carnival harks back to pre-Christian practices and thus documents a huge tradition of cultural diversity in Europe.

Two examples from Berlin-Neukölln

Neukölln is a multi-ethnic district of Berlin with a population of more than 300 000 representing 160 nationalities. The district takes its cultural responsibilities seriously as part of a major Eu-

ropean city and for a number of years has promoted innovative model projects that help to integrate people from different cultural backgrounds, contribute to sustainable urban development and promote civic participation.

1. Neukölln Stadtteilmütter ['City-district Mums']



Integration at family level is a crucial factor in social integration. The project entitled '*Stadtteilmütter* [City-district Mums] in *Neukölln*' – which has earned acclaim far beyond Berlin – is a joint initiative by the Neukölln District Senate Department of Urban Development, the local Ecclesiastical Social Welfare Organisation and Neukölln Job Centre. Since 2006 it has trained 150 unemployed women of Turkish or Arab origin to work as 'City-district Mums'.

Their job is to pay regular visits to migrant families to support both parents and children: for example, by helping to organise German language lessons, encouraging them to enrol in local schools or colleges, advising on childcare and health issues and generally acting as a point of contact and source of guidance. When they start work, 'City-district Mums' are issued with a distinctive red shawl.

The Rütli Wear school project



Pupils at Rütli High-school, which hit the headlines in 2006 following an escalation of conflict and violence, now produce designs and logos for their own textile brand, and print and sell the garments to raise money for the school. A company has been set up within the school, and its products have proved hugely popular, selling well all over Germany.

The project strengthens the pupils' sense of identification with their school and its public image as well as teaching them skills in the fields of design and materials handling, computing and marketing and preparing them for vocational training.

RÜTLI

FOUR EXAMPLES FROM THE INTERCULTURAL CITIES PROJECT, JOINTLY RUN BY THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE EUROPE- AN COMMISSION

(for more details, see www.coe.int/interculturalcities)

1. Neuchâtel – Intercultural governance

- Integration in the employment sphere
- Integration in the housing sphere
- Civic Integration



Foreign residents of Neuchâtel have the right to vote and stand for local elections. These rights have been granted on the basis of referendums held in the Canton.

The centrepiece of the intercultural policy of Neuchâtel is the “Service du délégué aux étrangers” which acts as a mediator between cantonal authorities and bodies and the migrant communities. The “Service du délégué aux étrangers” works in close co-operation with the Working Party for the Integration of Foreigners (CTIE), a consultative committee of the Conseil d’Etat, whose remit is to promote the integration of foreigners into Neuchâtel society. Members of the Working Party represent the local and cantonal administrative authorities, the social services, employers and trade unions, the foreign communities, specialised institutions and academic circles. Example: the Working Party discussed and negotiated a revision of the law on burial places as a response to a request by the Muslim communities of Neuchâtel. The amended law takes better account of the contemporary reality of religious pluralism, but without abandoning the secularism principle governing Neuchâtel’s cemeteries.

2. Subotica, Serbia

Cultural policy examples:

- Days of the City: Annually held two week long cultural programmes marking the 1st of September – Day of the City of Subotica – involving artists of all ethnic background originally from Subotica but currently living all over the world.
- The National Theatre in Subotica – the concept of reconstruction and renovation of more than a century old ar-

chitectural and cultural heritage providing a space for innovative approaches in cherishing linguistic identities and diversity blending

Reggio Emilia, Italy

Intercultural mediation in hospitals, concerning especially undocumented migrants. The aim is to promote health and health literacy for migrants and minority groups based on the 2002-2005 EU Project Migrant Friendly Hospitals.

Library of Neukölln - Helene-Nathan-Library Project – “Treasure of World Cultures.”

Twelve different communities in Neukölln were asked to name the most beloved children’s books of their home country. The actual choosing process demonstrated diverse manners of decision making and different ways of dealing with books. In the Arab community, for instance, only men decided; they regarded the decisions as too important to be made by women. In the Russian community, the classic authors like Pushkin and Tolstoy were the main choices. The people from Togo wanted to have their school-books in the treasure chest, because they had no other books.

A special transparent “Treasure Chest” in a corner of the library was constructed and inaugurated in a ceremony with all the partners. All books are now accessible in the library and the offer is accepted by children and parents with their children sitting in the corner and reading, proud to find books in their mother tongue.

<http://www.neukoelln-plus.de/index.php?id=566>

K@2 Centre – Karosta, Liepaja, Latvia

Cultural activities in former Soviet military installations

Karosta (War Port) is a neighborhood in the north of Liepāja in western Latvia by the Baltic sea. Karosta was constructed in 1890-1906 as a naval base for the Russian Tsar Alexander III, and later served as a base for the Soviet Baltic Navy. Now it is a very popular place for tourists and artists, since there are unique sights and interesting places, such as the scenic seascapes with partially blasted fortresses on the Baltic shore. The K@2 Artists’ center was established in 2000 and acts as a frame for many cultural ac-

tivities by local and foreign artists who come to Karosta to make their projects and get inspiration from the unique feeling that only Karosta has - nature, buildings, ruins, people. Karosta grapples with criminal activity, unemployment, and other social problems



Pictures from LabiChampi festival in June 2007 - a collaboration between K@2 and the architect & artist group EXYZT from Paris

K@2

K@2 is an arts and culture NGO founded in 2000 in Karosta, a former closed city and soviet army base which has been left devastated by migration, destruction of buildings and unemployment. K@2 designs culture and education programs and projects mainly for adolescents and young people in the Karosta region, runs a gallery of arts, mediatheque, and hostel and intends to develop a strong long term regional and international culture infrastructure.

Objective: To create an alternative solution for improving the current situation in Karosta district by means of forming a body for culture, education, social and ethnic integration and cooperation. To promote and develop the Centre into an institution that has an essential role in information and cultural exchanges on local, national and international levels. All the aforementioned tasks will contribute and foster to the development of Karosta as a unity of GloCal Future.

Responsibilities: Organization of events that promote culture, education, integration and accessibility of information. Integration of ethnic minorities and their cultures into Latvian environment.

“LabiChampi” – a festival for living and growing culture in Liepajas Karosta

Located in intersection of military architectonics, urban design and organic nature, the building of prospective Karosta’s Art Centre was the main venue for “LabiChampi” (Good mushrooms) festival events of winter, spring, summer of 2007. In close collaboration co-produced by EXYZT (Paris/France) and K@2 (Karosta/Latvia) united artists collective prepared an art and architectonic

installation and exhibition “Mushroof” including: Mushboom – visual, sound and pyrotechnics performance by EXYZT artists group as well as public presentation of the workshops organised by EXYZT, Passerelle V (School of Architecture Paris La Villette) and Eleonore Helio (Strasbourg Art school).

“Eurowatching”

“To lick or to bite – there is no other way” once said the great Russian artist Oleg Kulik when asked about his work, “America bites me, I bite America” where he presented himself as a dog sitting in a cage. In 2003 Latvia voted for entering the European Union and in Karosta, a former soviet military base, a new phenomenon of tourism and traffic started to appear. “Your voice in Europe”, “Sightseeing”, “Communication skills” and many others are short stories from the series of “Eurowatching” (in analogy with bird-watching) that was started out by artist Kristine Briede and Karosta kids’ team wanting to document this new phenomenon. The “Eurowatchers” from Karosta paraphrased Kulik by “licking, licking and biting a little”...

2. QUESTIONS ABOUT PRACTICE IN THE FIELD OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The following is intended to supply those responsible for development in cities or regions with suggestions on the strategic advancement of their activities – whether in the public or the voluntary sector – in a European perspective. It should encourage them to identify potential in relation to cultural diversity in their city or region and to use it in a sustainable way as part of a policy of cultural diversity management. It should also assist in the process of identifying partners for the relevant activities, whether locally, at national level or further afield.

The list is not intended as a questionnaire or an inventory, but rather as a working tool for use in the local situation.

a. A stock-taking

- How wide is the spectrum of cultural diversity in your city or region and what are its implications for municipal or regional administrative practice and for society generally?
- What types of cultural diversity are present – religious, ethnic, national, social, inter-generational or diversity associated with artistic sub-cultures?
- Where do the roots of this diversity lie in a European historical context?
- Does your city or region possess exemplary projects of European relevance that promote or build on this cultural diversity and help to overcome forms of conflict that may be associated with it?
- What publicly or privately owned infrastructure does the city or region possess for protecting and utilising cultural diversity and resolving cultural conflict?
- Is cultural diversity an aspect of your city's or region's particular European image; has it left a permanent legacy in terms of places or lasting evidence of European memory; is it a basis for – or the result of – cross-border exchange; is it a component of your city's or region's European cultural heritage?

b. Status in municipal or regional practice

- How are municipal or regional policy departments (for economic or social affairs, education, higher education and research, urban or regional development and European affairs) involved in utilising cultural diversity and dealing with cultural conflicts, and on what specific themes does their involvement focus?
- Is cultural diversity threatened by policies of the city or region?
- How does your city or region use cultural differences and cultural dialogue for specific purposes of social and economic development in relation to its position within Europe?
- What proportion of the public budget does your city or

region invest in promoting and utilising cultural diversity, encouraging intercultural dialogue and dealing with cultural conflicts?

- How can the potential of cultural diversity be more easily tapped?
- How does your city or region encourage all its different population groups to participate in public life and how could access to participation be generally improved?
- Does the city or region have public or private contacts with the countries of origin of its cultural minorities?
- Does your city or region make practical use of works produced by international or European institutions on cultural diversity at municipal or regional level (for example the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity, the 'Intercultural Cities' joint programme by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, or the European Commission's Cohesion Report²⁵)?
- How is cultural diversity present in public places; is public space available as a cultural facility for use by culturally diverse groups?
- What status does your city or region afford to its cultural diversity in its public-relations efforts?
- Are the cultural achievements of minorities and migrants in your city or region seen in a European context and publicly appreciated?

c. Connections with Europe

- Does your city or region use intercultural dialogue to promote a sense of European citizenship?
- Does it relate its cultural differences to those of other European cities and regions?

