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AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

**CULTURAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND  
INTEGRATION OF TURKEY**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

EBRU ATLAN

İstanbul – 2010

**To my parents...**

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Danışman: Prof. Dr. Nedret Kuran Burçoğlu

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ONAY SAYFASI

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.....tarih ve ..... Sayılı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **CULTURAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND INTEGRATION OF TURKEY “The Unifying Role of Culture and Art Activities”**

Since Turkey acquired candidacy in 1999 Helsinki Summit, the question of ‘in what terms Turkey is different from the European Union countries’ has gained much attention. There are some certain political and economic standards that the European Union requires Turkey to meet in order to become a full member. Nevertheless, many scholars agree and argue that the basic obstacles against Turkey’s integration with the European Union are not only economical or political, but also rather cultural.

This thesis aims to bring a closer look over Turkey vs. the European Union on the cultural ground and identify both the similarities and differences between them appreciating and respecting the uniqueness of each and every culture involved within this context. In doing so, it is the major goal of this thesis to suggest grounds where cultures can liberalize themselves from constructed prejudices and get closer to each other through a natural pace of attraction. ‘Culture and art’ activities in this perspective are observed to bear the highest potential to unite cultures, increase the interaction between them, and open the way for Turkey to a true and healthy integration. Towards this perspective, 2010 Istanbul European Capital of Culture organization is seen as a crucial opportunity for Turkey to efficiently take in order to get one step closer with Europe, overcome misperceptions and misjudgments about Turkish culture, and fill the gaps in promotion of Turkey in Europe.



## ÖZET

### AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ KÜLTÜR POLİTİKASI VE TÜRKİYE’NİN ENTEGRASYONU

#### “Kültür ve Sanat Faaliyetlerinin Birleştirici Rolü”

1999 Helsinki Zirvesi’nde Türkiye’ye adaylık statüsü verilmesiyle beraber Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği ülkeleri arasındaki farklılıklar daha fazla önem kazanmıştır. Avrupa Birliği’nin Türkiye’nin tam üyeliğe kabulü için hiç şüphesiz Türkiye’den yerine getirmesini beklediği bir takım siyasi ve ekonomik kriterler mevcuttur. Ancak pek çok aydınının da üzerinde fikir birliği sağlamış olduğu gibi, Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği ile bütünleşmesi önündeki engeller sadece siyasi ve ekonomik değil; aynı zamanda ve önemli ölçüde kültürelidir.

Bu tezin amacı, Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği’ni kültürel düzlemde inceleme altına alarak; her ikisi arasındaki farklılıkları ve benzerlikleri, bu kapsama giren tüm ülkelerin kültürlerinin eşsiz ve özgün doğalarına saygı ve takdiri muhafaza etmek suretiyle, ortaya koymaktadır. Bu süreçte, kültürlerin kendilerini inşa edilmiş önyargılardan özgürleştirerek, aralarında gerçekleşecek doğal çekim sürecinde birbirlerine yaklaşmalarını sağlayacak bir zemin önerebilmek bu tezin en başlıca hedefidir. Bu bağlamda ‘kültür ve sanat’ faaliyetleri; kültürleri birleştirme, aralarındaki iletişimi artırma ve Türkiye’ye hakiki ve sağlıklı bir bütünleşme yolu açma gayesinde en yüksek potansiyele haiz bir araç olarak görülmektedir. Bu bakış açısından yola çıkarak, 2010 İstanbul Avrupa Kültür Başkenti organizasyonu Türkiye için Avrupa ile bir adım daha yakınlaşmak, Türk kültürü üzerine yanlış algı ve yargıları düzeltmek ve Türkiye’nin Avrupa’ya tanıtımında mevcut eksiklikleri gidermek amacıyla önemli ve iyi değerlendirilmesi gereken bir fırsat olarak görülmektedir.

## INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation I mainly concentrated on the importance of cultural policy in Turkey – European Union relations. It is an outcome of an interdisciplinary research which have brought together and utilized methods and information collected from the disciplines of political science, sociology, and anthropology. The main purpose of this study is to observe the impacts of cultural - in particular artistic - activities handled by Turkish artists such as; musicians, painters, sculptors, movie makers, actors, actresses, and writers on the improvement of Turkish and Turkey's image in Europe and also on the integration of Turkey into the European Union.

The reason why I conducted this research is firstly because I have been engaged in the music management business. My personal interest in the field of culture and art management has also been inspiring for me to carry out this study in which I basically sought to find out the intersection points of culture management with EU policies and analyze its impacts over Turkey's integration into the European Union.

The main motive in making this analysis stems from two basic convictions. First of all, 'culture' is intrinsically a diversity of opinions and cultural boundaries are humanly constructed thus, they can be altered. Secondly, 'culture and art activities' mostly have a unifying role among people through promoting peace and humanist values. This conviction is nurtured with the concern to discover whether 'art' can constitute a means in transcending these designed boundaries between peoples of different cultures.

In the course of this analysis first of all, Chapter 1 of this thesis seeks to provide a thorough research on the concept of 'culture' itself in order to clarify the sources of differences between societies. To see the reflections of 'culture' in the political field, an analysis on the interaction of culture and politics is made and the impacts of culture on social, political, as well

as economic development are observed. In what follows, socio-political parameters that differentiate Turkey from the European Union member countries are presented along with the global cultural map which classifies countries on the basis of religion, being ex-Communist, and being an English speaking country. On the base of this map and some certain parameters, cultural tendencies of certain societies are identified and interpreted.

Chapter 2 focuses on European Culture and Cultural Policy. The dynamics of the European identity and its place in the European Culture are discussed under this chapter. Social constructivist thought is used in explaining the cultural integration of the European Union and in showing the significant role of the changing human element in construction and re-construction of socio-political realities. In order to identify the fundamental constitutive elements of the current European Cultural Policy, a chronological development as well as Turkey's involvement in it through culture programs such as the 2010 European Culture of Capital organization is presented. Particular attention is paid on the dimensions of European Capital of Culture and its potential outcomes for Turkey in 2010 are researched in this chapter as well.

In the last chapter, the 'unifying role of culture and art activities' in Turkey – EU relations is observed through a number of interviews made with some artists. These artists were specifically selected because they are artistically active in Europe and practically involved within processes of the Cultural Policy. The interviews were conducted with artists such as; Gülsin Onay, Erkan Oğur, Sumru Ağıryürüyen, Murat Ertel and Levent Akman from *Baba Zula*, Selçuk Artut from *Replikas*, Emre Koyuncuoğlu, Aksel Zeydan Göz, Sinan Temizalp and Ilkay Sevgi from *Simya Sanat Performance Art and Education Center*, Gülbahar Kültür, Erdem Helvacıoğlu, Ayça Damgacı and Rüdiger Oppermann in order to find out the experiences and observations of these people as well as the obstacles they encounter in the practical field. All interviewees gave permission for the publication of their interviews as part of this thesis.

# 1. CULTURE AND POLITICS

## 1.1 A Conceptual Analysis: Culture and Civilization

There are more than 150 definitions of culture provided by scholars. The main problem with the concept of culture is that it is not possible to suggest a consistent definition of culture. Therefore, in order to understand the concept, it is required to analyze different definitions of it.

Culture is most commonly defined as being the whole way of life found in a particular society. It is a collection of ideas and habits which are learnt, shared and transmitted from generation to generation within a certain society.<sup>1</sup> The word culture goes back to classical or even pre-classical Latin with the meaning of ‘cultivation’ or ‘nurture’ as it still prevails in terms such as agriculture, horticulture, cult, cultus<sup>2</sup>, and in more recent formations like bee culture, oyster culture, and pearl culture. The application of culture to human societies and history started by late 1750s and firstly used in the German language.<sup>3</sup>

When we look at the dictionary definitions of the term culture, the Oxford Dictionary confirms that this term is derived from Latin *cultura*, from the verb *colere*, which means to cultivate. To cultivate something means to work on it with the purpose of achieving something better and valuable. In the early meanings of culture, we see that the concept is closely connected with the term “civilization” and its synonyms meaning positive achievements and true accomplishments of people.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Haralambos, “Sociology: Themes and Perspectives”, p.884

<sup>2</sup> Meaning “care directed to the refinement of life” also used for “style of dress”, “external appearance and the like”.

<sup>3</sup> A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, “Culture - A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions”, p.283

<sup>4</sup> Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson, “Culture and Politics – *A Comparative Approach*”, p.18

In Christian authors' writings *cultura* was used with the meaning of worship. In French the old form of the term was *couture* which was later turned into *culture*. In English until E.B.Tylor (1871), the term was used with the meaning of training, development and refinement of mind, tastes, and manners addressing to the intellectual side of civilization.<sup>5</sup> The term "culture" entered into English usage with the early publication of E.B. Tylor's work "*Primitive Culture*" in 1871. Here he provides the following definition:

Culture or civilization ... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. . (Tylor, 1871)<sup>6</sup>

The usage of "culture" and "civilization" in various languages has been quite confusing. In the works of many early writers, concepts of culture and civilization are used as synonyms to each other. Kroeber and Kluckhohn make the following distinction between the two terms:

Culture is a particular state or stage of advancement in civilization. Civilization is called an advancement or a state of social culture. In both literal and popular English, the tendency is to treat both terms as near synonyms, though civilization has sometimes been restricted to "advanced" or "high" cultures.<sup>7</sup>

However, in later time examinations, culture and civilization are treated as different concepts. In most of the sources, culture is defined to be the most general concept denoting the cultural identity of a community. A civilization on the other hand, is the culture of an extremely large community, covering many nations or peoples which may have little interaction. The Greek and Islamic civilizations for instance, cover many countries and periods in history. On the other hand, the culture of for example a small community of homosexuals in present day San Francisco

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<sup>5</sup> Kroeber and Kluckhohn, pp. 11-63

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.81

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.19

is a much more limited phenomenon. Therefore, all civilizations are cultures but not all cultures constitute civilizations.<sup>8</sup>

Christopher Jencks, American social policy professor brings an elitist approach to the concept of culture. Jencks defines culture as a state of mind, a quality achieved by individuals by moving towards the idea of perfection or a goal. In addition to that, he says culture is closely related to the idea of civilization and societies which are more cultured are more civilized than the others. On the basis of this definition, he argues that culture is the collective body of arts and intellectual work within any society which means that culture is to be found in theatres, concert halls, art galleries and libraries rather than in all aspects of human social life.<sup>9</sup>

Samuel P.Huntington provides a plain description about the two concepts. He suggests that a civilization is a cultural entity. Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity. The culture of a village in Southern Italy can be different from the culture of a village in the Northern Italy but at the end they both share a common Italian culture which distinguishes them from German villages. Similarly, European communities share common cultural elements which distinguish them from Arabs or Chinese communities. Arabs, Chinese and Western people on the other hand, are not part of any broader cultural entity that can cover them; they constitute civilizations. A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have. It is defined both by the common objective elements which are language, history, religion, customs, and institutions and by the subjective self-identification of people. Huntington gives an example to explain this argument by stating that people have levels of identity such like a resident of Rome may define himself as a Roman, Italian, Catholic, Christian, European, and Westerner with varying degrees of intensities. The civilization which he belongs to, is the broadest and most intensive level of his identification.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Lane and Ersson, “Culture and Politics – *A Comparative Approach*”, p.19

<sup>9</sup> Haralambos, p.884

<sup>10</sup> Samuel P.Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?”, p.2

*Webster's New International Dictionary* in 1929, seems to be the first to recognize the anthropological and scientific meaning which the word "culture" had acquired. The dictionary says that culture constitutes a particular stage of advancement in civilization; the characteristic attainments of peoples of a society or social order; such as, Greek culture, primitive culture by giving examples from Tylor and Ripley. In another paragraph it also says that the complex of distinctive attainments, beliefs, traditions, etc constitute the background of a racial, religious, or social group; as a nation with many cultures.<sup>11</sup>

*The Dictionary of Sociology* published in 1944 on the other hand gives the following definition for the word culture:

Culture: A collective name for all behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted by means of symbols; hence a name for all the distinctive achievements of human groups, including not only such items as language, tool making, industry, art, science, law, government, morals, and religion, but also the material instruments or artifacts in which cultural achievements are embodied and by which intellectual cultural features are given practical effect like buildings, tools machines, communication devices, art, objects, etc.

... The essential part of culture is to be found in the patterns embodied in the social traditions of the group, that shows itself in knowledge, ideas, beliefs, values, standards, and sentiments prevalent in the group ... The essential part of culture seems to be an appreciation of values with reference to life conditions. ... Complete definitions of culture must include subjective and objective aspects. Practically, the culture of the human group is summed up in its traditions and customs; but tradition, as the subjective side of culture, is the essential core.<sup>12</sup>

The earliest appearance of the term culture in Europe is found in Adelung's writings as *Kultur* in mid and late eighteenth century. He and his contemporaries used the word with the meaning of improvement and refinement. According to H.Schulz (1913), the word Kultur was

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<sup>11</sup> Kroeber and Kluckhohn, pp. 63-64

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp.65-66

taken into German towards the end of the seventeenth century to denote the spiritual culture and the development of man's intellectual and moral capacities. In the eighteenth century this concept became broader by being transferred from individuals to peoples or mankind. At this stage, it acquired its modern sense of totality of the forms and processes of social life both in the spiritual and material senses.<sup>13</sup>

Gustav E.Klemm, German anthropologist, published his work on the history and science of culture in ten volumes between 1843 and 1852. In his first book, published in 1843, he emphasized the significance of culture by stating that "it was Voltaire who first put aside dynasties, king lists, and battles, and sought what is essential in history; 'culture', as it manifests in customs, in beliefs, and in forms of government." It is Klemm by whom Tylor was influenced and produced his works accordingly.

In Germany, Wundt is also an important writer who published a book in 1920 about the concept of culture and discussed the origins of the term as well as its development as a concept. Wundt refers to the concept of civilization in his writings as an old word in French, English and German. As Kant and other scholars, he uses the concept as similar to culture with the meaning of "becoming cultivated through art and science, hence becoming civilized and socially refined". In German the word *Kultur* was used to provide this meaning. In the French of nineteenth century *civilisation* was used with the same meaning like German *Kultur*.<sup>14</sup>

Ferdinand Tönnies published his famous *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* in 1887 where he puts forward his dichotomy between community and society and refers to a progress from socially organic to socially mechanical, a transition from the culture of folk society to the civilization of state organization. According to Tönnies culture comprises custom, religion, and

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp.31-38

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp.14-19



art while on the other hand civilization comprises law and science. As understood from *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, *Kultur* is what precedes and brings about *Zivilisation*.<sup>15</sup>

Culture is, with no doubt, a multi-dimensional concept. When we look at the definitions given for the term culture, we see a number of different definitions and implications focusing on different dimensions that are referred to by all the scholars who discussed the subject. Most descriptions of culture tend to define it as a *comprehensive totality* of customs, ideas, beliefs, traditions, religious order, law, social habits, language uses, art and artistic norms, food habits, crafts, etc all of which are acquired by man and determine the human activities as a member of a society.<sup>16</sup> The comprehensive totality of culture denotes each and every contributing element to the existence of a society as a whole. These elements may emerge within different time periods throughout the history in accordance with the upcoming needs of a society.

Secondly, most descriptions of culture have the historical accentuation of *legacy* which in other words can be called as *social heritage* or *tradition*. In cultural anthropology, social heritage constitutes a key concept. It includes all materially and spiritually inherited elements that are transmitted from one generation to another. The inherited elements of culture comprise; all practices, beliefs, ideas, habits, artifacts, goods, technical processes, values which shape people's life in a society.<sup>17</sup>

Religious practices, reflections of religious and traditional practices over individual behaviors, traditional art making techniques, traditional eating and cooking practices, conventional vehicles etc are all subjects of social heritage. Some of these elements are transferred from generation to generation and some of the others loose continuity of practice in time.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.27

<sup>16</sup> Lane and Ersson, p.21

<sup>17</sup> Kroeber and Kluckhohn, pp.89-94

In conceptualizing culture, norms are accepted to constitute a third dimension and points at “ways of thinking and action” or in other words “ways of life”. The mode or way of life implies common or shared patterns, symbols, values, sanctions for failure to follow the rules, social blueprints for action, and social design for the living all of which are shaped through common and accepted ways of thinking, acting and also by the social environment. Through these elements, one society develops a specific nature which distinguishes it from the others.<sup>18</sup> In smaller societies social norms are more dominant in shaping the lives of its members. Failure to follow the rules can bring exclusion from one certain group.

In terms of normative emphasis, some writers mention *ideals*, *values* and *behavior* referring to the intellectual, social and artistic ideals of individuals as part of culture within a society.<sup>19</sup>

Another implication of the concept of culture is found in its *psychological* dimension which focuses on men’s behavior through which they adjust to the life conditions of their culture. Culture is made up of learned elements that pass from generation to generation and become common behaviors and habits in a society.<sup>20</sup> From a structural point of view, the pattern or the organization of the culture also serves for the same purpose. Through interrelation and interdependence, peoples of a society develop patterns of behaviors which in time turn into habits. The social institutions within societies are designed to satisfy the human needs. These social institutions constitute the heart of culture because through them human groups are organized to behave in certain ways.<sup>21</sup>

The individual demands that emerge in a society lead to creation of a social life equipped with elements satisfying the needs of the majority in that society. The systems and structures

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp.95-99

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp.101-102

<sup>20</sup> Lane and Ersson, p.22

<sup>21</sup> Kroeber and Kluckhohn, pp.118-121

which are established within the society, in return affect how members of that particular society perceive the life. Their perceptions of the life bring about value systems. These value systems maintain a kind of control over the lives of individuals as they incorporate them within themselves. This practice in time grows, gains continuity and becomes a pattern what then is called 'culture'.

According to the psychological implication, culture can serve as a *problem solving device* by comprising all technical, mechanical, mental and moral equipments that can respond to the needs of individuals in a society and subsequently resolve the societal problems. For resolving the problems of a society, traditionally learned and trusted problem solving methods are used.<sup>22</sup>

*Genesis* is another connotation that comes along with culture implying the two characteristics of a cultural item: First, it is created; second, what is created can be transmitted from generation to generation. From this point of view, culture is a *product* or *artifact* referring to all material and immaterial components of culture such like tools, symbols, habits, organizations, beliefs, activities, etc all of which are artificial products created by man's conscious or unconscious activities through social interaction. The man made elements of culture here implied are attitudes, beliefs, ideas, judgments, codes, institutions, science, arts, philosophy and social organization.<sup>23</sup>

Actually, we cannot speak of any culture that is not created by man. Man plays the key role in shaping cultures with their all aspects and dimensions. Therefore, cultures are constructed and in time they can be reconstructed through adoption of new practices by man again.

All these connotations of culture listed above are given in order to understand its implications in a more systematic way. In the most recent literature, there are attempts to make

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp.105-116

<sup>23</sup> Lane and Ersson, p.23

more specific definitions of the concept of culture. C.P. Kottak argues that, in today's world, the distinctions between different levels of culture such as the international, national, and subcultural; are highly important. By "national culture" he means the beliefs, learned behavior patterns, values and institutions shared by the citizens of the same nation. "International culture" refers to the cultural traditions which extend beyond and across national boundaries. "Subculture" on the other hand, represent different symbol based patterns and traditions associated with particular groups in the same complex society. He explains that different subcultures can exist in large nations originated on the basis of ethnicity, language, class and religion.<sup>24</sup>

Emile Durkheim, in his work; "*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*" (1961, first published in 1912), argues about the social origin of culture and basically focuses on religion. He believes that in simple societies, religion was the basis for creating a "collective conscience"<sup>25</sup>. As society evolves, division of labor becomes more specialized. People become interdependent to each other within an organic solidarity, as Durkheim calls it, in order to fulfill their needs. A collective conscience – a shared culture – still prevails and remains necessary within a society of organic solidarity, to run smoothly. Durkheim also says that the collective conscience does not change from generation to generation; instead, it connects successive generations with one another. To avoid the risk of punishment, people conform to the cultural norms of the society they live in.<sup>26</sup> This is a psychological outcome created by the culture. People avoid very much from being excluded out of a group or a society. Therefore, they comply with created norms to receive acceptance from the society.

Talcott Parsons, one of American leading sociologists, defines cultural objects as "symbolic elements of the cultural tradition, expressive symbols or value patterns" in his book "*The Social System*" (published in 1951). According to this definition; culture includes elements such as the language, symbols such as flags, beliefs about right or wrong, as well as the art and literature of a society. By this definition, Parsons distinguishes culture from the individual

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p.24

<sup>25</sup> Meaning; shared moral beliefs and values of a society.

<sup>26</sup> Haralambos, p.887

personality and the physical environment. Still culture remains as the linking factor of all the elements of the social system together. Parsons believes that human society cannot possibly exist without a shared culture. A shared culture makes it possible for people to communicate and understand each other, and work towards shared goals. For a society to survive, the existence of a shared culture is a fundamental need.<sup>27</sup>

When it comes to explaining the concept of civilization, most scholars focus on 2 basic criteria: Religion and historical legacy; a civilization is much more likely to be based on a religion such as the Islam or Buddhism while it is more doubtful to link a civilization with merely to its geopolitical circumstances. For example, the existence of an Asiatic civilization is a more debatable issue than the existence of an Islamic or Confucian civilization.

According to Huntington, what differs a civilization from the other is primarily its religion and then its history, language, culture and tradition. The differences between people are product of centuries. People of different civilizations have different understandings regarding the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, husband and wife, parents and children, the citizen and the state, liberty and authority, rights and responsibilities.<sup>28</sup>

To accentuate the importance of civilizational identity and religion, Huntington gives an example which supports the idea that cultural characteristics and differences are mostly static and not easily compromised or resolved. He says that a person can be half-French and half-Arab and simultaneously be a citizen of two countries. However, it is very difficult for someone to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim at the same time.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.888

<sup>28</sup> Huntington, p.3

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.4

At a one dimension glance, it might look inevitable to avoid the creation of common cultures between groups of people who chose to live a settled life. At this point ‘settlement’ plays a key determining role that persuades people to gather around commonalities. This can be seen as the ‘interlocking mechanism’ of the current world system which imposes economic dependence over people. The economic dependence leads people to develop feeling of insecurity and that becomes why they start to seek commonalities and unite around them as groups of people. If we could have experienced a system independent from the authority of the economic concerns, we could then speak about mobility which would enable people to move freely with no obligation of settlement. This would be much more in consistency with the nature of the human beings. In a world system which enabled security coming along with freedom of mobility, people could move far beyond the tendency of seeking for commonalities to unite around. This would mean higher and wider interaction among people and then we could be able to speak about more homogeneity of cultures on the world. However, when we consider the dynamics of the current life where we have a world order dominated mainly by the capital that retains the power to exclude the disobedient from the system, creation of shared cultures becomes a necessity in order to survive.

This section proposes a comprehensive understanding about the concept of ‘culture’ through presenting definitions and explanations from fields of politics, sociology, and anthropology. Nevertheless, my adoption of the concept of “culture” in this study remains primarily restrained to art and intellectual works by which I understand human productions and practices of a subjective aesthetic perception of the world which is reflected in music, paintings, sculptures, theater plays, movies, literature and so on. In the coming chapters, “culture” from this perspective and its potential unifying role between Turkey and the European Union as part of the European Union cultural policy is further analyzed. Before moving forward to that, the next section examines the relation between culture and politics.

## 1.2 Interaction between Culture and Politics

German social critic Theodor Adorno emphasizes that culture makes the place where we live and politics teaches how to live.<sup>30</sup>

Between culture and politics, there is unavoidable interaction and interdependency. The power of culture constitutes a call to human solidarity. Politics is a figure drawn on the ground of culture. Culture is used as a mobilizing element to get people attain certain opinions and develop certain patterns of behaviors accordingly. Through visible or undisclosed forms of manipulation, people are gathered around particular thoughts or ideals which are subject to politics.

Culture has an explanatory character which can tell us why events occur or why people behave or act in certain ways in different societies. Cultural explanations reflect preferences of groups of individuals in this sense. These preferences are basically shaped in accordance with the elements of ethnicity, religion, or universal values as well as the accompanying belief systems.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the history, many disagreements, fights, and even wars started as result of different choices on the value systems adopted by individuals of different societies. For this reason, in today's world cultural tolerance and respect have become significantly emphasized especially in the international arena in order for establishing healthy multinational relations comprising a number of diverse societies harmoniously together under one single establishment such like the European Union. Respect to diversities among people, democracy and human rights have become the most sounded values by the European Union. On the other hand, the increasing Euronationalist movements, unending otherization of non-Christian and non European world lead to question marks about how well these values are managed to be adopted by the Union today.

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<sup>30</sup> Fred Inglis, "Culture", p.55

<sup>31</sup> Lane and Ersson, p.40

According to Michael Oakeshott, culture is the greatest but most hardly sustained accomplishment of mankind. He says that the noise of a society's conversation makes the culture. The conversation of culture sustains itself in human exchange of minds and reaches outside world through self-reflection. At the point of self-reflection, culture begins to speak about politics. When states as institutions started to take the place of absolute monarchs in history, the power of public opinion, which is essential to the democratic idea, started to flourish as well. Public opinion is the self-consciousness of a culture and at the same time it is the energy of politics; without it, no political will can be created or managed. Culture circulates via human activity and exchange which then transforms itself into collective opinions.<sup>32</sup>

The demands and interests of people in a society find their shape through culture and they bring about formation of a structure in which those needs and interests are responded. The structure or the system established to meet the needs of the society, become the subject of governing and thus; politics.

Fred Inglis states that, culture had been notably significant in the politics of what Eric Hobsbawm called "the short twentieth century"<sup>33</sup>. At that time, culture comprised three meanings as; social ideal, ideal concentrated in the expressive arts, a way of life special to a particular society and expressed by social symbols. Public opinion of different social classes turned culture into a political weapon.<sup>34</sup>

Bolsheviks after their coup in 1917, used culture and art very effectively for their political purposes. Between 1918 and 1989, it was the age of ideology driven by propaganda that is shaped according to culture. Generally speaking, after 1928, ideology organized culture. In Italy,

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<sup>32</sup> Fred Inglis, "Culture", p.34

<sup>33</sup> British Marxist historian and author Eric Hobsbawm, refers to the period between the years 1914 and 1991 as "the short twentieth century". The period begins with World War 1 and ends with the fall of the Soviet Union. The chain of events during this period represented significant changes in the world history.  
([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_short\\_twentieth\\_century](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_short_twentieth_century))

<sup>34</sup> Fred Inglis, "Culture", pp.34-35



Mussolini gained power by 1921 and developed a fast understanding of the social symbolism that would fasten Italian culture in accordance with his fascist ideology to rival communism. He chose architects, designers, musicians and famous impresarios and assigned them to create a living culture for his politics only within a short period of years. They created an ideology with spectacular cultural effects against communism.

