

New dimensions of cultural  
diplomacy: the case of the  
European Union

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## **Abstract**

In the destabilized global environment, where the roles of actors are constantly changing, there is a significant shift towards rethinking the world as a battlefield of clashes and conflicts. In this perspective, culture and issues of a cultural nature seem to be gaining an ever more political importance to address the global challenges particularly in the context of multilateral organisations. Such a development has brought to the fore the importance of cultural diplomacy in foreign policy as a means to promote intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding.

This thesis seeks to investigate the relevance of culture in International Relations with the analytical tools provided by the cultural paradigm that has emerged in recent decades. This is going to be realized through the examination of a specific example of cultural diplomacy in practice, that is, in the case of the European Union. The aim is to examine how and why cultural relations and cultural diplomacy have been gradually incorporated in the policy agenda of the European Union.

## **Keywords:**

*culture, international relations, cultural paradigm, cultural diplomacy, European Union*

## Περίληψη

Στο αποσταθεροποιημένο παγκόσμιο περιβάλλον, όπου οι ρόλοι των δρώντων εναλλάσσονται συνεχώς, παρατηρείται μία σημαντική μετατόπιση της θεώρησης του κόσμου ως πεδίο μαχών και συγκρούσεων. Υπό αυτό το πρίσμα, ο πολιτισμός και ζητήματα πολιτισμικής φύσεως αποκτούν ολοένα μεγαλύτερη σημασία για την αντιμετώπιση των παγκόσμιων προκλήσεων, ιδίως στο πλαίσιο πολυμερών οργανισμών. Μία τέτοια εξέλιξη έχει φέρει στο προσκήνιο τη σημασία της πολιτιστικής διπλωματίας στην εξωτερική πολιτική, ως μέσο για την προώθηση του διαπολιτισμικού διαλόγου και της αμοιβαίας κατανόησης.

Η παρούσα διπλωματική εργασία επιδιώκει να διερευνήσει τη σημασία του πολιτισμού στις Διεθνείς Σχέσεις με τα θεωρητικά εργαλεία του πολιτισμικού παραδείγματος, το οποίο έχει αναδυθεί τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες. Αυτό πρόκειται να πραγματοποιηθεί μέσω της εξέτασης ενός συγκεκριμένου παραδείγματος πρακτικής άσκησης της πολιτιστικής διπλωματίας, της περίπτωσης της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Στόχος είναι να εξεταστεί πώς και γιατί οι πολιτιστικές διεθνείς σχέσεις και η πολιτιστική διπλωματία έχουν σταδιακά ενσωματωθεί στην ατζέντα της εξωτερικής πολιτικής της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά:

πολιτισμός, διεθνείς σχέσεις, πολιτιστικό παράδειγμα, πολιτιστική διπλωματία, Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**EU: EUROPEAN UNION**

**EACEA: EDUCATION, AUDIOVISUAL, AND CULTURE EXECUTIVE AGENCY**

**EEAS: EUROPEAN EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE**

**EUNIC: EUROPEAN UNION NATIONAL INSTITUTES FOR CULTURE**

**NGOs: NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS**

**PA: PREPARATORY ACTION**

**UNESCO: UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION**

## Introduction

If “the broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilisations”,<sup>1</sup> what is the role of culture and civilization in the field of foreign policy and in International relations in general?

The post-Cold War era along with the transformations at the socio-political levels in world society have provoked a gradual reevaluation of the factors fueling tensions, as well as the approaches pertaining to their resolution. The rise of fundamentalism and the ensuing increase of terrorist attacks all over the world, advocate in favour of a significant shift in rethinking the world as a battlefield for clashes and conflicts. Challenging old certainties even further, transformations in the globalized world, the de-ideologization of politics and the globalization of culture have brought to light the qualities of culture as an emerging form of soft power in international relations.

Issues that were previously considered to be of a social nature are now considered to be cultural.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the concept of culture is gradually approached in a more political way, especially in the process of strategic planning of cultural policies. This can prove to be valid for multilateral organisations if we make an in-depth examination of the adaptations taking place in response to global challenges.

In this perspective, how can culture enable entities such as the European Union (EU) position themselves in world affairs and allow them to become major actors in the international arena? Why is it becoming more and more significant to foster adaptation and resilience in the public sphere? What are the tools used to accelerate or facilitate change in cultural strategies?

The scope of this thesis is to address the issues relating to these questions, by studying theoretical models of the cultural paradigm of international relations, as well as their breadth and relevance to the cultural relations of the European Union. This will be actualized especially in view of the reinvention of an old “tool” used in a new light; that of cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy and its dimensions are

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<sup>1</sup> Huntington, P. S., "The Clash of Civilizations?", *Foreign Affairs*, V. 72 No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> McGuigan, J. (2004). *Rethinking Cultural Policy*, London: Open University Press, p. 34.

also going to be the focal point of this study within a specific framework of its application, in the case of the European Union.

The thesis is divided in three parts. In the first one, the theoretical basis is going to be laid, by investigating how and why culture has become relevant in the field of international relations. The examination of the concepts of power will lead us to the analysis of the concept of cultural diplomacy and its basic characteristics. Thereupon, there is going to be a study of some central issues pertaining to the implementation of cultural diplomacy, its structural components and their contribution to promote cultural exchange, cooperation, dialogue and mutual understanding between nations and peoples.

In the second part, the focus shifts to the case of the European Union. The aim is to outline how cultural relations and cultural diplomacy have been gradually incorporated in the policy agenda of the EU. There is going to be a detailed analysis of the developments in the EU policies and actions taken in order to place culture in the heart of EU international cultural relations. Also, there is going to be an attempt to illustrate how the EU has approached culture strategically to address its own challenges by searching a “New Narrative” so as to create a sense of community and Europeanness.

For the third part of this thesis, two case studies have been selected, with the aim of analysing the application of cultural diplomacy in the framework of the EU. EU programmes “Erasmus+” and “Creative Europe” are examples through which it can be investigated how multileveled actions can further the EU’s objectives.

The concluding chapter is going to allow us to reflect, first and foremost, on the analysis of the cultural paradigm in the field of International Relations. Moreover, some conclusions will be drawn concerning the specific role of culture in the EU's internal and external cultural relations.

**PART A**

## The relevance of culture in international relations

### 1. Culture in International Relations

Culture and the cultural paradigm have been the most popular frameworks of analysis of International Relations in the post-Cold War world. In order for the effects of culture to be explained and understood, the theoretical approach of this thesis is primarily based on the four models that were outlined by the American political scientist Michael Mazarr in his review essay entitled *Culture and international relations: A review essay*.<sup>3</sup>

The first model perceives culture as “Equipment for Life”; a source of moral, mental and material wealth, upon which people can draw to be better equipped to confront the requirements of modern lifestyle and its obstacles, especially within capitalist economies. Economic miracles such as that of Taiwan or Japan were made possible because of the cultural values that shaped those nations’ fates. Thus, in this model the capabilities that a nation has to succeed, mainly in the domains of the economy and the society, are strongly linked to skills determined by cultural factors.<sup>4</sup>

In the second model, culture functions as a cognitive filter through which political leaders and by extension countries, reach decisions based on their cultural perspectives. Nations are cultural entities, while international relations are the sum of interactions of different cultural systems. Both political leaders and policy makers are influenced by the culturally based assumptions ingraining their perception of reality. This constructs and projects meaning to their idiosyncrasies, their preferences and their decisions, a condition which either hinders or facilitates relationships.<sup>5</sup> In this light, culture can determine whether it will be possible to share common ground for mutual understanding and negotiations in the international arena.

The relevance of such a model in foreign policy was evident during the Cold War, when Jack Snyder coined the paradigm of “strategic culture”. According to Snyder, strategic culture is the “sum total of ideals, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behaviour that members of a national strategic

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<sup>3</sup> See Mazarr, J. M. (1996) “Culture and international relations: A review essay”, *The Washington Quarterly*, 19:2, 177-197, DOI: 10.1080/01636609609550202.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 178 - 179.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 179 - 180.

community have acquired through instruction or imitation and share with each other with regard to [...] strategy".<sup>6</sup> Snyder deployed the notion of strategic culture to define a specific worldview of policy makers in the Soviet Union that influenced their strategic doctrine. Actors in contemporary global affairs can be driven by similar rationales or even cults with specific contexts underlying their perceptions about "Others".