25 United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) Agenda 21 for Culture, September 2006; Intercultural cities: governance and policies for diverse communities - Joint action of the Council of Europe and the European Commission (2008 ff); UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001)

- What cultural differences in your city or region are exceptional in Europe, and is their special nature used as part of the process of positioning the city or region?
- Which cultural differences are mirrored in other regions of Europe, and what use is made of these similarities at European level?

d. Connections with the contemporary scene

- What is the relationship between cultural differences in your city or region and current cultural developments in Europe?
- How are members of different cultures involved in the ongoing development of your city or region?
- Does the city or region support and utilise young people's creativity, cultural innovation, new forms of production or European cultural networks for purposes of intercultural dialogue?

e. Participation by civil society

- How are members of the public, private initiatives and cultural enterprises involved in intercultural dialogue at local and regional level; are there institutional or organisational links among relevant public and private facilities, programmes and activities?
- Are cultural diversity and cultural conflict a focus of public discussion, tourist activities, academic research or voluntary commitment by citizens?
- Does your city or region organise or promote intercultural dialogue in civil society in relation to its position in Europe?
- Does the city or region have an up-to-date overview of its cultural potential, its (material, non-material, institutional and personal) resources for intercultural dialogue and the scope for European networking in that regard?
- Who are the city's or region's civil-society partners for intercultural dialogue (individuals, institutions, groups or initiatives)?

f. Inter-municipal, transregional and international cooperation

- How does your city or region utilise or promote the involvement of cultural subgroups in national, international, European or global networks?
- In relation to its use of cultural diversity and involvement in intercultural dialogue and efforts to resolve cultural conflict, does your city or region engage in exchanges of experience with other cities or regions in your country, in other European countries or elsewhere in the world, is the experience of other cities or regions taken on board and is your own city's or region's experience passed on?

3. COMMENTS ON THE CULTURAL DIVERSITY CATEGORY

As part of the process of EU enlargement and as a result of increased migration, cultural diversity is a growing phenomenon. Maintaining intercultural dialogue and exchange – within Europe and beyond – is part of the European remit of cities and regions. By enabling their citizens to experience a sense of belonging and self-awareness, they make themselves accessible to outsiders, and to the extent that immigrants are involved in that process, they become citizens of Europe.

CITIES AND REGIONS
TRANSFORM 'OUTSIDERS'
INTO CITIZENS OF EUROPE.

Cultural confrontation as a product of migration, intergenerational conflict or other historical developments is one of Europe's distinguishing characteristics. Conflicts between people of different religions or different ethnic origins, expressed in forms ranging from the struggle for minority rights to repression, persecution, exodus and destruction, are part and parcel of European history. On the other hand, there is also a tradition of freedom and tolerance, of integrating foreigners and of dialogue between religions, and there is a tradition, too, of religious freedom and cosmopolitan cities, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. The purpose of dialogue is to integrate 'outsiders' into the European self-image.

A key characteristic of Europe by comparison with the rest of the world is its capacity to generate multiple identities and hybrid

cultures. Within cities and regions, cultural identity becomes a tangible phenomenon with its positive and its negative aspects. It is here that cultural diversity develops – or fails to develop – its potential as a driver for sustainable development and social cohesion. As a rule, immigrants do not invest their hope in the particular city or region to which they link their fate, but rather in Europe. In the eyes of immigrants, their host cities or regions represent Europe as a whole.

Migration is not simply a transient phenomenon: as a continuous process it is also a socio-cultural field of experimentation. For example, down the centuries it has promoted the cultural and economic development of cities and regions along the old European trade routes.

Europe's cities and regions need broad, up-to-date concepts of integration that will enable them to greet incoming cultures on an equal footing and treat them with respect. In return, they will expect incomers to recognise the European values that are embodied in a free and open society.

Cities and regions could derive a certain cohesive force from the phenomenon of migration if they exploited the juxtaposition of different cultures as one of Europe's distinctive strengths and recognised the potential therein for overcoming difficult situations.

Navid Kermani: *'Be more enthusiastic about being European!'*

'If need be, you could exist without Europe – as Germans, Spaniards, Italians etc. – and I think it is that relatively comfortable starting position that is to blame for the lack of enthusiasm about European integration on the part of both European politicians and European citizens.'

'(...) For me, it is different. For me, Europe is both a necessity and a promise. I cannot live without Europe. (...)

'You do not become German. As a migrant you remain Iranian, Turkish or Arab, right through two or maybe three generations. But you can become European. (...) I need this Europe because where else could I go? (...) I truly do wonder where we could go – where my children could grow up – if not in a Europe that fulfils its promise as a place in which people from different backgrounds, religions or races can live on an equal footing on the basis of a secular constitution. (...)

'So, be more enthusiastic about being European!'

Navid Kermani, German-Iranian author, speaking at the conference in Berlin in November 2004 on the theme 'A Soul for Europe'

4. AN ACADEMIC COMMENTARY ON 'CULTURAL DIVERSITY'

Franco Bianchini

1. Introduction

Intercultural urban strategies go beyond equal opportunities and respect for existing cultural differences, to the pluralist transformation of public space, civic culture and institutions. They do not recognise cultural boundaries as fixed but as in a state of flux and remaking. An intercultural approach aims to facilitate dialogue, exchange and reciprocal understanding between people of different cultural backgrounds. City authorities need to develop policies which prioritise funding for projects where different cultures intersect, 'contaminate' each other and hybridise. This contrasts with the multiculturalism model, where funding is directed within the well-defined boundaries of recognised cultural communities. In other words, city governments should promote cross-fertilisation across all cultural boundaries, between 'majority' and 'minorities', 'dominant' and 'sub' cultures, localities, classes, faiths, disciplines and genres, as the source of cultural, social, political and economic innovation.

2. Two examples of possible applications of an intercultural approach

a. Urban planning and design

Intercultural cities do not spontaneously emerge but require imaginative and carefully balanced planning. Cities can create 'soft boundaries' where people go outside their normal segregated experience and share a common space, within which social and cultural interaction and overlap takes place. In order to achieve this, it is important to have, at the centre of urban planning and design strategies, the notion of the city as a network of public spaces and as a system of interconnected parts. In some cases, market-driven urban strategies have led to a reorientation of planning towards the design of customised, separate micro-environments with virtually no communication between them and little attention to the 'spaces in between.' One example of good practice is the creation by Barcelona City Council, since the second half of the 1980s, of many new public squares, pedestrian routes, and neighbourhood parks, small open air theatres, punctuated with artworks including mosaics, sculptures and fountains. The strategy aimed to create both new focal points for social interaction in neighbourhoods and linkages through public space between the peripheral areas, the city centre and the seafront.

However, the new production of the built environment tends to be dominated by corporate international styles, with little consideration of cultural diversity and of how to draw on the skills and creativity of local citizens. The urban planning system appears to be too weak, and city authorities lacking in political will or commitment to an intercultural strategy, to negotiate with developers to produce a greater diversity of styles, uses, sources and contractors.

There certainly are opportunities to introduce intercultural elements in the architecture and design of new housing, office, leisure and retail developments. An intercultural style could add to the distinctiveness of these new developments, in addition to reflecting the increasingly multi-ethnic social composition of European cities.

b. Museums and public art: reshaping collective memory, civic symbols and celebrations to include the 'other'

Collective memory expresses attachment to the city and affection for it, but memory is selectively shaped by personal and group experience, as well as scholarly, media and popular accounts. Generally the claims of indigenous memory triumph over those of outsiders and newcomers, especially for countries with a colonial past. The key to the solution to the problem lies in reconnecting the presence of outsiders and newcomers to the imperial/colonial history of the city and its industrial development that drew the labour force to it from previous colonial and underdeveloped parts of the world. Then the history of their coming, their own history of subordination, impoverishment or exile becomes part of the history of the city. The public symbols need to reflect on this double history. The symbolic statuary of the city centre can be challenged not only through pluralistic additions, but by juxtaposing symbols, through montage and parody, performance art and installations which interact with and comment on the lop-sided history. Likewise museums' collections can be contextualised to account for how their 'treasures' were acquired – primarily through exploration or war and appropriation.

The Rich Mix Cultural Foundation in the East End of London, for example, has been explicitly set up to create intercultural understanding and inclusiveness, by celebrating and promoting London's cosmopolitan diversity and heritage. Strategically located in the Spitalfields district, the gateway for immigrants to the city, it has converted an old disused industrial building into a multimedia, multi-purpose centre, combining traditional and futurist elements in its architecture and form with an internet café, digital museum and information centre, as well as food, crafts and design halls, cultural industries workspaces, performance space, audio-visual theatre and cinema, musical rehearsal rooms and recording studios and gallery with an educational resources room (see www.richmix.org.uk).

Public art symbolises who the citizens of a city are, what events have made them, where they come from, which spaces they can inhabit, and where they can go. There are very few European examples offering an intercultural understanding of the identity of citizens, where the history embodied in its images is diverse. However, a fascinating project in Milan, called Wide City, set up by contemporary artist Luca Vitone, produced an urban cultural map that linked up over 500 migrant cultural centres, foreign cultural organisations, cultural associations and projects, ethnic boutiques, delicatessens, book and record shops, take-aways and restaurants, community centres and holy places. This alternative itinerary of Milan revolved around a central exhibition, linked to weekly open days, with free buses taking people between the different cultural centres where visitors could get a taste of the life of different communities, their food, commercial activity, artwork, thus widening their cultural experience of the city and opening up access to places they would not normally go to.

4. CONVERSION AND URBAN RENEWAL

Conversion and urban renewal have been part of Europe's history since the earliest times. However, today's dramatic structural changes have spawned conversion projects on a new scale in terms of their numbers, quality and scope.

Right across Europe, technical advances coupled with social, political and economic developments are making conventional industries obsolete and leaving industrial and commercial areas derelict. Military installations, administrative buildings, port areas and housing complexes, transport facilities, schools and other types of urban infrastructure are either becoming redundant or are being used in radically different ways. Population ageing and urbanisation are leading to the decline of villages and small towns. As a result, both in towns and cities and in the countryside, social problems such as long-term unemployment, rising crime and the loss of work-based identity are increasingly widespread. Disused sites in well-developed – often inner-city – locations are crying out for new uses. When buildings lose their original use they face a risk of demolition and, apart from collective cultural heritage, aspects of cultural identity are placed in jeopardy. Conversion, redevelopment and new uses will consolidate new identities.

1. EXAMPLES OF CONVERSION AND URBAN RENEWAL

Since May 2008 the European Capital of Culture RUHR.2010 has been pursuing a new strategy for urban regulation and redevelopment in the Ruhr region, which was once Europe's industrial heartland. Guidance in the development of cultural quarters is provided not by a model but by a process²⁶. To this end roundtables have been set up in every municipality in the Ruhr metropolis in which representatives of culture and the cultural industry engage in an open-ended dialogue with the municipal authorities with a view to transforming brownfield sites into revitalised residential areas in the course of a social process.