Schiller and Arnold conceptualize culture as the highest and most easily manipulated expression of the human mind. Capitalism sees culture as something to be used strictly for commercial purposes and invented Hollywood to fulfill this mission. These were the clashes between the three big ideologies of the twentieth century; Communism, Fascism and Social Democracy or Liberalism. Between 1918 and 1989, seventy million people were killed as result of the competition of ideologies which was first declared on the battleground of culture. Antonio Gramsci, Italian Communist author who is known as the first political theorist of culture, says that culture is the ground on which the figures of politics have fought their wars of class. He also states that through “hegemony”, an entire society’s consciousness is successfully saturated by imposing them a certain way of life, as it was the case in bourgeoisie that kept the ruling people in power. Through interlocking the cultural institutions - education and schooling, and also the means and instruments of all public communication (such like books, newspaper, and broadcasting) – they won the consent of the people to the way things were. Hegemony is the reason why so many people consent to and vote for political arrangements that are obviously working against their own happiness and sense of justice within their modern capitalist life.<sup>35</sup>

Social constructivism is a well designed approach to explain this alterability of social reality by the intervention of the human element. The human factor plays a crucial role in creating the social realities. One cannot speak about constancy of human ideas that are shaped according to the knowledge coming from versatile and unsteady environment that surround the individual. As the environmental conditions keep varying, the knowledge in parallel to it changes its form and alters the human perception which in consequence constructs the socio-political

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp.36-45

realities of the world we live in. In the following chapter the issue of social constructivism will be evaluated more deeply.

When we look at the world today we see that the system is made up of the First World and the Third World. The Second World of communist countries has almost completely disappeared. The First World includes countries with stable democracies and developed economies whereas the Third World countries are identical with their democratic instabilities and huge poverty. Some major social scientists claim that culture plays a major role in explaining the differences between these countries (Horowitz, 1985; Huntington, 1996; Weber, 1904; North, 1990; Todd, 1983; Inglehart, 1997).<sup>36</sup>

It is possible to explain the political and economic situations of the world countries today in light of their cultural preferences which involves elements such as religion, values, beliefs, traditions, etc that they adopted and on the basis of which they founded their lives. Following sections will be explaining the dynamics of the interdependency among culture vs. politics and economy.

### **1.3. Impacts of Culture**

Culture has *macro* and *micro* outcomes. In the macro sense culture has impacts on the political, social and economic developments in a society. When the political development reflects stable democracy, social development stands for equality and economic development brings prosperity and growth. In the micro sense, impacts of culture are observed on attitudes of individuals which gather around cultural values within a society.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Lane and Ersson, p.41

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.39

Authors like Francis Fukuyama (1995), Lawrence Harrison (1985, 1992, 1997), Samuel Huntington (1996), and Robert Putnam (1993), who follow the Weberian tradition<sup>38</sup>, argue that cultural traditions are remarkably enduring and shape the political and economic behavior of their societies today. On the other hand, modernization theorists from Karl Marx to Daniel Bell, have argued that the rise of industrial society brought economic development and as a result cultural shifts away from traditional value systems occurred.<sup>39</sup> At first look the two arguments might seem conflicting however there are evidences which prove both claims are true and in fact complementary to each other.

The fact that a society was historically Protestant, Orthodox, Islamic or Confucian gives rise to cultural zones with highly distinctive value systems which bring not only social and political consequences but also affect their economic development and democratic institutionalization.<sup>40</sup>

Huntington divides the world into eight or nine major civilizations. He says that, in the near future the fundamental crisis and clashes will occur between these civilizations because of the cultural differences between them.<sup>41</sup> He mentions that these differences between civilizations are products of centuries and basic in identifying one against the other. In spite of the modernization, these civilizations are mostly characterized and shaped by religious traditions. Western Christianity, the Orthodox world, the Islamic world, and the Confucian, Japanese,

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<sup>38</sup> Weber, in 1904, revealed his theory on religions focusing on the outcomes of religion in terms of economic development. He claimed that the spirit of capitalism could be found in Protestantism and that's why Protestant countries proved to be economically more developed than the countries of other religions.

<sup>39</sup> Ronald Inglehart, "Culture and Democracy" in Lawrence E. Harrison & Samuel P. Huntington (ed.), *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, p.80

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.81

<sup>41</sup> Huntington's Clash of Civilization Thesis is a very contested approach in the international scene. It is claimed to maintain tension and polarization in people's minds. There has been many counter responses to his thesis. For example, the former Iranian President Mohammad Khatami introduced the concept of "Dialogue Among Civilizations" in response to Huntington. Following that this theory was adopted by the United Nations as a resolution for the year 2001. Edward Said issued a response to Huntington's thesis under the title of "Clash of Ignorance" and argued that Huntington's categorization of fixed civilizations omits the dynamic interdependency and interaction of culture. In 2005 the Alliance of Civilization (AOC) was proposed to the UN by Spanish President José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and co-sponsored by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with the intention to overcome cultural and social barriers especially between the Western and the Muslim world.

Hindu, Buddhist, African, and Latin American regions constitute the major cultural zones. With the end of the Cold War, Huntington argues that political conflict will occur mainly along these cultural divisions.<sup>42</sup>

Harrison (1985, 1992, and 1997) argues that development is strongly influenced by a society's basic cultural values. Fukuyama (1995) argues that a society's ability to compete in a global market is determined by social trust: "low-trust" societies are less effective in developing large, complex social institutions. All these analyses reflect the assumption that contemporary societies are characterized by distinctive cultural characteristics that have endured over long periods of time and that these characteristics have an important impact on political and economic performances of societies.

Modernization theorists on the other hand have argued that the world is changing. Economic development inevitably brings the decline of religion, parochialism, traditional values and cultural differences.<sup>43</sup> Huntington says, it is true that economic modernization and social change throughout the world are detaching people from their local identities and also diminishing the importance of nation as source of national identity. Nevertheless, this gap is mostly filled by religious fundamentalist movements such as in Islam, Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism.<sup>44</sup>

According to the data from World Values Survey (WVS)<sup>45</sup>, which by 2007 covers 99 countries containing 90% of world's population, evidences present that both claims are true. The next section presents data collected from WVS with the aim of exploring how effective cultural values of a society are in determining its social, political and economic preferences.

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<sup>42</sup> Huntington, pp.3-4

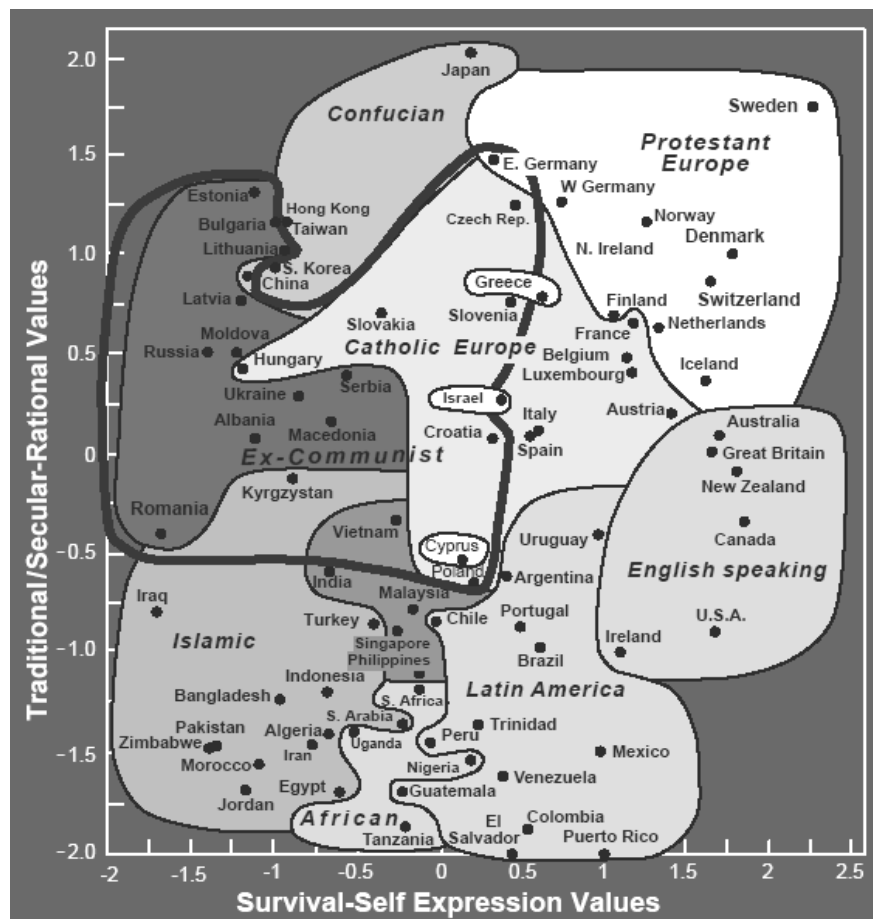
<sup>43</sup> Inglehart, p.81

<sup>44</sup> Huntington, pp.3-4

<sup>45</sup> The **World Values Survey** (WVS) is an ongoing academic project by social scientists to assess the state of socio-cultural, moral, religious and political values of different cultures around the world. Its results are largely available on the project's internet website: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

## 1.4. A Global Cultural Map

The World Values Surveys were designed to provide a comprehensive measurement of all major areas of human concern, from religion to politics to economic and social life and two dimensions dominate the picture: (1) Traditional/Secular-rational and (2) Survival/Self-expression values. These two dimensions explain more than 70 percent of the cross-national variance in a factor analysis of ten indicators-and each of these dimensions is strongly correlated with scores of other important orientations. Huntington's division of cultural zones is used as a guide in drawing boundaries around the indicated group of countries on the map.<sup>46</sup>



**Figure 1-1** Global Cultural Map by 2006

Source: Ronald Inglehart, Subjective social indicators: Moving beyond GDP, Eurobarometer Conference Gothenburg University, September 28-29, 2009 p.20 (available at: [www.eurobarometer-conference2009.eu/.../subjective\\_social\\_indicators\\_EB%20-%20Ronald%20Inglehart.ppt](http://www.eurobarometer-conference2009.eu/.../subjective_social_indicators_EB%20-%20Ronald%20Inglehart.ppt)) based on the World Values Surveys (available at [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org))

<sup>46</sup> [http://margaux.grandvinum.se/SebTest/wvs/SebTest/wvs/articles/folder\\_published/article\\_base\\_54](http://margaux.grandvinum.se/SebTest/wvs/SebTest/wvs/articles/folder_published/article_base_54)

The concepts and measures of World Values Surveys are as below:<sup>47</sup>

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Definitions, coding and sources</i>
<i>Per Capita GDP</i>	Measured in constant international \$ in Purchasing Power Parity. Various years. Source: The World Bank. World Development Indicators.
<i>Type of religion</i>	V184: “Do you belong to a religious denomination? [IF YES] Which one?” Coded: No, not a member; Roman Catholic; Protestant; Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.); Jewish; Muslim; Hindu; Buddhist; Other. Source: World Values Surveys.
<i>Type of predominant religion worldwide</i>	The classification of the major religion (adhered to by the plurality groups in the population) in all 193 states around the world is based on the CIA. <i>The World Factbook, 2009</i> . (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency). Source: <a href="http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook">http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook</a>
<i>Gender equality scale</i>	The combined 100-pt gender equality scale is based on the following 3 items: MENPOL Q118: “On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.” (Agree coded low); MENJOBS Q78: “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.” (Agree coded low); BOYEDUC Q.119: “A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.” (Agree coded low). Source: World Values Surveys.
<i>Sexual liberalization value scale</i>	“Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified (10), never justified (1), or somewhere in-between, using this card...Abortion, Homosexuality, and Divorce”. Source: World Values Surveys
<i>Democratic values scale</i>	V148-151. “I’m going to describe various types of political system and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections/ Having experts, not government, make decisions../Having the army rule/ Having a democratic political system?” Source: World Values Surveys.

<sup>47</sup> Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “Muslim Integration into Western Cultures: Between Origins and Destination”, pp.29-30

<b>Religious values scale</b>	This is a composite 100-point scale constructed by summing the following items: Importance of God, Religious identity, Importance of religion, Frequency of attending religious services, Take moments of prayer or meditation, How often think about meaning of life?
<b>Occupational Class</b>	Coded for the respondent's occupation. " <i>In which profession/occupation do you, or did you, work?</i> " The scale is coded into 4 categories: Professional/manager (1); Other nonmanual (2); Skilled non-manual (3); Unskilled Manual Worker (4). Source: World Values Surveys
<b>Paid work status</b>	V220. " <i>Are you employed now or not?</i> " Coded fulltime, part-time or self-employed (1), other (0). Source: World Values Surveys
<b>Education</b>	V217. " <i>What is the highest educational level that you have ever attained?</i> " Coded on a 9-point scale from no formal education (1) to university level with degree (9). Source: World Values Surveys
<b>Age</b>	Age coded in continuous years derived from date of birth. Source: World Values Surveys.  Age groups: Younger (18-29), middle (30-49), and older (50+).
<b>Language</b>	V222. " <i>What language do you normally speak at home?</i> " Code English=1, else=0. Source: World Values Surveys
<b>Religiosity</b>	V192 ' <i>How important is God in your life</i> ' 10-point scale
<b>Household Income</b>	V253 " <i>On this card is a scale of incomes on which I indicates the "lowest income decile" and 10 the "highest income decile" in your country. We would like to know in what group your household is. Please, specify the appropriate number, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in.</i> " (Code one number). Source: World Values Surveys
<b>Education scale</b>	V238. " <i>What is the highest educational level that you have attained?</i> " [NOTE: if respondent indicates to be a student, code highest level s/he expects to complete]:  (1) No formal education; (2) Incomplete primary school; (3) Complete primary

school; (4) Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type; (5) Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type; (6) Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type; (7) Complete secondary: university-preparatory type; (8) Some university-level education, without degree; (9) University-level education, with degree. Source: World Values Surveys

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**Note:** Full details of the World Values Survey codebooks and questionnaires can be found at [www.worldvaluessurvey.com](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com).

The two dimensions of cross-cultural variation are very reliable. They emerge when measured in many different ways, using different indicators, different sets of countries and they emerge in the 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2006 waves of the World Values Survey. According to aggregated national-level data from the forty-three societies included in the 1990-1991 World Value Survey, large coherent cross-cultural differences were found. The worldviews of the peoples of rich societies differ systematically from those of low-income societies across a wide range of political, social, and religious norms and beliefs. Factor analysis has two main dimensions reflecting cross-national polarization between “traditional versus secular-rational orientations to authority” and “survival versus self-expression values”. They make it possible to plot each society’s location on a global cultural map.

The *traditional/secular-rational dimension* reflects first of all the contrast between societies in which religion is very important and those in which it is not. It also emphasizes some other crucial points such as importance of family ties, and obedience to authority (including relative acceptance of military rule), avoidance of political conflict and consensus over confrontation. Societies at the traditional pole emphasize religion, absolute standards, and traditional family values; favor large families; reject divorce; and take a pro-life stance on abortion, euthanasia, and suicide. They emphasize social conformity rather than individualistic achievements, favor consensus rather than open political conflict, support obedience to authority,



and have high levels of national pride and a nationalistic outlook. Societies with secular rational values have the opposite preferences in all these topics.<sup>48</sup>

When we evaluate Turkey on the traditional/secular-rational axis, we find that when compared to the rest of the Islamic countries, Turkey ranks high in terms of pertaining to secular-rational values. Besides that, its adherence to traditional values is not higher than European countries such as Portugal and Ireland and also the USA.

The second major dimension of cross-cultural variation is linked with the transition from industrial society to post-industrial societies which brings a polarization between *survival and self-expression values*. The exceptional wealth accumulated in advanced societies during the past generation means that an increasing share of the population has grown up taking survival for granted. Thus, priorities have shifted from an overwhelming emphasis on economic and physical security toward an increasing emphasis on subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life. Inglehart and Baker (2000) find evidence that orientations have shifted from traditional toward secular-rational values, in almost all industrial societies. But modernization is not linear. When a society completes industrialization and starts becoming a knowledge society, it moves in a new direction; from survival values towards increasing emphasis on self-expression values. Self-expression values are found in advanced industrial societies that give high priority to environmental protection, women's movement, gender equality, rising demands in economic and political life for participation in decision making, tolerance of diversity and outgroups<sup>49</sup> including foreigners, gays and lesbians and other minorities. The shift from survival values to self-expression values also includes a shift in child-raising values, from emphasis on hard work toward emphasis on imagination and tolerance as important values to teach a child. And it goes with a rising sense of subjective well-being within an environment of tolerance, trust and political moderation. Societies that rank high on self-expression values also tend to score high on interpersonal trust. This produces a culture of trust and tolerance, in which people place a

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<sup>48</sup> Ronald Inglehart, pp.82-84

<sup>49</sup> A sociological term meaning 'groups of people from other race, religion or culture'

relatively high value on individual freedom and self-expression, and have activist political orientations.<sup>50</sup>

Societies that emphasize survival values show relatively low levels of subjective well-being; report relatively poor health; relative intolerance to outgroups; low support for gender equality, environmental activism and interpersonal trust; emphasize materialist values; have relatively high levels of faith in science and technology; and are relatively in favor of their authoritarian government.<sup>51</sup>

When we evaluate Turkey on survival/self-expression axis, we find that its adherence to survival values is still overwhelming in comparison to self-expression values. This is basically due to economic instability in the country which leads people to prioritize and be concerned about economic security. It can be interpreted from Figure 1-1 that Turkey is in an ascending process of development on this axis. Compared to the Islamic countries in her area of classification, she ranks the second highest rate on this axis. Moreover, she ranks quite higher than the recent EU member country Romania<sup>52</sup>. The ongoing economic instability and lack of economic subsidies and reforms lead to Turkey lag behind the rest of the European countries.

When we look at the two dimensional map in Figure 1–1 of cross-cultural variations we see that religious traditions play determining role and enduring impact on the contemporary value systems of world societies as argued by Weber, Huntington and some other authors. Weber's argument in his theory of religion revealed in 1904 focused on economic developments that emerged as outcomes of world religious systems. His theory was based on the idea that Protestantism was the only religion that contained ethical implications as well as set of beliefs and values which would result in behavioral consequences conducive to economic growth. He

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<sup>50</sup> [http://margaux.grandvinum.se/SebTest/wvs/SebTest/wvs/articles/folder\\_published/article\\_base\\_54](http://margaux.grandvinum.se/SebTest/wvs/SebTest/wvs/articles/folder_published/article_base_54)

<sup>51</sup> Ronald Inglehart, pp.84-85

<sup>52</sup> Romania joined the EU in 2007. Romania's income level has been one of the lowest in the European Union. EU reforms have increased its growth speed though and Romania has become an upper middle income country economy.

settled his idea on the ground of affluence maintained in Northern Europe and North America. Latter scholars criticized Weber on the ground that he limited the outcomes of religion on economic development basis only. However, there are political as well as social outcomes that are confirmed through many research results of such as Freedom House, UNDP, Human Development Index, Transparency International, etc. He was also criticized since he neglected the high affluence potential in the Buddhist/Confucian region. He almost didn't mention about the status of Islamic countries within his theory.<sup>53</sup>

The political outcomes of world religions can be observed in societies in terms of democratic advancement and corruption while the outcomes in terms of social development are found in quality of life conditions, as well as gender and income equalities. Many scholars who came after Weber mostly claimed that Protestant countries scored much better in terms of political and social development rather than economic. This idea is in conformity with the data provided on Figure 1–1. Accordingly with Figure 1–1 again, Buddhist/Confucian countries mark mostly economic developmental outcomes rather than political. Islam on the other hand, is referred to as Third World religion by many scholars and development in general is claimed to be problematic in Islamic societies. Both in terms of economic affluence and democratic achievements as a political outcome, Islamic societies lag behind the other religions.<sup>54</sup>

Religion is not the only determining factor that shapes the cultural zones. A particular culture in a society reflects its entire historical heritage and its value systems. One of the most important historical events of the twentieth century was the rise and fall of a communist empire that once ruled a third of the world's population. Communism had left a clear effect on the culture and political value systems of those who lived under it. As seen in Figure 1.1, although former East Germany looks culturally close to former West Germany, its value system was affected by the communist zone. Similarly, even though China is a member of the Confucian zone, it falls within a broad influence of communist zone as well. And despite Azerbaijan is a part of the Islamic zone, it also falls under the communist zone which dominated it for decades.

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<sup>53</sup> Lane and Ersson, pp.146-166

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

The influence of colonial ties is also apparent in the existence of the Latin American cultural zone adjacent to Spain and Portugal. Former colonial ties have also impact on the existence of an English speaking zone containing Britain and the other English speaking societies. All seven English speaking societies show similar cultural characteristics.<sup>55</sup>

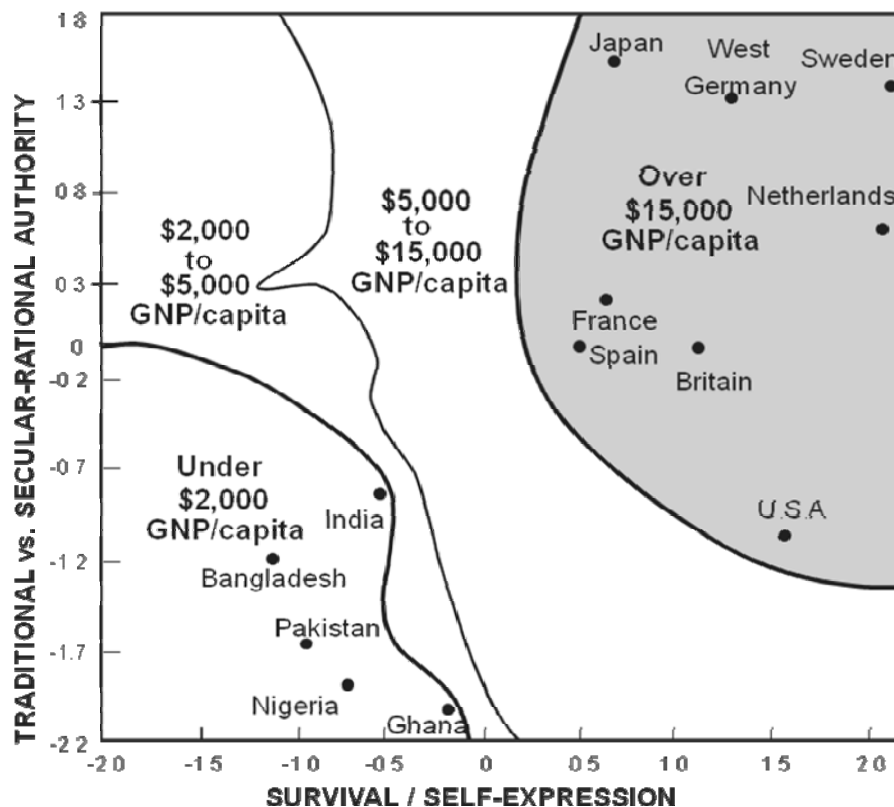
The position of societies on the two dimensional map in Figure 1–1 reflects a multi-dimensional reality demonstrating their level of economic development, their occupational structure, their religion and other major historical influences. The coherence between these various dimensions seems to reflect the fact that a society’s culture has been shaped by its entire economic and historical heritage, which in turn shapes them. As part of the historical heritage, it is apparent that religious traditions of societies have had dominant shaping effects on their contemporary value systems. The political and social outcomes of world religions are observable in societies in terms of democratic advancement, corruption, quality of life conditions, and gender or income equalities. Other than the religious tradition, historical events that led to spread of systems such as communism as well as being exposed to colonialist practices also have had obvious effects on the cultural formation societies who experienced it.

#### **1.4.1 Economic, Political and Social Development**

Economic development seems to have a powerful impact on cultural values and cultural values in return determine economic development. The value systems of richer countries differ systematically from those of poorer countries. The overall structure provided in Figure 1–1 reflects a slope from low income countries to rich societies. Figure 1–2 below is a redrawn version of Figure 1–1 and it demonstrates the economic zones into which the societies fall.

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<sup>55</sup> Ronald Inglehart, p.86



**Figure 1–2** Economic levels of 65 Societies, on two dimensions of cross-cultural variation. Economic level is based on the World Bank's Purchasing Power Parity estimates as of 1995 and World Development Report 1997 *Source: Inglehart and Baker, American Sociological Review, February, 2000*

According to Figure 1–2, all nineteen societies with GNP over \$15,000 exist in an economic zone which cuts across the boundaries of the Protestant, ex-communist, Confucian, Catholic, and English-speaking cultural zones. On the contrary, all societies with per capita GNPs below \$2,000 fall into an economic zone cutting through the cultural zones of Africa, South Asia, ex-communist, and Orthodox. It is evident in the figure that economic development has not been impressive in the Hindu or Muslim world as in Protestant or Buddhist/Confucian.<sup>56</sup> According to this evidence, the economic development tends to move societies in a common direction, regardless of their cultural heritage. As expressed by modernization theorists such as Marx and

<sup>56</sup> Lane and Ersson, pp.169-170

Bell, when societies develop economically, their cultures will tend to shift in a predictable direction.<sup>57</sup>

One of the key variables in the analysis of cross-cultural differences lies in the value systems of societies which is “interpersonal trust”. It is a component of the survival/self-expression dimension. James Coleman (1988, 1990), Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963), Putnam (1993), and Fukuyama (1995) argue that interpersonal trust is essential for building the social structures on which democracy depends and the complex social organizations on which large scale economic enterprises are based. Existence of social trust in all kinds of social interaction facilitates commerce and finance hence, contribute to the economic development.<sup>58</sup>

Even if a country can be named as “rich”, its distribution of its wealth may be unequal. In the Western culture egalitarianism plays an important role. Therefore, more equal distribution of resources as well as fairness and justice are stronger compared to the rest of the world.<sup>59</sup> In terms of equal distribution of income, Islamic societies also rank high.<sup>60</sup>

Whether a society emphasizes survival values or self-expression values has important consequences in terms of democracy which comes as an outcome of political development. Societies which emphasize self-expression values tend to be much more stable democracies compared to those who emphasize survival values. Figure 1–3 in the next page shows the relation between self-expression values and effective democracies.