The third model examines culture as a "Socioeconomic Architect" heavily influencing international relations. It is a model based on Francis Fukuyama's (1995) book *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, in which it is argued that culture is a crucial factor for a nation's economic growth. The key component of this approach is the relationship between the concepts of social trust and culture.

Contrary to "familistic" societies with low trust levels, where competitiveness is rarely present due to the boundaries set by family or community ties, countries with extrovert economies tend to be successful at a global scale. The "symbols" of their economic success are multinational companies. The expansion of such companies in societies such as those of the United States, Japan, and Germany have managed to ensure economic competitiveness and the nations' success in the international system. Therefore, culture is viewed as an integral part of the social trust-building process, which then exercises a positive influence on the nature of entrepreneurship.<sup>7</sup>

The fourth model draws upon Samuel Huntington's analysis about an imminent "Clash of Civilizations". According to Huntington cultural elements determine the nature of conflicts in the post-Cold War era. What is evident in his approach of international relations is the lens of a strict realist, even though the notion of the state as an isolated unit in an anarchical system is replaced by the notions of nations and civilisations. His taxonomy of civilisations distinguishes "seven or eight major civilizations" including the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic- Orthodox, Latin American, and "possibly" the African, each striving to achieve its goals and maintain its position in a multipolar and multicultural

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<sup>6</sup> Snyder, J. (1977). *The Soviet Strategic Culture: Implications for Nuclear Options. A Project Air Force Report prepared for the United States Air Force*. Rand R-2154-AF, Santa Monica, CA, 1977, p.8.

<sup>7</sup> Mazarr, *op.cit.*, p. 180 – 181.

world.<sup>8</sup> For Huntington, the sources of conflict and competition are based on cultural differences. This is why the cultural clash is inescapable and, in the event that a next world war breaks out, it will be a cultural one between different civilizations.<sup>9</sup>

The models analysed interpret all aspects of the impact of culture on international relations, providing us with tools that are essential to understand the cultural paradigm within modern societies.

However, the huntingtonian notion of clash of civilisations leads to the study of another discourse pertaining to two dominant dichotomies in the world system between the West and the rest, the West and the East; the Occident versus the Orient.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979), shows how political, social and cultural factors shape and transform worldviews within specific historical contexts. The focal point of Said's work is the examination of Western cultural imperialism and its impact on the images of power, domination and hegemony of the West over the East.

Orientalism is an intellectual genealogy of "a system of knowledge about the Orient",<sup>10</sup> which shaped Western consciousness of the "exotic other" in the era of colonialism.<sup>11</sup> Simply put, it explains the way in which the geographical colonization of a cultural system produced specific doctrines of positional superiority often based on stereotypes, generalisations and misrepresentations to conceptualize the East as a counterweight to the West.

This argument can be twofold. Firstly, it shows how imperial powers constructed a narrative of cultural superiority so as to impose their values on colonised people. Such a process of self-identification with a mission is likely to reinforce power relations and patterns of inclusion and exclusion, which leads us to the second fold. This system of knowledge, carrying deep cultural meanings, becomes a two-way process that can only set up boundaries, and trigger suspicion

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<sup>8</sup>Huntington, S. (2017). *I sygkrousi ton politismon kai o anaschimatismos tis pagosmias taxis (The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order)*, Athens: Patakis Publications, p. 35, 56-59.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 411 - 412.

<sup>10</sup> See Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, particularly p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, particularly p. 48 - 73.

and distrust, mobilising feelings of hostility. This way the dichotomy of “us” against the “other” conducive to the notion of “clash” is perpetuated.

The question arising from this discussion is how culture can become a mechanism of soft power for reconciliation or conflict prevention in a multi-polar world? How can cultural power empower, energise people and foster dialogue? Before these questions are answered, it is necessary that the concept of power, as well as its role are examined.

### **1.1 Concepts of power: “Towards a paradigm shift”**

The multiple facets of today’s reality, the global society within which international relations develop, entail aspects of cooperation, competition, conflicts, legitimized or non-legitimized relations as well as power politics.<sup>12</sup> The meaning of the concept of power in the realm of international relations, along with its features and manifestations, extends beyond the context of a zero-sum game or that of military power.

Joseph Nye’s distinction of hard and soft power provides as with an analytical tool on which to consolidate a comprehensive argument concerning the power of culture.

Nye described hard power as the ability to coerce through military force or economic power towards achieving one’s goals.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the power of coercion or threat can have minimum results in situations when the goal is to reach consensus on issues that need global action, such as climate change, the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger or promoting the spread of democratic ideals just to name a few.

This is when soft power takes the lead. Soft power is the power to attract others so that they eventually come to want what you want through the promotion of positive images of a nation.<sup>14</sup> It is, in a sense, a process of ownership of somebody else’s wishes or preferences. The sources of soft power, according to Nye can be

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<sup>12</sup> Heraklides, A., Costakos, G., Fragonikolopoulos Chr. (2009). *Diethneis Dienekseis, Antimetopisi kai Epilysi (International Conflicts: Conflict Resolution)*. Athens: Sideris Publications, p. 29-30.

<sup>13</sup> Nye J. (2005). *Ipia Ischis: To meso tis epitichias stin pagosmia politiki (Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics)*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p.33 - 35.

culture, political values and foreign policy.<sup>15</sup> It is classified in high soft power, the audience of which is elites and low soft power targeting the broader public.<sup>16</sup>

The projection of soft power is a multileveled, indirect process with no immediate or tangible results. It requires long-term commitment to diplomatic strategies by state and non-state actors with a view to achieving the desired outcomes and, most importantly, its cost is significantly lower compared to military power.

Nonetheless, soft power does have its limitations since it relies heavily on the way it is ultimately perceived by its receptors.<sup>17</sup> What is more, the fact alone that it has been transformed into too broad a category to include any non-military, subtle approach from political issues, media images, cultural interactions among nations to scientific and academic exchanges can raise objections. These objections could be dissolved if we rearranged the dimensions of culture as a source or form of soft power to investigate it as a form of power itself, that is, as cultural power.

Even though the scope of this thesis is not to examine how cultural power is externalised and shaped through time, it is important to provide a definition to advance our argument further. It will allow us to explain how the historical importance of the concepts of culture and cultural values presents a significant transformation in modern societies, reflecting a significant shift in social sciences towards forms of cultural analysis that fostered the notion that culture is an autonomous field with its own analytical categories.<sup>18</sup> Cultural power has been defined as the ability of an individual or groups to define a situation culturally. It empowers them to derive meanings to construct modes of life.<sup>19</sup> Such a process of empowerment is consistent with UNESCO's notion of culture as a set of "spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social

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<sup>15</sup> See Nye, J. S. (2004). *The benefit of soft power*. Harvard Business School Working Knowledge.

<sup>16</sup> See Kurlantzick, J. (2006). "China's charm: implications of Chinese soft power". *Policy Brief*, no. 47, June, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

<sup>17</sup> See Nye, (2005), *op. cit.*, p. 99 – 100.

<sup>18</sup> Zorba, M. (2014). *Politiki tou Politismou (Cultural Policy)*. Athens: Patakis Publications, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> See Lull, J. (2000). *Media, Communication, Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, particularly chapters 4 and 7.

group”.<sup>20</sup> Culture not only includes arts or education, it also includes attitudes, human rights, value systems and traditions that mold people’s self-perceptions, making them humane, rational, critical thinkers.<sup>21</sup> It is also closely associated with the act of creation, with technique, expertise and the economy.<sup>22</sup>

On this wavelength, in the aftermath of World War II, international organisations such as UNESCO or the EU, have been approaching the functions of culture, as well as the concept of civilization, in an ever more political way in order to promote issues pertaining, among others, to cultural rights and identities, respect for diversity, the protection of cultural heritage, the management of cultural capital and the development of cultural industries. This has instigated a growing interest in planning and implementing cultural policies to ensure that cultural capital is redistributed, equality, pluralism and diversity are promoted and welfare societies as well as democracy are protected.<sup>23</sup>

The decisive factor for such a “paradigm shift”, was the use and promotion of old tools such as dialogue and cultural diplomacy in a new light. UNESCO was a key player in this process, since it oriented the examination of cultural parity and diversity beyond the scope of national cultures.<sup>24</sup> Cultures and civilisations cannot interact through cultural exchange unless the prerequisite of mutual understanding of the values system of all interested parties is met. This also stands for the absence of prejudice or stereotypes.<sup>25</sup> What is of crucial importance in the creation of relationships and frameworks of cooperation is cultural diplomacy.