²⁶ "Report on Urban Development 2008. Politics for Inner Cities", Ministry for Building and Transport of North Rhine-Westphalia



(top) Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum has altered the cultural topography of Europe. © MykReeve / Wikipedia

(bottom left) Oslo: Former grain silos have been converted into student accommodation. HRTB AS Arkitekter

(bottom right) Essen: The Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex. The former boiler house in the Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex is currently in use again as the North Rhine/ Westphalia Design Centre. Redevelopment: Norman Foster. © Henning Pietsch 2006

Stanica Žilina Záríečie, Slovakia

A working railway station has been redeveloped to take on a parallel function as a cultural centre run by the NGO Truc sphérique.



ADAPTION FOR NON-CULTURAL
PURPOSES ALSO CONSTITUTES
A CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION.

The building of Stanica Žilina Záríečie serves two purposes. It is both a railway station and a cultural centre. It houses a gallery, a workshop space, an internet café, a waiting-room, and a multifunctional presentation venue for theatre, dance, concerts, discussions and projections. Stanica Cultural Centre is the main activity of NGO Truc sphérique and is already, in its third year running, coming closer and closer to fulfilling its mission of being a regional beacon for international culture.

Mission of the organisation

Truc sphérique, NGO, is an open platform linking contemporary arts with social development. We are committed to the contemporary arts and culture that are more than an extension or leisure time activity – they are the means of creativity development, personal growth and discovering new forms of communication. We bring the culture from the edge to the centre of interest and, for us, it is more determining for creating new visions than any political or economical reasons are.



Members of the team

10 internal, other stable external operators from Slovakia and abroad create Truc spherique. Truc spherique also includes tens of volunteers from the region during the summer, also from around Europe. Every year, we host 3 European volunteers that help us to run the work and take part in the organisation's life. In 2003-2004, more than 300 young people participated in the reconstruction of Stanica.

The project Railway Station (Stanica) started with the reconstruction and simultaneous use of the space in the still operating railway station Zilina-Zariecie (free of charge contribution by The Railways of Slovak Republic). Now, in the third year of operation, we are utilizing the half-reconstructed spaces of the station as a display for visual arts, studio for ateliers and workshops, café and waiting-room, info-center and reading-room, and a multifunctional presentation venue for theatre, dance, concerts, discussions and projections. Stanica cultural center is the main activity of NGO Truc sphérique and the conclusion of a certain period of development and fulfilment of our mission.

The project of Stanica is freely linked to an international spectrum of cultural institutions created upon the platform of civic initiatives of young people and artists that have vitalized vacant factory halls, industrial objects, stations and commercial centers

(e.g. the centers associated with Trans Europe Halles, a network that Stanica is also a member of – more on www.teh.net). Our project, however, transcends the other art factories in an original way. It is expected to preserve the previous purpose of the station— a waiting room and ticket sale venue for the local railway line from Zilina to Rajec.

The result is a new centre of progressive cultural activities connecting elements of public space – operating railway station – and elements of a multimedial cultural centre with creative, educational, social and presentation activities based on contemporary arts in the aim of “art for social change”. The activities and operation of our NGO could be briefly characterized by the following key words: creativity development, connecting people, quality, social change, cultural diversity, international/local, poetic/pragmatic, friendly atmosphere.

The project set up an innovative model and example for the creation of new cultural centers and eventually for the transformation those already in existence in Slovakia and neighbouring countries. This model is based on legal and financial independence with a system of diverse-source financing, including self-financing and volunteers, and excluding commercial activities. The Open Cultural Space Stanica includes discussions and interventions regarding the development of new models in cultural policy in Slovakia.

Inside the half-reconstructed Stanica you can find and use:

- display of visual arts
- ateliers and workshops
- infocafé and waiting-room
- multifunctional presentation venue for theatre, dance, concerts, discussions and projections
- office

www.stanica.sk/main

A ‘workshop for new landscapes’

A forward-looking programme and a re-imaging campaign for the former mining area of Lausitz (Brandenburg)

The Prince Pückler Land *Internationale Bauausstellung* (IBA)

The Emscher Park International Building Exhibition [*Internationale Bauausstellung* or IBA], developed between 1989 and 1999, was the first example of a project to restructure an entire area – creating the Emscher Country Park in the Ruhr region. The same approach has now been adopted by the Prince Pückler Land IBA in southern Brandenburg with a project focusing on landscape development over the years 2000-2010. It constitutes a forward-looking programme for this former mining area.

What was once the energy-generation centre of the GDR has now become Europe’s largest landscaping site. Not only will land destroyed by opencast mining be brought back into cultivation, but the landscape itself will record the story of its development. Part of the transformation process will entail redefining industrial buildings, mining installations, workers’ housing and huge areas of industrial land. With 25 exemplary projects and a number of EU-supported initiatives, the IBA is providing economic, creative and environmental input as the driving force behind the necessary restructuring.

The ‘workshop for new landscapes’ comprises 25 separate projects and three EU initiatives for structural change. Each of the 25 projects is different in character – some focus on industrial culture and landscape design, others are concerned with nature and new lake-scapes and there are also cross-border projects such as that in Guben-Gubin and the Lausitz ‘ENERGIE’ industrial heritage trail.



The Lauchhammer Bio Towers. © Steffen Rasche

Industrial mammoths and historical landmarks

Rather than eliminating all traces of the mining industry, the IBA is retaining a number of 'landmarks' as reminders of the industrial past, and new purposes are being found for some of these. The former F60 overburden conveyor gantry in Lichterfeld, for example, is being converted into a visitor facility and attracts some 70 000 people annually.

The Bio Towers in Lauchhammer are a reminder of a massive industrial installation in which, in the 1950s, lignite was turned into coke for use in blast furnaces. The waste water produced in the coking process was purified in the towers.

Old pits transformed into a new 'water world'

A number of 'old holes', as miners called the exhausted opencast pits, have been flooded to create new lakes, ten of them linked by canals, and a special feature of the Lausitz lake landscape is its floating architecture. A holiday centre and a diving school have already been created on the lakes and further projects are at the planning stage, including a floating holiday village, a 1000-metre long floating walkway and an activity centre on the water.

www.iba-see.de

Other examples of conversion and urban redevelopment

Turin, Manchester, Elblausitz, Spreelausitz

Lille/Roubaix/Tourcoing

Lyon

Southern Belgium/Wallonia

Copenhagen's warehouse quarter

Paris: the 12th and 13th arrondissements, La Villette and the Citroën Parc

Paris: the Quartier des Moulins

Venice: Università IUAV

Emscher Country Park, Ruhr region

Hamburg's Speicherstadt [Warehouse Town] and harbour area

London Docklands

Berlin: Spandau Wasserstadt [Water City]

Ludwigshafen

Conversion of watercourses, bodies of water and waterside areas

Barcelona

Riviera

Stockholm and Copenhagen harbours

London Docklands

Utilising the legacy of the communist era

Tallinn

Riga

2. QUESTIONS ABOUT PRACTICE IN THE FIELD OF CONVERSION AND URBAN RENEWAL

The following is intended to supply those responsible for development in cities or regions with suggestions on the strategic advancement of their activities – whether in the public or the voluntary sector – in a European perspective. It should encourage them to identify cultural potential in the city or region for the conversion of disused industrial, military or transport facilities, and to secure that potential in a sustainable way. It should also assist in the process of identifying partners for the relevant activities,

whether locally, at national level or further afield.

The list is not intended as a questionnaire or an inventory, but rather as a working tool for use in the local situation.

a. A stock-taking

- Through what projects is your city or region involved in the Europe-wide process of conversion and urban renewal and what specific contribution is it making to that process?
- What historical developments on a European scale triggered these conversion and urban renewal projects?
- What is the impact of structural change on the social, economic and cultural development of your city or region with regard to its position in Europe?
- What has been the significance of former uses of facilities in your city or region, how radical is the transformation, and what sustainable impetus will the city or region derive from the conversion or urban renewal projects?
- Who are the (public and private) promoters of conversion or urban renewal projects?
- Have the project aims been achieved?
- To what extent are cultural uses part of the transformation?
- Have the conversion or urban renewal projects protected existing lieux de mémoire, or created new ones, and are these part of a European cultural heritage?
- Do the conversion or urban renewal projects affect the city's or region's cultural diversity?

b. Status in municipal and regional practice

- What is the status of conversion and urban renewal in the development strategy for culturally positioning your city or region within Europe?
- Are the utilisation and reinforcement of cultural potential aspects of your city's or region's development strategy in its approach to conversion and urban renewal?
- What Europe-orientated cultural strategies does your city

or region pursue through its conversion and urban renewal projects? For example, does it focus on historical connections, a 'return to nature' approach, modernisation, provision of new cultural facilities, effective use of public space or quality in terms of urban planning and architecture?

- How are the administrative departments responsible for conversion and urban redevelopment (e.g. departments of economic, social and environmental affairs, education, higher education and research, finance, municipal and regional development and European affairs) involved in the strategy for cultural projects?

- Does your city or region make use of EU support programmes for conversion and urban renewal (e.g. EFRE, INTERREG and URBAN) and does it include cultural components in the projects concerned?

- Do conversion or urban redevelopment projects threaten aspects of your cultural heritage, cultural structures associated with a minority or places of commemoration?

c. Connections with Europe

- What conversion or redevelopment projects in your city or region are exceptional in Europe and how can their special nature be appreciated?

- Which of them have counterparts in other European countries, and how can these European similarities be publicly appreciated?

- Does your city or region look to other projects in Europe as examples, and do conversion or urban renewal projects in your city or region serve as models for other cities and regions in Europe?

- Is the transferability of projects based on methodological, cultural, technical or economic aspects of their conception or on similarities in the circumstances from which they start?

- Do European-level exchanges of experience take place?

d. Connections with the contemporary scene

- Has the process of conversion and urban renewal been completed or are other spaces awaiting transformation?
- Does the city or region support and utilise the activities of creative young people, cultural innovation and new forms of cultural production in relation to conversion and urban renewal projects?
- How does the city or region carry its traditions in terms of architecture, urban development and utilisation of space into the present and the future?

e. Participation by civil society

- How is civil society involved in the processes of conversion and urban renewal?
- Who are the representatives of civil society involved in conversion and urban renewal processes and in discussions about them?
- Does civil society play a part in the process of structural transformation both in terms of identity and at an economic level?
- Does the city or region organise or encourage public debate about the nature and aims of conversion and urban renewal?
- What form does media involvement take?
- How does the city or region organise communication between planners, political decision-makers, investors and the public?

f. Inter-municipal, transregional and international cooperation

- Are the projects and those involved in them connected to national, international, European or global networks?

3. COMMENTS ON THE CONVERSION AND URBAN RENEWAL CATEGORY

The process of converting disused installations and redeveloping urban areas in response to structural change is going on everywhere in Europe. That is why it is important that cities and regions should share their experience and become involved in strategies for re-using abandoned structures as part of the process of urban renewal, thereby creating new economic relationships and cultural identities: 're-assembling the old to create the new', as Ernst Bloch has described it.