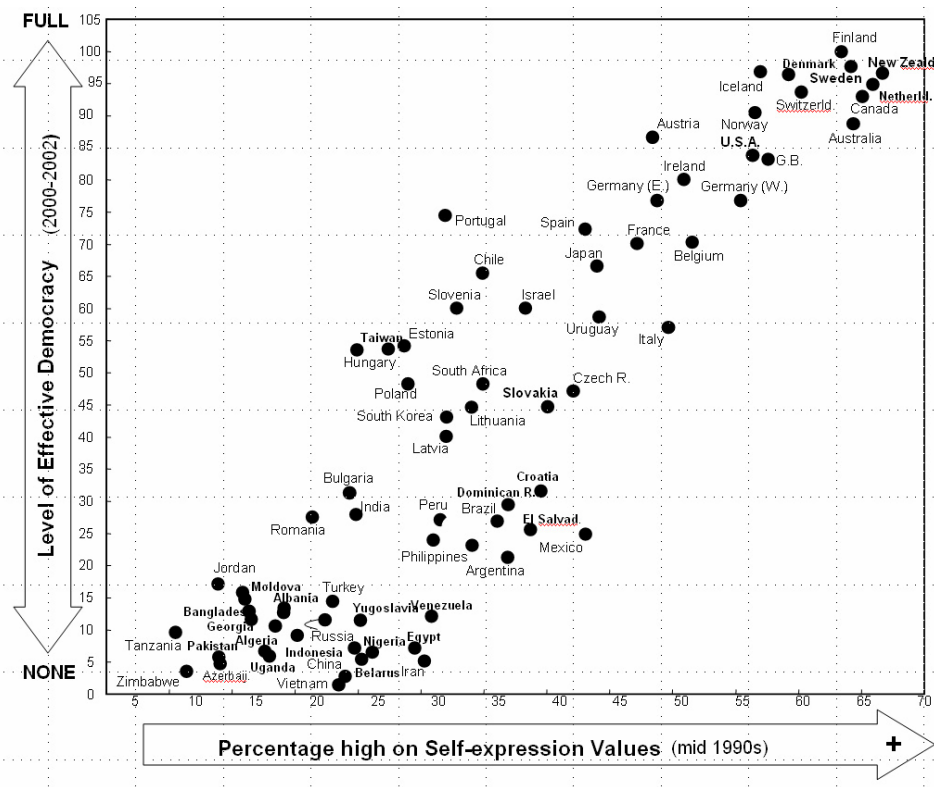
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<sup>57</sup> Ronald Inglehart, p.86

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Lane and Ersson, pp.46-47

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.172



**Figure 1-3 - Self-expression values and Effective Democracy**

Source: Ronald Inglehart, Subjective social indicators: Moving beyond GDP, Eurobarometer Conference Gothenburg University, September 28-29, 2009 p.33 (available at; [www.eurobarometer-conference2009.eu/.../subjective\\_social\\_indicators\\_EB%20-%20Ronald%20Inglehart.ppt](http://www.eurobarometer-conference2009.eu/.../subjective_social_indicators_EB%20-%20Ronald%20Inglehart.ppt) )

To measure how well democracy is working in a society, one first looks at how well the political system of that country is respecting the political rights, civil liberties and values of its citizens. In several social science theories, culture is seen as the critical factor that accounts for the variation in democratic stability and political development. Generally speaking, strong ethnic and religious fragmentation is claimed to negatively impact on democratic stability (Horowitz, 1985). The introduction of modern state and modern leadership on the other hand, is accepted to have positive contribution to democracy. (Huntington, 1996; Rokan, 1970 – 1999 Harrison and Huntington, 2000). The theories of religion analyze the link between religions and democracy. It is claimed that Protestantism by its emphasis on individualism, has a special and stronger link with democracy (Hamilton 1995), whereas the other world religions are less linked with democracy and political development (Lenski 1965). Some of the new cultural theories claim that

the occurrence of universal values such as trust also have positive impacts on democracy (Putnam, 1993).<sup>61</sup>

On the self-expression values and effective democracy figure, Turkey is closest to non-member East European countries and ranks quite low compared to the EU member countries. Nevertheless, she retains a considerably similar place to Romania and Bulgaria which have recently become EU members and are still developing EU member countries.

Romania and Bulgaria are acknowledged to attain positive economic and political development since they have become members to the EU. Considering the positive effects of EU structural and cohesion funds on the visible ongoing development of these newest member countries, it is possible to predict that a comparable act of development is quite likely to happen for Turkey once she becomes a full member too.

Economic development plays an important role and brings two types of changes in terms of democracy:

- Economic development tends to enhance social and cultural conditions under which democracy becomes increasingly likely to flourish and survive. Rising emphasis on self-expression values lead publics to apply more pressure on elites to provide more responsible, more effective and less corrupted stable democratic governance.<sup>62</sup> It tends to develop interpersonal trust and tolerance, leads to spread of post-materialist values that encourage participation in decision making. It also brings higher well being of people in a society, and provides a more legitimate regime with sustainable democratic institutions.

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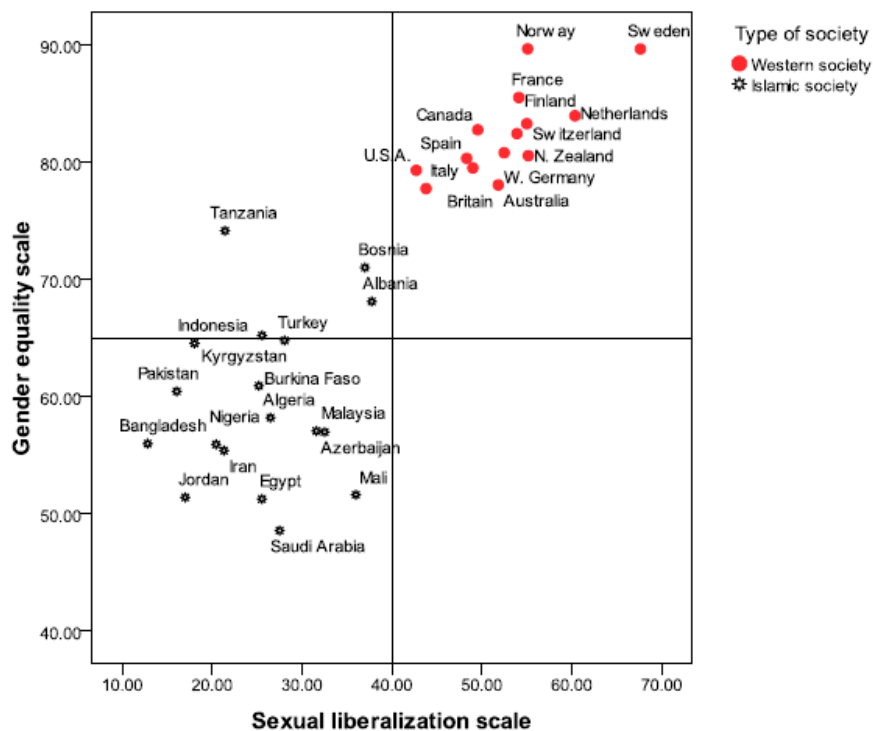
<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp.41-43

<sup>62</sup> Ronald Inglehart, Subjective social indicators: Moving beyond GDP, p.31



- It reflects a transformation on society's social structure through increasing urbanization, mass education, more specialized occupations, growing organizational networks, greater income equality, and other developments which mobilize mass participation in politics.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the cultural changes linked with modernization and economic development, a society's traditional cultural heritage still continues to shape its value system. The indicators provide important consequences that are strongly linked with socio-political development.<sup>64</sup> Gender equality within societies is affected by cultural factors such as religious and cultural traditions which have resulted in formation of different patriarchal structures in societies. Higher levels of gender equality are consistent in welfare countries of the world such as in especially Northern Europe, USA and Canada whereas in African and some Asian countries gender equality is at its lowest levels.<sup>65</sup>



**Figure 1-4** – Sexual liberalization and gender equality values by type of society  
Source: pooled World Values Survey 1997-2007

<sup>63</sup> Ronald Inglehart, "Culture and Democracy" in Lawrence E. Harrison & Samuel P. Huntington (ed.), *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* pp.91-95

<sup>64</sup> Ronald Inglehart, *Subjective social indicators: Moving beyond* p.29

<sup>65</sup> Lane and Ersson, p.47

### 1.4.2. Turkey on the Cross-Cultural Map

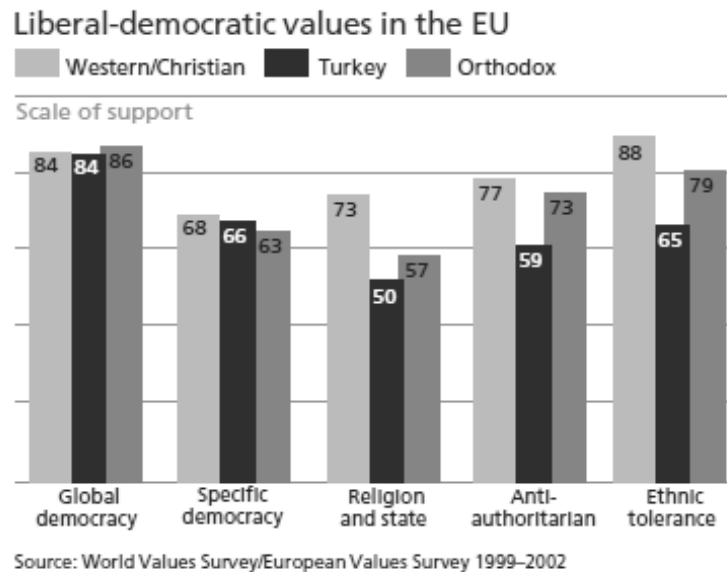
On the basis of four figures given above we see that; Turkey is positioned within the Islamic states, within poor countries, she scores lower levels of effective democracy and gender equality compared to the EU, the U.S.A. and other economically developed countries.

Huntington's "clash of civilizations thesis" explains this positioning on the basis of religion which, according to him, is the basic dividing parameter between civilizations. However, sociologists such as Inglehart, Pippa, Dixon and some others object this argument. Jeffrey C. Dixon underwent a thorough research on the basis of World and European Values Survey data of 1999-2002 in order to measure and explain the cultural differences between Turkey and the EU countries. He conducted his research on the following five scales:

1. Global democracy – measuring people's support for democracy; whether democracy is a better system than others
2. Specific democracy – measuring people's evaluation of democracy's economy, decision-making process and ability to maintain order
3. Religion and state – measuring people's opinions regarding whether the ruling people should be religious or non-religious
4. Anti-authoritarian values – measuring how people perceive strong leadership, position of the army, civil power
5. Ethnic tolerance – measuring people's willingness to have neighbors of different race, ethnic orientation, etc<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Jeffrey C. Dixon, "Turkey, Islam, and the EU", p.45 in *Contexts, Vol.8, No.4*



**Figure 1-5**

According to Dixon’s researches (as shown in Figure 1-5), Turkish people have quite similarly positive perspectives with regards to global and specific evaluations of democracy when compared to people in the EU and candidate states in contrast to Huntington’s claims.<sup>67</sup> In terms of separation of religion and state, anti-authoritarian and ethnic tolerance values, Turkey is less supportive than the EU and candidate countries. The author emphasizes that Turkey is holding very similar liberal-democratic values when compared to Western and Orthodox Christian countries. Turkish people express more religious and authoritarian values and are less tolerant to minorities and outgroups compared to all Christian countries.<sup>68</sup> However, in terms of separation of state and religion and support for anti-authoritarianism, Turkey’s values are not very different than Orthodox Christian countries’ such as Greece, Bulgaria and especially Romania. Dixon, Inglehart and Pippa agree that the reason for the value differences between Turkey and the EU countries are not mainly because of religion but because of economic modernization, in other words poverty. Turkey was the 3rd poorest EU or candidate country as of 1999 after Bulgaria and Romania.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Jeffrey C. Dixon, “A clash of civilizations? Examining liberal-democratic values in Turkey and the European Union” in *The British Journal of Sociology* 2008 Volume 59p.692

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.,698

<sup>69</sup> Jeffrey C. Dixon, “Turkey, Islam, and the EU”, p.46 in *Contexts*, Vol.8, No.4

The results suggest that, if Turkey's economy becomes similar to the average Western Christian EU country (such through an EU socialization process maybe), Turkish people will have stronger global and specific evaluations of democracy than their counterparts.<sup>70</sup>

Although Huntington's "clash of civilizations" thesis may provide right detections on some certain points, it would remain quite deceptive and narrow to evaluate the dynamics of Turkey on the basis of Islamic values. Therefore Jeffrey Dixon's study is very valuable in terms of enlightening the status of Turkey.

First of all, although it may sound like a cliché, it is still useful to emphasize the cultural and political impacts of Turkey's geographic status on the world map before otherizing her from the EU countries on the basis of being a Muslim country. Turkey covers a unique and strategic geographical location between Asia and Europe, it functions as a bridge, a meeting point between the two continents and culturally it forms a transition area that embraces features of both continents and surrounding individual countries. It reconciles not only the West and the East but also the North and the South. She has managed to overarch diverse ethnies, languages, religions, and values under one single roof for many centuries. Therefore, it is a necessity to evaluate the issue on a multi-dimensional basis and not to constrain her within absolute values and judgments.

Besides all, when one looks at the religious history of Turkey, a rich and unique culture in this context is evident. Turks were Shamans until the 8th century and it lasted until the 10<sup>th</sup> century for them to become Muslim. They transferred some old Turkish traditions into Islam and developed their authentic ways of living accordingly. Seljuks and Ottomans were known not as conservative Muslims but rather with their tolerance to existence of diverse religions together. The Mevlevi tradition founded by Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi in 1200s within Islam as a spiritual

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<sup>70</sup> Jeffrey C. Dixon, "A clash of civilizations? Examining liberal-democratic values in Turkey and the European Union" in *The British Journal of Sociology* 2008 Volume 59p.699

practice with devotion to divine love also shows how Islam developed and what kind of a character it gained in its Turkish way of practice.<sup>71</sup>

The secular and democratic state culture that has developed in modern Turkey also crucially differentiates her from the Muslim countries. Assessments and judgments made about Turkey on a single and constrained perspective of religion, would therefore lead to misinterpretation of the big picture.

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<sup>71</sup> Nilüfer Narlı, Panel Notes: “Contexts and Perceptions of Turkey – Europe Cultural Relationships-1” at “International Forum on Turkey-Europe Cultural Relations”

## 2. THE EUROPEAN CULTURE AND CULTURAL POLICY

### 2.1. Understanding the European Culture

The question of “What is Europe?” has been discussed for over 100 years. The most important writings over Europe defined it as an “idea”, “a cultural discourse of the mind”, “an essence based on *the myth of Europa*”.<sup>72</sup>

When the origin of the word ‘Europe’ is traced, it is found that ‘Europa’ was originally the name of the Phoenician princess in Greek mythology that was living in the lands of Lebanon of today. Zeus fell in love with her and abducted her from her homeland to Crete. From the story, it is understood that *Europa* originated in Asia.<sup>73</sup> Pilius, the Roman author who lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and was known with his history and geography books, later gave this name of the earthgoddess to the continent which was defined to be “the first and most important part of the world”. *The myth of Europa* played an essential role for Europeans in shaping their “self-image” by enhancement of their “self-esteem” through identifying themselves as residents of the most important part of the world who are superior to the “others” living in other parts of the world.<sup>74</sup>

The political and philosophical emphasizes of the EU leaves the sense that ‘the idea of Europe’ is not just one coherent idea, rather it encloses many ideas and interests. According to Waever (1997) the idea of Europe is story of several conceptual fragments that are articulated and re-articulated through the following periods. The five main fragments in the main discourse on

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<sup>72</sup> Gerard Delanty, “History, modernity, and the multiple conceptions of Europe: European transformation in historical perspective” in *Rethinking Europe, “Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization”*, (ed.) Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford pp.28-29

<sup>73</sup> Burak Erdenir, “Avrupa Kimliği: Pan-Milliyetçilikten Post-Milliyetçiliğe”, p.53

<sup>74</sup> Nedret Kuran Burçoğlu, “Perceptions and Representations of a Unified Europe: From the Idea of a Unified Europe to Common European Values” in *“The European Union for the World Leadership: Towards New Global Governance?”* (ed.) Esra LaGro p.146

Europe were: the role of Europe as a geographical concept, the concept of liberty, Europe as Christendom, the balance of power and European civilization.<sup>75</sup>

As most scholars agree, it is problematic to locate Europe geographically. There is no agreement where it begins and ends.<sup>76</sup> The absence of absolute geographical boundaries makes it difficult to provide a certain definition of its frontiers. Throughout the history the east-west axis of the borders has shifted so many times that it is not possible to specify the edges of Europe.<sup>77</sup> Especially the eastern frontiers of Europe have always remained subject to ambiguity.<sup>78</sup> According to Delanty, Europe cannot be reduced to a single geographical, civilizational or political form. It comprises all three together. It emerged out of the Roman pan-EuroAsian Mediterranean civilization, geographically it occupies an uncertain space in the Eurasian landmass, and as a political entity it has been shaped by the internal struggles between empires and states.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand there are some authors who claim that Christianity is what limits and identifies the borders of Europe.<sup>80</sup>

It is true that Christianity provided Europe with internal cohesion and the peoples of Europe have defined their relationship with the rest of the world accordingly.<sup>81</sup> However, Christianity was originally born in Asia, spread throughout Asia-Minor then to both sides of the Mediterranean; only much later it penetrated in Europe.<sup>82</sup> Besides that, Christians of Greek Orthodoxy had remained for a long time under the Ottoman rule and therefore they were fully absorbed into Asia.<sup>83</sup> Despite religious, cultural and linguistic (Latin<sup>84</sup>) unity was achieved for

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<sup>75</sup> Ole Brandt Jensen & Tim Richardson, "Making European Space: mobility, power and territorial identity", p.15

<sup>76</sup> Dirk Jacobs and Robert Maier, "European identity: construct, fact and fiction", in; Gastelaars, M. & de Rujiter, A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity: Maastricht: Shaker p.13

<sup>77</sup> Delanty, pp.31-36

<sup>78</sup> Anthony Pagden, "Europe and Conceptualizing a Continent", in *The Idea of Europe, From Antiquity to the European Union*, p.45

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p.34

<sup>80</sup> Jan Ifversen, "Europe and European Culture – A Conceptual Analysis", p.9

<sup>81</sup> G.W.F.Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J.Sibree (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), pp. 99-101

<sup>82</sup> Edgar Morin, "European Civilization: Properties and Challenges" in, *Globalization and Civilizations* (ed.) Mehdi Mozaffari, p.126

<sup>83</sup> Pagden, p.35

<sup>84</sup> During the Roman Empire, Christians shared Latin as a common language. However, after the 4th century, Latin served only as the language of the Church.

some time the Roman Empire and Christianity were not identical with Europe. Much of the Roman Empire lay in Asia and North Africa and first Christian churches had been established in North Africa.<sup>85</sup>

These facts constitute some basic details of the whole story which are crucial to demonstrate the originally intermingled and formative character of the Eurasian region where Christianity emerged, developed, mixed with other cultures and later spread westward and entered in Europe. A perspective that identifies Europe on the basis of religion would therefore be a puritan look to the issue.

By 1054, Christendom separated Christian Europe into two as Greek east and Latin west. The fact that Christendom was separated into two different traditions as Greek-Byzantine and Latin by the 11th century, created a major frontier in European civilization. Latin half became extremely westernized and constituted a core which dominated the European Project.<sup>86</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, during Reformation, Latin Christianity was divided into two as Catholic south and Protestant north.

Christendom was dominated by the Habsburg Empire from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Europe. The myth that Europe and Christendom are the same was created at that time. From the sixteenth century onwards, Europe became to be defined in opposition to the Ottoman Islamic Orient. The word 'Europe' with the meaning we understand it today was first used by sixteenth century when Ottoman Empire made its first big attack on the Habsburg.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Pagden, p.45

<sup>86</sup> Gerard Delanty, "The Making Of Post-Western Europe: A Civilizational Analysis", pp.17-18

<sup>87</sup> Gerard Delanty, "History, modernity, and the multiple conceptions of Europe: European transformation in historical perspective" in *Rethinking Europe, "Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization"*, (ed.) Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford p.34



Until the end of the Cold War, according to many Europeans, Iron Curtain constituted the borders of Europe. For Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic Europe had a strong tradition of civil society, democracy and Roman Catholicism. Since the end of communism and the enlargement process of the EU through which former eastern European countries were integrated within the Union, the meanings for the terms ‘central’ and ‘eastern’ have changed. There has been a rebirth of central Europe as suggested by Delanty.<sup>88</sup>

The idea of “Europe as a nation” falls in conflict with the already existence of nations that are part of it. Therefore, for many people, there is the need of a higher level of designation that would signify European culture. Many agree that civilization can do that well enough. The Commissioner for Culture and Education, Viviane Reding, says that “our continent, is the home for the development of an exceptional civilization that has influenced the rest of the world by its contribution of democracy, rule of law, humanism, technology and art” (Reding 2000). According to this understanding, Europe is a civilization signifying common universal values. Civilization thus denotes common values transgressing the internal differences. As also emphasized by Romano Prodi, Europe is a continent comprising many national communities each with their own culture and language. He also mentions that Europe plays a unifying role between all these nations and it transgresses national cultures. It has multicultural and universal values of a civilization.<sup>89</sup>

In analyzing European modernity through a civilizational perspective Gerard Delanty emphasizes that civilizations have a geopolitical basis, they are heterogeneous and in continuous change, they are shaped around evolving cultural models and are related to particular forms of material life.<sup>90</sup> Delanty suggests that there are three major geopolitical components of the European civilizational constellation which are: the western Judeo-Christian, Russian Slavic and Islamic-Turkish (or Ottoman Islamic) civilizations (since the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and following westward expansion of Ottoman Empire). Delanty mentions that a large part of the

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp.31-36

<sup>89</sup> Ifversen, pp.11-12

<sup>90</sup> Gerard Delanty, “The Making Of Post-Western Europe: A Civilizational Analysis”, p.15

European civilization has been formed in relation to two Eurasian civilizations; the Russian civilization and the Islamic civilization.<sup>91</sup> Hegel also agreed that the history began in Asia and the civilizational course moved from East to the West.<sup>92</sup>

Delanty mentions that for a long time European modernity has been seen as a product of Greco-Roman civilization as it evolved through Christendom, the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment. However the effects of Russian Eurasian tradition with its roots in Greco-Byzantine culture, Orthodox tradition and with its experience of communism between 1917 and 1989 cannot be neglected. Neither the fact that Islamic cultures of the Mediterranean and southeast Europe, particularly Turkey, had affected European modernity can be neglected. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the following westward expansion of the Ottoman Empire merged a new effective civilization in Europe rooted in southeast Mediterranean and Islam.<sup>93</sup> Jack Goody (2004) agrees with Delanty and argues that Europe has never been purely Christian and he talks about a transcontinental European civilization which includes Islam.<sup>94</sup> Aforementioned European civilizations no longer exist but their cultural consequences still remain effective and their basic cultural and geopolitical structures are inherited by modernity today.

On the other hand, according to Paul Valery, the constituents of Europe are a combination of Christian religion, Greek reason and Roman law. He concludes that any people who have been influenced by Greece, Rome and Christianity are European.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Gerard Delanty, "History, modernity, and the multiple conceptions of Europe: European transformation in historical perspective" in *Rethinking Europe, "Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization"*, (ed.) Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, p.37

<sup>92</sup> Pagden, p.37

<sup>93</sup> Gerard Delanty, "The Making Of Post-Western Europe: A Civilizational Analysis", pp.16-18

<sup>94</sup> Gerard Delanty, "History, modernity, and the multiple conceptions of Europe: European transformation in historical perspective" in *Rethinking Europe, "Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization"*, (ed.) Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, p.38

<sup>95</sup> Thomas Claviez, "What is a European? Letters from s European Americanist" in *Literature for Europe (ed.)Theo D'haein and Iannis Goerlandt*, p.95

Contrary to those who refer to the contributions of the East on the European civilization, Eurocentric thought neglects not only the contributions of Eastern civilization but also does not count the Eastern Europe as part of Europe. The idea emerged by the seventeenth century and became mostly effective during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Eurocentrists believed in the religious, racial, environmental and cultural superiority of the Western Europe which constituted the basic identity in Europe. Asia and Africa constituted the non-Europe and they were inferior.<sup>96</sup>

As a civilization Europe has some defining features such as the universalistic culture of science, art and music as reflected in Renaissance and Enlightenment. Tradition of revolutions, democratic liberties, civil society, secularism and republican government are some other basic characteristics of European civilization. Delanty suggests that Europe has the continuous capacity and ability to reinvent itself. Europe had gone through a process of cultural transmission based on renaissances, reformations, revolutions, and enlightenments which constructed Europe with its values of today.<sup>97</sup>

In Europe governments and men developed in parallel to peace and high level of cultivation. Because of the leading harmony, Europe became the land of liberty and true government. In Herodotus' writings, Greeks were mentioned to be the most free peoples, because unlike Asians, they were only subject to the law not to the will of an individual. Voltaire also claimed that the continent of Europe constituted a kind of great republic divided into several states, all of which were united in having the same principles of public law and politics that were unknown in other parts of the world. From the very beginning, there was the conviction in the modern democratic societies of the West that their democratic system was the most suitable and its cultural power was irresistible for all societies of the world.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Eric L. Jones, "The European Miracle" in "Eight Eurocentric Historians" (ed.) J.M. Blaut, p.77

<sup>97</sup> Gerard Delanty, "History, modernity, and the multiple conceptions of Europe: European transformation in historical perspective" in Rethinking Europe, "Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization", (ed.) Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, p.38

<sup>98</sup> Pagden, pp.37-38

The rule of law and evolving culture of democracy had been the fundamental common characteristics that bound European societies together. In a speech given by President Havel to the European Parliament, he lists the values of Europe as: “respect for the unique human being; and for humanity’s freedoms; rights and dignity; the principle of solidarity; the rule of law and equality before the law; the protection of minorities of all types; democratic institutions; the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers; a pluralist political system; respect for private ownership and private enterprise, and market economy; and a furtherance of civil society” (Havel 2000). This way Europe is turned into community of values rather than a culture.<sup>99</sup>

Europe is definitely not just a collection of fine values as most of the European politicians prefer referring to. It also involves stories which contradict with all the positive values attributed to it. Simone Veil, the first elected president of the European Parliament and a member of French government who spent her childhood at the concentration camp of Auschwitz, defines Europe as world’s memory where everything happened at its worst and the best. Modern democracy and human rights first originated in Europe but concentration camps also emerged there.<sup>100</sup> The colonialist expansion of Europe that lasted from the 15<sup>th</sup> century until the 20<sup>th</sup> century had also brought about consequences unsuited with the list of values attributed to Europe as “respect for the unique human being; and for humanity’s freedoms; rights and dignity; the principle of solidarity; the rule of law and equality before the law; the protection of minorities of all types”.