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<sup>20</sup> UNESCO. (1982). *World Conference on Cultural Policies: Final Report*. Mexico City, 26 July-6 August 1982. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0005/000525/052505eo.pdf>, (accessed 10/09/17), p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Tzoumaka, E. (2005). *Politistiki diplomatia (Cultural Diplomacy)*, Athens: Sideris Publications, p. 15 – 16.

<sup>23</sup> Zorba, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Vasileiadis, N. (2015). “*Politistiki Dimlomatia. Istoriki anadromi. Orismoi*” (*Cultural Diplomacy. Historical retrospection. Definitions*), in Vasileiadis, N., Mpoutsiouki, S. *Politistiki Diplomatia. Ellinikes kai Diethneis Diastaseis (Cultural Diplomacy. Greek and International Dimensions)*, ch. 1, p. 16, available at [https://repository.kallipos.gr/bitstream/11419/4424/1/15527\\_Vasileiadis%20Total-KOY.pdf](https://repository.kallipos.gr/bitstream/11419/4424/1/15527_Vasileiadis%20Total-KOY.pdf) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

## 1.2 Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural Diplomacy is by no means an innovation of modernity. Richard Arndt in his book *The First Resort of Kings* explains how cultural relations amongst civilisations have evolved naturally and organically, irrespective of nation-states. Tracing cultural exchanges and intercultural relations back to the Bronze Age, Arndt sets to explore the patterns of human civilisation in the form of commerce, tourism, education, communication, migration, even intermarriage to show that they have led to a gradual adoption of rules and customs resulting in increased cooperation and decreased conflicts. Cultural diplomacy has always been the first resort of kings and governments.<sup>26</sup>

However, the definition and the content of the concept of cultural diplomacy have a causal relationship with the political and social surroundings within which it evolves as a phenomenon;<sup>27</sup> an issue analysed further later in this thesis. Therefore, it can interweave with the systematic use of cultural elements in a nation's external relations either to project the cultural achievements of societies as achievements of a universalistic reach or to promote specific goals.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, it can instill a rather idealistic content to the process of praxis through "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding".<sup>29</sup>

Cultural diplomacy is the cornerstone of the broader planning of public diplomacy, the public face of traditional diplomacy, which in essence includes any indirect or direct activity and policy that governments and their peoples deploy in influencing public attitudes and opinions, as well as the foreign policy of other governments.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Arndt, R. (2005). *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*. C.: Potomac Books.

<sup>27</sup> See Zervaki, A. (2016). "Eidikes Ptyches ton Diethnon Scheseon: I periptosi tis Politistikis Diplomatias" (*Special Aspects of International Relations: The Case of Cultural Diplomacy*) in Naskou – Perraki, P., Zaikos, N. *Diplomatiko kai Prokseniko Dikaio (Diplomatic and Consular Law)*, Athens – Thessaloniki: Sakkoulas Publications, particularly pp. 173-174.

<sup>28</sup> Giannaras, Ch. (2001). *Politistiki Diplomatia (Cultural Diplomacy)*, Athens: Ikaros Publications, pp. 13-14, 33 & Zervaki, *op.cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>29</sup> Cummings, M. (2003). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey*. Washington, Center for Arts and Culture, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Plavšak Krajnc, K. (2004). "Public Diplomacy: basic Concepts and Trends" in *Slovene Journal Teorija in praksa – Theory and Practice* (March 2004 - 2004 (41), 3-4: 643-658. – Available at: <http://www.ifimes.org/en/8020-public-diplomacy-basic-concepts-and-trends#sthash.ScjvVQwF.dpuf> (Accessed 05/09/17). & See Delaney, R. F. (1968).

The fact that it involves the element of creative expression makes it inherently pleasant and thus one of the most effective tools of diplomacy, if not the most effective. It is not related to propaganda or persuasion. Its aim is to achieve dialogue, understanding, as well as to create and consolidate trust.<sup>31</sup> Trust, however, does not necessarily mean that there exist the conditions of agreement or esteem among stakeholders. Therefore, it continues to be effective even when all channels of communication are closed or even non-existent so as to promote the country from which it is being practiced, constructing a positive image for it. In this way, it is possible to create networks of trust, which contribute to the development of mutual understanding, and possibly to the prevention of conflicts.<sup>32</sup> Thus, cultural diplomacy can further the objectives of foreign policies, however indirectly.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.3 Practicing Cultural Diplomacy: Central Issues

Practicing cultural diplomacy in the 21st century is a multidimensional project. The experience of the past and the transformations at the socio-economic as well as the political levels have demonstrated that its application depends on the existence and the method of implementation of four structural components; agenda, agency, vehicles and the target audience of cultural diplomacy.

Strategizing a specific agenda involves strategic planning and the definition of the methodology that is going to be applied. It can be effected through assessing and identifying both the conditions existing in particular situations and the object - target, followed by goal setting. The success and the sustainability of cultural diplomacy programmes demand holistic approaches. It depends on setting short-term and long-term goals, on responsiveness and flexibility to adapt.<sup>34</sup>

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"Introduction." In A. S. Hoffman (Ed.), *International Communication and the New Diplomacy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

<sup>31</sup> See Schneider, Cynthia P. (2004). "Culture Communicates: Diplomacy that works". *The Netherlands Institute of International Relations*: Clingendael.

<sup>32</sup> Vasileiadis, *op.cit.*, pp. 14 - 15.

<sup>33</sup> Gienow-Hecht, C. E. and Donfried, Mark C. (ed) (2010). "The model of cultural diplomacy" in Gienow-Hecht, C. E. and Donfried, Mark C. (ed) (2010). *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy (Explorations in Culture and International History)*. New York: Berghahn Books, p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> See Gienow-Hecht, C. E. and Donfried, Mark C. (ed) (2010). *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy (Explorations in Culture and International History)*. New York: Berghahn Books.

The second component relates to the factor of agency, and the growing tendency for cultural diplomacy practice to distance from state or public sector actorship. It has become apparent that all stakeholders, that is, both the public and the private sector and the civil society, should be involved. Each one of these agents has a complimentary role to play, contributing to cultural diplomacy programmes with their own distinct qualities. For instance, the public sector can contribute in terms of funding and infrastructure. The private sector can be a key contributor because of its ability to achieve speed in response to developments, as well as providing its expertise. The civil society can ensure shared responsibility and a grass – roots approach.<sup>35</sup> The participation of every stakeholder does not only lead to a holistic, coherent entirety participating in the creation of joint strategies. It also creates the conditions to achieve greater neutrality.<sup>36</sup>

The idea of neutrality in cultural diplomacy programmes has provoked a heated debate, particularly since cultural diplomacy has been connected to the cultural imperialism of imperialist powers such as Great Britain and France, and with its use as a tool for propaganda during the Cold War.<sup>37</sup> What is more, there exist issues of legitimacy, political motives and national agendas concerning initiatives undertaken by national governments, posing restraints to the implementation of initiatives.<sup>38</sup>

For these reasons, a useful distinction must be made. Cultural Diplomacy can be both positive and negative. Some positive examples are educational institutes such as Goethe-Institut, the British Council and the Institut Français, which operate around the world to make the culture of the countries they represent accessible in the host countries and to contribute to the creation of positive images of them.<sup>39</sup>

A negative example is the regime of quotas that has been imposed by the French government since 1994 to stop the “Anglo-Saxon cultural invasion”. Under this condition, the French music aired by radio stations should represent 35% of the total amount of songs. Such a policy indicates that the government seems to be

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<sup>35</sup> For some reflections on the issue of advocacy in the Greek case see Christogiannis, G. (2002). *Elliniki Politistiki Diplomatia (Greek Culural Diplomacy)*. Athens: Sideris Publications.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> See Zervaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 – 172.