We therefore need to understand conversion and urban renewal as a functional process of transformation that is meaningful on a European scale. The process of transforming factories or other buildings that have been abandoned, whether for technical, economic, political or social reasons, is culturally valuable not only in those cases where the building's original function is replaced by a cultural function. Adaptation for non-cultural purposes, such as housing, sport or leisure provision, services or commercial use, also constitutes a cultural contribution. Moreover, it is fair to say that conversion makes manifest a capacity associated with European culture generally: the capacity for transformation and assimilation.

ADAPTION FOR NON-CULTURAL PURPOSES ALSO CONSTITUTES A CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION.

Turning old buildings, former military or industrial installations or areas with other infrastructural uses into venues for culture, while it may constitute conversion, does not necessarily make any contribution of European significance.

Conversion and urban renewal can not only reinforce a city's or region's cultural profile: they can also harm it. They may, for example, destroy important aspects of cultural heritage of European relevance or places of commemoration, and they may break social ties, drive out cultural minorities, do away with public spaces or jeopardise the economic and spatial prerequisites for innovative cultural output.

4. AN ACADEMIC COMMENTARY ON CONVERSION AND URBAN RENEWAL

Harald A. Mieg²⁷ and Anja Mieg-Debik²⁸

Conversion: from blueprints to a reading of towns and cities

The subject of conversion is discussed here in relation to culture, identity and responsibility, but we need to define the concept closely before we can apply it in this sort of cross-disciplinary context. The term ‘culture’ can be understood in at least two senses: as something that is formed or learned (to be found in theatres, museums, etc.) and also as the rules or institutions of a society (i.e. political culture, bourgeois culture, etc.). The fact that many core social concepts are necessarily open to interpretation is one of the things that nourishes social discourse. We intend, however, to confine this academic commentary to a number of ideas around the question: what is specifically ‘European’ about conversion processes in Europe?

Preface

Urban development nowadays is generally understood to mean transformation of an existing town or city. Conversion is becoming a central concept for development strategies in both growth areas and areas in decline. Large tracts of land in European towns and cities formerly occupied by factories, port or rail installations or military facilities, often in central locations, cry out for restructuring and a new purpose. Yet converting and rebuilding is not as easy in Europe as it is in the USA or in Asia. Obstacles present themselves in the shape of building regulations, rules on the protection of historic monuments and the requirement of consultation with local democratic institutions. As a result there is a certain historical continuity in Europe, which in itself sustains a sense of identity.

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²⁸ Architect, Berlin and Paris

Conversion implies both demolition and rebuilding, as well as re-use and adaptation of existing structures. The term ‘urban renewal’ has come into use to describe this process on a large scale, affecting numerous inner-city sites. Major transformation projects today tend to be characterised by a pragmatic approach to existing buildings, a broad mix of uses and strategically promoted interim uses, as for example in Barcelona, Berlin and Oslo. Yet the cycles of use of buildings and urban infrastructure are becoming ever shorter and, at the same time, the modern conurbation is performing an increasingly complex range of functions. As a result, there is often a simple choice between construction of an unremarkable multi-purpose building and re-use of an existing one. An existing building not only offers the plus of a mature structure that can be adapted while maintaining a decorative exterior, but also brings its individual history and immutable personality to the eventual restructured and re-programmed entity. Unlike current practice in China, for example, the emphasis in Europe is thus shifting from the planning of urban development to its interpretation and continuation.

a. Historical depth as a distinct dimension

In Europe, conversions are a reflection of historical depth, they inevitably express and contribute to history: to changes in the established order and the introduction of new orders. Such conversions are triggered by revolutions or power shifts: examples include the transition from a feudal to a bourgeois society in the 19th century and the de-industrialisation of the late 20th century. In the former case, new uses needed to be found for castles and great houses; in the latter, disused industrial sites were the focus of attention. In the 19th century such sites had tended to be located just beyond the perimeters of towns or cities – the Sulzer-Escher-Wyss industrial area close to Zurich’s main railway station being a good example. As the towns and cities then developed, many such sites became part of an extended inner city. The fate of military sites and installations was often similar. The rationale for conversion thus ranged quite widely and included:

- **political reasons** – for converting castles into museums or universities, for example;
- **economic reasons** – for the re-use of former industrial complexes, for example;
- **military reasons** – when new uses had to be found for barracks or airfields;
- **changing infrastructure needs** – reflected, for example, in the revitalisation of old port installations or railway station sites;
- **cultural reasons** – for example, for putting churches or monasteries to new use.

Power shifts – of both a political and an industrial/cultural nature – are familiar features of European history and they have also produced a European history of conversion. A further pressure for conversion reflects Europe's density of settlement: established areas of settlement here are no longer simply abandoned.

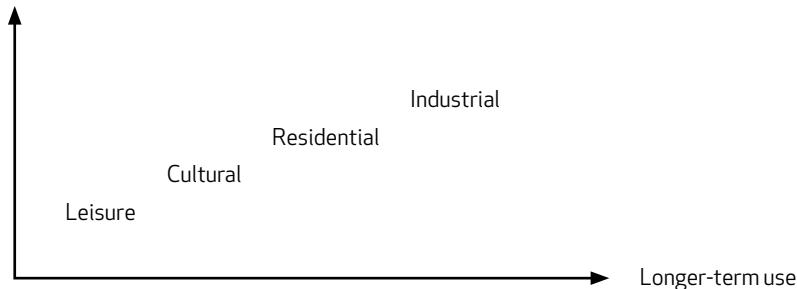
Yet another driver for conversion is the management of urban development over time: conversions can be envisaged to facilitate interim uses or to produce longer-term solutions. Interim uses give urban planners time to pause and consider – provided they are not under severe time pressure – and they also have a tradition in Europe, in some cases serving to enhance the value of sites, especially where there is accompanying infrastructure.

The attraction of cultural uses lies in their amenability to relatively rapid implementation, with structural investment on a manageable scale. Opening a museum in an area that is relatively deprived in structural terms – as happened in the case of the Pompidou Centre in Paris – has the immediate effect of attracting an influx of people. Using the same area for prestigious residential development or seeking to further the development of existing industries there would require a quite different timescale (see diagram).

b. Common features of structural change in European towns and cities

The specifically European aspect of conversion reflects features common to processes of structural change in European towns and cities. Ring roads are one illustration, as are universities in

Structural Investment Required



former palaces, and museums in former railway stations. For centuries Europe has been a community in terms of destiny. Social, economic or cultural developments in one country were likely to be used as models for development in other countries, and this applied in towns and cities as elsewhere. Ring roads, for example, were developed in the 19th century, as city walls and defensive positions were levelled, and palatial universities were founded because former castles and palaces had to be put to a new use.

It is advisable, however, to be cautious about wider-ranging assumptions, such as the claim that ‘conversion makes manifest a capacity associated with European culture generally: the capacity for transformation and assimilation’. In fact, that very capacity could be said to be characteristic of Chinese culture – the model that represents the major alternative to European culture. China is currently experiencing the assimilation of capitalist economic methods without a parallel alienation of Chinese culture. What is particular to European culture is rather its mixture of *rationality*, *individuality* and *bourgeoisie*, characterised not least in the transition from an originally courtly concept of taste to a middle-class one (as argued by Norbert Elias in his historic work *The Civilising Process*). That is why, among European exports, opera houses have been a particular hit.

Georg Simmel was one of the first to write about the seminal role of cities in the development of culture and modernism. Indeed, cultural responsibility in Europe has come to mean responsibility for towns and cities. Modern culture is a product of cities, a result of the refinement of city life or what might be termed the

‘distillation of civilisation’. What we are referring to here is not so much a specific image of the city or a model for European cities but rather the importance of the city and matters civic to the basic development of European societies. Europe is inconceivable without its cities.

c. The city as a palimpsest

Conversion in European towns and cities recalls the tradition of palimpsests: medieval texts that were repeatedly erased and overwritten. Numerous historical texts might thus be layered one on top of another, the new on the surface and the old at least partially buried. And the rationale of conversion is changing from one of planning to one of reading. We need to learn how to read our towns and cities, and by so doing to retain identity throughout a process of change: the city can be constantly rewritten. Conversion may thus mean three things – deletion, rewriting or continuation.

To take a few examples: in west Zurich the story of specific neighbourhoods is being continued; the Pompidou Centre represents a rewrite; and in the case of the *Stadtschloss* in Berlin the intention appears to be the deletion of history. First the GDR Government demolished the building to obliterate a reminder of feudal and bourgeois Berlin, and erected in its place the *Palast der Republik*, which was used largely for cultural purposes. Now, the decision to reconstruct the former *Stadtschloss*, totally demolishing the *Palast der Republik*, will in turn obliterate a landmark of GDR culture – and this is another approach that is not untypical in Europe.

What then is the scope for continuity? If Europe remains free of war, large areas, such as railway stations, airports, ports and high-rise car parks, will present themselves for conversion as the result of *infrastructural change*. Quality of life in towns and cities is also taking on new dimensions: urban watercourses, for example, are being rediscovered. Having once been turned into cesspools, squeezed into drainage conduits or exploited for commercial ends, rivers are nowadays being recognised as resources in the development of quality of life and a new concept of urban living.

Conversion presents opportunities for *responsible urban experimentation*. The urban histories that will continue to be written everywhere in Europe are those of its capitals and other major cities – significant conurbations that function as models or forerunners of development. Today's shopping malls will tomorrow be sites ripe for conversion offering scope for metropolitan experimentation. The historical machinery of the metropolis also offers prospects for culture-orientated conversion on a mythic scale. The subterranean city could, for example, be revealed through the conversion of disused urban rail tunnels and other underground structures, which have their own stories to tell. This is another example of the changing function of urban development, to which we have already referred, with the focus no longer on planning new futures for the city but rather on learning to read it and continuing to write its story of urban culture.

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5. BORDERLANDS

The concept of cultural diversity has implications for borders, and the number and density of Europe's borders reflect its cultural diversity in spatial and geographic terms. Landscapes, places and projects that straddle the borders between different cultures, nations and peoples are capable of assuming European significance to the extent that they draw on difference as a resource for cooperation. In such situations, particular skills are encouraged and, indeed, required: notably a capacity for interaction and communication in different forms (knowledge of languages, rules, regulations and customs). Provided that the resulting processes are not left to chance, but are instead actively pursued on both sides of the border, they can potentially become models for frontier regions throughout Europe.

There are qualitative differences between the land borders in the western part of the EU, where cross-border cooperation has had decades to develop, the borders of the newest EU Member States and the borders with those European countries beyond the Schengen area, formerly part of the Soviet Union or of Yugoslavia. Some of the new European borderlands remain minefields (in every sense).