In *Thinking Europe* (1987), Edgar Morin argues that the idea of Europe has a complex and contradictory nature. It can only be formulated by taking into account all the uncertainties, ambiguities, and contradictions.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, conceptual analysis of Europe, require the bringing together of all the contradictions and diversities prevailing in itself, such as law and force, democracy and oppression, spirituality and materialism, reason and myth.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Ifversen, pp.11-12

<sup>100</sup> Richard Hoggart and Douglas Johnson, “Ideas about an ‘Idea of Europe’”, in *Questions of Identity – Exploring the Character of Europe*, (ed.) Christopher Joyce, p.100

<sup>101</sup> “The History of the Idea of Europe”, (ed.) Kevin Wilson and Jan van der Dussen, p.140

<sup>102</sup> Edgar Morin, “European Civilization: Properties and Challenges” in, *Globalization and Civilizations* (ed.) Mehdi Mozaffari, p.126

Emphasizing the conflicting nature of Europe, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle (1965) also wrote about the idea of Europe as follows:

When someone tells me that Europe is the land of right and true, I think of all that is arbitrary; that is the land of human dignity, I think of racism; that is the land of reason, I think of Romantic reverie...<sup>103</sup>

Europe as a concept has geographical, civilizational and political implications. However, it is not possible to speak about any common conception of Europe neither geographically nor in terms of cultural unity. Although Christianity is separated within itself leading to different cultural practices of nations; still it can be regarded as the most common characteristic shared by the people of Europe all through the history. The idea of Europe needs to be taken with all of the dimensions and factors that have had a shaping effect on it. Greek and Roman origins, Renaissance and Reformation, the wars and ideological clashes have all had constructive consequences over Europe geographically, culturally and also politically.

### **2.1.1. European Identity as a Constituent of the European Culture**

Historically, in the medieval period, Christianity was synonymous with European identity.<sup>104</sup> During the Crusades (between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries), the spirit of Europe was achieved. Until the modern times, Christianity remained as the basic characteristic of the European identity.<sup>105</sup> In this period, Europe and Ottoman Turks (Christianity vs Islam) became 'other' to each other. Especially between the fifteenth century and the eighteenth centuries, Ottoman Turks were strongly referred as the 'other' of Europe.

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.,131

<sup>104</sup> Burak Erdenir, "Avrupa Kimliği: Pan-Milliyetçilikten Post-Milliyetçiliğe", pp.54-55

<sup>105</sup> A.Nuri Yurdusev, "Avrupa Kimliğinin Oluşumu ve Türk Kimliği", in "*Türkiye ve Avrupa*", (ed.) Atila Eralp, pp. 36-37

For Europe, Muslim Turks of the Orient represented barbarism, despotism and a cruel nature. On the other hand, Europe had gone through Renaissance and Reformation in the fifteenth century. Europe developed to be more secular and rational in time and also had republics.<sup>106</sup> These developments had created a feeling of superiority in Europe against the other – the Turks - that was inferior to their civilization.<sup>107</sup>

Until the modern time European identity remained identical with Christianity and Islam as the ‘other’ played a highly definitive role in this.<sup>108</sup> By the eighteenth century, the demarcation of the Muslim Orient and particularly the Ottoman Turks became looser due to the universal and humanist values introduced by the Enlightenment. European identity became even more secularized, rationalized and materialized.<sup>109</sup>

In the modern time ‘national identity’ became the most leading collective identity. ‘Nation state’ and ‘national identity’ emerged in Western Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; destroyed the dominancy of religion in defining the collective identity and replaced it throughout Europe by the nineteenth century. Accordingly the authority of the Church reduced and nation states became more powerful actors. European people started defining themselves not through a Christian but through a European perspective. Consequently the idea of Europe gained a social, cultural and political meaning separate from Christianity. Though, Christianity is still an element of European identity without having the old determining role as it used to.<sup>110</sup>

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, European colonialism expanded. It played a role on the European identity in the sense that Europeans started to define themselves as a

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<sup>106</sup> Gerard Delanty, “Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity and Reality”, pp.86-89

<sup>107</sup> Hakan Yılmaz, “Türkiye’yi Avrupa Haritasına Sokmak”, in “*Avrupa Haritasında Türkiye*”, (ed.)Hakan Yılmaz, pp.16-18

<sup>108</sup> Yurdusev, p.37

<sup>109</sup> Delanty, pp.89-90

<sup>110</sup> Yurdusev, pp.37-41

‘civilization’ with universally superior values.<sup>111</sup> They considered themselves as the transporters of civilized values to the underdeveloped colonies.

In the process of European identity the role of the ‘others’ has always been definitive. As explained in earlier paragraphs Ottoman Turks and Islam were the ‘other’ to European identity. In the contemporary times, the ‘others’ of Europe have been the USSR and the USA and most recently Japan. USSR; Communism and Cold War played positive role in furthering Western European Integration and maintaining the Treaty of Rome. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the USA emerged as an important competitor against Europe. They adopted similar values as Europe which Europeans thought were unique to them until that time; such as liberty, humanism, reason and also the USA developed as an economic world power. In the twentieth century, only in 1970s, East Asia emerged as the new ‘other’ against Europe. However, they held only economic power that could compete against Europe.<sup>112</sup>

The concept of identity is a dynamic one which is continuously subject to change depending on various factors such as historical, cultural, social, and psychological. Individual identities form collective identities through a common “we” sense which in turn forms national identities. The constitution of a national community does not necessarily suppress all the differences between individuals and social groups. The basic character of the common “we” is its discrimination of the national people against the ‘foreigners’.

The issue of formation of a collective European identity is a more recent one which came into scene by the establishment of the European Union and as a result of the need for creating a common “we” feeling among the peoples of individual European states through Europeanness.<sup>113</sup> It is a political endeavor to construct collective European consciousness through deploying some instruments.

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<sup>111</sup> Gerard Delanty, “Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity and Reality”, pp.95-97

<sup>112</sup> Göran Therborn, “European Modernity and Beyond: The Trajectory of European Societies”, pp.243-244

<sup>113</sup> Dirk Jacobs and Robert Maier, “European identity: construct, fact and fiction”, in; Gastelaars, M. & de Rujiter, A United Europe. The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity: Maastricht: Shaker p.17

According to Anthony D. Smith (1995), the only way for achieving a united Europe is through a slow formation of common European memories, traditions, values, myths and symbols in the image of the ethnic and the nation. A Pan-Europeanist<sup>114</sup> movement can unify several member states under a single cultural and political unity through enhancement of partially shared and overlapping political and cultural traditions such as Roman law, parliamentarism, democracy, Renaissance, humanism, empiricism and rationalism, romanticism and classicism that prevailed among peoples of Europe for many years.<sup>115</sup>

According to Jacobs and Maier, three strategies have been followed with regards to formation of the European identity. Firstly, as Hobsbawm (1983) argued, there has been an effort to construct a common culturally defined European identity, similar to the national identities. During this process common Christian heritage, a common political and legal history going back to the Roman period and the tradition of humanism were used. Some more elements were also used such as ideologies referring to Europe as a peaceful and democratic modernizing and civilizing project, secularism, and Eurosymbolism (flag, anthem, passport, etc) for the promotion of a common cultural identity. In addition to that, education programs (such as Erasmus) were also introduced. These developments were followed by the launching of an economic dimension through the adoption of 'Euro' as the single common currency throughout Europe. Secondly, through the Treaty of Rome, a supra-national system was adopted and it guaranteed many basic rights for the inhabitants of Europe as well as some specific rights for the European workers. Thirdly a new form of Union citizenship was formed which confirmed the freedom of movement on the territory of member states and also organized the election system equally for European states.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Pan-Europeanism refers to a collective European identity which transgresses all national identities and borders. Often used in contrast with national identity.

<sup>115</sup> Theodora Kostakopoulou, "Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union: Between Past and Future", p.28

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p.19



According to Delanty, there is no distinctive common way of life within Europe. Nor it is possible to talk about a distinctive European society. (Delanty, 1998) European identity does not provide clearly definable historical, ethnic, religious or geographical referents. It is a plural discourse consisting of many languages, civilizational models and political projects.<sup>117</sup>

Morin states that no original founding principle can be identified for Europe. He defines European civilization as of Judeo-Christiano-Greco-Latin texture and mentions that although Greek and Roman origins had been situated in the periphery, they became the source to the idea of Europe.<sup>118</sup>

According to Pagden, European identity has always been uncertain. It is a construction based on stories, images, collective memories, invented traditions. Europe now exists as an economic and increasingly political entity. Culturally its meaning is somewhat looser.<sup>119</sup>

Within the European Union identity construction is an ongoing process. It is not possible to see the outcomes of the political attempts in this field in the short-term since we are talking about creation of a common culture among 500 million people all of which already have distinctive cultural values as well as national identities of their own. A successful construction of the “we-feeling” among the peoples of Europe requires first unanimity at every individual level on the adopted principles by the EU for this purpose and then requires internalization of them as values and turning them into collective behavioral patterns.

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<sup>117</sup>Gerard Delanty, “The Making of Post-Western Europe: A Civilizational Analysis”, p.21

<sup>118</sup>Edgar Morin, “European Civilization: Properties and Challenges” in, “*Globalization and Civilizations*” (ed.) Mehdi Mozaffari, p.131

<sup>119</sup>Anthony Pagden, “Europe and Conceptualizing a Continent”, in *The Idea of Europe, From Antiquity to the European Union*, p.33

## **2.2. Social Constructivism and the European Union**

### **2.2.1. Social Constructivism**

What does it mean to say that the European Union is socially constructed? A few decades ago there was not any institution called the European Union. However, there has been a social construction process and now it exists. According to social constructivism, all entities of social reality – states, armies, supranational unions and other institutions – are socially constructed by means of human intervention. Before analyzing the ‘social construction of Europe’, it will be functional to explain (social) constructivism and its assumptions.

Social constructivism stems from constructivist theory.<sup>120</sup> Roots of constructivism shall be traced back to Hegelian – Marxist notion of society as not being naturally given but being human artifact.<sup>121</sup> The focus of constructivism is basically on human awareness and consciousness and its place in world affairs. According to the constructivist thought, there is no external and social objective reality. Instead of that, it is the inter-subjectivity of ideas and thoughts of the human beings which construct social realities.<sup>122</sup> Constructivism has some core assumptions which will further be discussed in the coming paragraphs.

First of all, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, according to constructivist theory all social institutions are socially constructed. This means that they emerge as result of

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<sup>120</sup> Tobias Theiler, “European Symbolism and European Integration”, p.8

<sup>121</sup> Rethinking Europe - Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization – Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, Routledge pp.14

<sup>122</sup> Robert Jackson & Georg Sorensen, “Introduction to International Relations, Theories and Approaches”, pp. 253 – 255

‘human interaction’. Unlike the creatures that exist in nature, the existence of social facts stem from human actions and perceptions.<sup>123</sup> In addition to that, Wendt says that social structures are shaped by three elements which are shared knowledge, material resources, and practices.<sup>124</sup> Material resources only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded.<sup>125</sup>

Everything in the social world starts at the individual level. When individuals gather around internalized common values, they initiate the construction process of the social realities. The inter-subjective element in constructivism denotes the shared beliefs, ideas, conceptions, assumptions that are widely shared among people. These elements prospectively lead to cultural and religious identification of certain groups of people, creation of identities, nations and nationalities, conception of one country as a state, notion of a state as sovereign or independent, sense of history and traditions, political convictions and ideologies and so on. Therefore, the social world is actually an outcome of the interaction of human thoughts and beliefs, ideas and concepts, languages and discourses, signs, signals and understandings that emerge as result of human consciousness. There are no external, objective, absolute realities in the social world and what defines the elements of the existing international world is the inter-subjectivity that happens among individuals at social level. This is how political realities emerge within every system.

In the analysis of construction of social reality, constructivists prioritize ideational facts over material ones. They claim that material facts such as; economic resources, territory, geographical distance, and alike are all outcomes of ideational interpretation made through a social context. In other words, ideational factors are essential in creation of the material world. Only when humans are inter-subjectively convinced that something has a certain meaning, that thing gains a particular meaning and accordingly the social reality is shaped.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Theiler, pp.8-9

<sup>124</sup> Jackson & Sorensen, p.255

<sup>125</sup> Christian Reus-Smit, “Constructivism” in “*Theories of International Relations*” Second Edition, p.217

<sup>126</sup> Theiler, p.9

The focus of constructivism is not only on differences among people and how they manage or institutionalize these differences but also on the methods through which people manage to establish and maintain social, economic and political relations despite those existing differences. International organizations, non-governmental organizations, human rights, international commerce and many other social institutions are established with this purpose of sustaining relations among people of different ideational backgrounds.<sup>127</sup> All organizations are dynamic entities that are established to meet the expectations of certain interest groups. It is possible to re-construct them in accordance with the changing interests of the actors that are involved in it.

One aspect of social constructivism focuses on the relationship between actors, their identities and interests on one hand; social structures and institutions on the other hand. According to rationalism, actors have fixed preferences such as security, economic welfare, prestige or anything else that is subjectively good for them. When they interact and build social institutions, their basic purpose is to maximize their preferences. Institutions serve to fulfill the preferences of its actors through enforcing rules or other measures. In contrast, social constructivists suggest that social agents and social structures have a continuous mutually constitutive relationship. Humans make their social world as much as they are made by it.<sup>128</sup> Agents interact and build institutions, but institutions in return affect the actors' interests and identities and the social reality is also affected through this process. Ideational structures determine the identities and interests of its actors through knowledgeable practices of those actors.<sup>129</sup>

Another basic argument of constructivism claims that social realities are not forever fixed or immutable. Social reality is a shifting process which opens to new formations. This means that

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<sup>127</sup> Jackson & Sorensen, pp. 254-255

<sup>128</sup> Theiler, pp.10-11

<sup>129</sup> Reus-Smit, p.219

the world can be shaped and reshaped by human design.<sup>130</sup> This reshaping occurs at its natural and inevitable flow since even when talking about the society itself, actors cause it to change.

Constructivism also brings attention to the concepts of social identity vs. corporate identity of the state. Social identity refers to the status, role or personality that is ascribed to a state by the international society. Corporate identity on the other hand, refers to the internal human material, ideological or cultural factors that make a state what it is.<sup>131</sup> Both identities are socially constructed, and their survival is dependent on the social reproduction of certain inter-subjective understandings. Both social and corporate identities are retained through a process of social learning that involves internalization. It can be said that any type of social order has the potential to become socially legitimate as long it is internalized sufficiently by the actors.<sup>132</sup>

Symbols are very essential within the constructivist thought which claims that reproduction of social reality is symbolic. Many writers use the terms ‘social construction’ and ‘symbolic construction’ interchangeably. European Union, France, Republican Party, the Catholic Church constitutes primary symbols whereas French flag or national anthem represents secondary symbols.<sup>133</sup> Secondary symbols facilitate the apprehension and internalization of primary symbols.

The constructivist emphasis on the issue of ‘power’ suggests that social power has material and symbolic power. Material power refers to the ability of an agent to shape the material world: the distribution of resources, institutional relationships of obedience and control etc. Symbolic power in contrast, is related to one’s ability to shape the subjective side of the social world such like beliefs, perceptions, representations and inter-subjective understandings. To every social or political order a symbolic element is attached and symbolic power presupposes

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<sup>130</sup> Delanty and Rumford, p.16

<sup>131</sup> Reus-Smit, p.220

<sup>132</sup> Theiler, 11

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 12

power over material sources: schools, churches, museums and so on.<sup>134</sup> Symbolic power has an ideational background. Material realities find their shape in life through ideational factors. Likewise it can be said that symbolic power has an effect on shaping the material power.

In sum, all constructivists agree that the structures in international politics are outcomes of social interactions, that states are not static objects, but dynamic agents, state identities are not given, they are (re)constituted through complex and historical practices – and therefore unstable and constantly changing; the distinction between domestic politics and international relations are questionable.<sup>135</sup>

The main international actors of today's international political system are the states. The system is based on creation of states and if these states, at any time change their conceptions of who they are, what they demand or what they are interested in, it will change the system and its reflections on the system will be noticed as well. For instance; states shall decide to reduce their sovereignty or transfer part of their sovereignty to a higher authority (as in the case of the European Union) or even to give up their sovereignty. Such action will all change the system itself.<sup>136</sup> The appearance of actor-like entities such as the EU challenges traditional state-centered images of the international system.<sup>137</sup>

The constructivist theory fits quite well to explain the European integration process, establishment of the European Union and the importance of culture in all this unification process. The European Union is a man made construction, an alterable system the limits of which is determined and can be re-determined by the preferences and limits of perceptions of those who have constructed it. When determined values are internalized by majorities, targets become achievable. When we observe Turkey's integration into the European Union from this

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 13-14

<sup>135</sup> Ben Rosamond, "Theories of European Integration", p.171

<sup>136</sup> Jackson & Sorensen, p. 258

<sup>137</sup> Rosamond, 175

perspective; transcending the limits looks possible as long as sufficient dialogue can be maintained. In the next section social construction process of the European Union in the light of the constructivist idea is analyzed.

### 2.2.2. Social Construction of the European Union

What do the core issues of constructivism imply for the European integration? Social constructivists use social constructivism in order to explain the European integration within an institutional framework which is shaped by interests and preferences of its actors. Socialization, which is believed to help attain social and cultural unity, is a fundamental process at this point to explain all these issues. Most constructivists focus on Europeanization and try to explain the integration process from this perspective. Some other scholars explore the construction of political identities in Europe.

Thomas Risse suggests that social constructivism contributes to a better understanding of the European Union in three ways: First, the mutually constitutive agency and structure relation allows for a deeper understanding of the European Union. Second, the constitutive effect of European law, rules, and policies enable us to study how European integration shapes social identities and interests of its actors. Third, communicative practices help to examine more closely how Europe and the EU are constructed and how actors have affected the meaning of European integration.<sup>138</sup>

Many theorists agree that social constructivism is not a theory; it is rather an approach the central theme of which is the impact of the ideational on the material.<sup>139</sup> Tobias Theiler takes it as a broad social scientific paradigm, a conceptual prism through which the integration of European

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<sup>138</sup> Thomas Risse, "Social Constructivism" in *European Integration Theory* (ed.) Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez p.165

<sup>139</sup> Steve Smith, "Social Constructivism and European Studies" in *The Social Construction of Europe* (ed.) Thomas Christinsen, Knud Erik Jorgensen, Antje Wiener, p.189

Union shall be explained. It offers much more convincing explanations to the study of European governance than the other theories.<sup>140</sup> Jeffrey Checkel suggests that a more sociological understanding of institutions that stresses constitutive issues such as interest and identities is required to supplement the studies of integration. Social constructivism is helpful in this aspect to theorize and explore empirically these neglected questions of interest and identity.<sup>141</sup> Social constructivism draws attention to the role of values, norms and identities in which national governments are also embedded.<sup>142</sup> Many social norms not only regulate behavior but also constitute the identity of actors in the sense of defining who ‘we’ are as members of social community. For example, the norm of sovereignty regulates the interaction of states in international affairs and at the same time it defines a state’s structure.<sup>143</sup>

According to Morin, European culture is multicultural and polycentric in the sense that it transgresses the national cultures. He suggests that, European culture/civilization provides a pot for collection of new ideas, new theories, new projects which provide the necessary environment for the birth of newer and newer ones. This denotes a continuous process of development in line with the constructivist thought.<sup>144</sup>

Nevertheless, the fact that this polycentric nature of the European culture - embracing too many and not yet adequately homogenized subcultures - may well lead to conflicts on ethnic, religious or cultural interest basis. This actuality is one of the biggest threats faced by the European integration today and the process of enlargement without sufficient deepening of the integration makes it even more problematic for sustaining a strong cultural unity within it.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.192

<sup>141</sup> Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Social Construction and European Integration” in *“The Social Construction of Europe”* (ed.) Thomas Christensen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, Antje Wiener, p.50

<sup>142</sup> Delanty & Rumford, pp. 13-15

<sup>143</sup> Risse, p.163

<sup>144</sup> Jan Ifversen, *Europe and European Culture – A Conceptual Analysis*, p.13



Andrew Moravcsik suggests that the constructivist approach to the European integration imply two core propositions. Firstly, the governmental elites choose specific policies, policy ideas, strategies, and concrete interests which are compatible with more general, deeper, collective ideas and discourses. Secondly, these ideas and discourses change only at rare ‘critical junctures’ which arise during political crises.<sup>145</sup> At this stage already constructed realities maintain reconstruction and shifting social reality is once again changed.

European integration fuels ‘social learning’ through which preferences or norms among state elites or other actors change as result of interaction at institutional levels.<sup>146</sup> The ‘change’ brings new interests and preferences and turns back to the integration process and lead to further alteration. The preferences and interests are dynamic, they continuously change and lead to evolution of social identities.<sup>147</sup> These changes originating from altering preferences and interests of actors in the system, lead to political consequences within the European integration process and influence its change and direction through a new course of construction.

To comprehend the working manner of the system, it is first crucial to understand that all changes start at the individual level and all reconstructions of the Union are handled with the essential purpose of accomplishing further integration and unity. The individuals gather around certain interest groups and transmit their demands to the state through political parties, NGOs or other entities. States negotiate these interests at the supranational level and seek maximum satisfaction and fulfillment by collaborating with the other member states. The better interests at individual level shall be satisfied by the EU, the more powerful will the integration of the Union become and the more European will the individuals in member states start to feel. Thus, one can conclude that the achievement of political successes is dependent on strong cultural bonds that can further nourish the integration of the European Union.

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<sup>145</sup> Andrew Moravcsik, “Constructivism and European Integration: A Critique” in *“The Social Construction of Europe”* (ed.) Thomas Christensen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, Antje Wiener, pp.177-178

<sup>146</sup> Checkel, p.53

<sup>147</sup> Theiler, p.16

According to Karl Deutsch (1957), both domestic and international integration require a growing level of interaction and ‘social communication’ between the actors and societies that are involved. Social communication is maintained through trade, telephone calls, letters, tourism, cross marriages, railway journeys, exposure to each other’s media, music, arts, languages, and lifestyles and so forth. The process of social communication brings about social learning and increasingly changes attitudes of populations in concern which will lead to changes at the political level as well. Deutsch suggests that, these changes initially lead to formation of a “pluralistic security community” which may well be characterized by an overarching “we-feeling” and elimination of violence among the peoples of the societies involved. Eventually, a ‘pluralistic security community’ may well evolve into an ‘amalgamated’ one i.e. a supranational federation or some other type of unified overarching political system.

Social constructivists claim that the increased social integration brings a growing cultural homogenization among the EU members’ population in terms of life styles, social attitudes, consumption patterns, commercial cultures, citizenship practices, multiculturalism, immigration and so on.<sup>148</sup> In addition to that, as the symbolism strengthens in Europe, the overarching ‘civic’ identity gets more powerful as well and subsequently people get more adhered to the political and constitutional principles such as the liberal democracy, rule of law, human rights etc along with social values such as social tolerance, multiculturalism and welfare state.

In the constructivist view, there is a shift from the concept of culture to the concept of identity. The introduction of the European identity implies a constructivist focus. Identity in the European Union has become a political object and subject to what is called the identity politics.<sup>149</sup>

The symbolic notions designed to strengthen the concept of ‘identity’ within the EU include ‘European citizen’, ‘Europeanness’, ‘European culture’, ‘European values’, and similar

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 17-19

<sup>149</sup> Ifversen, 14

ones. Construction of a united Europe requires more than Europeans who hold EU passports; it is much more important to maintain common internalized subjectivity among the EU people in order to achieve the desired unity among them.<sup>150</sup> A growing loyalty and adherence to Europeanness shall be maintained as long as individuals are self satisfied with what this identity brings to them. This is basically related to the decision making process. Decision makers should not just target satisfaction of the interests at the elite level but rather much more care has to be given to meet the interests of individuals of other levels.

The idea of Europe today is increasingly becoming an expression of the homogenization of society, the tendency of capitalism to impose economic uniformity and social cohesion by means of the market (Delanty 1995). Europeanism is fundamentally directed against the Third World and creating a Fortress of Europe, that gives the sense of a soft racism and Euronationalism.<sup>151</sup>

The absence of a definable European society and thus a European culture is an ongoing problem within the EU today. The public legitimacy of the EU and the democratic deficit can only be improved through the institution of a European society. And the institution of a European society strongly relies on the success of European integration.<sup>152</sup> Social constructivism claims that intensification of the European integration process through strengthening the societal ties among the members of the EU is essential for providing a cultural unification among the peoples of Europe. For this achievement, Europeanization is one of the key strategies. Europeanization is a process that broadly involves political, economic, and cultural levels. It is a process of structural change that affects actors and institutions as well as ideas and interests.<sup>153</sup> Delanty and Rumford defines Europeanization as: a concern to exceed institutional frameworks to examine the dynamics of the society; an awareness of the importance of cultural dynamics; the centrality of contestations of multiple perspectives about the European transformation; the importance and

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<sup>150</sup> Shore, 29-30

<sup>151</sup> Ifversen, 17-19

<sup>152</sup> Delanty & Rumford, p.4

<sup>153</sup> Kevin Featherstone & Claudio M. Radaelli "The Politics of Europeanization", p.3

necessity of a global context for understanding European developments; and a dissatisfaction with the ways in which questions of European transformation have been framed within political science discourses on the EU.<sup>154</sup>

Social constructivist analysis of the Europeanization of the state – EU institutions, the *Aquis*, the European Constitution, etc – would give a greater role to identity and point to the tension between the systemic (political) integration and social (cultural) integration. In order to shape national and transnational interests at the European level, collective identities play important role. The interaction of different identities, interests and social projects generate new realities. For example different political notions of different groups such like left or right wings, nationalists or Euroscepticals<sup>155</sup> produce a ground where competing claims and interests are worked out.<sup>156</sup>

Transnational understanding focuses on the lack of boundaries of the EU. At this perspective, Europeanization includes the awareness of Europe/non-Europe relationship. Transnationalists see Europeanization as the diffusion of cultural norms, ideas, identities and patterns of behavior on a cross-national basis within Europe. The usage of Europeanization in this aspect is very broad. At the cultural level, it involves a range of issues from drinking habits in Iceland to identities in relation to engagement with football. Europeanization affects wider social activities such as education. It is also used to describe the changes of the political culture mostly the issue of citizenship.<sup>157</sup>

European Union stands on three important bricks that require unification. These are economic, political and cultural bricks. The economic brick is accepted to be the thickest and most robust construction of the European integration where full unity has almost been acquired. It can barely be broken. Political and cultural constructions on the other hand, are not yet accepted

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<sup>154</sup> Delanty & Rumford, p.7

<sup>155</sup> The term implies those who are in opposition to European integration and in support of preservation of the nation-states.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p.19

<sup>157</sup> Featherstone & Radaelli, p.7

as very strong constructions. The latter is much weaker than the former and requires concentration and fortification. As Jean Monnet expressed in his late ages, if he was to start over the European integration process, he would choose to start with the culture. The importance of culture in maintaining integration within the EU has been underestimated for a long time. However, it is a critical and a vital brick, in the absence of which the construction would be ungrounded, vulnerable and open to collapse. Once cultural unification shall be maintained, political construction will naturally become thicker and more powerful. The enlargement process is the biggest challenge against a forceful European integration. The deepening process is primarily important in order to be able to maintain unity within the European Union. Traditionally nation-states united people through common language, religion or culture. However, the supranational unity has not yet been able to maintain a structure that is able to adequately strengthen the loyalty of its people.