<sup>38</sup> See Gienow-Hecht, C. E. and Donfried, Mark C., *op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> See Zervaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177.

unable to conceive the fact that a significant number of French artists, appealing to a global audience, choose English as a language of artistic expression.<sup>40</sup> Another negative example is the association of cultural diplomacy with ideological preconceptions, as in the case of the propaganda of the superpowers during the Cold War, and the use of cultural achievements to promote and impose their political agendas.<sup>41</sup>

A third component relates to the vehicles deployed in the application of cultural diplomacy. Music, dance, cinema, painting, cartoons, education, literature, translation and sports give cultural diplomacy the flexibility to adapt “to win the heart and mind” of a wider audience. Cultural diplomacy is thus practiced both directly and indirectly when groups of people, who would not be able to coexist in the same place under different circumstances, have the opportunity to gather for something as simple as a football game and form positive images, obtain first-hand experience and a personal opinion about the “evil others”. An example is the game organized by the Peres Centre for Peace<sup>42</sup> in the Gaza Strip among children coming from Israel and Palestine.<sup>43</sup>

The final component is that of the target audience of cultural diplomacy. The application of cultural diplomacy is mostly necessary in situations when there is great opposition on principal to it. It is pivotal to address the concerns of those who treat it with skepticism or reject it altogether. It could also be argued that cultural diplomacy that targets only countries, institutions or officials has minimum results. People, societies and national or ethnic groups should be taken into account by modifying programmes to suit their specific needs or worldviews. Nonetheless, the possibility of reversing any achievements after the mission is

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<sup>40</sup>This quota was reduced from 40 to 35% in 2016 on condition that more new French songs will be aired. See Chazan, David. (18 March 2016). “Quotas on French radio”. The Telegraph. Available at

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/12197192/France-drops-legal-quota-on-French-radio-songs-as-DJs-forced-to-play-boring-old-ballads.html> (Accessed 05/09/2017).

<sup>41</sup> Gienow-Hecht, C. E. and Donfried, Mark C. (ed) (2010). “The model of cultural diplomacy, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-16, Zervaki, *op.cit.*, pp. 171 - 172 & See Schneider, C. P. (2004), *op.cit.*

<sup>42</sup> Peres Center for Peace. <http://www.streetfootballworld.org/network-member/peres-center-peace>. (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>43</sup> The reactions caused can be read in Itamar, Marcus and Nan, Jacques. (8 September 2014). “Zilberdik PA officials: Israeli-Palestinian football match is “a crime against humanity””. *Palestinian Media Watch*. Available at [http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc\\_id=12585](http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc_id=12585) (accessed 05/09/2017).

considered to have been accomplished should not be overlooked. This is valid because if there is a key element for the success of cultural diplomacy that is long-term commitment.<sup>44</sup> A typical example is American cultural diplomacy and the negative consequences of its gradual cutbacks in funding, the abolition of programmes and ending the operations of institutes in Europe as recorded in the post-Cold War bibliography. Another example is that of the British Council, which has clearly shifted the emphasis from Europe to other parts of the world.<sup>45</sup> It should be thus a topic of further investigation whether the achievement of the goals set means that their limits have been exhausted.

In addition to the four components analysed, the new school of thought supports the idea that what is of growing importance is to create the conditions that will facilitate access to fundamental values, rights, or goods, and then allow individuals to decide for themselves. An example of such a policy is the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst - German Academic Exchange Service,<sup>46</sup> which facilitates students who want to study or do research in Germany through exchange programs.<sup>47</sup>

In any case, best practices in the application of cultural diplomacy should involve the existence of some fundamental characteristics such as the promotion of freedom of speech, thought and expression. Their aim should be to promote the values of the country practicing cultural diplomacy, and most importantly to adapt to the needs of the host country. They should be pleasant and provide information and expertise, inspire mutual respect, open channels of communication for effective communication between diplomats. They should foster creativity and be flexible and authentic.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See Gienow-Hecht, and Donfried.. *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy (Explorations in Culture and International History)*, *op.cit.*

<sup>45</sup> See Schneider, Cynthia P. (2004), *op. cit.* & State Department Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, (2005). *Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy: Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy*, U.S. Department of State.

<sup>46</sup> Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst – German Academic Exchange Service. Available at <https://www.daad.de/en/> (Accessed 05/09/2017).

<sup>47</sup>Riordan, S. (2005). "Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: a New Foreign Policy Paradigm?". In Melissen, J. (ed.)(2005). *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*. The Hague, Netherland Institute of International Relations Clingendael, Clingendael Diplomacy Papers No. 2, p. 182-184.

<sup>48</sup> The best practices presented here, are suggested based on the approach of Cynthia Schneider. See Schneider, Cynthia P. (2003). "Diplomacy That Works: Best Practices in Cultural Diplomacy." *Center for Arts and Culture*, Cultural Diplomacy Research Series.

The absence of these features, the inability to disconnect cultural diplomacy programmes from political and economic agendas, pose serious risks of correlating these programs with governmental and propaganda policies. Therefore, the most important obstacle to be overcome for the sustainability and legitimacy of cultural diplomacy programmes is their being neutral and distanced from specific agendas to the greatest degree so as to build bridges of interactive cultural dialogue, exchange and interaction.

Creative interaction is a key component for the correlation of cultural diplomacy with nation branding, that is, with the process which aims at “rebuilding” the image of a country in order to promote it abroad.<sup>49</sup> The osmosis of cultural diplomacy and nation branding can be defined as cultural branding,<sup>50</sup> a process involving the design and implementation of marketing programmes, as well as activities based on “a cluster of strategic cultural ideas”.<sup>51</sup> Cultural branding can also apply to nations as iconic brands. Nations’ organisation around specific sets of values and ideals<sup>52</sup> equip them with rich cultural resources not found in other kinds of brands, whether that is a product, a service or any type of “brandable entity”.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, what needs further investigation is how and whether cultural diplomacy and cultural branding can be applied in the case of a supra-national organization as the EU to promote people’s identification with it and the acceptance of its institutions.

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<sup>49</sup> Melissen J. (2005). *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> See Holt, D. (2004) *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding*, Harvard Business School Press, USA & Dinnie, K. (2008). *Nation Branding*, Oxford: Elsevier, particularly chapter 1 “The Relevance, Scope and Scale of Nation Branding”.

<sup>51</sup> Dinnie, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>53</sup> Dinnie, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

**PART B**

## The European Union's external relations

### 2. Does culture lie at the heart of the EU?

The first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, have been marked by historical events that have manifested how destabilized the global environment is. The terrorist attacks on September 11 and the ensuing American reaction with the “war on terror”, the rise of fundamentalism and nationalism, the Arab Spring, the increase in terrorist attacks all over the world have led to the realization that the challenges and threats contemporary societies face demand for holistic approaches, preventive methods and multilateral cooperation. The cultural paradigm, as analysed earlier in this thesis, the endorsement of cultural relations and cultural diplomacy in international relations started therefore to gain ever-increasing importance.

Focusing on the European Union, the evolving policies around culture show its being identified as a regulating factor for both the Union's external and its internal relations.

Culture<sup>54</sup> appears as a Title in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. Specifically, according to Article 128, “*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*”.<sup>55</sup>

The inclusion of such a title is indicative of a significant shift in European integration policies pertaining to the objective to create a European demos, a European public sphere; to shape a common European identity which European citizens could identify themselves with.<sup>56</sup> Following the rejection of the idea of a European Constitution by some member states, the Treaty of Lisbon of 2007<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> In “Culture in EU external relations: an idea whose time has come?”, Yudhishtir Raj Isar points out that the term “culture in EU external relations” is used instead of cultural diplomacy in the EU official texts. This, according to the author, is due to the fact that the ambitions and aspirations the EU invests in this area move beyond gaining soft power. He argues that the incentives behind these policies are altruistic and idealistic. See. Isar, Yudhishtir Raj. (2015). “Culture in EU external relations’: an idea whose time has come?” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21:4, 494-508, DOI:10.1080/10286632.2015.1042472, p. 494.