1. EXAMPLES FROM THE BORDERLANDS CATEGORY

The Borderland Foundation, Suwalki, Poland

(Also an example for utilisation of cultural diversity and for conservation of the European cultural heritage)

In the small town of Sejny in Suwalki Province, north-eastern Poland, close to its borders with Belarus, Lithuania and the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad, the Borderland Foundation is working to unearth a shared past by securing the transmission of oral history through schoolchildren. Old songs are being used to bring to life the history of the town before the Holocaust, and the former synagogue in the town centre has been turned into an education

facility. The Foundation also offers postgraduate courses for talented students from the border area.

We are trying to gather the wisdom and richness of borderlands – a wealth which results from co-existence of different traditions and beliefs. We are searching for a path that begins in ancient times and goes toward the present day, for a language which can make the elders' wisdom available to the young generation and can inspire new artistic, pedagogical and scientific research. The main objective of the Borderland Foundation and the Centre is to contribute to strengthening the environment through its initiatives, processes, and groups of people as well as individuals rebuilding the identities of their living environments and traditions, but at the same time respecting ethnic differences and cultural diversity. In other words, their goal is to develop everyday practices which create open communities in areas where different national, ethnic, religious and cultural minorities co-exist, and to find and develop means to preserve traditional cultures, sometimes also minority cultures.

The Borderland Foundation was launched in May 1990, and the Centre "Borderland of Arts, Cultures, Nations" in January 1991 by the governor of the Suwałki province.

We have chosen Sejny, a small town near the Lithuanian border, because elements of the material and spiritual legacy are still present here. The main street with the White Synagogue recalls Jewish presence; the little evangelical church reminds us of Protestants. The Polish and Lithuanian presence is a reality of today's Sejny. In the vicinity of the town one can also find many traces of Russian "Old-believers", and if we move further to the south and to the east, we may find more vast territories of cultural interpretation: Tartar, Karaites, and Armenian districts, all of Belarus and Ukraine. Some of our activities are permanent, daily work. They are: Cultural Heritage Classes, Sejny Theatre, Klezmer Music Group, the Documentation Centre of Borderland Cultures, the Art Gallery "Papuciarnia" and Borderland Publishing House. Other activities are organized once or a few times per year. They are: Memory of Ancient Time, Meeting the Other; Central European Forum of Culture; Gipsy Art Village, European Borderland School,

Open Regions of Central and Eastern Europe, Camera Pro Minoritate, Café Europa, Borderlander.

Ancient books of Sejny speak of the inauguration of the very first synagogue here, in 1788, during which the Thora was carried into the temple by the headmaster of the Dominican convent and a rabbi. At the time the town was ruled by the Dominicans and they have invited in the first Jewish settlers to stimulate the development of trade and craftsmanship, and in return they helped the Jewish settlers to build their house of prayers.

www.pogranicze.sejny.pl/archiwum/ftp/borderland



Luxembourg and the Grande Région – European Cultural Capital 2007

When Luxembourg's then Premier, Jean-Claude Juncker, suggested that the designation of 'European Cultural Capital 2007' should cover not only Luxembourg but also the surrounding Saar-Lor-Lux region, the idea was warmly welcomed by his counterparts in France, Germany and Belgium.



As well as Luxembourg, the *Grande Région* [or *Großregion*] includes the German federal states of Rheinland-Pfalz and Saarland, the French départements of Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse and Vosges as well as German and French-speaking areas of Belgium. Straddling these four different countries with three different languages and a total of 11.2 million inhabitants, it constitutes a small 'cross-section' of Europe.

Juncker's idea was straightforward: Luxembourg has neighbours who have been familiar to one another for centuries but who, in the course of history, have lived apart. After the Second World War, when the borders were still actively maintained, Sunday trippers from Luxembourg would head for Trier, Saarbrücken, Arlon, Metz and Thionville. Later, as the work-free weekend stretched and people's appetite for travel grew, they opted to make 'mini-trips' to London or Vienna instead of visiting the 'next-door neighbours' – and that was a loss to Luxembourg!

So the concept of sharing the designation of ‘European Cultural Capital’ with the neighbouring countries presented itself as a necessary corrective enterprise.

What is the legacy of 2007?

A powerful network of regional cultural forces

(From the Grande Région joint statement to the 10th summit meeting on 1 February 2008):

The Kulturreaum Großregion/ Espace culturel Grande Région Association

(<http://www.plurio.org/param/93/presentation.html>)

- Strategies for a common cultural policy in the Grande Région
- Regular meetings, at 18-month intervals, of elected representatives with responsibility for culture in the Grande Région

Ongoing activities

- The regional offices that coordinated the ‘European Cultural Capital 2007’ activities will remain in place.
- The joint secretariat has an interface function.
- The plurio.net portal is a shared information resource, supporting cooperation between the various cultural offices involved, and a joint ‘shop window’.

Strategies for a common cultural policy

- Transparency in the cultural sector in relation to ministry and culture department staffing
- Sharing of information about the partners’ respective cultural-policy circumstances and areas of particular importance for elected representatives in the cultural field
- Joint or agreed communication strategies on the part of those actively involved in culture

Communication about culture in the Grande Région

- Coordination and press conferences
- A common corporate identity, agreed advertising, etc.
- Continued use of the 2007 blue stag logo – in the interests of increased public recognition and identification



Functional networks

- Creation of networks
- Establishment of 'virtual offices'
- A joint presence at trade fairs in and beyond the Grande Région
- Press and public-relations work at all levels (regional, national and European)
- The plurio.net cultural portal as an interface for all activities

Encouraging mobility for artists, works and audiences

- Creating favourable conditions for mobility based on research into relevant legal and fiscal provisions
- Work experience and guest study places in cultural administrations and institutions, associations and other organisations
- Coordination of transport provision for (major) events

Cross-border cultural projects

- Achieving more through regional coordination
- Clear guidelines for co-financing of cross-border projects, bilingual application forms, etc.
- Exchanges of information about successful activities, calls for tenders, competitions, etc.

Creating joint areas of activity linking culture, education, training and tourism

- Encouraging young people to identify with the Grande Région as a socio-cultural area, by means of special projects (such as the SaarLorLux Orchestra, the Kunst macht Schule ['Art makes school'] initiative, etc.)
- Focus on young people as a target group for the transmission of language skills and other intercultural competences including mobility, and for exchanges
- Provision of information about education and training opportunities and incentives to travel
- Agreements with AG Tourismus on larger-scale cultural projects

Services to the public

- Using borders as a basis for exchange and improved opportunities for personal development; improving freedom of movement; creating a task force to analyse and resolve problems
- Multilingualism makes the region more attractive and is an asset to its citizens.
 - Emphasis on learning the languages of the neighbouring countries, with bilingual classes at all levels in schools
 - Regional inter-school exchanges to forge links between students and accelerate learning

The attraction of the *Grande Région*

- Apart from its geographically central position, the *Grande Région* owes its attractiveness largely to its diverse cultural landscape
- Promotion of shared economic and cultural assets
- Representation as an inter-regional group in the EU Committee of the Regions
- Inter-regional dialogue with the Balkans

The Guben-Gubin 'European Island'

Guben-Gubin on the German-Polish border is identified in the recommendations of the Prince Pückler Land IBA founding committee as a 'window on Eastern Europe'. Against the background of EU enlargement Guben-Gubin has taken on special significance as a trans-border location for development. Drawing on case studies and pilot measures, various planning concepts have been produced for linking the previously separate communities of Guben and Gubin to create a shared German-Polish town centre that can serve as a transferable model.



© Profifoto Kliche

Other examples

Český Těšín: a bilingual border town (CZ-PL) with a focus on culture: <http://www.radio.cz/de/artikel/101960>

Gorizia (Italy/Slovenia)

Flensburg (Germany/Denmark),

Cooperation between Vienna and Bratislava

Three examples from the *lieux de mémoire* category are also very relevant in the borderlands category, namely:

Weiler-St Germanshof (PAMINA),

Schengen and Sopron.

2. QUESTIONS ABOUT PRACTICE IN RELATION TO BORDERLANDS

The following is intended to supply those responsible for development in European border regions with suggestions on the strategic advancement of their activities – whether in the public or the voluntary sector – in a European perspective. It should encourage them to identify the cultural potential for cross-border exchange and to use it in a sustained way. It should also assist in the process of identifying partners for the relevant activities, whether locally, at national level or further afield.

The list is not intended as a questionnaire or an inventory, but rather as a working tool for use in the local situation.

a. A stock-taking

- What aspects of history and tradition characterise your city or region as a ‘borderland’, and how does that identity fit into a European context?
- Does that identity include European *lieux de mémoire*, areas of potential for cultural diversity or aspects of cultural heritage associated with the border location that are significant in European terms?
- Does your city or region lie on one of the EU’s external borders or outside the EU?
- What cross-border activities take place there and how are these developing?
- How can the European relevance of these activities be increased?
- What cultural infrastructure does the city or region maintain that is relevant to cross-border exchange?
- Are there cross-border organisations, institutions or arrangements for cultural exchange?
- What makes your border region special or unique in Europe and how can its specificity be put to use?
- What does it have in common with other border regions, and how can these European similarities be put to use?
- What is the impact of cross-border cultural exchange on the local and regional economy, on schooling and on society generally?

b. Status in municipal and regional practice

- How are municipal or regional policy departments (for economic, social and environmental affairs, education, higher education and research, urban or regional development, finance, European affairs and local transport) involved in cross-border activities, and on what specific themes does their involvement focus?
- How are the strengths of the frontier situation used and the weaknesses countered?
- How does your city or region bring culture into play in cross-border exchanges?
- How does your city or region use the distinctiveness of its frontier situation, or its similarities with other frontier regions to best advantage in its cultural activities?
- What importance is attached to the city's or region's frontier situation in its public-relations efforts?
- What importance is attached to the city's or region's frontier situation in its development strategy?

c. Connections with Europe

- Does your city or region use EU support programmes (such as EFRE, INTERREG and URBAN) for cross-border exchange and does it incorporate cultural aspects of the borderland situation into these programmes?
- What is the relationship between cross-border cultural exchanges and exchanges with other cities and regions in Europe?
- How does your city or region deal with its border location as a European issue?
- Does it contribute through its cross-border cultural exchanges to general conflict management in the EU?

d. Connections with the contemporary scene

- Does the city or region support and utilise the activities of creative young people, cultural innovation and new forms of cultural output through its cross-border exchanges?
- How can the city or region use its tradition as a border area to improve its current situation and promote its future development?
- What types of intercultural dialogue are associated with the process of cross-border cultural exchange?
- Is there a 'no man's land' on the border that could be available for forms of development now or in the future?

e. Participation by civil society

- How are members of the public, private initiatives and cultural enterprises involved in cross-border cultural exchange; are there institutional or organisational links among public and private facilities, programmes and activities?
- Who are the civil-society players involved in such activities?
- Does the state or region have an up-to-date overview of the cross-border exchange process?
- Does the state or region organise or promote cross-border exchange as part of its overall remit for the benefit of the community?
- Is cross-border exchange the subject of information dissemination, events or public debate?
- How are the media involved?

f. Inter-municipal, transregional and international cooperation

- Are cross-border cultural activities by your state or region linked into national, international, European or global networks?
- Are there shared cross-border bodies and arrangements? What use is made of other cities' or regions' experience with cross-border cultural exchange, and how is your own city's or region's experience passed on?