The recent Eurobarometer results of May 2008 show that the EU citizens still continue to predominantly identify themselves with their own countries. The results show that the level of attachment to the European Union has fallen slightly by 4% compared to the results of 2007. According to the latest results, the attachment of the people to the European Union is 49% whereas it is 91% to their country of origin. The weakness of attachment is seen as result of the bonds people establish with their own countries and with the European Union. Their ties with their own countries are naturally emotional whereas with the Union it is yet far more rational.<sup>158</sup>

All the evidences so far have been provided in order to make it clear that the European Union, as all other political systems or international organizations, is a constructed unity by human beings. It has been shaped according to the interests and preferences of the actors involved in it. It denotes a continuously changing process which is affected by the interactions at societal level. It is no doubt that the EU will continue to transform itself consistently with the requirements coming from inside or outside of the Union such like the enlargement process or the globalization. This means new constructions will open up in the near and far future of the

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<sup>158</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb68/eb\\_68\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb68/eb_68_en.pdf), p.67-69

European Union. These prospective constructions may well involve unification of Turkey with the European Union. Either for non-member Turkey's unification with the EU or 'already member' 27 states' integration and unity within it, it is required to deploy some certain policies that would help maintain closer relationships and much more commonalities between the peoples of Europe.

For the enhancement of the 'cultural integration' meaning establishment of a broader sense of common cultural belonging, the EU is deploying a Cultural Policy as well as an Educational Policy the aim of which are to raise interaction and common values among the peoples of EU member states. Media is also perceived to be an important mediator in bringing societies closer and increasing the communication between them through a European newspaper, European television, etc.

The following Chapter observes the effects of the 'European Cultural Policy' on the integration of Turkey into the European Union, particularly from the perspective of 'culture and art activities'.

### **2.3. European Union Cultural Policy**

Having provided a thorough conceptual analysis on the concept of 'culture' and having analyzed the essential character and structure of the European culture; this section will be basically focusing on the cultural policy of the European Union. In this study, my adoption of the concepts of 'culture' and 'cultural policy' is mainly constrained to the art by which I understand human productions and practices through a subjective aesthetic perception of the world itself. These productions can reach to people as music, paintings, sculptures, theatre plays, movies, literature and so on. The common traits of these productions are firstly that they emerge as result of concretization of individual aesthetic perception into forms and secondly that as they find their

shape in the outer world, they create an aesthetic impact on the senses of those who receive it. I also involve all the festivals; culture oriented organizations and any platforms created by policy makers to enable artists to perform, as part of the cultural policy. Nevertheless, I find it crucial to start with the historical development of the cultural policy in the European Union as well as to analyze the elements covered under this area of policy in order to comprehend the infrastructure.

At the European Union level, ‘culture’ is understood in a broader sense. The Commission’s Directorate-General claims that culture is not merely responsible for the art. It deals with a wider range of issues. The graphic design of driving licenses and passport covers, information and communication campaigns, Europe day celebrations, the organization of European yachts races, building of European pavilions at world exhibitions and so on are all seen as in the area of the cultural policy of the European Union.<sup>159</sup>

Cultural policy can be deemed as a young and fresh field of concern within the European Union due to the fact that much attention and effort have been concentrated predominantly on the economic and then on the political integration processes ever since the establishment of the Union. Neither the treaty setting up the European Coal and Steel Community (1951) nor the consequent Treaty of Rome (1957) included any cultural dimensions. In late 1960s it started to be questioned that cultural unification is essential for a better achievement of the political goals set by the Community policy makers. The Community was in lack of legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens nor was there a prevalent sense of belonging to the European polity. The common conviction was that it was a necessity to establish a European identity and to maintain European cultural unity so as to achieve legitimacy for the European integration. These were the main motives behind the political attempts for creation of a cultural policy in the European Union.

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<sup>159</sup> Theiler, p.31

### **2.3.1. Historical Development of the European Cultural Policy**

By the late 1960s there was a growing concern for European integration. The common idea was that if the Community wanted to succeed in new areas such as the foreign and monetary policy or direct elections to the European Parliament, it had to show more than the economic advantages of them. Popular commitment defined as “awareness of the non-material values of European unity”, “European consciousness”, “European values” and “European identity” would be required.

One of the first examples to this was in the Declaration of European Commission on the occasion of the Achievement of the Customs Union in 1968 which said that:

Europe is not only of customs tariffs. Europe does not belong to the manufactures, farmers or technocrats... Europe is not only the Europe of the Governments, Parliaments or the administrators. It must also be the Europe of the peoples, of the workers, of youth, of man himself. All – or nearly all – still remains to be done.

There was a similar bent in the declaration made at the Paris Summit three years later. It stated that “economic expansion ... is not an end in itself.... It must emerge in an improved quality as well as an improved standard of life. In the European spirit special attention will be paid to non-material values ...”<sup>160</sup>

After the Paris Summit, the ‘Declaration on European Identity’ was issued at the Copenhagen Summit in 1973. It referred to the framework of the common European civilization

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<sup>160</sup> Theiler, p.55



as well as attachment to common values and principles which would give the European identity its originality and dynamism. Besides that the European identity would evolve to function as the dynamic of the construction of a united Europe.<sup>161</sup>

All these declarations signify the emergence of an awareness concerning the lack of a cultural base of the European integration and also show the intention for the achievement of certain values in order to construct a stronger basis for the European construction. However, obviously none of them yet is proposing a method or a policy to be adopted in order for the realization of all these values.

In 1976, Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans submitted the first comprehensive cultural policy initiative as part of the Report on European Union. The large part of his report dealt with the Community's expansion into foreign and monetary policy and a broadening of European Parliament and Commission powers.<sup>162</sup> However, a section of the report titled "A citizen's Europe" served as a blueprint for the 1985 Single European Act and 1992 Maastricht Treaty on European Union<sup>163</sup>, drew attention to the necessity of action as a common voice in the Community's external relations whether in foreign policy, security, economic relations or development.<sup>164</sup> In his report Tindemans stated that it was necessary to create a European spirit<sup>165</sup> and strengthen the European identity in order to constitute a common voice against the other countries. He pointed out the inevitable need for the accomplishment of certain means such as a European passport, a European flag and a European anthem, cultural exchanges and meetings of young people and so on in order to develop a feeling of greater solidarity in Europe and to strengthen the conviction that the Europeans are a unity sharing the same destiny.<sup>166</sup> Tindemans Report did not lead to solid cultural or symbolic achievements however it became the first strong action that prompted the member states to form a unified political entity with its own flag,

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 56

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p.57

<sup>163</sup> David Wilsford, "Political Leaders of contemporary Western Europe: a biographical dictionary", p.449

<sup>164</sup> Simon J.Nuttal, "European Political Cooperation", p.143

<sup>165</sup> Leo Tindemans, "Leo Tindemans:l'European", p.114

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p.129

anthem, myths, memories, peoples, region and rights and duties granted to its EU citizens.<sup>167</sup> Other than that, it led to submission of follow-up proposals by the Commission to the member states the most comprehensive of which came in 1977 as an initiative for “Community action in the cultural sector”. It concentrated on improved freedom of movement provisions for ‘cultural goods and services’ as well as ‘cultural workers’. Nonetheless, it neither could turn into solid measures because there was a strong resistance by countries like the UK and Denmark against cultural involvement by the Community.<sup>168</sup>

Although the efforts during 1970s provided a framework for the cultural amalgamation within the European integration, they did not succeed in bringing solid measures at the decision making level. The failure in turning the ideas into actions primarily shows that there was an apparent lack of legitimacy on the Community level. Member states were not ready to fully give the Community the authority to be involved in cultural field and take symbolic or cultural measures to assure a stronger integration among the member states.

The next effort came into scene in 1984 when the European Council agreed to establish a Committee for a ‘People’s Europe’ whose task would be to suggest measure in order to strengthen and promote the Community’s identity and its image both for its citizens and for the rest of the world. Italian MEP Pietro Adonnino became the chairman of the committee and produced two reports the following year.<sup>169</sup> The first report focused on practical measures with the purpose of promoting the positive impacts of integration on people’s life such as reciprocal recognition of equivalent diplomas, simplification of border controls, increased duty free allowances and so on. The second report on the other hand, advocated cooperation between member states in the fields of culture, communication and information. It proposed cultural

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<sup>167</sup> Ayhan Kaya, “European Union, Europeanness and Euro-Turks”, p.1

<sup>168</sup> Theiler, p.58

<sup>169</sup> Cris Shore, “Building Europe: the cultural politics of European Integration”, p.46

projects such as cultural exchanges, youth programs, and sports and also emphasized the need for information campaigns.<sup>170</sup>

The report stressed that action in the areas of culture and communication are essential for the European identity and Community's strong image in the minds of people. For promotion of the 'European idea', the areas of popular appeal were identified and accordingly proposals were submitted for a 'Europe wide audio visual area', a 'European multilingual TV channel', 'a European Academy of Science', and a 'Euro-lottery' the prize money of which would be in Ecu and announced to the Europeans by the Community.<sup>171</sup> The report's strong emphasis on cultural exchange and creation of European symbols aimed to place as many Europeans as possible in contact with a different culture and way of thinking and accordingly promote a greater sense of shared identity. Cultural exchange in the field of education among the youth of different member states was of predominant concern in the report. In addition to that, there was a strong support for the creation of European symbols – a flag, an anthem, a holiday, a passport - intended to embody the European identity.<sup>172</sup> Although the Adonnino Report brought important practical and symbolic measures, it was still short of formulation of a coherent cultural policy.

Following the Adonnino Report and its recommendations, in 1985 the Delors<sup>173</sup> Commission adopted a "Working Program for the Creation of a People's Europe" and started to implement Adonnino proposals that aimed for creation of a common European culture and a collective identity. The blue flag with twelve yellow stars, which was already used as the logo of the Council of Europe, was adopted to become the official flag of the European Community. Besides that, Beethoven's ninth symphony 'Ode to Joy' became the anthem of Europe. European passport, driving license and number plates were introduced as well. May 9 was set as the official Europe Day, Eurovision song contest was launched, European postage stamps were printed and European sports events were initiated. European cities were started to be designated as 'Cultural

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<sup>170</sup> Andras Bozoki (Minister of Culture of Hungary), *from his speech on "Cultural Policy and Politics in the European Union"*, p.3 – *also in Shore*, pp.47-48

<sup>171</sup> Shore, p.46

<sup>172</sup> Thomas F. Banchoff & Mitchell P. Smith, "Legitimacy and the European Union: the contested polity", p.53

<sup>173</sup> Jacques Delors was the 8th President of the European Commission.

Capitals of Europe’; a ‘European Cultural Area’ was created by promoting educational exchange programs, translation of literary works as well as town twinning schemes.<sup>174</sup>

Throughout the 1980s, the importance attributed to ‘culture’ and attempts for setting guidelines in order to implement a cultural policy grew. However, although some of these attempts were transformed into solid, symbolic achievements; they mostly remained on the ideational ground as discussions, recommendations or proposals which were non-binding for the member states. They couldn’t find the appropriate ground to turn into policy action plans and therefore, couldn’t gain the desired legitimacy.

This situation changed by the beginning of 1990s with the introduction of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. For the first time, cultural policy gained a legal basis and became an official EU policy with this treaty. There was a special article – Article 128<sup>175</sup> – attributed to the issue of culture only and the goal of the cultural policy was introduced through this article. This article was recognizing Community intervention to the field of culture. This led to the institutional maturation of the European integration and more importantly that of the European Parliament which evolved into a major legislative organ.<sup>176</sup> Nevertheless, the Commission was strictly restricted in decision-making and enforcement ability in order for the protection of diversity and

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<sup>174</sup> Bozoki, pp.3-4

<sup>175</sup> 1. The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.

2. Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:

- improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples;
- conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance;
- non-commercial cultural exchanges; - artistic and literary creation, including in the audio-visual sector.

3. The Community and the Member States shall foster co-operation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe.

4. The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty.

5. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council:

- acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189b and after consulting the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States. The Council shall act unanimously throughout the procedures referred to in Article 189b;
- acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.’

at <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtec.pdf>

<sup>176</sup> Katharine Sarikakis, “Media and Cultural Policy in the European Union”, p.17

subsidiarity – i.e. the independence and the sovereignty of the nation-states and the regions.<sup>177</sup> In this sense, the Union’s approach to cultural policy constitutes a ‘unity in diversity’ strategy which is criticized to be quite problematic. ‘How can European unity be constituted by European diversity?’ has been the most debated issue in this aspect. Those who favor the statist conception of identities as monolithic are highly doubtful about the compatibility of national identities with a European identity. Melissa Pantel on the other hand, suggests a more optimistic perspective to this issue by stating that identities should be viewed as multiple, compatible and overlapping and the EU should be approached as a new ‘polity in the making’.<sup>178</sup>

As spoken about social construction of the European Union in the earlier sections, it was emphasized that all social realities are outcomes of inter-subjective human perceptions of the outer world. Political realities in every system emerge accordingly through the interaction of human thoughts, beliefs, and ideas. When we see the issue from this perspective, every social and political construction are achievable only with allowing enough time for its maturation. The creation of nation states and formation of national identities as well went through a similar process of construction in the history. It is possible that European integration can achieve cultural unity and that subsequently maintain a common European identity in time. Nevertheless, whether European cultural unity and identity can become as strongly deep-rooted as a national culture and a national identity remain highly doubtful not only because of lack of historical legacy to that but also more importantly because of the fact that building a new construction over already existing well-built constructions seems highly problematic. The main question here is whether to an extent European cultural policy will work for the Europeans to develop a genuine sense of internalized Europeanness or will the European identity remain as an artificial making? Treating and promoting the European identity as an overarching entity in the form of a supra-identity, seems to be a rational approach to the issue in order to contain people and avoid them from seeing it as a threat against national cultures and identities.

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<sup>177</sup> Robert Picht, “European Cultural Policy after Maastricht” in *“Europe after Maastricht”* (ed.) Paul Michael Lützeler pp. 280-281

<sup>178</sup> Melissa Pantel, “Unity-in-Diversity: Cultural Policy and EU Legitimacy” in *“Legitimacy and the European Union: the contested polity”* (ed.) Thomas F. Banchoff, Mitchell P. Smith, pp.46-47

By cultural policy initiatives, the EU approaches the question of social cohesion from a cultural angle with the aim of constructing Europeanness through culture programs such as the ‘European City of Culture’; the ‘MEDIA Program’ that finances and trains European audiovisual producers and directors; and the ‘Culture 2000 Program’ which have provided the protection and publicization of European cultural heritage. There are also educational student exchange programs such as the ‘Erasmus’ or ‘Socrates’ that make available the exchange of students and educators between European countries. It aims to maintain cultural recognition and interaction through education as well as to promote European identity through increasing Europeans’ experiences with their neighbors.<sup>179</sup>

### 2.3.2. Culture Programs of the European Union

Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty defined Community’s responsibilities in the area of the European culture. This article was followed by three main culture programs of the Community as; the ‘Kaleidoscope Program’ (1996) focusing on artistic and cultural creation; the ‘Ariane Program’ (1997) focusing on literature, reading and translation; and the ‘Raphael Program’ (1997) focusing on cultural heritage.<sup>180</sup> All aimed at encouraging cooperation between member states, ran until 1999 with a combined budget of €78 million and were later merged under ‘Culture 2000 Program’ known as the first official European Community Framework Program in support of culture that was designed to last for seven years between 2000 and 2006. As it was extended to run until 2006, its budget was increased to €236.5 million. This collective program was designed to promote the intercultural dialogue within and outside the Union through conferences, festivals, exhibitions, etc. with the purpose of increasing homogenization between cultures of different societies.<sup>181</sup> It provided grants for cultural cooperation and artistic projects so as to improve cultural creation and mobility among European people in various fields such as

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<sup>179</sup> Katharine Sarikakis, “Regulating the Consciousness Industry in the European Union: Legitimacy, Identity, and the Changing State”, in *“Global Communications: toward a transcultural political economy”* (ed.) Paula Chakravartty & Yuezhi Zhao, pp.104-105

<sup>180</sup> Bozoki, p.5

<sup>181</sup> Hana Ihnatkovich, “EU Culture Merging versus National Identity Retaining as Traced on the Examples of National and EU Cultural Policies”, p.12

performing art, plastic and visual art, literature, heritage and cultural history. In 2007, the program was replaced by 2007-2013 Culture Program.<sup>182</sup>

In general, all cultural programs of the Union basically aim to enhance intercultural dialogue among peoples of different countries through the promotion of cultural cooperation, artistic creativity, and increased mobility of European people. The increased cultural interaction amongst peoples of Europe is prospected to stimulate a cultural unity with a sense of Europeanness which could also bring about stronger allegiance to a common European identity.

### **2.3.3. European Capital of Culture**

For the year 2010, Istanbul has been selected as one of the European Capitals of Culture together with Essen of Germany and Pécs of Hungary. This indicates an important amount of capital that will flow to Istanbul from the European Union to promote culture and art activities throughout the year. Besides that, Istanbul will be serving as a center for intensive culture and art performances and will be attracting a large number of people from all around the world who are professionally or non-professionally interested in culture and art. This is an important opportunity for Turkey to promote the cultural richness and artistic potential she possesses and this could only be achieved through effective cultural policy planning and implementation.

This section analyzes this important event to which Turkey has become part to and elaborating the advantages that Turkey shall enjoy through being a Cultural Capital of Europe.

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<sup>182</sup> <http://ec.europa.eu/culture/archive>

### 2.3.3.1. Concept and Historical Development

The 'European Capital of Culture' (ECOC) was introduced in 1985 as the 'European City of Culture'. European City of Culture was temporarily included under the Community's Kaleidoscope Program for general cultural events.<sup>183</sup> It was amended and altered several times. In 1992 a new event of European Cultural Month<sup>184</sup> was established. It now constitutes one of the most important parts of EC cultural policy. In 1999, ECOC was given the status of a Community Action.<sup>185</sup>

"I want to improve communication among artists and intelligentsia in Europe. It is time for our voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and economy." (Mercouri, 1985)<sup>186</sup>

The original idea of the program was to bring European people closer and it was first launched in 1985 at the EEC Ministers of Culture meeting in Athens, on the initiative of Minister of Culture of Greece; Melina Mercouri. In her view, the European integration was too exclusively focused on economic aspects and if Europe would become one, people should know each other better.<sup>187</sup> Her idea was welcomed by the Commission. She then started a lobby together with the French Minister Jacques Lang. A city which was chosen as the City of Culture would enjoy the status for a whole year starting from January 1<sup>st</sup>. All the year long, certain number of festivities would be hosted by the chosen city and most occasions would take place in already existing buildings and structures.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> David Phinnemore, Lee McGowan; "A Dictionary of the European Union", p.154

<sup>184</sup> A similar event with a shorter duration mainly concerning Central and Eastern European countries.

<sup>185</sup> "European Cities and Capitals of Culture", by Palmer/Rae Associates, p.14

<sup>186</sup> GiannaLia Cogliandro, "European Cities of Culture for the Year 2000", p.12

<sup>187</sup> Ward Rennen, "Cityevents: Place Selling in a Media Age, p.149

<sup>188</sup> Tim Van Vrijaldenhoven, "Reaching beyond the gold: the impact of global events on urban development", p.31



The 'European Capital of Culture' system was at first launched as the 'European City of Culture' at an intergovernmental level in 1985. Since then it has been amended and changed many times. In 1992, a new event of 'European Cultural Month' was introduced. In 1992 ECOC gained the status of a Community Action and new selection procedure and evaluation criteria were set up. Nomination and selection of ECOC after 2009 are still under debate in the EU.<sup>189</sup>

The first fifteen European Capitals of Culture between 1985 and 2004 were as follows:

1985 Athens-Greece; 1986 Florence-Italy; 1987 Amsterdam-the Netherlands; 1988 Berlin-Germany; 1989 Paris-France; 1990 Glasgow-United Kingdom; 1991 Dublin-Ireland; 1992 Madrid-Spain; 1993 Antwerp-Belgium; 1994 Lisbon-Portugal; 1995 Luxembourg-Luxembourg; 1996 Copenhagen-Denmark; 1997 Thessaloniki-Greece; 1998 Stockholm-Sweden; 1999 Weimar-Germany

For the year 2000, nine cities applied to become European City of Culture. Because of the importance of this year, EU Ministers chose all these cities as the City of Culture.

2000 Reykjavik-Iceland, Bergen-Norway, Helsinki-Finland, Brussels-Belgium, Prague-Czech Republic, Krakow-Poland, Santiago de Compostela-Spain, Avignon-France, Bologna-Italy

2001 Porto-Portugal, Rotterdam-the Netherlands; 2002 Bruges-Belgium, Salamanca-Spain; 2003 Graz-Austria; 2004 Genoa-Italy, Lille-France

The first five Cities of Culture (Athens 1985, Florence 1986, Amsterdam 1987, Berlin 1988, Glasgow 1990)<sup>190</sup> were mainly symbolic, they had a rich cultural history and infrastructure, they did not need much of adjustments. These events made little voice on the European scene. Despite taking place in world-famous cultural centers, they turned out to be primarily summer

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<sup>189</sup> "European Cities and Capitals of Culutre", by Palmer/Rae Associates, p.14

<sup>190</sup> "European Cities and Capitals of Culture", by Palmer/Rae Associates, p.164

events staged for domestic audiences with little international market and impact.<sup>191</sup> By 1990, the situation changed; Glasgow used the opportunity to transform the city and its image as well. It rejuvenated the city very smartly and used the event as a catalyzer. Capital of Culture events made it possible to make structural changes in the cities.<sup>192</sup>

By 1990, there was another development. Due to widespread interest to European City of Culture event both from inside and outside the Community, the culture of ministers decided that there was need for an additional cultural event. The new festival introduced with this purpose was called the 'European Cultural Month' that would also be open to Central and Eastern European cities from outside the Community.<sup>193</sup> This event was also entitled with similar objectives of the European City of Culture occasion; nevertheless it was designed to last for a shorter period of time.

The European Cultural Months between 1992 and 1999:

1992 Krakow-Poland; 1993 Graz-Austria; 1994 Budapest-Hungary; 1995 Nicosia-Cyprus; 1996 St. Petersburg-Russia; 1997 Ljubljana-Slovenia; 1998 Linz-Austria and Valletta-Malta; 1999 Plovdiv-Bulgaria

In 1995, the Ministers of Culture took a new decision<sup>194</sup> regarding the future of the program. According to this decision a city would be chosen as the 'European Capital of Culture' starting from 2005. Order of entitlement to nominate a European Capital of Culture between 2005 and 2019 have been as follows:

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<sup>191</sup> John Robert Gold, Margaret M. Gold, "Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000, p. 223

<sup>192</sup> Van Vrijaldenhoven, p.31

<sup>193</sup> John Robert Gold, Margaret M. Gold, p. 224

<sup>194</sup> Decision 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019

2005 Cork-Ireland; 2006 Patras-Greece; 2007 Luxembourg-Luxembourg, Sibiu-Romania; 2008 Liverpool-Britain, Stavanger-Norway; 2009 Linz-Austria; 2010 Essen-Germany, Pécs-Hungary, Istanbul-Turkey; 2011 Turku-Finland, Tallinn-Estonia; 2012 Guimaraes-Portugal, Maribor-Slovenia; 2013 France, Slovakia; 2014 Sweden, Latvia; 2015 Belgium, Czech Republic; 2016 Spain, Poland; 2017 Denmark, Cyprus; 2018 the Netherlands, Malta; 2019 Italy

In the first years of the ECOC one city alone was the host for a whole year. Nevertheless, since 2000 the system has been extended and it became possible for two or three states at the same time to host the event and also cooperate by exchanging cultural events such as music performances and art.<sup>195</sup> A European non-member country is also allowed to participate each year. Therefore, in some years there are three Capitals of Culture at once – a pair of EU member states (in order to cycle through the 27 member states rapidly) plus one other European non-member state.<sup>196</sup> Examples to this implementation can be found in the above list of ECOCs according to years.

Becoming an ECOC has been seen as an opportunity to assert the city's identity in the European cultural map as well as to generate considerable media and tourist interest. Although the central objective of the ECOC events seem to be enhancing the cultural profile of cities in concern through promotion of art and culture activities, economic interests and expectations for boost of tourism sometimes become predominant concerns of the event.

### **2.3.3.2. Aims and Objectives**

The key objective of this program was defined to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures while emphasizing their shared cultural heritage and the vitality of the art<sup>197</sup> to

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<sup>195</sup> Van Vrijaldenhoven, p.31

<sup>196</sup> Greg Clark, "Local Development Benefits Staging Global Events", p.63

<sup>197</sup> Cogliandro, p.8

promote greater and stronger mutual relationship between European citizens. The program aimed to contribute in bringing peoples of Europe together.<sup>198</sup> Nonetheless, the impact of the program went far beyond this definition. Many cities selected within this concept acquired an important marketing opportunity to improve its image on a national and European scale and constituted a sort of a regeneration tool for the main areas where major events occur.<sup>199</sup>

Palmer Report of 2004 which was based on a study of Capital of Culture cities from 1995 to 2004 highlights the basic aims and objectives of the ECOCs as follows:<sup>200</sup>

- Raising the international profile of the city/region
- Creating a program of cultural activities and art events
- Providing long-term cultural development of the city/region
- Attracting visitors from different countries
- Enhancing feelings of pride and self-confidence
- Expanding the local audiences for culture
- Creating a festive atmosphere
- Improving the cultural infrastructure
- Developing relationships with other European cities/regions and promoting European cultural cooperation
- Promoting creativity and innovation

The striking thing about the cities that have been and will be European Capitals of Culture is that some of these cities are relatively smaller ones. Cities of little attention use this event to

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<sup>198</sup> Clark, p.62

<sup>199</sup> Cogliandro, p.8

<sup>200</sup> "European Cities and Capitals of Culture", by Palmer/Rae Associates, p.48-49

step in the cultural spotlight. Many of these small cities are industrial ones trying to change their image to a city of culture.<sup>201</sup> They utilize this event for urban transformation.<sup>202</sup> They invest considerable amount of money for construction of new theaters, museums, and other culture oriented structures in order to restore and renovate the image of their city.