<sup>55</sup> European Union. (1992). “Treaty on European Union”, Maastricht 7 February 1992. Available at [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europa.eu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf). (Accessed 05/09/2017)

<sup>56</sup> See Isar, Yudhishtir Raj. (2015). *op.cit.*, pp. 496 – 497.

<sup>57</sup> The Lisbon Treaty came in force in late 2009.

allowed the reformation of EU policies and institutions, improved the decision-making processes and strengthened its external policies.<sup>58</sup>

The Treaty determines EU external actions in Article 27 and refers to the establishment of the European External Action Service, which assists the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and cooperates with Member States' diplomatic services.<sup>59</sup> The European External Action Service is comprised by officials from the General Secretariat of the Council and of the Commission, and staff seconded from Member States' national diplomatic services.<sup>60</sup>

The Union's action, according to Article 167, aims at fostering cooperation between Member States, while supporting and supplementing them when necessary in order to disseminate the culture and history of the European peoples, protect cultural heritage, and promote cultural exchange and creativity.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the Union has supporting competencies, in that, the European Parliament and the Council, having consulted the Committee of the Regions, can adopt incentive measures in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure.<sup>62</sup> This way, the harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States is excluded, while the Council can adopt recommendations on the basis of the Commission's proposals.<sup>63</sup>

Cultural diplomacy was therefore integrated in the Union's international activities, being one of the major roles of the Union, whose action in the international arena, as was defined by the Lisbon Treaty, is to promote the principles of the Union, that is, democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, equality and solidarity, respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law in the world.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>European Parliament (6/2017). "The Treaty of Lisbon". Available at [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU\\_1.1.5.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_1.1.5.html) (Accessed 05/09/2017).

<sup>59</sup> See European Union (17 December 2007) Treaty of Lisbon. Specifically in Article 27. Available at <http://en.euabc.com/upload/books/lisbon-treaty-3edition.pdf> (Accessed 05/09/2017), p. 33

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup>Official Journal of the European Union (26.10.2012) Available at [http://www.en.pollub.pl/files/17/attachment/106\\_Treaty.on.European.Union.pdf](http://www.en.pollub.pl/files/17/attachment/106_Treaty.on.European.Union.pdf). (Accessed 09/09/2017).

Another decisive step towards putting culture at the heart of European policies was the 2007 European Agenda for Culture. The permeable of the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions starting with a quote by Denis de Rougemont reveals the ideas guiding the Union's activities:

*"Culture is all the dreams and labour tending towards forging humanity. Culture requests a paradoxical pact: diversity must be the principle of unity, taking stock of differences is necessary not to divide, but to enrich culture even more. Europe is a culture or it is not."*<sup>65</sup>

In the Resolution of the Council of 16 November 2007 on a European Agenda for Culture that followed, the objectives and priorities set related to strategies for the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue as a sustainable process that can contribute to European identity, citizenship and social cohesion; the promotion of culture as a catalyst for creativity as was outlined in the Lisbon Strategy for growth, employment, innovation and competitiveness, and thirdly as an important element in the international relations of the EU.<sup>66</sup> The specific objectives included for the implementation of this strategic goal were to enhance the role of culture both in the EU's external relations and in its development policy. Secondly, the Union affirmed its adherence to the promotion and the implementation of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions at international level.<sup>67</sup> What is more, a strategic goal pertained to the engagement of European civil societies by fostering intercultural dialogue and interaction with third countries. EU Member States' cultural institutions were encouraged to cooperate with their counterparts in third countries.<sup>68</sup>

One fact that should be pointed out is that the EU actions are to respect fully the principle of subsidiarity, since Member States exercise exclusive competence in

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<sup>65</sup> Commission of the European Communities. (Brussels, 10.5.2007). "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world" {SEC(2007) 570} /\* COM/2007/0242 final \*/ Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52007DC0242>.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> The EU is a party to the 2005 Convention.

<sup>68</sup> Commission of the European Communities, *op.cit.*

their national policy objectives.<sup>69</sup> At the same time it was underlined that the objectives pursued should be viewed as a framework that would allow for flexibility of action.<sup>70</sup>

The Commission's report in 2010 outlined the progress made since the adoption of the Agenda, pointing out that an Open Method of Coordination was introduced to support the cooperation of Member States, while platforms of structured dialogue with civil society were created. The report records a significant number of initiatives, programmes, platforms and synergies launched by Member States and civil societies, studies conducted and papers drafted on behalf of the Commission. Moreover, 2008 was declared European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and 2009 was declared European Year of Creativity and Innovation. At the level of the EU's external relations, the Union was able to contrive a framework of regional and inter-regional cooperation, within which culture was considered to be a vital factor of political, social and economic development.<sup>71</sup>

Reflecting on these facts, an initial conclusion that can be drawn is that the EU and its institutions were key generators of cultural policies on one hand, by realising the added value of an integrated cultural component in the Union's foreign policy agenda. At the same time, the engagement of non-official, non-state actors, artists, cultural institutions and national governments throughout this process has allowed the development of bottom-up agency, rather than a top-down one imposed by European elites; a condition that is essential for the sustainability of cultural diplomacy programmes.

## **2.1 Towards a narrative for more Europe: From potential to reality.**

Three developments can be considered as milestones in adding new dimensions to EU's cultural diplomacy. The first of those is the initiative *More Europe – external cultural relations*. It is a cultural civil initiative of the European

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> European Commission. (Brussels, 19.7.2010). "Commission Report to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of the European Agenda for Culture". Brussels: European Commission. Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52010DC0390> (Accessed 09/09/2017).

Cultural Foundation launched in 2011. Its aim is to mobilise Member States, civil society, private foundations and EU institutions by bringing them together in cooperative efforts with the objective to promote culture in the EU's external relations.<sup>72</sup> This initiative's approach is established on the promotion of fundamental values, two-way dialogue, and the recognition of the role of civil society. Exchanges, cooperation and people-to-people engagement are considered to be of vital importance for the EU's foreign policy. Its activities include high-level public debates with the participation of third-countries on issues such as cultural identity, culture and development. It works on strategic approaches to culture in the EU foreign policy, it conducts research and studies and it has also initiated a resource bank for best practices in the deployment of culture in external actions and the application of cultural diplomacy to further the goals of EU's foreign policy.<sup>73</sup>

The second development pertains to the realization that fragmentation and diffusion of European cultural activities among EU institutions, Member States, NGOs and European cultural networks hindered a unified approach for the implementation of a common strategy that would enable efficient and systematic use of cultural resources and budgets. That added up to the notion that EU's role as a global actor in the arena of cultural diplomacy practice, where there is strong competition for visibility with the entrance of dynamic players such as China and emerging powers such as India, requires that the EU speak with one voice.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, the need for a coherent strategy on culture in external relations and better coordination of the already existent cultural policies led to the initiation of a large-scale project,<sup>75</sup> the Preparatory Action (PA), which was concluded in 2014. The scope of the PA entitled *Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship* was to conduct an analysis and a comprehensive inquiry aspiring to be both a reflective report on the existing cultural policies and a recommendation for

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<sup>72</sup> More Europe – external cultural relations. <http://www.moreeurope.org/?q=about-us/mission-statement> (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> European Parliament. (2011). "Report on the cultural dimensions of the EU's external actions. Committee on culture and education" (Rapporteur: Marietje Schaake). Brussels: European Parliament. Document A7-0112/2011.