3. COMMENTS ON THE 'BORDERLANDS' CATEGORY

In former times, national and indeed regional borders were a cause or occasion of conflict in Europe and many of them were also the result of a bitter history of conflict. Today, borders are the seams that hold the EU together. Space for encounters and productive cooperation is opening up along former lines of confrontation and division. Border regions are something that neighbours share.

Borders are symbolic not only of confrontation and division, but also of hope, longing, freedom and more. Mythic border rivers like the Rhine, Oder and Danube have become meeting places for all sorts of international cultural gatherings.

From the national perspective of the countries on either side of a border, the border areas are peripheral, yet from an overall European perspective they are centres of cooperation. For example, the German-Polish dual town of Görlitz-Zgorzelec lies on the eastern rim of Germany and the western rim of Poland but it is right in the middle of Europe.

A border region's cultural relevance is bound up with the self-image of a community. The former significance of border regions can turn them into cultural lieux de mémoire – part of Europe's memory. In other cases, if they have been, or still are, stamped by political and cultural conflict, they can create the impulse for cross-border dialogue and efforts at cooperation. The growing practice of cultural exchange across and beyond both physical and cultural frontiers can actually promote a sense of European citizenship in national 'peripheries', thus turning borderlands into test beds for European integration. Europeans can potentially discover their future in this former 'no man's land'.

A SENSE OF EUROPEAN
CITIZENSHIP CAN ACTUALLY
FLOURISH IN WHAT ARE
NATIONAL 'PERIPHERIES'.

There are also examples of the opposite dynamic. In certain individual regions of the EU (such as Catalonia and Belgium) and in neighbouring regions (such as the Western Balkans) there are politico-cultural conflicts rooted, to some extent, in a long history of oppression of minorities. These conflicts reinforce monoculturally defined concepts of identity and tend to erode cultural diversity in the region, encouraging the drawing of new borders and the associated cultural segregation. Such developments can be countered by grasping the types of opportunity described above and actually turning borderlands into powerhouses for European integration.

By comparison with older borders such as those between Germany and Alsace-Lorraine or between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, the cultural potential of the more recently traced borders between old and new EU Member States probably offers greater scope – in the context of EU transfers – for activities of European significance. However, the development of cross-border cultural exchange is significantly hampered by the frontier regime at the EU's new external borders, for example those between eastern and western Balkan states.

Within the EU there are many cooperative arrangements – such as those between the German, Swiss and French border regions on the Upper Rhine or between Luxembourg, Belgium, France and Germany (see below) – which are well-established and run smoothly. It is worthwhile making available information about their experiences, successes and failures, in order to inform the task of structuring cooperation in the different circumstances of borderlands along the line of the old Iron Curtain between the Baltic and the Adriatic, and also to promote cross-border exchanges in that region between the countries that emerged the former Soviet Union and the collapse of Yugoslavia and between EU perimeter regions and neighbouring countries to the east and south.

4. AN ACADEMIC COMMENTARY ON 'BORDERLANDS'

Rudolf Schäfer

The Diversity and Structural Importance of Europe's Border Landscapes

Europe's border landscapes are characterized by a high concentration, a vast diversity of geographical formations, landscape situations, economic potential, cultural imprints and historical and political destinies. There are a number of typical problems intrinsic to border landscapes:

- From the respective national viewpoint, they occupy a peripheral situation.
 - For this reason, they are frequently neglected by national policy-makers in terms of infrastructure and economic development.
 - Particularly in post-war Europe, borders have often severed economic, infrastructural, cultural and social ties.
 - Especially in Central and Eastern Europe, many borders and border regions were determined by the partition of Europe after 1945 and characterized by the resettlement of population groups.
-
- In a united Europe, then, the border landscapes not only pose huge challenges but also offer considerable potential: Border landscapes within the EU frequently lose their peripheral location and have to radically adjust to the new situation. This involves in particular overcoming infrastructure deficiencies (transport connections), making use of the new location benefits and strengthening the respective regions' endogenous potential.
 - Border regions, some of which have existed in this form for centuries, especially those in the western parts of the EU, can extend existing cultural ties and turn them into essential elements of good-neighbourly cooperation and economic stability.
 - In border regions that were first created or given their special character by the partition of Europe after the Second World War, especially those in Central and Eastern Europe,

the main challenge – besides remedying economic and infrastructure deficiencies – is to develop a cultural awareness that takes proper account of both the past and the present and future in a united Europe.

The challenges outlined above can only be mastered over the long term and by deploying substantial resources. A key question, then, is to what extent such efforts – especially those of cultural provenance – can count on support and funding from the EU.

Europe's Border Landscapes in the EU's Political Objectives and Policy-Making

For years, the European Union has made development in the border landscapes a special element of its political objectives. This is formulated programmatically in the 1999 European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), the fundamental EU document dealing with its spatial development policy. In it, cross-border cooperation is assigned a key role and local and regional authorities are designated as key players in European spatial development policy. They also constitute the level at which citizens can directly experience the results of European policy.²⁹

Initial practical steps in this direction are and were – even prior to the ESDP – the so-called Euroregions or Euregios, a few of which were established as early as the 1950s.³⁰ They are designed, mostly with an economic focus, to promote cross-border cooperation and the regions themselves in social and cultural terms. Apart from the aspect of transnational cooperation, they also aim to strengthen the individual member states' potentially weaker peripheral regions. A *Europaregion* encompasses territories of at least two cooperating countries. Euregios are organized in a wide variety of legal structures.

29 European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), p. 46 f., Luxembourg 1999.

30 Cf. the Euroregions Germany-Netherlands founded in 1958; Euregio Rhine-Waal founded in 1973; Euregio Maas-Rhine founded in 1976; the designation *Europaregion* is derived from the provisions of the 1980 Council of Europe Convention on transfrontier cooperation between Europe's regions, the so-called Madrid Convention.

INTERREG and the Concept of European Territorial Cooperation

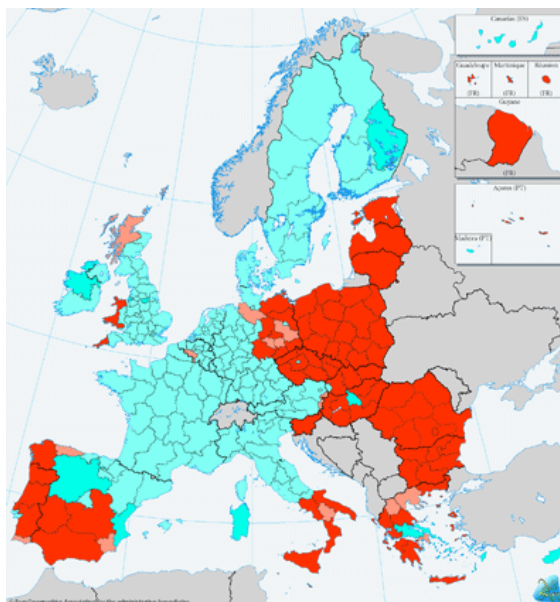
Crucial momentum was given to the promotion of cross-border cooperation by the INTERREG Community Initiative. Since 1990, the European Commission has been supporting interregional cooperation in the border regions as part of Strand A of this Initiative. The overall goal of INTERREG is “that national borders should not be a barrier to the balanced development and integration of European territory”. Nearly all border regions have since made use of this support to implement joint spatial development concepts – and individual projects building on them – by establishing joint organizations, structures and networks.

Until 2006, INTERREG was conceived as a “Community Initiative” within European policy. By contrast, in the current programming period (2007-2013) the Community Initiative has become an EU Structural Funds objective in its own right (Objective 3: European Territorial Cooperation). This status testifies to the greater importance accorded to INTERREG’s successor overall in EU funding. Another objective of the INTERREG IV programme generation is the sustainable further development of cross-border economic and social cooperation in neighbouring border regions based on joint strategies and development programmes. For Strand A projects, at least two of the following criteria must be met for cooperation between partners from at least two countries:

- Joint project development
- Joint implementation
- Joint project personnel
- Joint funding

Funding is available for a wide range of cross-border measures such as industrial cooperation, technology transfer, infrastructure development, tourism projects as well as education and cultural projects.

Priority is given to applications from national, regional and local authorities and institutions. Private engagement is also welcome and possible under certain conditions, depending on the programme.



The European Union is providing some EUR 7.8 billion from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to promote cross-border and transnational cooperation during the 2007-2013 Structural Funds programming period. A total of 52 cross-border project areas as defined by INTERREG IV A are currently recognized within the EU and undergoing measures, cCf. map³¹

Two new instruments also allow EU funding to be deployed for cross-border cooperation with non-EU member states: The IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance) supports ten cross-border cooperation projects with future members in South-Eastern Europe and with Turkey. The ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument) currently funds nine cross-border cooperation projects on the EU's external borders with countries that are not on the list of candidates for EU membership (Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova).

³¹ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/atlas2007/index_en.htm

Culture as the Field of Action for the EU's Policy Objectives in Europe's Border Regions

It is questionable what importance cultural projects of Europe's border landscapes have or can have in this funding environment. Here, we must begin by noting that no relevant systematic analysis of previous INTERREG projects is available.³² In terms of the stated programme objectives, the focus has from the start been on economic policy goals and goals designed to improve infrastructure. Enhancing the status of the former INTERREG Community Initiative by making it the new European Structural Funds Objective 3 focuses the territorial cooperation programmes more strongly than hitherto on the Lisbon Strategy goals (growth, competitiveness, employment) and those of Göteborg (sustainability). This makes regional policy a key element in the European Union strategy to promote growth and employment. At the same time, it is the declared goal of the European Commission to gear project work more strongly to free market practice than has previously been the case and to use the results specifically to actively develop the European Single Market.