### 2.3.3.3. Funding and EU Support

The European Union grants a certain amount of funding to the designated city. But still, many private sponsors are required because the subsidy provided by the EU is only enough to cover a part of what is needed for the fulfillment of the projects.<sup>203</sup> Figure 1-6 shows the EU support received by European Cities of Culture between 1985 and 1999:

YEAR	CITY	EURO
1985	Athens	108.000
1986	Florence	136.000
1987	Amsterdam	137.000
1988	Berlin	200.000
1989	Paris	120.000
1990	Glasgow	120.000
1991	Dublin	120.000
1992	Madrid	200.000
1993	Antwerp	300.000
1994	Lisbon	400.000
1995	Luxembourg	400.000
1996	Copenhagen	600.000
1997	Thessaloniki	400.000
1998	Stockholm	600.000
1999	Weimar	600.000

**Figure 1-6** – EU support for European Cities of Culture between 1985 and 1999  
Source: GiannaLia Cogliandro, “European Cities of Culture for the Year 2000”, p.17

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Van Vrijaldenhoven, p.31

<sup>203</sup> Van Vrijaldenhoven, p.33

#### **2.3.3.4. Submission of Nominations**

Throughout the history of the Capital of Culture, nominating governments have been asked to submit dossiers<sup>204</sup> in support of applications. For designations from 2005 onwards, these dossiers have been assessed by a selection panel, who also requires a presentation from representatives from the nominated cities, and who can ask for a visit to these cities, if required. The panel then publishes a report, which is evaluated by the Parliament, the Committee of the Regions and the Commission, who makes a recommendation to the Council of Ministers who then takes the final decision.<sup>205</sup>

#### **2.3.3.5. Themes and Orientations**

All ECOCs determine specific themes and orientations for their cultural program. This can be one single general theme or a multitude of themes. For instance, Thessaloniki developed 31 different themes for their program. In over one third of ECOCs an overall unifying theme has been preferred such like: “Art and Creativity” (Avignon); “The Journey” (Genoa); “Bridges to the future” (Porto); “Culture and nature” (Reykjavik); “City of all cultures” (Luxembourg)<sup>206</sup>

#### **2.3.3.6. ECOC Selection Procedure**

The process for selecting the European Capital of Culture has four stages:<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Before 2005, no guidelines were provided for the production of dossiers. Certain cities have concentrated on their historical importance or past achievements, while others submitted detailed proposals for cultural programs that will take place during the cultural year, and assessments on their impacts. They vary in length from 20 to over 200 pages.

<sup>205</sup> “European Cities and Capitals of Culture”, by Palmer/Rae Associates, p.44

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p.62

<sup>207</sup> [http://europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/culture/129014\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/culture/129014_en.htm)

**Submission of applications:** Six years before the event, each of the Member States publishes a call for applications to the cities which may be interested. Interested cities have ten months from this date to present their application together with a general program outline.

**Pre-selection:** No later than five years before the start of the event, a selection panel in each Member State comes together to check the proposals and agree on a shortlist of eligible cities. The panel consists of thirteen experts seven of which are appointed by the European Union and the other six members are chosen by each Member State in concern.

**Final selection:** Nine months after the first selection meeting, the panel meets again to examine the programs of the shortlisted cities to recommend one of them as the ECOC. At this point, the panel presents a report to the Member State in concern and to the Commission. In the report, it also makes recommendations to the chosen city regarding its designation as the ECOC by the Council.

**Designation:** Four years before the event starts, each Member State, in the light of the panel's recommendations, presents the application of one city to the institutions. The Council considers the opinion of the European Parliament as well as the reports from the panel, and officially assigns two cities as European Capitals of Culture.

#### **2.4. Istanbul as 2010 European Capital of Culture**

After long processes and endeavors of many civil society members, Istanbul was found ready on 11 April 2006 for becoming one of the three European Capitals of Culture for 2010 together with Pécs of Hungary and Essen of Germany. Conceding the view of European Parliament and approval by the Council of Cultural Ministers of the European Union on 13 November 2006, Istanbul was finally announced to be the European Capital of Culture for 2010.

Until today, there has always been a national or local governmental support that provided nomination of all cities as an ECOC. Nevertheless, Istanbul has become the first movement to be initiated at the civil ground and this fact was regarded as a very important criterion in evaluating the application.

#### **2.4.1. A Brief Chronology of Developments**

By the EU Resolution in 1999 the ECOC Project was extended to include non-member countries. Following that, a group of civil society volunteers in Turkey initiated a movement and arranged a meeting on 7 July 2000 to establish an “Enterprise Group” that would take the required steps for Istanbul’s candidacy as European Capital of Culture. Thirteen non-governmental organizations together with representatives of local government, under the coordination of Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation (IKSV) started to work for Istanbul to become European Capital of Culture.<sup>208</sup>

After having provided the supports of local and central governments, the Enterprise Group incorporated members of the artistic and cultural groups in the city, academicians from universities as well as members of other non-governmental organizations.

In March 2005, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan issued a circular and invited all public institutions and non-governmental organizations to support the Enterprise Group in the course of its actions. In December 2005, the Cabinet Decision concerning the Establishment of the Enterprise Group (Decision No: 2005/9706) was officially published in the Official Journal. This decision designated the establishment and working principles of the Enterprise Group and separated its powers between an Advisory Committee, an Executive Committee and a Budgetary Committee.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Eda Beyazıt, Yasemin Tosun, “Evaluating Istanbul in the Process of European Capital of Culture 2010”, 42nd ISoCaRP Congress 2006, p.6

<sup>209</sup> <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/teftis/Genel/>



On 13 December 2005, the application dossier titled “Istanbul: City of the Four Elements” was presented to the Council of Europe General Directorate of Education and Culture in Brussels. It was a very fascinating presentation that was characterizing the metropolis Istanbul with Aristotle’s theory of four elements of the universe: Earth, air, water and fire. The earth denotes the historical heritage of the city, the air symbolizes the spiritual prosperity and tolerance that has prevailed in this land for many centuries, the water indicates the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, and the fire represents the future of Istanbul and symbolizes contemporary art, youth and technology.<sup>210</sup>

On 14 March 2006, a successful presentation was made to a selected jury of seven culture and art experts in Europe. Istanbul competed with Kiev all through the process. On 11 April 2006, the Committee gave its final decision. Istanbul, together with Pécs of Hungary and Essen of Germany, was selected as the 2010 European Capital of Culture.<sup>211</sup> The head of the international selection committee, Sir Jeremy Isaacs, announced in the press meeting that the effective involvement of the civil society in preparation and presentation of Istanbul’s proposal was considered as a critical element in its selection.<sup>212</sup>

On 13 November 2006, European Union Ministers of Culture gave the final approval to the decision and Istanbul was officially announced to be the 2010 European Capital of Culture.

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<sup>210</sup> Nuri Çolakoğlu, Stratejik Rapor II “Milli Kültür Hedefleri Açısından 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti İstanbul Projeksiyonu”, (ed.) Caner Sancaktar, TASAM, p.15 *also in* Ümit Çiçek, “Avrupa Kültür Başkenti ve İstanbul”, İzmir Ticaret Odası, p.2

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/AVRUPAKULTURBASKENTI/istanbul2010nasilgelindi/index.htm>

<sup>212</sup> Ümit Çiçek, “Avrupa Kültür Başkenti ve İstanbul”, İzmir Ticaret Odası, p.3

#### 2.4.2. Istanbul as an ECOC

Napoleon once said, “*If the whole world was a single country, Istanbul would be the capital*”.<sup>213</sup>

Istanbul is a unique city with its geographical location and cultural heritage of thousands of years. Throughout the history, it has not only been the capital of three big world empires - Rome, Byzantine, and Ottoman – but also constituted a pot where many religions, languages, cultures, and communities lived together respectfully and peacefully. In this sense, it represents a perfect model for a “unity in diversity” that the EU is seeking to achieve today.

Culture and art have always existed in a natural interaction in this cosmopolitan city. Reflections of this interaction are apparent in architectural artifacts carrying the influences of diverse cultures and it gives the city an exceptional and beautiful urban texture. Some of them are placed in the World Heritage Listing of UNESCO. Not only for architects but also for many artists and musicians coming from other cultures and religions, Istanbul has always been a source of inspiration.

Istanbul with its unique nature has a special place amongst the other ECOCs. Many cities utilize the opportunity of becoming an ECOC in terms of transforming itself from an industrial city to a city of culture. For Istanbul, the meaning and achievements of the event will be obviously different. Istanbul is already a city of culture and art, it has always been so. Nevertheless, the capacities have remained limited for a city as big as Istanbul and being an ECOC creates an important investment opportunity to transform the city’s institutions.

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<sup>213</sup> Egemen Bağış, Chairman the Advisory Board of İstanbul 2010 in “*Istanbul Finally Ready to be a European City of Culture*” written by David Tonge for “*The Guide, Istanbul*”

### 2.4.3. Prospected Achievements

The achievements for Istanbul through 2010 European Capital of Culture organizations have been and will be as follows:<sup>214</sup>

- From 2007 onwards, Istanbul's name will be associated with culture and art all around the world.
- In the course of Turkey's European Candidacy, the cultural and artistic projects of ECOC will demonstrate that Istanbul, the symbol of the country, has always been in interaction with Europe for many centuries.
- International cooperation and synergies will grow and develop.
- Istanbul will acquire permanent achievements in terms of urban transformation, urban living as well as environmental and social development. The cultural infrastructure of the city will be renovated; new halls designed for cultural and artistic activities will be constructed.
- With regards to protecting and exhibiting the cultural heritage, new museums will be constructed and historical buildings will be renovated, given new roles and opened to the public.
- Peoples of Istanbul will get to know new disciplines of art. Young and talented people will get the opportunity to be more closely involved with art.
- New job opportunities will emerge for a large number of people ranging from communication to organization, education, design, management and creative fields.
- People who come to Istanbul for cultural and artistic projects will get the chance to experience the cultural prosperity in Istanbul; see the mosques, churches, synagogues and also visit the museums and palaces.
- Cultural tourism will grow and develop. Media people as well as culture and art people will come to Istanbul from Europe and other parts of the world. This will raise the tourist

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<sup>214</sup> Çolakoğlu, p.36-37

profile as well as the tourist number coming to Turkey every year. More educated and cultured people will be traveling to Istanbul for the European Capital of Culture.

- International ECOC events will contribute positively in promotion and branding of Istanbul and Turkish culture in Europe and will inspire Turkish and European artists for further creativity.
- Urban consciousness will grow and peoples of Istanbul will appreciate their values and will feel proud of living in this enchanting city.

Although the prospected achievements listed by Çolakoğlu look very promising and inspiring, it is debated that the experience of Turkey as an ECOC so far has not been proceeding in parallel to that. As argued earlier, even though the central objective of the ECOC events seem principally to enhance the cultural profile of the cities in concern; economic interests and expectations of boost in tourism generally start to predominate over intellectual cultural and artistic concerns. Instead of supporting productions of higher intellectual potential, the local organizers of the event in Turkey have mostly preferred to make events that would serve for the mass culture industry, appeal the interest of masses of popular culture and make higher voice in the popular media. There are many high potential art makers of various fields in Turkey who lack financial support to perform their arts. Compared to the famous and popular artists, they actually need much more support to reveal their potential and to be promoted in Europe. They are the representatives of modern, creative and intellectual Turkey and through higher promotion of those artists, Turkey can get the chance to overcome the existing prejudices against itself in Europe and this can open up an enlightened gateway for Turkey to Europe.

### **3. THE UNIFYING ROLE OF CULTURE AND ART IN EU – TURKEY RELATIONS**

Statements made and approaches taken by Valéry Giscard D'estaing (former President of France), current French President Nicholas Sarkozy, or German Prime Minister Angela Merkel against Turkey show us that the barriers preventing Turkey from becoming an EU member is not just political or economic but rather cultural. Cultural barriers for Turkey mainly involve being a country of different religious origin, having diverse historical legacies, and having developed some distinct values, traditions, or attitudes throughout the history. The general profile created by the Turkish migrants living in Europe for about forty years today has also led to a one dimensional look to the image of Turk. This has also become a ground for some who are strictly against Turkey's integration to the Union, to justify themselves.

This thesis adopts a social constructivist perspective, hence emphasizes that all these cultural elements that look to be leading to dissimilarities and divergences between Turkey and Europe, are all constructed by human beings and by human will. Therefore, it is always possible to reconstruct the mutual relations through adaptation of new effective policies especially in the field of cultural policy; as long as there is sufficient willingness and readiness to respect the diversities between peoples of different societies.

Even though some common characteristics can be attributed to European states, it is difficult to speak about a single, unified European culture today. Oruç Aruoba gives an example to explain that divergence by definition exists in Europe. He says, when we think of an Austrian, a Swabian, a Bavarian and a Berliner around the same table, presuming that each of them speaks their own dialect, they all will fail to understand each other. Especially if there is a Swiss German among them, there would be no way to understand a single word. If they speak "High German", they will then be able to understand each other. To what extent can it be argued that these people

share a common culture or have a community?<sup>215</sup> While similarities and commonalities exist, diversities are also present among European countries. Turkey's integration to the Union may add further varieties to it and this will be in line with the European idea of "unity in diversity".

In this chapter, I will try to analyze whether cultural and artistic activities shall be a factor in positive transformation of the image of Turkey and Turks in Europe; and whether they would play a role in Turkey's integration into the European Union. The rationale why I would like to focus on "culture and art activities" comes from the conviction adopted through my observations that peoples of this area, no matter from which nation, religion or ethnic root they are; overwhelmingly hold a high level of humanist consciousness and are purified from prejudices and antagonist judgments against peoples of other cultures. The essence of culture and art activities aims to destroy the prejudices and unite people no matter what origin they come from. They also encourage cultural interaction of people at all levels and at the same time promote peace and harmony between them. Art and culture workers are representatives of cross-cultural, humanist values and, whether or not they personally intend to do so, in other countries they naturally act as cultural delegates in promotion of the country they come from. They represent the innovative, creative, and contemporary face of their country and their presence with their artistic performances in another country undoubtedly creates a difference in terms of overcoming prejudices that may prevail in that particular foreign country.

The next part of this study comprises interviews made with thirteen Turkish artists, who frequently perform in artistic events in Europe; plus one German musician and music producer who is deeply interested in Turkish music and organize Turkish musical events in Europe. By making these interviews with these people, my objective was to analyze the effects of activities of the Turkish artists on the positive development of the image of Turkey and Turks in Europe and to observe whether in the long term, intensified "Turkish culture and art activities in Europe" shall contribute to the integration of Turkey into the European Union.

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<sup>215</sup> Oruç Aruoba, Panel notes: "Contexts and Perceptions of Turkey-Europe Cultural Relationships-1" at *"International Forum on Turkey-Europe Cultural Relations"*

In the light of the findings achieved through these interviews, this thesis suggests that if Turkish culture and art activities are extended and supported well enough by necessary authorities around Europe, that would positively contribute to the relations between Turkey and the EU and it is likely that the outcomes would be quite effective in terms of Turkey's integration into the European Union. Turkey has been part of a number of culture programs and special organizations in Europe such as the event of European Capital of Culture discussed in the previous chapter, the Turkish Cultural Season in France, Frankfurt Book Fair in Germany, Turkish film festivals organized in different European countries every year, etc. These are crucial opportunities and they should be utilized through well planned cultural policies, organizations and professional team works to get the most out of these events to promote Turkey in Europe. Their political outcomes will be evident in Euro-Turkish relations in the long run.

### **3.1. Interviews**

In my course of analysis, I have made a number of interviews with artists of different fields from Turkey. The interviewees were chosen especially from those who are artistically active and recognized throughout Europe. The interviews were intended to provide a platform to debate the deficiencies and identify the shortcomings Turkish artists are facing in the practical field of cultural policy. By this way, I aimed to bring out solution offers through consulting with artists who experience these shortcomings most closely. Another objective of the interviews was to observe what Turkish artists think about 2010 Capital of Culture activities and to what extent they have benefited from it. Eventually, a permanent source of information collected from the intellectual arena concerning how things work at the practical level was created.

The artists who contributed to this study with their answers to my questions are: Gülsin Onay (Turkish worldwide famous pianist), Erkan Oğur (Turkish worldwide known musician and inventor of fretless guitar), Sumru Ağıryürüyen (musician; singer and song writer performing in a

number of important bands), Murat Ertel and Levent Akman from Baba Zula (innovative Turkish musical band followed by wide number of European audiences), Selçuk Artut from Replikas (Turkish musical band widely known and followed by European audiences), Emre Koyuncuoğlu (theatre artist; writing, directing and choreographing plays in Turkey and Europe), Aksel Zeydan Göz (painter, sculptor and movie maker who won the Golden Orange Short Movie Award in 2009 and opens exhibitions in Europe), Sinan Temizalp and Ilkay Sevgi from Simya Sanat Performance Art and Education Center (dancer, choreographer, and performance artist; Turkey representative of European Independent Artists Association), Gülbahar Kültür (Turkish music editor, compiler, and radio DJ living in Germany), Erdem Helvacioğlu (contemporary musician well known throughout Europe and the USA), Ayça Damgacı (actress and singer who won awards in Europe with her movie called “Gitmek”) and Rüdiger Oppermann (only non-Turkish interviewee in this study, a German musician highly interested in Turkish music, interacting many Turkish musicians and organizing musical events for Essen, 2010 European Capital of Culture).



## QUESTION SHEET

The interviews were made on the basis of the following questions:

*Question 1:* How often do you have concerts/shows /plays/exhibitions in Europe?

*Question 2:* In which European countries have you had concerts/shows/plays/exhibitions until now?

*Question 3:* In the light of your experiences, could you tell your opinions concerning Turkey's and Turkish image in Europe? Why?

*Question 4:* Do you think the artistic activities of Turkish art makers in Europe contribute to the positive transformation of Turkey's and Turkish image in Europe? How/Why? To what extent?

*Question 5:* What are your opinions regarding Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital organization?

*Question 6:* Do you think Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital organization shall play an important role regarding Turkey's representation and promotion in Europe? How/Why?

*Question 7:* What do you think can be done for the positive development of Turkey's and Turkish image in Europe? What are the responsibilities to be taken by diverse actors (such as; art makers, non-governmental organizations, sportsmen/women, scientists, young people, chambers of commerce, etc) in this aspect?

### 3.1.1. Interview with Gülsin Onay

*Gülsin Onay, Pianist*

*Question 1:*

Very frequently. For example, in the past three months (September – December 2009), I have had concerts in a number of cities in England including London, and also in Cyprus, Skopje, Madrid, Oslo and Bordeaux.

*Question 2:*

Germany, Austria, Belgium, Belarus, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Croatia, Holland, England, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Iceland, Montenegro, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Monaco, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Greece.

*Question 3:*

20-30 years ago, when you said ‘Turkey’ what European people understood was not more than an Arab country with deserts and camels. Especially if you were a pianist, and moreover a woman pianist, they used to look at you like you come from the space. Though, it changed a lot now. We have many successful scientists and artists who are known all over the world. There are Turkish Members in the German Parliament today. In addition to that, communication has developed enormously. The news about Turkey is broadcasted on TV and internet everywhere at any moment. Therefore, the more updated information they receive about Turkey, the more they get to know and recognize her. Nevertheless we still need some more time, some more of cultural exchange as well as some more of sharing between the two sides in order to be able to change the prejudices.

*Question 4:*

Yes, very much indeed. As I mentioned, information is very important but the information shall be processed through dialogue and cultural exchange. Art is the highest level of interpreting how

we perceive life and it presents a common understanding beyond all languages and religions which we share through art. In short, artistic activities enable Europeans to recognize Turkish people much better and to find out our similarities as well as our differences with them.

*Question 5:*

The concept of European Capital of Culture focuses on different cities every year and functions as a big campaign not only for promotion of that city but also for the whole country. So far as I am concerned, as there are just days left to 2010, the organization does not seem likely to bring much voice Europe-wide. Neither does it give the impression that the interest diverted in here will be successfully maintained. From the beginning, instead of being an attentive and steady organization, it has been subject to speculations and could not get well settled. A lot of time is lost. I believe that not only the 2010 Agency or the authority holders but also all of us are responsible for this situation. Nevertheless, Turkey is well-known for last minute surprises and I really hope that with last minute surprises again, this opportunity shall be utilized well enough to make an outstanding programming.

*Question 6:*

I believe it has crucial function in this context. Turkey is already organizing many festivals and cultural activities all around the world nevertheless, the concept of Capital of Culture is much more meaningful and effective because it provides the opportunity of inland promotion and also is realized not through unilateral efforts but through international consensus. For that reason, 2010 has to be utilized very effectively for Istanbul and for Turkey. There are always international festivals or exhibitions in Turkey but there is never sufficient international attention to them. For example, when I played in Athens Epidaurus Festival with maestro Vladimir Ashkenazy it was announced in *French Le Monde*. Istanbul 2010 needs this kind of activities that would make international sound. The international attention will already be diverted here; we need to manage maintaining it here efficiently. When we say European Capital of Culture, it signifies a center of European culture; a center that belongs to European culture but at the same time shapes that culture. Istanbul deserves this attribution at the fullest extent. We need to use this opportunity of being the center of attention very well and keep in mind that our objective should be to do our best to tell and show the world all that we can about our culture.

*Question 7:*

What Europeans think about us develop and change every day. Political and economic developments in our country positively or negatively play role in the transformation of perspectives. The major thing that would positively develop Turkish and Turkey's image is a strong and modern Turkey where rule of law is working efficiently. We as artists, scientists, and other leading individuals in the society play an undeniable role to an extent in this framework.

In addition to all, if today Nuri Bilge Ceylan wins the Best Movie Director Award in Cannes; Orhan Pamuk wins the Nobel Literature Award; Turkey becomes the guest of honor in Frankfurt Book Fair; 62 Turkish scientists work in particle acceleration researches of CERN<sup>216</sup> in Switzerland, these all mean that we don't just speak about being recognized by Europe anymore but rather about being a natural part of it.

### **3.1.2. Interview with Erkan Oğur**

*Erkan Oğur, musician*

*Question 1:*

Four or five times a year.

*Question 2:*

Predominantly central Europe; Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and United Kingdom.

*Question 3:*

Turkish image... When I am abroad for a concert, it is mostly a folk music concert. Therefore, audiences are generally people from Turkish cities like Yozgat, Kayseri, or Sivas who live in Europe. The local European people are a few in my concerts and most of the time those few are

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<sup>216</sup> European Organization for Nuclear Research

the ones who know me personally or who are very interested in my music. Frankly speaking, I don't know much about what these people think about Turks. Actually I don't really care much about what European people think or don't think about Turks or how Turkish image is seen in Europe. We are as we are. I think it is more important to evaluate the approaches and views in Turkey for art, artist and creative production. The support for art and artistic production is quite questionable in Turkey. I am a musician and in terms of music there is desolation in Turkey. There is not adequate support, interest or education in the field of music. There is a lot to be done for music in Turkey. This is our primary concern. We are not much concerned whether we are going to be accepted in the EU or not, however we are worried with the situation and future of music in Turkey. We have sufficient capacity and sources to be much more productive and manage ourselves.

*Question 5:*

I have heard about it; however I don't have much information regarding what is going on at that side. Maybe, we could have offered an international guitar festival however we didn't know about the procedure and other details about how we could do that.

### **3.1.3. Interview with Sumru Ağryürüyen**

*Sumru Ağryürüyen, musician*

*Question 1:*

Not very often. Sometimes 5 times a year but last year I haven't had any concerts in Europe.

*Question 2:*

Germany, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Italy, Spain, Greece, Bulgaria, former Republic of Yugoslavia.

*Question 3:*

Since I am not into popular music, I have two kinds of concerts in Europe. One of them is at diplomatic events. For example we were invited as a group by the Turkish Embassy in Sweden to play a concert in front of an international group of around forty diplomatic people including the King. It was the same time when the Armenian law draft was approved in Europe. So, there was no doubt that Turkey's image was not very favorable at that time. Nevertheless this concert, where we played songs of diverse languages and different ethnic roots from Turkey including Kurdish, Armenian, and other; was a very clever maneuver taken by the Turkish Embassy in Sweden. I know that many people were quite fascinated with this musical event however I don't know whether their political attitude was affected or not. Other than these political events, I also have more civil concerts with other musicians. When we play Balkan music in concerts, we play in front of people who welcome this kind of music and who have a certain world perspective. The audiences in Europe are not much different than our audiences in Turkey and they are overwhelmingly European. Of course you are primarily perceived as a Turkish musician however if you sing in another language – most of the time I sing in Balkan languages – there is more of acceptance.

We haven't had unpleasant experiences because of being from Turkey. I can say my experiences have been quite fruitful in terms of cultural exchange. We have had only one unexpected aggressive movement in Greece. We were playing Balkan music; we played a very beautiful song from Cyprus the lyrics of which were a poem of Neşe Yaşın. In every concert, we sing this song in Turkish and in Greek. The lyrics say:

*“My country is divided into two from the middle, which part should I love?”*

We sang that song and then there was a discussion session about Cyprus and a lady got very angry and blamed us for being occupants. We were stunned. We weren't representing the state or so there, it was a civil event and we were just speaking in favor of removal of the borders. This is how I actually see life. I believe people should preserve their cultural features but I think borders are so meaningless.

*Question 4:*

First we have to analyze what we mean when we say image. Media creates images in people's minds about themselves and about the others. This is partly dependent on the governmental policies. I believe that it is very important for the publics of every country to evaluate the prejudices and judgments towards each other in order for a better understanding and listening to one another. There are factors that affect Turkish image, such like the Turkish immigrants in Europe and Turkey being a Muslim country. These are the main reasons of the 'otherization' of Turks by Europeans. But I am not much concerned about ameliorating this image or so. What I am concerned about is to communicate with those people through my music. If my music helps to break prejudices in these people's minds regarding the country I live or the people of my country, it is nice. I don't care whether they like me or approve me. I don't take this as my mission. All that matters for me is to communicate with those who want to listen to my music. I am also aware that the policies in those European countries and their democratic systems are not so perfect either. I think if people can just endure to listen to each other's voices, songs, or singing without otherization, this can open a door. It is not about tolerance, it is about trying to understand the other, to perceive that voice or language. There are prejudices against languages for the sound rough or bad. These are all about the contact of your culture with the other culture and their mutual effects on each other.

*Question 5:*

I have been in contact with responsible people about a couple of projects. Mainly we have offered an international music school project. I have seen that there has been some strong support for some civil projects that would be good not only for Istanbul but also for Turkey. Nevertheless, we have been hearing from the press that there are some problems going on within the organization. There are too many different people involved and as I heard the organization kind of lost its civil character as some people left the organization and so.

*Question 6:*

This should be the target of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, this is what it means. It is an opportunity to take...

*Question 7:*

I don't take it as a requirement to do something for the positive development of Turkey's or Turkish image. If some people need to feel animosity or they have prejudices against you for some historical or cultural reasons, you don't have much to do to change it. Nevertheless, the situation today is related with what the governments until today have done and haven't done. The Kurdish issue, the Armenian issue, the poor country image are all affecting how our country and our people look. There is of course something art can do about the image however when there is violation of human rights, an ongoing civil war in your country, and you go there as nothing is happening; there is not much you can do or change about it. I long for fundamental solutions such as peace in my country and peace in the whole world. Sadly, I know these are very difficult to achieve goals but I want to do what I can do about this issue.

There are very nice Turkish exhibitions, organization of Turkish days or Turkish year in Europe and these are of course successful policies for achieving friendship and harmony and peace in Europe as well because many Turkish people are living together with European people. And also I believe that it is necessary to proceed with right profile people in order to promote the Turkish life and people in Turkey in this kind of events.