<sup>75</sup> Launched in 2012.

a strategic approach in order to deploy culture in European external relations in the most fruitful way.<sup>76</sup>

The inquiry included the 28 EU Member States, 16 European Neighbourhood countries<sup>77</sup> and ten third countries with which the EU has established Strategic Partnerships.<sup>78</sup> As was pointed out in the PA, the Strategic Partnerships framework allows the Union to cooperate with key powers in an interdependent world “to ensure that the EU’s values and interests are preserved at the global level.”<sup>79</sup>

The findings of the PA suggested that enhanced cultural relations can be greatly beneficial for Europe’s influence and attraction in a multi-polar world, and for promoting prosperity and human development. Nonetheless, the Report accentuated the fact that consistent strategies on cultural relations should set priorities and goals with realistic outcomes and long-term commitment. It underlined that it should be a two-way process of “listening, sharing, imagining and creating together”<sup>80</sup> with Europe’s partners. Also, it made emphatic that it is mandatory for EU institutions, national cultural relations agencies, cultural civil society and cultural professionals to collaborate towards a paradigm of global cultural citizenship, making provisions for “reciprocity, mutuality and shared responsibility”.<sup>81</sup> It could be claimed, thus, that the PA attended to several issues central to practicing cultural diplomacy, discussed earlier in this thesis, and incorporated a considerable number of best practices.

At the same time, another initiative launched in 2014 was to address issues of cultural coherence within Europe. The project “New Narrative for Europe” engaged artists, scientists, intellectuals and citizens in a what was considered to

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<sup>76</sup> European Union. (2014). *Preparatory Action: Engaging the World: Towards Global Cultural Citizenship*. Brussels: European Union. Available at [http://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/cier-data/uploads/2016/12/Engaging-The-World-Towards-Global-Cultural-Citizenship-eBook-1.5\\_13.06.2014.pdf](http://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/cier-data/uploads/2016/12/Engaging-The-World-Towards-Global-Cultural-Citizenship-eBook-1.5_13.06.2014.pdf) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>77</sup> Including Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Moldova, the Palestinian Territories, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine.

<sup>78</sup> EU’s Strategic Partners are Brazil, Canada, China, India, Japan, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, South Korea and the USA.

<sup>79</sup> European Union. (2014), *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*.

be a process of identification with what Europe stands for them and offer their perspective for a "New Renaissance" that will move the EU forward.<sup>82</sup>

The Joint Communication that followed in June 2016,<sup>83</sup> gave a new dimension for cultural diplomacy in the Union's external relations, proposing a set of guiding principles for EU's strategic approach to international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy, which will enable the EU to pursue its full part of actorship in world affairs.

The European Union seems to be fully aware of the benefits that the promotion of culture in international relations can bring even at the level of a supra-national organization. On the other hand, the EU recognizes that it can and should have a proactive role in world development and prosperity primarily because of its commitment in fundamental values such as the rule of law, freedom of expression, respect for fundamental rights and in the promotion of global peace and order. In the Joint Communication, this is made explicit by stating that "*the EU has a lot to offer to the world: diversity of cultural expressions, high quality artistic creation and a vibrant creative industry*".<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the EU is convinced that it can contribute to the implementation of cultural policies in third countries based on the experience gained through its own example of pluralism and cultural diversity. However, it observes that cultural exchanges are beneficial for the Union as well.<sup>85</sup>

Three pillars were proposed in order to strategise EU international cultural relations, which are firstly aimed at the promotion of human rights, cultural diversity, mutual respect and intercultural dialogue. The first pillar also refers to the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity and non-duplication, pointing out that the proposed strategy will respect the spheres of competence of the EU and its Member States, as well as existing partnerships' frameworks.<sup>86</sup> The three central axes of the second pillar, which will determine the framework of cooperation with partner countries, pertain to *i) supporting culture as an engine*

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<sup>82</sup> European Union. New Narrative for Europe. [https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/new-narrative\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/new-narrative_en).

<sup>83</sup> European Commission. (Brussels, 8.6.2016). "Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations". JOIN(2016) 29 final. Brussels: European Commission.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

*for sustainable social and economic development; ii) promoting culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations; iii) reinforcing cooperation on cultural heritage.*<sup>87</sup> The EU is committed to protect cultural heritage working in cooperation with organisations such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO. The third pillar relates to cultural diplomacy and its being strategically approached through European cooperation and inter-cultural exchanges, working for the promotion of the cultures of the Union.<sup>88</sup>

The strategic approach that the EU intends to implement so as to promote cultural diplomacy is based on "smart complementarity". This means that it will be mainly advanced through the cooperation of the cultural institutions and the attachés of the Member States abroad and with civil society. What is of crucial importance towards this objective, is the European External Action Service (EEAS) with its 139 EU Delegations and Offices around the world.<sup>89</sup>

Provisions have been made for two main courses of action to assist the work of the European institutions. The first relates to enhanced EU cooperation and the second to intercultural exchanges of students, researchers and alumni. The cooperation of the EU Delegations, cultural institutions and the EUNIC network<sup>90</sup> will enable joint projects, which are expected to be more effective.<sup>91</sup>

The EU's cultural diplomacy will be reinforced by the Cultural Diplomacy Platform,<sup>92</sup> which was established in 2016. The Platform will have an advisory role on cultural policy issues, it will promote networking, implement programs in cooperation with cultural stakeholders, Member States and EU Delegations. In addition, it will develop training programs, such as the global cultural leadership programme and it is expected to further the development of EU's international cultural relations.<sup>93</sup> What is more, the EEAS, the Commission's services and

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) was established in 2006. It is a partner of the European Commission and other European institutions assisting them in defining and implementing cultural policies.

<sup>91</sup> European Commission. (Brussels, 8.6.2016), *op.cit.*.

<sup>92</sup> See Cultural Diplomacy Platform. <http://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/about-us/>.

<sup>93</sup> European Commission. (Brussels, 8.6.2016), *op.cit.*

national cultural institutes will cooperate based on the principles of pan-European cooperation within a framework of partnership.<sup>94</sup>

EU Delegations will have a vital role to play at the local level. Firstly, they will have to be aware of the local needs so that the actions effected are in line with the local cultural context. At the same time, they will be the ones to ensure that the EU's objectives are furthered. Another idea that was put forward was that of the establishment of European Culture Houses in partner countries. Their role will be to facilitate cultural foundations and other stakeholders to provide their services at a local level, participate in joint projects and run programmes of cultural and educational exchanges, as well as scholarship programmes.<sup>95</sup> This indicates that provisions are made to adapt EU actions to the needs of the host country, a condition necessary for the engagement of local people in them.

The EU is also fully aware of the fact that no action will produce the expected results unless it involves civil societies, as already mentioned. For this reason, the EU will pursue to engage all stakeholders (artists, cultural operators, and so on) in bilateral relations that will be developed to enhance the capacity of partner countries in the cultural sector and to facilitate exchanges.<sup>96</sup>

The EU also makes efforts to increase its visibility in third countries by organizing joint EU cultural events. Some examples of such events are the Film Festival<sup>97</sup> and the European Day of Languages,<sup>98</sup> which are organized in collaboration with national cultural institutes.<sup>99</sup>

Last but not least, the EU invests in cultural cooperation with strategic partners that already implement dynamic cultural diplomacy strategies. In this context, the EU has been collaborating with the USA in the Euro-American Cultural Foundation since 2013. Furthermore, the EU has an active presence in South Africa where it supports young artists, while decisive steps have been made for the development of bilateral relations with China.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> The 2017 Film Festival in Thailand presented 13 films from 11 European countries. The films were screened in the language of their country of origin with subtitles.

<sup>98</sup> Celebrated on September 26 every year.

<sup>99</sup> European Commission, (Brussels, 8.6.2016), *op.cit*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

The second course of action for EU strategies pertains to inter-cultural exchanges of students, researchers<sup>101</sup> and alumni. The EU runs programmes of mobility and inter-university cooperation such as the Marie Curie-Sklodowska Actions and Erasmus+,<sup>102</sup> which have a significant contribution to the creation of academic and cultural relationships. They also provide partner countries with the opportunity to discover the diverse cultures of the Union.<sup>103</sup>

In April 2017, it has been recommended that a Friends of the Presidency Group undertake responsibilities in order to identify situations when joint action at EU level is required by developing a relevant roadmap.<sup>104</sup> Such a development shows that the EU wishes to strengthen monitoring mechanisms in order to ensure coherence in EU's strategic approach to international cultural relations.