On the other hand, this by no means rules out culture as a field of action or cultural projects in the context of the border regions. They are mentioned in the programmes³³ and they are accorded great importance in INTERREG IV.³⁴

32 The brief report on the Ex post Evaluation of the Interreg II (1994-99) Community Initiative provides only highly aggregated findings that allow no conclusions on the issue at hand, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/inter2a/summary_de.pdf.

33 Albeit in relation to projects designed to promote entrepreneurship, cf. Regional Policy – Inforegio in: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/cooperation/crossborder/index_en.htm

34 Cf. Regional Policy – Inforegio in: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/themes/culture/index_en.htm

Cultural infrastructures, cultural activities and creative industries can be a major part of a region's attractiveness and vision for its economic development. The production of content matters more and more, and this often depends on the existence of a cultural environment. Cohesion Policy for 2007-13 aims at fully mobilising culture and creativity for regional development and job creation.

The structural funds can provide suitable conditions for mobilising cultural and creative industries, for example by encouraging cultural heritage for business use, supporting the restructuring of urban areas in crisis. Culture, creative businesses and related branches can be valuable sectors in this respect, as they are a source of common identity and shared values, two notions that are typically closely linked with the regional and local dimension.

The EU points out that for the 2007-2013 programming period a total of approximately EUR 6 billion is appropriated for cultural matters, EUR 3 billion of it for Cultural Heritage, EUR 2.2 billion for developing cultural infrastructure and EUR 775 million for cultural services.

What matters, then, in specific terms are the respective operational programmes with their concrete regional objectives, and their potential and ability to put cultural issues on the agenda of cross-border cooperation. Numerous examples provide evidence of successful approaches here.³⁵ In this context, the “practice-related questions” can and should be understood not only retrospectively but primarily as approaches and used to identify new culture-related projects in the respective border areas and justify them in terms of structural policy as expected by the funding environment.

³⁵ Besides the examples documented in the guidelines, we should mention, by way of examples, the operational programmes of the Euroregions POMERANIA, Pro Europa Viadrina and Spree-Neiße-Bober, in which cross-border cultural and education projects are explicitly mentioned, cf. http://www.ilb.de/rd/programme/250_252.php?PHPSESSID=lsrtin4lt77v

The regulation concerning European Groupings of Cross-Border Cooperation (EGCC)³⁶ makes available to local and regional initiators new forms of organization that may in specific cases facilitate the application process.

³⁶ Regulation (EC) No.1082/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 (Official Journal of the European Union of 31 July 2006).

6. EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

Cities and regions are significant players in the European context by virtue of their cultural heritage, both non-material – in the form of skills and techniques, customs and usages and cuisine – and material in the form of buildings, natural and cultivated landscapes, works of art and appliances. Historically, the heritage of independent, competing cities and regions is older than that of nation states.

1. EXAMPLES FROM THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE



The bridge at Mostar – first built under Ottoman rule in 1567 – after its reconstruction in 2004. When the Croatian army bombarded it on 9 November 1993 their shells struck at the heart of Europe's cultural heritage and its multi-ethnic soul, as embodied in a centuries-old link between East and West.

Source: NATO Review, Winter Issue 2004

The Brick-built Gothic Architecture Route: an element of cultural heritage shared by many nations around the Baltic (D, DK, PL, LT, EST, LV), it crosses borders, promotes a sense of solidarity and attracts tourists to the region. (Categories 1, 2, and 5)

The Bagpipe Festival involving the Celtic peoples of Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. (Also in Categories 1, 3 and 5)

Towns, cities and neighbourhoods in Europe associated with refugees
Sibiu

Exiled persons from the Spanish Netherlands (Friedrichstadt, Mannheim); Refugees post-1945 (Karlshafen, Sennestadt) (Categories 1, 2, 3 and 5)

Beguinages in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany and Denmark (Categories 1, 2, 3 and 5)

UNESCO has recognised the major Baltic Song and Dance Festivals as a unique cultural phenomenon, according them **World Heritage** status.

Estonia's five-yearly festival is the longest established and most famous of these events. The choirs that take part, from all over the country, are subject to a strict selection process and only the best make it through. This year 935 groups are participating, including ethnic choirs from the USA and Canada, as well as entries from the Scandinavian and Baltic countries.

In 2008, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania celebrated the 90th anniversary of their founding as sovereign republics. The year was also a special one for Latvia as some 35 000 entrants took part in the 24th Latvian Song Festival and the 16th Folk-dancing Festival in the capital, Riga. Established 135 years ago the Song Festival has become an important tradition. In 2003 the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian national song and dance festivals were listed by UNESCO as part of the 'Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity'.

The Latvian festival is held in early July in the Mežaparks open-air arena and the Daugava Stadium and provides vivid confirmation of Latvia's reputation as a 'land of song'.

Every spring some 13 000 members of lay choirs and some 15 000 members of folk-dancing troupes take part in workshop perfor-

mances before a jury, presenting both a set repertoire and a number of pieces of their choice. The jury decides which choirs and dance troupes display the artistic quality necessary for participation in the song and folk-dancing festival. Five years of preparation pays off for the best of them when the final selection is made in late May – at an event as charged as the Olympic 100-metres final!

In short: what is special about the Latvian song and folk-dancing festival?

- A massed choir of 12 000 voices sings a wide-ranging and demanding repertoire – mainly a capella and in eight parts.
- The folk-dancing festival involves 15 000 dancers, who perform breath-taking choreographed patterns.
- All the choristers and dancers wear national costume throughout the festival.
- The song and folk-dancing festival takes place every five years, and the intervals between events are filled by workshop performances and competitions up and down the country.
- The tradition of the song and folk-dancing festival has profound symbolic significance in the creation and development of the Latvian identity.
- The 2.3 million population of Latvia includes members of 156 different nationalities, and representatives of all of these are invited to take part in the festival, thus showcasing their cultures and traditions.

For Latvians, the song festival is an important part of the national identity. The Latvian folksong tradition is based on the *daina*, a short verse form, normally of four lines, handed down orally through the centuries. Community singing was the Latvians' main weapon in their non-violent struggle for independence. Their peaceful protests against the Soviet regime have gone down in history as the 'Singing Revolution'.

2. QUESTIONS ABOUT PRACTICE IN THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

The following is intended to supply those responsible for development in cities or regions with suggestions on the strategic advancement of their activities – whether in the public or the voluntary sector – in a European perspective. It should encourage them to identify material and non-material aspects of European cultural heritage in their cities or regions and to secure them in the longer term. It should also assist in the process of identifying partners for the relevant activities, whether locally, at national level or further afield.

The list is not intended as a questionnaire or an inventory, but rather as a working tool for use in the local situation.

a. A stock-taking

- Does your city or region have a special European cultural heritage and does it contribute to outstanding cultural performance by the city or region?
- Does that heritage include European *lieux de mémoire*, evidence of cultural diversity, examples of successful conversion, urban development projects or cross-border cultural links?
- How broad is the spectrum of cultural heritage as between popular and high culture and material and immaterial evidence?
- Is there a connection between the material and immaterial aspects of the city's or region's cultural heritage (for example monuments that illustrate a mastery of craft techniques)?
- What cultural infrastructure does the city or region possess for handing on its European cultural heritage?

b. Status in municipal and regional practice

- How are municipal or regional policy departments (for economic or social affairs, education, higher education and research, urban or regional development, finance or European affairs) involved in utilising the European cultural heritage and maintaining it, and on what specific themes does their involvement focus?
- Does your city or region have an up-to-date overview of its European cultural heritage (material and immaterial and publicly and privately owned)?
- Is it pursuing a European cultural heritage strategy through its conversion and urban renewal activities?
- What is the status of European cultural heritage in the image that your city or region projects?
- What is the status of European cultural heritage in your city's or region's planning for the future?
- How is the economic potential of the European cultural heritage utilised?
- Does the city or region use its European cultural heritage in efforts to promote a sense of European citizenship?

c. Connections with Europe

- What is the status of European cultural heritage in your city's or region's approach to European affairs?
- What public or private infrastructure is available for conserving and caring for that heritage and passing it on?
- How is that part of your city's or region's cultural heritage that is of European relevance projected as its contribution to the European heritage?
- How is that public projection related to the cultural heritage of other cities and regions?
- What reminders of your city's or region's cultural heritage are unique or special?

- Which of them have counterparts elsewhere in Europe?
- How are the differences and the European similarities projected?
- Does your city or region work jointly with organisations such as 'Europa Nostra'?

d. Connections with the contemporary scene

- How is your city's or region's cultural heritage understood as the product of cultural exchange in earlier times and how is it related to contemporary intercultural dialogue?
- Does your city or region involve young people in the transmission of its cultural heritage?
- Are contemporary cultural activities and innovations and different types of cultural output related to evidence of the cultural heritage?

e. Participation by civil society

- What civil-society bodies or agencies are concerned with your city's or region's European cultural heritage?
- How are the media involved?
- How are public and private trusts, cultural enterprises and dissemination agencies involved in documenting, conserving and passing on your city's or region's European cultural heritage and are there institutional or organisational links between public and private bodies, programmes and activities?
- Does your city or region promote public discussion about the European cultural heritage and its significance for the community generally?
- What sort of public recognition does the European cultural heritage enjoy in your city or region?

f. Inter-municipal, transregional and international cooperation

- Is the evidence of European heritage in your city or region linked into national, international, European or global networks?
- In the conservation and utilisation of its heritage, is your city or region involved in regular exchanges with other cities and regions in the same country, in other parts of Europe or elsewhere, does it take on board the experiences of other cities and regions and is its own experience passed on?

3. COMMENTS ON THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE CATEGORY

SUBSTANTIVE REGIONAL
AND LOCAL FEATURES
ENABLE US TO UNDERSTAND
EUROPE'S CULTURAL
IDENTITY.

What we call 'European cultural heritage' in cities and regions has its origins in the traces that both locally rooted and incoming population groups have left behind them over generations and centuries – the traces of both earlier and ongoing 'intercultural dialogue' that go to make up the rich built environment and the non-material environment in which Europeans are proud to lead their lives. In many European cities and regions, the cultural heritage that is superficially recognisable in characteristic style features packs a huge spectrum of cultural difference into a tiny space. These historically integrated reminders of cultural diversity can also help us to integrate today's cultural differences and to assume ownership of them.

It is particularly important in relation to the cultural heritage category that cities and regions should actively utilise their cultural assets and put them to productive use rather than simply conserving and documenting them.

The European dimension should not overshadow the value of a specifically local or regional heritage; quite the reverse, in fact, because it is through substantive regional and local features that Europe's cultural identity can be understood. Cultural tourism helps people to get to know 'outsiders' and encourages exchanges of experience and culture. It is up to the cities and regions to encourage it and to help to build a European identity through the

local identity that is based on their material and non-material cultural heritage.