#### **3.1.4. Interview with Baba Zula**

*Baba Zula Murat Ertel (ME), Levent Akman (LA), musicians*

*Question 1:*

*ME:* Ranging between once every two months and 15 times a month depending on the season. Now we don't have any shows until March in Europe. But this is our preference because we are recording an album now and we don't want to interrupt the records. So, we don't go on tours until March-April.



- *Do you play in the music festivals mostly?*

*ME:* Yes, most of the time we play in festivals and also in some special clubs. We also do workshops, conference and panels, and last year we started cine-concerts for silent movies shot in Austria and Turkey. We make music for those silent movies as well.

*Question 2:*

*LA:* Greece, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, France, Estonia, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia.

- *Who makes your audiences in Europe?*

*ME:* Our listeners in Europe are mostly European. Even in places where Turkish people live intensively, only 25% of the audiences remain Turkish. There is a certain level of consciousness in our audiences. Some of them know us from before some are curious about what we do because we are a Turkish band coming from Istanbul.

*Question 3:*

*ME:* We have had many experiences in Europe about being Turkish. I think everything starts very insultingly for Turkish artists from the very beginning. We have been making music for about thirty years now and we are ready and available to prove it extensively. First of all, there is nothing like a concept of ‘culture visa’ in countries such as Denmark or Belgium. You can get a sports visa, education/student visa, and worker/businessman visa however as an artist you cannot get a culture visa. There are countries who provide this kind of visa nevertheless when you go to their consulate and apply for their visa as an artist, they are not interested in your artistship; rather, they are interested in how full is your bank account, how many houses or cars you have. They ask you proof of your wealth and this is really very humiliating. You bring them many proofs about your musicianship including articles published in worldwide known newspapers such as *Le Monde* or *New York Times*, documents regarding your relationship with your record company, and other documents which present your connection with vocational societies and prove that you are composers, invitation letter from the festival where you will play, sometimes festival organizers call the consulate personally but none of them helps; they still ask you papers showing how wealthy you are and they don’t give you the visa if you don’t provide them with

these documents. This is really so terrible. The visa requirement for artists is discrimination. We are ready to provide all the documents regarding our musicianship, we are ready to get in every necessary written or verbal dialogue however we don't have to be rich, we don't have to prove our wealth or richness. Was Van Gogh rich? He was so poor. He became rich after he died, which made no use for him. Even if I have a house, I don't want to give them my land registry or my bank account details. This is a big problem we are facing. We have a concert in Denmark, and two days after that a concert in Sweden and following to that a concert in Germany. I go to Danish Consulate, apply for the visa, and although I declare all the documents and details they still give me 3 days of visa, can you imagine that?

If there is an issue of cultural representation of a country, we believe that the most important thing is the freedom to travel. This problem has to be solved. We know that our government shows no endeavors for solving this issue either. Europeans have to do something about this, too.

*LA:* As far as I know there is a decision taken at the European Parliament in 1972. According to that; artists and businessmen, if they prove their status, have the right to travel freely without any visa, on the condition that each and every Parliament of Member Countries approves this decision. That is the problem; Parliaments do not ratify it so it cannot come into force. Our government has to push for it.

- *I think Germany started this kind of an implementation last summer...*

*ME:* Yes, because they were sued by Turkish people on a number of cases.

*LA:* It is required to fight against it. If Fenerbahçe or Galatasaray can show courage to go to Europe without getting a visa, this problem will finish. Europeans will have to let them in and this attempt can open a door for all sports people at least. If Sezen Aksu goes to the German border without a visa for example, this can mean something for everyone. Some consciousness is required; we need to take some actions together. We have been going to Europe for concerts since 2003 and they have just started to give us 6 months or yearlong visas. I am fed up with having to change my passport every 6 months or a year because the pages get filled all the time. This is the most fundamental problem.

*ME:* And when you get off the plane, the discrimination continues. There are passport control queues for Europeans and non-Europeans. Nevertheless, Switzerland for example, can make advantage of Schengen privileges although Swiss are not a member of the EU, when there are so many queues at the passport control, they are allowed to pass through the EU citizens section but if we try doing the same thing, we are told to go and wait at the non-EU section.

*LA:* Other than that, even before the passport control, when you walk out of the airplane there are two policemen waiting at the end of the tunnel, this is especially an action against people coming from Turkey. If we travel between two European countries or if we fly with Lufthansa from Turkey to Germany for example, there is no such thing. But especially when you travel by Turkish Airlines or other airlines where the number of Turkish passengers is high, especially in Germany, France and sometimes in Denmark two policemen are waiting at the end of the tunnel that you need to pass through to get off the plane, and they especially check Turkish passports. In Germany, they sometimes come with dogs. There is an extreme discrimination against Turks which still continues.

It doesn't finish there. Journalists, come to interview us after the concerts. We want to speak with them about our music, we want to tell them about our albums however, the first question they ask is "what do you think about Armenians?" or "why did you kill them?" or "what do you think about Kurdish issue?"

*ME:* At this point, I wonder if they interview an American jazz musician, whether they would ask him "why did you kill the native American Indians?"

*LA:* Or to a German artist do they ask a question like "why did you kill Jews?" or so...

Another thing, one time we were in Marseille for a concert and a journalist was interviewing us, there was a local translator as well. They asked me, "Where does Marseille remind you?". I said 'Middle East' because Marseille is really very different, there are Algerians and Palestinians living there, and we were staying somewhere in the middle. Marseilles had such a nice atmosphere and energy but the French translator insisted not to translate what I said, she kept staring at us not saying anything. I repeated the same thing a couple of times but she didn't

translate it, she didn't say anything and the journalist was quite curious and asking what I said. Luckily, our manager speaks French so I called her and told her to translate what I said to the journalist. After that the translator got very embarrassed.

- *Where is the freedom of speech?*

LA: Freedom of speech, human rights, liberties are all for their own selves, you see that clearly, there is an unstable ground in the European Union and among the Europeans. Look at Switzerland, they have forbidden minarets. Can there be such a thing? What if we put down the bells of churches? It is the same thing. We have Roman, Armenian churches and mosques all next to each other standing peacefully.

Europeans should understand; yes there is Armenian problem, yes there is Kurdish problem, they will all be solved out somehow but there is also a problem of culture in this country. The budget allocated to culture in this country is 3 per thousand. It is 3 per cent in France. They should ask me questions about this, they should be curious about the cultural policy in my country, whether our government is supporting us or not. We ended up telling them that politics is neither their business nor ours; and we want to talk about culture, art and music not politics. If you want to pressurize our government, push them for culture issues a little bit.

*Question 4:*

*ME:* A lot, incredibly much.

*LA:* Yes, very much, it is crucial.

*ME:* First of all, they get to realize that "these people have a culture, they have music, they have theater, and they have art" because until that time they have never come across with this reality. If we speak of Germany for example, as we all know well enough, there are certain groups of Turkish people living there, certain vocational groups, people of a certain educational level, people who haven't maybe even got the big city culture in their country, migrate to Europe as a whole village. For instance, in Denmark we came across such a place. In a town of Denmark, a village from Turkey is living. There are only people from that particular village, and there are too many in number and they constitute a high percentage of the population of that town. The entire

village migrated to that particular town. So, they don't speak the language of the country they live in and they do not incorporate the values and culture of the country they live. They live as closed communities they don't accept new people into their community. This has lately started to change with the third generation for example the language problem disappeared at least. The cultures have started to intermingle. Culture is not only art; there are some compulsory factors in culture such like the food for example. In Germany most places get closed after 7 o'clock in the evening except Turkish kiosks where they cook and sell kebab or so. The food has been very influential for increasing the interaction of the Turkish and German people. Many Germans go to Turkish kiosks in the evenings to eat.

Europeans are very intellectual so when they want to reach some particular information they do a lot of researching on the internet to find out a particular music. They find the music, they listen to it, and they read about it. There is a rapidly growing interaction and its influence spreads quite fast.

When popular Turkish musicians go to Europe for a concert, predominantly Turkish audiences watches them. But more alternative, more artistically powerful and less popular music is listened to largely by the Europeans because they are mostly interested in artistic side not the popular side. Therefore, the effect is really very high. And at the end of a concert, many new concert offers are born. We give a concert, some producer who watches the concert or an event organizer offers to us to give some new concerts and we grow like this. We don't have big promotion opportunities or make public relations. We entirely grow on the performances we make.

*LA:* Most artists live on their own resources; there is no governmental support or anything like that, we all self-support ourselves. There are culture attachés in every consulate. I am really wondering what all these culture attachés are doing.

*ME:* Sometimes, they appear in some of our concerts but don't do much for supporting us. Wherever we go, we get very positive feedbacks and we meet many people like event organizers, sound technicians, audiences some of whom are artists and musicians. Later we work in

cooperation with some of these people, this also is very important. We do workshops in many places, in our concerts we invite German, French, American or other musicians on stage whom we know from before. These cooperations become permanent because they come here in Turkey to play with us, we record albums together. We enjoy it very much; they enjoy it very much, too. And later these relationships grow further. If their friends come to Turkey they tell them to contact with us or when we go somewhere abroad they connect us with their friends there. We kind of establish a network between artists.

- *Civil art movement...*

*ME:* Yes, exactly like that. Civil art movement and that is the most precious thing for us. We do it all alone with self-effort and self-support. A couple of times we worked with Goethe Institute, definitely not in Turkey. Goethe Institute in Turkey never helps. They say they will, but they never do. They created a concept of 'logistic support' through which they would enable us to use computers. I can use computer at home, I can access to internet as well. I don't need such kind of a support. They can provide us with concert places for example. They don't even do that. But the Goethe Institute in Germany is supportive. In Europe many institutions provide support through their government. We need to maintain the same circumstances in Turkey.

- *I think we are short of performance places in Istanbul, aren't we?*

*ME:* It is possible to work with Consulates; French Cultural Center, Italian Cultural Center, and German Cultural Center, they all have very nice halls waiting to be used.

I don't think Germans, Italians or French would reject if Turkish authorities would ask them to organize two or more concerts a year in the halls of their Consulates or Cultural Centers. I am sure they would say 'yes'.

*LA:* They would even like the idea.

*Question 5:*

*ME:* The beginning of the issue was so excellent, it was so idealistic. I appreciate Korhan Gümüş very much; I believe he is one of the very few intellectuals in Turkey. I wish non-governmental organizations could play a more dominant role within this establishment. Unfortunately, it didn't happen to be so. There are big mistakes and deficiencies and we are quite bothered about them. I

wish we could now be discussing the program of the 2010. Nevertheless, as an artist following the press closely about 2010, I have no idea what is going to happen and there is just a couple of weeks left for 2010, this is really very upsetting. Many of my friends and we prepared projects for 2010, we presented some of them, some of them we did not. Many artists are boycotting the 2010 completely. We were hopeful on some projects; we even turned down some concert offers because we thought we would be able to perform our project. But at last minute they reduced our project budget to 10% of the original budget and it was blocked. These are very disturbing of course, but it is still good that some events are still going to happen.

*LA:* In Europe it is important to be a Cultural Capital. Many cities are chasing the opportunity to become so. All the spots are on the Capitals of Culture all the year long. Sadly, our people still haven't understood it. The program is not ready yet. On what criteria do they accept the projects and on what basis they reject them? What are they going to do? What are we going to do? What do they expect from artists? Nothing is clear.

*ME:* We made a lot of talks and meetings with them, but nothing was clear, everything is confused. And many of our friends, very valuable Turkish artists, they all boycott, they organize an Alternative 2010.

*Question 6:*

*ME:* It is sad to see how the whole organization is handled and managed in Turkey. Nevertheless, even if you don't do anything, undoubtedly there will be events and they will make sound once you announce a city as the European Capital of Culture.

*Question 7:*

*ME:* For example, there was recently the concert of Titi Roben, famous French guitarist in Babylon. Many of the people who came to watch were artists and journalists who follow him. And people from the French Consulate were there for supporting him, too. They sold his albums there. I really appreciate how French Consulate supports their artists here. In terms of sponsorship they may not be paying him much. But it is very important that they come there, sell his albums, fix him interviews with newspapers these are all very crucial. Our culture attachés

should also deal with such things. They can use their relations to fix us interviews in foreign art, culture or music magazines. Even this would be a very important, permanent promotion for us.

*LA:* Or, they can help us in arranging concert halls abroad or just come to watch our concerts, because we feel really desolated when we go to Europe.

Sometimes there are invitations from some countries, but they don't have budget. If at least our government provides a modest financial support such like the tickets maybe, or help us about getting the visa when we need, that would mean something for us. This is a common problem for many Turkish musicians. So many more musicians can go to Europe to play and represent our country however they are discouraged and obstructed by the visa issue or lack of budget. Even some little support can make a change, but we cannot get it in any way. Cultural policy must really be reformed and developed in Turkey.

*ME:* Not everything is about money of course. They can do very small contributions such as facilitating the visa requirement. If you remember, we used to pay 100 USD to go abroad during the time of Turgut Özal, it was his invention. His successors then reduced this tax to 15 TL. Then they brought another rule which said that the artists who go to their destination on a working visa will not pay this tax. Recently we were traveling somewhere abroad on a working visa and we tried not paying the tax but the police returned us at the door. We explained them the issue, he opened the book and showed us the regulation which has recently changed and become constrained to sports and business people only. They make an amendment to remove the artists from the context of the regulation, but it is still free for the sports people. It is unbelievable.

*LA:* And the money we are speaking about is 15 TL, it is so ridiculous. They do this for 15 TL.

*ME:* You expect things to improve but they get worse, they move backward. It is really so awful and insulting. You as an artist cannot still retain a status like sports people or trade people do. And there is always the risk that the sports people go there and lose the game. But in our case, only maybe one of the thirty concerts that we give goes bad. We make 29 winnings if we speak in terms of score.

*LA:* There is also lack of interest from the media. We are one of the Turkish bands that play most often in Europe and we have played in very important festivals such as the Roskilde and other



worldwide known country festivals, and we are the first Turkish band to play in most of these festivals, but none of them has been mentioned in the news not for us to promote ourselves but at least to motivate bands who is coming after us and show them that it is possible to make these achievements.

*ME:* There used to be a magazine called *Basatap*, they wrote about Roskilde Festival, we were the first group to play in that festival, but they didn't write even a sentence about it.

*LA:* There is a complexity of issues. Integrity and good coordination is required.

*ME:* Chambers for example, can establish an artist pool, they can provide official documents approving the artistship of people in concern and we can use this document in applying for a visa. I think of such things. Everything is not just money. If at least we can feel that they are morally supporting us this would be very meaningful. When you go abroad as an artist or whoever from Turkey, inevitably you act as a cultural delegate of your country, you suddenly realize that it means responsibility because when they look at you, they firstly perceive you as a Turk.

- *I think the values we want Europe to recognize about us today are mostly represented by the artists...*

*LA:* Exactly...

*ME:* Exactly, art retains integrity in itself and you can communicate with people through it. When they discover and listen to our music, they research about us, then they get interested in Istanbul and research Istanbul and they become interested in Turkish art and music, the issue gradually expands. We should also accept that some elements in our culture are totally strange to Europeans for example classical Turkish music is difficult to perceive for a European. They get bored and it doesn't mean anything to them, it feels a little heavy for them.

*LA:* It is required to be selective at this point. Maybe only some basic pieces can be integrated to the repertoire of some performances.

- *When you bring into this music a more universal form, there may be a chance to promote this music as well.*

*ME:* Yes, sure. When they listen to our music, in the next step, they become to listen to classical Turkish music too. The effect spreads gently and it opens up a new window for them.

### 3.1.5. Interview with Ayça Damgacı

*Ayça Damgacı, actress (theater and movie)*

*Question 1:*

Since 2000, I have been on tour in Europe with theater at least twice every year. Between 2008 and 2009, I went to Europe six or seven times because of my movie 'Gitmek'. With *Oyunevi*, for our project called 'Beklerken' we performed in three festivals in Europe within a network called SEAS.

*Question 2:*

Holland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland.

*Question 3:*

Wherever I have been to, there has always been a warm welcome. Being a guest is surely a different situation but they have shown a high level of interest to the plays and to my movie. I even realized that the curators and the audiences had some certain expectancy already. I think the West is quite interested in the wind coming from the East, because life and art has become quite monotonous and uniform in Europe.

*Question 4:*

I believe it has a high level of contribution. As our totalitarian judgments are broken and we get influenced or moved when we watch an Afghani or Iraqi artist, Europeans feel the same about us. A good concert, theater play, movie are the best indicators of the colorfulness and richness of the world people no matter where they are coming from. And they are the best elements to be presented and shared about a culture. The image, improvement, etc... I don't care much about them.

*Question 5:*

I have no idea what they have been doing. However, I would strictly recommend them not to do touristic kind of events.

*Question 6:*

If they provide financial support to a variety of genuine and candid work, yes it would. Providing financial sources is the most important problem for small size art groups. In Europe, these groups receive subsidies from the government or the municipality. In Turkey, unfortunately there is no such support.

*Question 7:*

Turkish and Turkey's image can be positively developed on one condition only: Essential political, social, and cultural reforms should be made in order for all minorities in Turkey including homosexuals, Kurds, transvestites, transsexuals, Gypsies, Syrians, Armenians, anarchists, etc. to achieve the rights they demand. Animal rights should be handled, too.

### **3.1.6. Interview with Emre Koyuncuoğlu**

*Emre Koyuncuoğlu, theater artist (director, dramaturgy, script writer, choreography, stage design)*

*Question 1:*

Every year I go on tours in Europe. Since 1997, all the plays I have made have been on tour abroad.

*Question 2:*

Predominantly in France and Germany, but I have also toured in Romania, Belgium, England (which is a very difficult country to go for a tour from Turkey; usually they come to our country however for us it is difficult to go there as theater players).

There are two types of touring: One of them is through participating in International Festivals. Mostly I prefer doing jobs for international festivals. On the other hand, there are also international tours organized by city/government theaters in Europe which target Turkish

audiences there. I believe that I am mostly doing artistic jobs appealing the international audiences. I have also had tours in Spain and Portugal. I never toured in Italy however I did co-productions with them. Other than that, I have also done co-productions with Portugal, Germany and Belgium.

- *What do you exactly mean when you say co-production?*

I did my plays in collaboration with them in their countries. I got a commission from a festival in Belgium and I made a special work just for there. After three months, I will direct a special play for a German city theater in Germany. These are all works other than the international tour of my own works which come by being invited as director to their theaters. This can happen in a couple of ways. For example, they see a play I do in Istanbul and they like it. Then they us invite for a tour to a festival and we go there for 2-3 days to play it and then we come back. Another way of co-producing is that some part of budget is afforded by them and the rest is covered by some sponsors from Turkey. This way it becomes their work and our work at the same time. These kind of plays, tour and receive invitations much more than the others. Sometimes it is possible to fix a tour for a whole year with this kind of works. However, most of the time I do independent plays with independent players which mean gathering some certain players and acting together in a certain way. It is quite difficult to tour with these people continuously. Independent plays have audiences risk not audiences guarantee unfortunately and no one in Turkey wants to sponsor this kind of works. Co-productions work quite well in this sense. They give you the opportunity to make an independent play at the international standard in return of which you get paid a satisfying fee and that enables you to work with good actors and actresses, a good decorator, as well as a good team. A third option is, you get invited as an artist, they assign you a project, and they ask you to collaborate with a dancer or actor/actress in that country. Mostly I prefer doing works that European audiences can watch and share as well.

*Question 3:*

This is a multi dimensional issue. At the end, they expect a Turkish artist to bring a critical argument about a problematic issue that is related to her/his environment, herself/himself or the country she/he comes from into attention. I mean they look for artists who can touch their own problematic and bring a critical perspective on the country, the region, the environment that she comes from. This is a normal expectation. At the bottom line it is the essential character of arts to

involve self-criticism in itself. This fact embodies the major expectation. Other than that, if you say that you want to do something aesthetic without ever touching a current problematic, things get difficult and your area gets constrained because that particular area is mostly handled by Europeans; especially Germans and English people. English script theater is very dominant. In terms of form, Germans are advanced in a wider range of areas. Belgians are especially highly developed at performance theater and dance, Dutch are good at design. That region, particularly central and Northern Europe, is holding the power in the areas of form, aesthetics, and new offerings to art. As an artist from Turkey, you have to be very very good and you have to have a story to tell in order to be active in these fields. This means your moral and financial supports will be powerful and at the same time you need to be working with a very powerful team. Or, you should be living there and be able to speak and understand that language like a native. Shortly, it is not possible to be active in Europe in these fields if you are from Turkey. When you produce something for Europe from Turkey, inevitably it has to be two legged. It has to work in Turkey and at the same time it has to have something to say for where you make it. We don't create because of necessity. For that reason I returned many work. There are thematic festivals such like Middle Eastern Women Festival. These are very unpleasant for me. A Middle Eastern Women Festival already involves some kind of defined perceptions and prejudices in itself and creating something for a festival like this is not likeable because whatever you do there; even if you put a flower, it will be seen through a constrained perspective. I had something like this in a workshop in Germany Stuttgart Festival under the concept of "*Last Call for Şehrazat*" which was designed to bring together women artists from countries described as "Muslim" to produce a cooperate work. Countries like Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Pakistan, Iran, India, and Turkey were involved but there was neither Bosnia nor Albania. These women from these countries were thought to be sharing common cultural elements and they were expected to produce a work on this common ground. At the end, nothing could be created.

In such a festival, you get very curious to see what women in Egypt, Jordan, or Palestine create especially since there is harsh warfare in some of these people's countries. It was a workshop activity and I went there to meet people. When it is a workshop, the sharing is very high but all the women involved there, including me, were trying to accentuate the "narrow perception" and

emphasize that “you cannot evaluate us and our work in the context of an Islamic country work”. What we create has not much to do with being Muslim; we hardly ever use Islamic elements in our plays. They insisted to say we should take the issue on the basis of main problematic, etc. I told them in that case it would have been much more appropriate if they invited some other woman artist who defines herself within the limits of Muslimhood more than I do. There had been a discussion in this context. Of course discussions are fruitful. It is disturbing when they group you like a basket of apples: “Muslim women”. It doesn’t matter whether you come from Pakistan or Turkey, they treat you on the same ground. In fact there are unbelievable distinctions between all these people. Could you ever organize a festival under the concept of “Christian women”? Such a conception would sound so meaningless but sadly there is such a perspective against “Muslim women”. You can try to reject this kind of invitations as much as you can, however these works are very commercial at the same time and when you do something out of the common, the attention and the support is too little in Turkey. On the contrary, European cultural policy is so open to support, protect, and promote the new and unusual creations as much as possible. Here, the tendency is to cover up, conceal or hide this kind of creations. This makes you feel isolated especially when you go to Europe and witness the support and attention there. You have to struggle a lot to accomplish something, to create a work in Turkey. However, when you go there, you see that those people receive tremendous support for this kind of accomplishments.

*Question 4:*

Absolutely it does. But the qualifications of the selection committees, who determine the activities to be performed in Europe, are very important. The selection process has to be democratic, sharing, combining different colors, and implementing multifaceted definitions of art. This is missing in Turkey. When they choose artists to send to Europe, they chose according to the prevailing perception in Turkey. For example, Sezen Aksu is a pop icon; she is a very important musician however when you compare her with Baba Zula, their audiences is totally different: The people who listen to Sezen Aksu in Europe are majorly Turkish. On the other hand, Baba Zula has a wide number of audiences in Europe most of whom are European. Unfortunately, there is not rich discussion environment for this kind of topics in Turkey. The approaches are mostly narrow and restricted to one single perspective. Another shortcoming is that when you go there the promotion remains so limited. Promotion at European festivals is so

important. Those are very big events and in Turkey we need more efficient cultural policy in order to participate in those festivals. For example, when there is an organization like Turkish Cultural Season in France, the organizers should bring the artists together two years before the event starts and tell them about the features of the event and explain what kind of artistic works are needed, what is the budget, etc. But none of them happens, everything is undisclosed. Notifications to artists come too late. Rather than ordering new, authentic works they prefer us to play already existing ones. I don't find it appropriate to bring a work to a European festival which was done before for Turkey. When you offer to produce a fresh work you need to get support but you can't so you have to do and afford everything by yourself. That's what we have become used to. The relations have to be better planned and established on healthier grounds. We have been waiting for the Turkish year in France since 2007, but we have been uninformed regarding what it is exactly, what we should do about it, which cities are included, which theaters we should get in touch, what we shall offer, etc.

Moreover, in Europe artistic creation is industrialized, every artist has a certain fee. Being industrialized maintains necessary support and competition as well. We too as Turkish artists, have a fee naturally, however we are expected to volunteer. I've ended up calling it "bourgeoisie art" or rather "high society art" which haven't even embourgeoisified yet. They treat you as if you are living in such a luxury and doing art as a hobby. This is such a big misperception. Artists in Turkey have almost no money. If I have worked fifteen years to do this job at this level, this means a lot of hard work and effort, and self-affording from your own pocket. Becoming a name in this field in Turkey is not easy. I mean if they call you from Europe today and ask you to produce a play for them especially when you are an artist from Turkey, this means a lot of endeavor has been taken to catch this standard. Producing for Europe signifies lots of struggle to penetrate a very big market. Only when they like your works very much, they start to follow your annual productions. If someone can manage to catch this level in her/his work, it is so natural that she/he gets paid in return. In Europe they don't judge you fee, you get what you offer. However, when you pronounce similar fees in Turkey, they laugh at you and on the contrary they ask you to volunteer. It is ridiculous that we have already been volunteering for about fifteen years now.

- *Do you have problem with attracting the audiences in Turkey?*

No we never have such a problem. But we have problems of organization and promotion. I still do my own promotion when I have a play. I contact with newspapers and arrange them. These all require a producer. It is not like music or movie market when you speak about theater or better to say performance art. This field is not yet much industrialized and you have to live on your own resources. I think theater is the most under pressure area among all other areas of art in Turkey. There is the hegemony of city/state theaters, there is limited competition, and the problematic of how well the repertoires of city/state theaters conform to the society; does the society just want to laugh, doesn't it prefer to watch something that touches its own problematic? To what extent the contemporary theater is appreciated? The flow of money is in a certain direction and this unavoidably destroys all the other areas. I am at the same time a city theater artist. City theaters have their own pressures because they are not independent. When I work freelance, even if it is voluntary it is still independent I can do whatever I want. Or I get subsidy from Europe. It is important to note that only about ten people in the field of theater in whole Turkey are able to get financial support from Europe. There are few people in this field and the ones who are in Istanbul are much luckier because there aren't almost any European art networks in Turkey outside Istanbul. In addition to that, the independent artists in Istanbul are a little more aware than the others. How could independent artists from Eskişehir or Diyarbakır be able to show their works all around Turkey? There is disconnection and it is difficult for them to show their productions. The network within Turkey is so loose and the conditions are not robust enough.