It is thus clear that the EU has made a commitment to make full use of culture in its international cultural relations through the implementation of actions, strategies and the reinforcement of its cultural diplomacy so that the EU is able to strengthen its position in the international system. This commitment is based on the belief that culture is an integral part of the Union's foreign policy. Furthermore, it is a powerful tool for mutual understanding and unification of peoples, as well as a leverage for economic and social development through social trust-building processes. All these facts provide evidence that the concept of cultural diplomacy has a causal relationship with the political and social surroundings within which it evolves as a phenomenon.

## 2.2 Contrasting Narratives?

Having examined the new dimensions of cultural diplomacy in the case of the EU, it was concluded that the Union has invested heavily on the reinforcement of its cultural diplomacy in the strategic planning of its external relations. Indeed, the

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<sup>101</sup> Research cooperation is realised in the context of Horizon 2020. According to the Commission it is the world's largest multilateral research and innovation programme, funding research and innovation on cultural relations, science diplomacy and cultural heritage. See European Commission, *op.cit*.

<sup>102</sup> Erasmus+ will be further examined later in this thesis.

<sup>103</sup> European Commission, *op.cit*

<sup>104</sup> Council of the European Union. (Brussels, 5 April 2017). "Draft Council conclusions on an EU strategic approach to international cultural relations". (OR. en) 7935/17. Brussels: Council of the European Union. Available at <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-7935-2017-INIT/en/pdf> (Accessed 09/09/2017).

EU seems to have taken into account European citizens, 28% of whom stated in the Eurobarometer survey of 2013 that culture creates a sense of community in the EU, and that they expect the EU to exert stronger influence and be a leading diplomatic power.<sup>105</sup> In another survey conducted in 2016, it was found that nearly two-thirds of Europeans are in favour of "a common foreign policy of the 28 Member States of the EU".<sup>106</sup>

In today's Europe, however, crisis and the challenges that the Union faces seem to be monopolizing public discourse providing the site for intense controversy. This controversy is related to migration policies and their being associated with terrorism and extremism, the recession and the democratic deficit in decision-making processes. Without a doubt, these issues give food for thought to sceptics, who consider the European Union to be a collapsing edifice.<sup>107</sup> What happens in Europe, does not stay in Europe however, having a heavy impact on its public image.

Adding up to that, the destabilized global environment, shifts in the balance of power with emerging countries such as China, Russia, India and Brazil gaining more power, and the western model of democracy being challenged change 'the rules of the game'. There is a fundamental shift towards a multipolar world, in which the European Union must live up to the challenges and play a key role in shaping the international policy agenda and transatlantic relations.<sup>108</sup> Unless its economic power translates into political power it will be nothing more than "a crippled giant".<sup>109</sup> The EU needs to prove that it is capable to respond to the challenges of history.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Eurobarometer. (2013). "Effects of the economic and financial crisis on European public opinion". Available at [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/topics/eb40years\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/topics/eb40years_en.pdf) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>106</sup> Standard Eurobarometer 85 (05/2016). "Report on Europeans' views on the priorities of the European Union". Available at <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/2130>. (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>107</sup> See Braghiroli, Stefano, Salini, Luca. (2014) How Do the Others See Us?: An Analysis on Public Opinion Perception of the EU and USA in Third Countries". *Transworld*, Working paper 33. The Transatlantic Relationship and the future Global Governance. Available at [http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/tw\\_wp\\_33.pdf](http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/tw_wp_33.pdf) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>108</sup> Ntalis, S. (2015). *Apo tis Diethneis Scheseis sti Diethni Politiki (From International Relations to International Politics)*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, pp. 101 – 111, 158.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 112 – 113.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, p. 158.

External factors must be carefully evaluated so that the EU is able to deploy its assets effectively and manage to dispel impressions of political dwarfism. Therefore, it is urgent that the Union legitimize its role as a normative power. In order for this goal to be achieved, Europe can capitalize its cultural soft power as analysed in the first part of this thesis, through cultural branding, by setting clear and realistic strategies to communicate its goals and create positive images through the implementation of marketing programs.

Europe as a brand can be developed based on its spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional cultural resources. As a brandable entity it can be empowered by its specific sets of values and ideals, which make it a unique ongoing example of unification through cooperation to promote peace, democracy, solidarity and pluralistic free societies.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, European history after World War II is the history of a successful transnational edifice. Europe has been the site for peaceful co-operation, common ideals, common cultural values, but, above all, persistent efforts of unification. Lessons learned from past crises have contributed to the creation of a sense of "Europeanness" founded on transnational co-operation, intercultural solidarity, political alliances, and efforts focused on overcoming divides. Those are some features that can also become the source of inspiration for the EU institutions' cultural planning, and for authors, artists, and intellectuals who are in search of a 'New Narrative' for Europe, seeking "to revise, reinterpret and redefine Europeanness in response to contemporary challenges".<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> See also Brand.eu at <http://www.brandeu.eu/about-the-centre/> (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>112</sup> University of Groningen. (2016). Puzzling Europe Research Forum. <http://www.rug.nl/research/icog/research/conferences/puzzling-europe/> (Accessed 09/09/2017).

**PART C**

## Case studies

### 3. European Programmes “ERASMUS+” and Creative Europe”

Having examined the key components and the means with which cultural diplomacy can be applied, the examination of the case of the European Union provides us with numerous examples of cultural diplomacy in practice. Two typical examples of such programmes are those of Erasmus+” and “Creative Europe”.

As discussed in the second part of this thesis, the European Union is an organization which deploys cultural diplomacy to promote its internal and its external relations. This shift in EU’s policy priorities was decided firstly to address the challenges for its internal security posed by the migration crises and the consequences of the economic crises. At the level of its external relations, culture has been incorporated as a strategic element in EU’s international development cooperation.<sup>113</sup>

#### 3.1 “Erasmus+”

“Erasmus+” is an EU programme which promotes and supports education, training, youth and sport in Europe. With a budget of 14.7 billion, the programme will enable more than 4 million European citizens to study, gain working experience or volunteer abroad.<sup>114</sup> Its framework of operations contributes to the Europe 2020 strategy for growth, jobs, social equity and inclusion and to the Education and training 2020 (ET 2020) framework for cooperation in education and training. It also contributes to the EU Youth Strategy.<sup>115</sup>

It is managed by the European Commission, the Education, Audiovisual, and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), National Agencies in Programme countries, and National Offices in some Partner countries. It has been funded by the EU for 30 years, enabling three million Europeans to study at higher institutions or organisations in Europe. It also provides opportunities for staff, trainees, teachers, volunteers and citizens of Partners countries.

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<sup>113</sup> Zervaki, *op.cit.*, pp. 183 – 184 & European Commission. (Brussels, 8.6.2016), *op.cit.*

<sup>114</sup> See Erasmus+. [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about\\_el](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about_el) (Accessed 09/09/2017)

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

The programme's aims are multileveled since it includes policies to promote inclusive and innovative societies by means of sustainable development, innovation, cooperation and reform through collaborations in higher education. It also supports the promotion of excellence in EU studies in higher education with the implementation of the Jean Monnet programme, which focuses on studies and research on EU integration.

The EU seems to be aware of the importance of education and lifelong learning as factors that help in the reduction of unemployment and the creation of a productive workforce. This is why there are programmes to prevent early school leaving, as well as to reduce unemployment in the context of Europe 2020 growth and jobs strategy by supporting youth entrepreneurship, job mobility and apprenticeships or traineeships. There is also provision for older or low-skilled adults to be equipped with new skills and qualifications by providing access to lifelong learning opportunities, adult education and training programmes to meet current labour market requirements.<sup>116</sup>

The EU also invests in digital infrastructure, teacher's training, educational resources such as software and applications, which shows the importance placed in digital inclusion and development of digital skills and competence by integrating digital learning technologies, digital pedagogies and educational resources.<sup>117</sup>

One of the most significant levels at which Erasmus+ programmes contribute is that of encouraging young people and youth organisations to participate in European democracy. This is effected through a process of 18-month work cycles of national consultations of young people and youth organisations engaging in a "Structured Dialogue", which is conducted in every country of the EU.<sup>118</sup>

EU's policies also include the promotion of cooperation and mobility with non-European Union countries and with partner countries by developing joint degrees, supporting international research and the exchange of students, staff, and knowledge. This aims at the modernization of teaching practices, the exchange of good practice, the improvement of the quality of services and human

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

resources.<sup>119</sup> It is a two-way process, since it is based on the notion of promoting common sets of values and mutual understanding between different peoples and cultures.