While there are hundreds of objects that officially represent Europe's contribution to the world cultural heritage, and an unquantifiable wealth of European national heritage, there are as yet only few symbolic works, like Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* (the European anthem) that are recognised as belonging jointly to all Europeans.

A step towards acknowledgement of the genuinely shared European heritage was taken in March 2007 in Paris with the launch of the 'European heritage' label. It is used by European countries to designate monuments or places that are particularly significant to them both nationally and in European terms. The idea is that the objects thus designated should convey to observers a sense of what it is to be European.

Cities and regions are responsible for the quality of contemporary architecture and planning within their territory. High quality architecture, whether applied to existing historic buildings or to the construction of independent new ones, is important in maintaining the quality of life that citizens are entitled to expect.

4 AN ACADEMIC COMMENTARY ON EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

Wolfgang Kaschuba

European cultural heritage

There is no doubt that the conception of World Cultural Heritage embodied in the 1972 UNESCO Convention on the subject set the seal on the basic European idea of cultural heritage as primarily comprising historic monuments and works of art especially representative of particular periods and cultural eras. The resulting programme thus covered, for the most part, buildings associated with religion or authority, monuments, manmade landscapes

and individual or composite examples of architecture, and it soon came under criticism from non-European societies for being 'too European'. Clearly, the ideas, traditions and aesthetic concepts that predominated outside Europe were different – mainly because they focused more on culture as it is lived than on culture fixed in stone or brick.

The criticism was both justified and unjustified. On the one hand, the original conception did largely reflect the specific European tradition of culture as understood in the 18th and 19th centuries by the nobility and then the upper classes as they left emotive monuments to themselves. Most of these were either constructed in stone or painted on canvas and most of them also served, directly or indirectly, to promote a feudal or national policy of commemoration – which extended to cultural heritage outside Europe as well as within it. To that extent, the accusation that UNESCO's policy was Euro-centric was entirely justified. On the other hand, the Cultural Heritage Programme was, of course, by no means confined to the physical restoration of buildings associated with Europe's ruling class; it was also, and most importantly, about fleshing out a sense of history at a time when Europe seemed particularly concerned with trying to forget its history. For in the euphoric climate of postwar modernism many cities and regions were busy getting rid of their historic spatial planning and architecture, or at least dramatically changing it, in order to pursue new economic and aesthetic ideas.

Looking back today, we can see that the UNESCO conception of heritage was an appropriate and effective one from an 'internal' European perspective, for in recent years almost all European cities and regions have cleaned up their churches, wash-houses, castles, town halls and marketplaces, their port areas, monuments and boulevards – in other words they have made their historic areas into shop-windows for local history and culture.³⁷ That has been and remains a legitimate process, as these historic back-

37 Nora, Pierre (ed.), 1984-1992, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols, Paris

drops are equally attractive to both tourists and (for the most part) locals, and they really do offer a sense of identification in two respects: tourists identify the city with particular buildings and the city in turn identifies itself in the images of its inhabitants. There is no doubt that both historic and modern architecture today functions to a significant extent like a screen, onto which images of identity are projected.

The principle holds good not only in cities like Paris, with the Eiffel Tower, but also in smaller places like Bilbao with its Guggenheim Museum by Frank Gehry and, indeed, even smaller ones like Grasse with its perfumeries. In many cases the historical and cultural perspectives associated with such keynote buildings tend to be narrowly regional or national. To an increasing extent, however, links between particular political or architectural histories, and between histories of commerce and creativity and urban and rural tourism, have in turn generated European connections which are ultimately about exchange-based relationships between the local and the European, both spatially and in terms of knowledge. And today the focus is as likely to be on the European dimension of economic and stylistic eras as it is on historic literary or artistic connections or the development of migratory movements and processes of mobility. Moreover, new relationships between the past and the present are also forged when old buildings and symbols take on new functions and assume different kinds of significance, providing either a backdrop or a focus for new 'local' interpretations. If this aspect of European cultural heritage is valued and protected as a local resource, that will in turn help to put the local area on the European cultural map.

There is, however, another side to European cultural heritage – with quite converse effects – which we must also bear in mind, and that is the inflow of people, objects and ideas into local areas. Only if we continue to recognise just how much migration and mobility have been responsible for the historical integration, development and cultural character of Europe, and how emphati-

MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
HAVE BEEN CRUCIAL IN
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DEVELOPMENT AND IN ITS
CULTURAL CHARACTER.

cally – transcending both local limitations and the lure of nationalism – its cultural heritage is everywhere a ‘hybrid heritage’, a mix of extremely varied social, ethnic and cultural ingredients from many sources, will we achieve a proper understanding and interpretation of our own heritage. For only then will that cultural heritage serve its true purpose: that of integration and identification through the creation of clear, credible self-images, in which the greatest possible number of Europe’s inhabitants can see themselves reflected.

Yet even these forms of heritage require urban and regional spaces and places where they can have a presence and can be understood. So here too we must actively create objects and institutions, routes and trails that will highlight the ongoing inflow of new and foreign elements and influences and make them part of the urban space. Sites, routes and trails of this type will often direct people away from the marketplaces and bijou architecture of old town centres towards the urban fringes and towards Jewish neighbourhoods, Huguenot settlements, Polish colonies, ghettos of expellees or Turkish quarters, which down the centuries have had to adapt culturally and have, at the same time, sought to preserve themselves culturally.

Some cities and regions have already grasped this new perception of cultural heritage in Europe and have thus begun to develop this different side of their local culture: the everyday diversity of culture both historically and in our own times, and the means by which it has been preserved, at least imaginatively and symbolically, in poor residential and working areas and those associated with migrants and refugees.³⁸ This genuinely European aspect of our cities and communities could be given a higher profile by means of maps, tours and information panels. By way of a footnote here, the idea that images of European conurbations may be shaped in part not just by Christian churches and Jewish syna-

38 See Eade, John (ed.), 1997, *Living the global city: globalization as a local process*, London.

gogues but also by Islamic mosques actually seems to be gaining gradual acceptance without provoking calls for new crusades!³⁹

It is obvious, however, that this type of cultural heritage is still under-utilised. For there are in existence countless individual and collective stories about work and migration, expulsion and flight, which constitute a genuinely 'European' resource. This is a body of knowledge that embraces experiences, images and interpretations of cultural encounters from different sides and from right across the continent: the types of experience that went – and go – far deeper than any tourist trip could ever do.⁴⁰ For that reason I would dearly like to see one of our countless and typical European civic museums having the courage for once to portray its particular civic history not by placing its own middle classes centre stage but rather by starting with the 'foreigners' on the edge of town, the people who have, until now, been documented only in well-meaning exhibitions about 'guest workers'. Such an approach would be almost revolutionary as a way of presenting heritage – and it would be entirely 'European' in conception!

39 'Iconic Remembering and Religious Icons: Fundamentalist Strategies in European Memory Politics?', in Strath, Bo and Pakier, Gosia (eds), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance* (forthcoming)

40 See Vertovec, Steven and Cohen, Robin (eds), 1999, *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, Northhampton, Massachusetts.

IV. 'CITY OF EUROPE' AND 'REGION OF EUROPE' LABELS

We would propose that if a city or region has developed a particularly striking cultural profile in one or more of the categories outlined in the foregoing it be given a special designation, to be publicly displayed in an appropriate place (town hall, central square or regional government headquarters), as a 'City of Europe' or 'Region of Europe'. Unlike the 'European Cultural Capital' label, which is valid for only a year, this would be a permanent designation, comparable with that of 'World Heritage Site'.

The status of a 'City of Europe' or 'Region of Europe' would be based not just on cultural heritage but rather on overall cultural performance in accordance with the criteria outlined above. The text of the designation would also explain that this cultural performance constituted a contribution to the 'soul' of Europe and would indicate in which of the categories the cultural performance of European relevance was focused.

An appropriate way should be found for the European Parliament to play a determining role here, for example by appointing members of an assessment panel for a fixed term. However, decisions on designation should be taken neither by an official policy committee nor by organisations or associations, but rather by a small group of six or seven qualified people.

The fact that this select committee would have an incontestably European mandate would ensure due appreciation of the honour in the cities and regions designated and among the European public.

The civil-society initiative 'A Soul for Europe' (based in Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels and Porto and with associated offices in Belgrade and Tbilisi) could help with preparation and implementation of the designation procedure and – so that the year 2010 should have lasting impact – the European Cultural Capital RUHR 2010 could also contribute. With its decentralised European network, the initiative 'A Soul for Europe' could help to nominate and assess candidates on behalf of the designation committee

and the European Parliament.

As many European cities and regions as possible should be enabled to receive the designation, although there should be a rigorous selection procedure in order to preserve the status of the award. Certain obligations would be associated with the designation, and a regular monitoring and reporting procedure should be put in place to document the recipients' compliance.

V. APPENDIX

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www.nederlandindialoog.nl

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LabforCulture

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Les Rencontres

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Trans Europe Halles TEH

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Werkstatt der Kulturen Berlin

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Intercultural Cities

www.coe.int/interculturalcities

Santral Istanbul

www.santralistanbul.org

Zweckverband REGIO PAMINA

www.regio-pamina.org

Ravello Lab

<http://www.ravellolab.org/en/home.php>

Dag van de Dialoog (Rotterdam)

www.nederlandindialoog.nl

Berliner Philharmoniker

<http://www.berliner-philharmoniker.de/>

Stichting Koninklijk Concertgebouworkest

<http://www.concertgebouworkest.nl>

Europos Parkas

<http://www.europosparkas.lt>

Culture and Information Centre K@2

<http://www.karosta.lv/k2>

Zomer Carnaval Rotterdam

<http://www.zomercarnaval.nl/>

Karneval der Kulturen Berlin

<http://www.karneval-berlin.de/de/>

Kulturraum Großregion

www.plurio.net

Notting Hill Carneval

<http://www.nottinghillcarnival.biz/>

Truc sphérique/ Stanica Zilina Zarietie, Slovakia

www.stanica.sk/main

The European Heritage Network

<http://european-heritage.net>

Berlin Neukölln

<http://www.stadtteilmuetter.de/>

<http://www.ruetli-wear.de/>

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Centre Pompidou

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Zürich West

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Europäische Union

www.europa.eu

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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased by 1.5 million, from 2.5 million in 1980 to 4 million in 1998. The public sector has become a major employer in the UK, and its growth has been a key factor in the overall growth of the economy.

The public sector has also become a major provider of social services, and its growth has been a key factor in the overall growth of the economy. The public sector has become a major provider of social services, and its growth has been a key factor in the overall growth of the economy.

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