*Question 5:*

I offered a project which was not approved. It was a project in collaboration with architects which also incorporated university students. Having worked on it for three years on voluntary basis, with the motivation of producing something good for Istanbul, we received no support to perform it. The people from 2010 Agency said that they liked it but no one supported. It is a shame that we couldn't finalize three years work.

To me, Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture is equal to U2 concert. It signifies that "U2 is coming to Istanbul". Of course we all love and listen to U2 but this concert tells much more about how we identify our culture and perceive Istanbul as a European Capital of Culture. The mentality here says that, rather than supporting our own artists, we pay and bring one of the



most expensive bands in the world. It says that we don't have much connection with our own artists and that what Istanbul needs are pop artists. I think all the developments so far moves 2010 away from being an urban reconstruction project. Rather, it looks to me like the contribution of 2010 will be flow of money from local pop culture to international pop culture and it will create an understanding which says that "we gave the money and they came". It is so upsetting; you don't mean a value in Turkey. In Europe you do, but in Turkey you don't.

*Question 6:*

As far as I have heard, there have been speculations and disagreements in other Capitals of Culture as well. As they say, there is not always a quality standard of the events in the program and it is difficult to understand according to what criteria the projects are selected. It is said that the outcomes are not always as effective as expected at the beginning. European Capitals of Culture mostly intend to create a festive and colorful environment in the city that attracts the tourists. In this context, I am sure it will have contributions. Nevertheless, our disappointment as local people will continue because we couldn't bring any positive gains to the city.

*Question 7:*

This is mostly the mission of the politicians. I am interested in theater and my audiences. In Turkey we have to become a team, we need to believe in, support and love each other. When they invite me to Europe and ask me to bring two critics and a dramaturge with me to turn the event into a book, I shouldn't get stunned. This is how it works in Europe. That's why U2 is so expensive. When U2 has a concert, it works as a team. Their videos are shot, they don't just sing, it is a growing mechanism supported and shared by a group of people. On the other hand, we always have to move alone. In order for the positive development of a country's image, it is required to move as a team there. Then you can have an effect, you can receive much more offers and you become a good artist. If you go to Europe or some other place, your Ministry of Culture, your cultural policy, your organizers, the artists who travel with you, the market everything should all be operating well enough. In that case, you start make money out of it, your country makes money out of it, and audiences from other countries comes to watch you. For example, when you want to go to the *Cats* musical in London the system works perfectly. When you buy your ticket online for the play, the system enables you to make your hotel reservation too. Wherever you live, you can go and watch the *Cats* in London. They make it that easy. This kind

of plays makes their own attraction and then of course they attain the power to get settled in a system.

We on the other hand, have to fight alone like Don Quixote. When they define you they say “Turkish but educated in .... and lives in Istanbul”.

About a co-production in Diyarbakır, I received an offer from Belgium. I said I would do it but I wanted its problematic to be about “the European Union and Turkey”. The premiere would be on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, the Europe Day. The theme would be the place of Turkey in European Union politics. They asked me to play one of my earlier plays. However, I mentioned that I wanted to do something new for Europe. My objective was to criticize them in this new play. But they told me, coming from Turkey; I couldn’t do something like this. I insisted. I was told that the result would not be as I expected that the audiences would not pay attention to my play and it wouldn’t be able to sell. I said I wouldn’t mind the results, I just wanted to do it and I did it. But they were right; it turned out to be one of the biggest fiascos in my life. The last part of the play was one of the harshest parts where I put voice records taken from a debate over Turkey in the European Parliament. The records involved judgments spoken about Turkey inside and comments were made in almost every EU language by EU officials from various countries. In that part, the audiences roughly reacted and left the play tapping their feet on floor. What does it mean? Doesn’t it mean that it worked? Nevertheless, the other day the critics wrote in the newspapers that “the play was full of clichés”. They dissolved the play and degraded it to a pop artistic shallow show the criticism of which was not understandable. If it weren’t really understandable, there wouldn’t have been such a massive reaction to it. Later I wrote a similar play for French-Turkish co-production. Nevertheless, they didn’t allow me to play it in Paris either. But I played it in Turkey; the French people watched it in Turkey and liked it very much but still didn’t allow me to play it in Paris. Later I played it in Portugal and Hamburg; they liked it very much there.

### 3.1.7. Interview with Aksel Zeydan Göz

*Aksel Zeydan Göz; short movie director, painter and sculptor*

*Question 1:*

Once a year.

*Question 2:*

Germany, Austria, France

*Question 3:*

Clearly we have difficulty in expressing ourselves to the outside world. I spent longer time in Germany and I had quite good time. There were many Turkish people living there. There are German people who live in Alanya as well. We meet many foreigners when we walk through the Istiklal Street.

I had visitors from Germany this summer. They wanted to go to Eminönü to buy spices. I told them that there are many Turkish shops in Germany where they can buy spices. One of them showed me the watch on his wrist, he said “I bought this watch in Sultanahmet yesterday, it was a complete adventure, whatever we buy here, even the smallest thing, turns out to be a story and we enjoy it”.

*Question 4:*

Artists, musicians or writers they all have a problematic with the place they live in and they use it in their art. If the music or the movie or whatever they produce is authentic, then international people become interested about what kind of a place this artist is living in. For example, the music produced in Norway is very unique and gloomy. One gets curious about the atmosphere if he likes this music. More than image, it is important to understand the atmosphere from which that artist is coming from. The more stories you tell about a city or a country, the more interested and curious people will get about that particular place.

*Question 5:*

This kind of projects normally reconstructs the region or the selected city. It leads to a big international flow of culture producers and audiences to that city and highly contributes to that selected city. Even if no activity is organized in Istanbul, Istanbul is already similar to a wide exhibition area. I believe that, there will be positive contribution no matter the organization turns out to be bad or insufficient.

*Question 6:*

If the organizers can manage to make a good programming, it can.

*Question 7:*

We should be more successful in football.

### **3.1.8. Interview with Gülbahar Kültür**

*Gülbahar Kültür, Music Editor, Compiler, DJ*

*Question 1:*

I am the music editor of the radio show called ‘Cafe Mondial’ which is broadcasted for two hours every Monday to Friday on Radio Bremen. Besides that, for about seven years now, I have been compiling albums for the German label called Clubstar Records/Lola’s World Records which is located in Köln. Moreover, I am doing production managing for other albums compiled by other people. I do not do DJing very frequently. I do that only for special nights and events. And I have been doing that for about fifteen years now. Ten or fifteen times a year, I DJ in a number of clubs.

*Question 2:*

Germany, UK, Austria, Turkey, and Spain

*Question 3:*

I am not able to say Turkish image is very positive in Europe. There are prejudices against Turks, they are considered to be belonging to a conservative nation.

*Question 4:*

This kind of activities is certainly effective however I don't really have an idea about to what extent it can contribute to eradication of prejudices. Most of the time people are distinguishing between Turkey and Istanbul. Istanbul's image is much better than the general image of Turkey. Istanbul has a certain level of acceptance as a metropolis. It is seen as a progressive and exciting center of culture.

*Question 5:*

As I have mentioned, Istanbul does already have a positive image. I think this image will become deeper within the context of 2010 activities and thus Istanbul will start to attract many more people. This surely depends on how the organization is handled. In Turkey, when there is a big event like this, scandals always come along with it. I hope they can manage to prioritize the country's and city's interests over institutional and personal ones. Even though I am full of doubts, I still expect positive outcomes.

*Question 6:*

2010 is a very good opportunity. If it can be utilized effectively, it will bring positive achievements both for Istanbul's and Turkey's image in Europe. Istanbul can take this opportunity to emphasize its multicultural identity as well as its role as bridge between Asia and Europe.

*Question 7:*

It is important that the efforts and activities do not remain constrained within a touristic context. Turkey is a special country incorporating many cultures that live next to each other. This feature can find a better sound through professional promotion of this cultural mosaic. The number of art and culture activities all around Europe can also be increased. For example, there are Music Export institutions that introduce the music of many European countries such as Germany, France, Switzerland, UK, etc. to other countries. These institutions symbolize a very ideal model for the representation of music, cultural activities and artists of a particular country in other

countries. There is no such institutionalization in Turkey. All around Europe, a project can be initiated on the basis of establishing an institution such like the Goethe Institute of Germany, order for the promotion of Turkish people, Turkish language, and Turkish culture. I think continuity is important in promotion of the country, the activities made once in a while does not bring permanent outcomes.

### **3.1.9. Interview with Erdem Helvacioğlu**

*Erdem Helvacioğlu; Composer, Producer, Sound Engineer, Musician*

*Question 1:*

At least once every month.

*Question 2:*

Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, UK, Ireland, Switzerland, Italy, Poland

*Question 3:*

This is a very wide question. I can say that there isn't any orientalist attitude in the intellectual environments I have been in Europe. There is mostly a positive approach.

*Question 4:*

It surely will but I consider that this contribution would be little because the number of Turkish artists performing in European contemporary art and music festivals is too little. There is an overwhelming presentation of traditional music and expressions.

*Question 5:*

So far I have seen that it hasn't been doing well enough. Contemporary sounds and visions are not adequately supported.

*Question 6:*

It certainly plays a very important role. Many international curators and artists will flow to Istanbul in order to follow this event and they will find the opportunities to meet and work with Turkish artists on a number of new projects. This will bring Turkish artists more opportunities and success in the international arena.

*Question 7:*

I believe that every kind of contemporary artistic activity has to be supported. Much more investment has to be made in creative, innovative, and impulsive works.

### **3.1.10. Interview with Sinan Temizalp and İlkey Sevgi**

*Sinan Temizalp (educator, and performance artist) and İlkey Sevgi; choreographers, founders of Simya Sanat<sup>217</sup>*

*Question 1:*

Quite frequently. We sometimes have performances and most of the time we have conferences or ‘artist meetings’ in Europe. We are the Turkey representative of European Independent Artists Association.

*Question 2:*

Austria, Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland, Bulgaria

*Question 3:*

Europe is very interested in Turkey as it has never been before. They are against racist movement which is considered to be escalating. They want to take precautions against that and strengthen the relations with Turkey. In fact, instinctively people have found out that they need each other. The motivation to discover other cultures is very high. The continuous emphasis on culture in our era and fast developing communication technology enable us to transcend all the barriers. There

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<sup>217</sup> An art company producing international culture projects of performance art

is already a big population of Turkish people living in Europe. Our observation is that Europeans are quite content with that. The Turkish people there speak good German and English and they cook good food for Europe. We surely support the increase of the number of artists within the Turkish population living in Europe. Turkish artists who perform their art there shall contribute a lot to our image. The most important shortcoming of Turkey is that we do not express ourselves well enough. When you start communicating with the European people, you find out that they don't actually have much of prejudices rather they are not sufficiently informed about us. Turkey is really one of the countries who cares highly about and defends Europeanness as well as European universal values.

*Question 4:*

It is important to note that there is nothing like bad art. Every artist presents the actual and practical knowledge of his/her time into the universal agenda. Some of them may certainly attract more attention and some of them may just remain as a personal interpretation. Since the knowledge of art and aesthetics is quite different than daily knowledge of life, it is possible to say that the permanency of societies depend on this particular knowledge. Turkey has had a fast acceleration in contemporary art within the last fifteen years. European artists have crucial sharing with culture operators. Nevertheless in Turkey the efforts remain at individual level. There are fundamental institutions in support of the artists in Europe whereas Turkey has just been stepping in this area. Our personal conviction is that, following the European tradition, there will be important initiatives for supporting cultural and contemporary artistic activities in Turkey as well. In the works of art that represent Turkey, more universal values shall be featured rather than nationalist ones. It would be much better not to emphasize themes such as war or siege while we have a deep culture to promote. It is very vital to determine common culture areas.

*Question 5:*

European Cultural Capital is a very important project. Some people say, it is a title that the European Union gives to disregarded, small cities. That is a wrongful conviction. Berlin, Paris, Athens have all become Capitals of Culture and at the same time small cities as well non-member countries are eligible too.



Even a culture giant like Italy has started preparing for 2020 Capital of Culture. Very important relations shall be established during Capital of Culture organization and international cultural exchange can be increased through these relations. Consequently this would have positive impact on our integration in the European Union. Turkey is caring about this project. In 2010, we can make very positive achievements that could be transferred to next generations if the government and all the institutions involved in this process fulfill their responsibilities.

*Question 6:*

All the spots will be lighting on us during 2010 Cultural Capital. We have to do excellent. Europe is important for all of Turkey. The place of Turkey within the Union along with the goals she defends is important not only for Europe but also for Middle East and the world culture. Unification of cultures rather than clash of them; is an inevitable process to be achieved in order to bring out solutions for global economic and environmental problems. We can get closer to this goal in new tenth year of this new century.

*Question 7:*

In terms of image the most effective instruments are culture and art projects. Academically Turkey has had a great number of successes and it will grow much more in the future. However, in terms of culture and art, we are represented by a very small number of people compared to our total population. As Turkish cooperate artistic projects with Europe increase, we will have more chances to show that we are an important part of Europe and our presence within it enriches the European culture. Biennales, Festivals, multi-disciplinary art projects, cooperate performance projects, exhibitions, conferences all offer opportunities of promotion and collaboration. Being a part of Europe is about utilizing common culture opportunities.

### **3.1.11. Interview with Selçuk Artut (Replikas)**

*Selçuk Artut from Replikas; academician and musician*

*Question 1:*

Once every two or three months.

*Question 2:*

Germany, Portugal, Belgium, UK, Hungary, Bulgaria, Estonia, Italy

*Question 3:*

Turkish communities living in Europe have serious difficulties in terms of social integration. They do not internalize the European culture; neither do they comprehend the Turkish culture well enough. This is the Turkish image which the Europeans are coming across mostly and it is far from reflecting the reality. I post graduated from a school in England. People who knew that I was studying at the post graduate level plus that I am dealing with arts were very stunned. I think it there is a rooted prejudice in Europe about Turkey being an underdeveloped country.

*Question 4:*

They absolutely contribute a lot. But I think the cultural policy of the government is very important in this context. I personally experience many difficulties including barriers against freedom of travel of an artist to participate in international festivals or other activities. There is lack of support to overcome these problems.

*Question 5:*

When I heard that Istanbul was selected as 2010 European Capital of Culture, I was very worried because the distorted political structure in Turkey most of the time embarrass us in this kind of big international events. For this reason, I made no contact with them. In time through press I have followed that my conviction was proven true.

*Question 6:*

It is undeniable that art needs financial support. At this point, I expect that large scale projects are supported within the 2010 project. I believe that large scale projects shall lead to positive accomplishments for the promotion of the country. However, the progress up to now is quite worrying. It is possible that none of the desired positive outcomes can be achieved.

*Question 7:*

The understanding of organizing events that target only the Turkish population in Europe should be left. Besides that, insincere, impermanent and attraction centered art activities have to be prevented.

### **3.1.12. Interview with Rüdiger Oppermann**

*Rüdiger Oppermann; Musician, music producer, label owner, composer*

*\* The questions asked to Rüdiger Oppermann are different than those asked to the Turkish artists and presented in the Question Sheet*

*1. What is your relationship with 2010 European Capital of Culture?*

I will realize a musical project which combines musicians and musical ideas from Germany (Ruhr Cultural Capital), Istanbul, and Pecs (also Cultural Capital). This project –called KARAWANE 2010- will be performed in Bochum, Istanbul, and Pecs. The composition, rehearsal and administration of the project need 6 months of my work time and attention.

*2. What is your relationship with Turkish musicians?*

I have studied Turkish music and played with Turkish musicians since 1982. I have personal friendship with many musicians of different styles, and I have performed in Turkey several times. I am member of TÜMATA<sup>218</sup> Istanbul. I reconstructed the first Turkish harp, ceng, and became honorary citizen of Konya in 1983. I am currently working with musicians studying ancient

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<sup>218</sup> Traditional Turkish Music Research and Promotion Society

central Asian Turk melodies, with Sufi musicians and with modern folk/jazz musicians. So the musical cooperation includes western melodies, Sufi hymns, Ilahi and folk melodies of different Turk tribes.

3. *How often do you organize performances for musicians from Turkey?*

In KLANGWELTEN FESTIVAL, Germany's foremost world music festival, I worked with 3 Turkish groups in the last 20 years. For workshops, I have booked Turkish musicians, partly living in Germany, for about 18 years, altogether I booked around 50 musicians.

4. *Could you tell your opinions concerning the image of Turks and Turkey in Europe? What are the reasons?*

The image of Turks in Europe varies widely, depending on which country we look at. In Germany, the fact is that there was a big migration of uneducated workers from Anatolia happening, started by the German Industry, in the 60s and 70s. In my opinion, this fact has created a wrong picture of Turkish culture and development in Germany, because these workers do not represent the standard of nowadays Turkey. In addition to this, the 2nd generation of German Turks grew up in a unfriendly atmosphere, and have not fulfilled the wish of their 1st generation Turkish parents to get educated and successful in Germany through hard work, as their parents did. This is due to the general difficult economic situation in Germany. They tend to be frustrated, aggressive and backwards-conservative/religious, also not representing modern Turkey. Educated German people know of the huge cultural achievements in the past. Cultural understanding of Turkish music is still very small, because the Turkish music scene is very exclusive and has only minimal contact with the German scene, they play only for Turkish audiences and on Turkish occasions (weddings, not concerts) or for pop stars.

5. *Question 4:*

Yes they do because music represents different consciousnesses and styles. But there is not enough exchange happening. Different styles stand for different lifestyles, if the regular German could hear, what is actually happening in music in Istanbul, they would get a much better understanding of the variety and the connectedness of Turkey.

6. *Question 5:*

Very bureaucratic, not efficient but friendly. For example, I had to apply twice with all the material, including books and CDs and texts, because the material “vanished” in the office. I feel unsecure if things will really happen, and if it will be paid for. Everybody I know who has ever performed in Turkey or with Turks talks about big problems. It was different for me, because I played with friends, and it was never about money. We will see, in 2011 we will know more. I am open for whatever comes.

7. *Question 6:*

Yes very important. First of all, Istanbul is seen as part of Europe in general. Second, Istanbul is a contemporary, modern city and a world metropolis not only in economics, but also in culture.

8. *Question 7:*

German Turks should show another face of Turkish identity: modern, educated, open. They have to realize, that they are seen by uneducated Germans as part of the Islamic offensive, and they should start a counter-offensive of open-minded, tolerant and hospitable people. Music is a good vehicle for this. Turkey must become part of the European Union. Tourism also helps. I cannot speak for other European countries, because the migration situation and general knowledge is totally different in other countries.

### **3.2. Cultural Political Deficiencies Encountered by Turkish Artists in Europe**

Art performers act as cultural delegates of the country they come from. This reality does not necessarily have to be planned because this perception arises inevitably and naturally among the audiences who they reach. Culture and art is an effective way of reaching and touching a high number of people at one time. Policy makers shall utilize this area in order to gain positive achievements with regards to abolishment of wrong judgments about Turkey and promoting Turkey to Europe as well as maintaining higher levels of cultural exchange among Turkish and European people. Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital project is a big opportunity to be utilized in this framework.

In the light of the field research made through interviews with Turkish artists in this study, some common deficiencies are identified in the field of cultural policy. These deficiencies basically signify the difficulties Turkish artists encounter within the whole process of their involvement with a project that is designed to be presented in Europe. These deficiency areas can be listed as follows:

- The political dialogue between Turkey and the European Union must be enhanced in order to abolish the obstructions against the right to travel to Europe for culture purposes; the whole process of visa application must be facilitated and gradually the visa requirement for culture travelers must be removed completely.
- The budget allocated for culture and art activities in Turkey must be increased. Governmental financial support for culture and art projects that would be performed abroad must be extended and the access to subsidies must be easier. More dialogue must be initiated with the EU for maintaining higher eligibility of Turkish artists for financial assistance on project basis.
- A Turkish institution to function as a Turkish Cultural Center for promotion of Turkey and Turkish culture in Europe must be established through an effective civil and governmental collaboration. Branches of this institution must be opened all around Europe and equipped with culture promoting courses such as language, music, painting, etc.
- In international culture exhibitions (such as music exhibitions, book fairs, art exhibitions, etc) Turkey's representation must be maintained by expert institutions or chambers for introducing and promoting Turkish music and musicians, literature and writers, painters and sculptors, etc. By this way, along with Turkish cultural promotion, international business potential for Turkish artists can be enhanced.

- The number of civil institutions dedicated to development of Turkish culture and art in Europe must increase. The scope of civil institutional involvement in culture and art in Turkey must be enhanced; more initiative must be taken and more strategies must be developed for especially fund raising.
  
- Within Turkey, dialogue must be enhanced with Consulates and Cultural Centers associated to them in order to organize regular cultural events in their available halls which would be open to Turkish as well as foreign audiences living in Turkey.

Today, culture and art play an important role in bringing solutions to urban social problems and enhancing the economies of cities. It is the responsibility of policy makers, urban planners, culture managers and others who work in this field to enhance promotion facilities for local artistic productions; assess and utilize the creative, intellectual local potentials in urban transformation of cities. In doing so, the assessment process has to be taken care of with high awareness and consciousness. Artistic products should not be seen same as consumer products, economic concerns should not predominate in this field and it should be avoided to target only the mass populations when activity plannings are made. The decision makers need to be high in number and should be selected delicately from among culture and art professionals who possess the required consciousness and assessment power when these activities are in concern. This way, mass populations can also get more cultivated and attain a higher level of awareness about art which is essential for social development. As discussed earlier in the 1<sup>st</sup> Chapter of this study, social, economic and political developments in a society are not separable; they are interrelated. Once a society gets socially developed, the preferences and demands of its members will progress accordingly. The impacts of shifting preferences of members of a society bring constructive changes in the field of politics and economy as well.

Accordingly, for Turkey to overcome the cultural policy deficiencies encountered by Turkish artists in Europe, it is required to set a calendar and an action plan to keep the continuity of endeavors and reach the targets. A large team of culture and art professional should be

maintained for decision making. Through a professional team work and qualified action planning the outcomes shall start to blossom in a reasonable period of time. The attempts to be taken for overcoming the deficiencies in this field will play a constructive role in terms of Turkey's integration into the European Union through introducing and accentuating the contemporary, creative, independent, democratic, and peaceful nature of Turkey.



## CONCLUSION

This study essentially argued that the barriers against Turkey's integration into the European Union are not only political and economic; but to an important extent it is cultural. From this perspective the thesis sought to understand the nature of cultural challenges between Turkey and Europe and identify the terms for enhancement of the cultural interaction between them in order to overcome the prevailing challenges.

This dissertation researched the impacts of cultural - in particular artistic - activities handled by Turkish artists such as; musicians, painters, sculptors, movie makers, actors, actresses, and writers on the improvement of Turkish and Turkey's image in Europe and also on the integration of Turkey into the European Union. From this perspective, it is argued that intensified 'Turkish culture and art activities' in Europe can stimulate the process of Turkey's integration into the European Union based on a number of reasons. Once the number of culture and art performances raise, cultural interaction among Turkish and European countries will unavoidably increase, too. Peace and harmony between nations, as well as respect to cultural diversity can best be encouraged and maintained through cultural exchange and interaction. Culture and art activities represent the most innovative and creative features possessed by a nation at the intellectual level. They not only embrace a high level of consciousness, but also are purified from potential antagonist judgments against the 'other'. Therefore, a well designed and effective cultural policy -involving and supporting Turkish artists to make projects in Europe- deployed by the Turkish government with the target of making positive achievements in overcoming 'otherized image of the Turks' is deemed as an urgent necessity.

In the course of this study, it was firstly attempted to enlighten the concept of culture. It is a critical concept because when we look at the historical evidences that shaped the world order until today, we see that dismissals among people what we call 'otherization' occur around elements that constitute 'culture'. Obviously human beings have always felt negative feelings

against those who adopted different value systems, beliefs, or perspectives about what is going around him/her. In today's world, 'respect for diversities' has no doubt become more prevalent nevertheless one can still argue that to what extent it comes out of 'politically correctness' or of 'being truly internalized'. The issue withholds a conflictual nature within itself. Today, it is apparently observed in Europe that, some countries whose democratic practices are mostly appreciated in Europe have a serious problem in terms of accepting Turkey as a member into themselves. The interviews made with Turkish artists in the last Chapter of this thesis also provide an up-to-date source of evidence regarding in what ways they are alienated and not treated within the framework of 'cultural respect'.

In the second Chapter of the study, along with the constituents of European culture including the European identity, social constructivist approach was analyzed. The rationale here was to explicate how the systems in the world including the European Union itself, are constructed by individual element. Therefore, the systems as every other man made constructions are alterable and their limits are determined and can be re-determined by the limits of views and perceptions of life of those who construct it. This approach maintains the achievability of targets within a constructed world system as long as internalization by the majorities can be provided. If we look at Turkey's integration into the European Union from this perspective, transcending the limits become possible through sufficient dialogue.

In the following section, European Cultural Policy with special emphasis on European Capital of Culture project was examined in order to highlight the importance of 'Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture' as an opportunity to be taken in promotion of Turkey in Europe. The prospected achievements of this opportunity were presented in detail along with a critical analysis. The event plays a crucial role in terms of withdrawing the international attention to the cultural and artistic potential in Istanbul and Turkey. It brings solution to the most important problem -the problem of financial support to artistic productions- that the artists are facing in Turkey today. The EU support to Turkey through this event is also very crucial for urban transformation, renovation of the cultural infrastructure, and environmental and social

development of the city. The allocation of the financial resource flowing to Turkey from the EU for Istanbul 2010 ECOC has been a central issue of critics in culture and art environments. The decision makers are mostly criticized for distributing the greater part of investments on big productions that target the mass populations instead of supporting small size art makers who are more in need of this financial support. There are certainly small size events in the programming of the organization but there has been lack of attention on the local highly creative potential at smaller size, less popular levels.

As mentioned earlier, the last part of this thesis encompasses a number of interviews made with Turkish artists and one German artist. The shortcomings in terms of cultural policy which lead to artists encounter problems in their performances in Europe are detected and presented as a list of suggestions. If Turkish cultural policy makers can manage to overcome these deficiencies, it would bring positive achievements in terms of Turkish integration into the European Union.

In the light of their international experiences, all interviewees emphasized the important role of artistic activities and cultural representation of Turkey in Europe in overcoming the prejudices and in the positive transformation of Turkey's image in Europe as it enables Europeans to recognize Turkish people and culture, to discover similarities and differences between Europe and Turkey.

I would like to end my words by making a reference to Erwin Lucius<sup>219</sup> who asserts the importance of dialogue and communication between Europe and Turkey. If two societies, states or communities are in dialogue, one can always find a solution to overcome problems and the dialogue is the most perfect tool for Turkey to prove and express herself.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Consul, Former Austrian Cultural Attaché in Turkey

<sup>220</sup> Erwin Lucius, Panel notes: "Contexts and Perceptions of Turkey-Europe Cultural Relationships-1" at "*International Forum on Turkey-Europe Cultural Relations*"

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