At this point, it can be argued that the targets of the numerous Erasmus+ actions not only contribute to the creation of knowledgeable societies or increasing European competitiveness to address the challenges of the crisis or the globalized environment. They are an expression of low soft power targeting the broader public. The objectives set are twofold, since the promotion of collaborative efforts can have a vital role in the projection of positive EU images both in the EU to create a sense of Europeanness, and outside the EU to influence public attitudes and opinions. It is also necessary to underline that by facilitating access to fundamental values, rights, goods or other cultures, the EU has a significant contribution the exchange of ideas and information, to the promotion of intercultural dialogue and the creation of emotional ties, which are essential in order to foster reconciliation and resilience. It can be therefore claimed that the Erasmus+ programme is a basic vehicle towards achieving the idealistic and the pragmatic goals of EU's cultural diplomacy.

### 3.2 "Creative Europe"

The "Creative Europe" programme is an important tool with which the EU encourages a sense of common or shared European identity. In order to enhance the visibility of Europe's cultural and audiovisual sectors, the European Commission cooperates with national authorities, culture sector organisations, and other EU institutions to support a variety of actions, initiatives and awards. The aim is to reward creation, on the one hand, and to promote Europe's rich and diverse culture and cultural heritage, and to have a significant contribution to the development of European societies.<sup>120</sup>

With a budget of €1.46 billion, the "Creative Europe" programme is in line with the principles of the [European Agenda for Culture](#) and aims at furthering the objectives of promoting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, promoting

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<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> See Creative Europe. Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/about\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/about_en) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

culture as a catalyst for creativity, and culture as a vital element of international relations.<sup>121</sup> The Agenda has set four objectives. Those are to create the conditions for accessible and inclusive culture, to protect cultural heritage, to support the cultural and creative sectors through creative economy and innovation and finally, to promote cultural diversity, culture in EU external relations and mobility.<sup>122</sup>

It is divided into two sub-programmes, Culture and MEDIA. The MEDIA Sub-programme supports the audiovisual sector, while the Culture Sub-programme supports the cultural and creative stakeholders. Both are supported by a cross-sectoral strand, which supports activities, transnational cooperation and the Creative Europe Desks. Their policy objectives are pursued through specific strategies that provide funding and safeguard the transnational operation of the various sectors, and the circulation and mobility of cultural and creative works and artists.<sup>123</sup>

Creative Europe is a key enabler for cultural and creative sectors' advancement in the digital age, ensuring sustainable growth, employment, social cohesion and facilitating their access to international opportunities, markets, and audiences.<sup>124</sup> Funding opportunities will be provided for 2,500 artists and cultural professionals, 2,000 cinemas, 800 films, 4,500 book translations. There are also provisions for small businesses of the cultural sector, with a budget of €750 million.<sup>125</sup>

The numerous initiatives, actions, awards and prizes<sup>126</sup> that the programme includes, show the multiple levels at which EU policies aim. For example, in the context of the "European Heritage Label"<sup>127</sup>, historical European sites have been chosen since 2013 to be the centre of various activities as symbols of European

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<sup>121</sup> See European Commission. "European Agenda for Culture". Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework_en) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> See European Commission. (6 September 2017". 2018 Annual Work Programme for the Implementation of the Creative Europe Programme. C(2017)6002 of 6 September 2017. Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/c-2017-6002\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/c-2017-6002_en.pdf). Accessed (20/09/2017)

<sup>124</sup> See Creative Europe, *op.cit.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> They include the EU Initiative for Dialogue with the Music Sector, the European Heritage Days, the Literature Prize, "Prix MEDIA" prize, the Cultural Heritage Prize, the prize for Contemporary Architecture. Awards include the European Heritage Award.

<sup>127</sup> See European Heritage Label. Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/heritage-label\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/heritage-label_en) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

ideals, values and integration. The scope of this EU effort is to promote European history and achievements, to show what Europe has to offer and at the same time to breathe life into the European narrative. The “Border Breakers Awards” focuses on emerging artists or groups who strive to succeed by appealing to wider audiences, that is, by breaking the borders of their countries of origin. The selection of ten European acts takes place during a televised broadcast every year. It includes a Public Choice Award to engage the public in voting their favourite artists. The selection is based on data from Nielsen Music Control research, the European Broadcasting Union, radio stations, and from festivals that participate in the [European Talent Exchange Programme](#).<sup>128</sup>

Another multileveled initiative is the European Capitals of Culture initiative. Its objectives include the promotion of European cultural diversity and common European cultural features conducive to fostering a sense of European community, as well as development through culture. The initiative has an explicit cultural branding strand since cities can seize the opportunity to be regenerated both by allowing their own citizens to reinvent them and in terms of tourist potential by increasing their visibility.

The Creative Europe programme has a considerable contribution to furthering the political priorities of the EU for the promotion of employment in cultural and creative sectors with a specific focus on the young to become catalysts of innovation and creativity. It aims at supporting skills development and training, sustainable and inclusive development, investment and awareness about culture and heritage. The EU complements the actions and policies of Member States at national level, especially since there have been serious cutbacks in funding for cultural creativity in Member States.<sup>129</sup>

In conclusion, the programme seems to be an ideal example of cultural diplomacy in practice as it deploys cultural power to generate the new narratives Europe is in search of so as to appeal to its peoples by constructing a public sphere of common values, solidarity and dialogue; a European demos. Moreover, the programmes’ vehicles, that is, creative expression through music, literature and

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<sup>128</sup> See European Border Breakers Awards. [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/border-breakers\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/border-breakers_en) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

<sup>129</sup> See European Commission. (6 September 2017). 2018 Annual Work Programme for the Implementation of the Creative Europe Programme, *op. cit.*

painting just to name a few, give EU's cultural diplomacy the flexibility to adapt "to win the heart and mind" of a wider audience, or even create channels of communication in cases that those are nonexistent. This is indeed more relevant than ever, since there are serious concerns about the EU's future, urgent need for acceptance of its policies, and its being recognized as a key player in international development cooperation.

## Conclusions

In the globalized environment, where the roles of actors are constantly changing, culture and cultural factors seem to be gaining ever-growing political significance in a “seemingly deideologised world”.<sup>130</sup> The cultural paradigm that has emerged in recent decades has also been applied in the field of International Relations. It has been an autonomous theoretical tool with its own analytical categories for the examination of culture as equipment of life in modern societies, as a socio-economic factor, as a factor that can trigger both conflicts and cooperative efforts; as a notion that can cause dichotomies between us and the “others”, but also bridge divides. At the same time, it has been examined as a cognitive filter constructing and projecting meaning to decision-making processes to influence the patterns of behaviour of political leaders and nations.

The notion of culture extends beyond artistic creativity. It incorporates traditions, values systems and social as well as moral rules that shape a society or a social group, allowing them to construct modes of life. Cultural factors have strong integrative functions, as they contribute to the dialogic encounter with the cultural “others” through intercultural dialogue. They can promote peace building, the protection of cultural heritage, the acceptance of cultural diversity, and economic development. These multifaceted dimensions of culture, particularly at the level of foreign policy, have been identified and are therefore at the heart of cultural policy strategies of multilateral organisations such as the EU. Yet, the need to find new tools so as to accelerate change led to the reframing of cultural diplomacy and its scope.

As analysed in the second part of this thesis, cultural diplomacy has become a key component in the context of EU cultural policy-making. The EU seems to be aware of the benefits that the promotion of culture in its international relations can yield. Thus, it has made a commitment to adopt a number of strategies, the main pillar of which is culture as a means of addressing global challenges such as the refugee crisis, radicalization, cultural heritage protection, but also as a foreign policy tool to build relations with third countries and its partners around the world. Such a commitment is primarily based on the conviction that the EU “has a

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<sup>130</sup> Heywood, A. (2013). *Diethis Scheseis kai politiki stin pagosmia epochi* (Title of the English version: *Global Politics*). Athens: Kritiki Publications, p. 330.

lot to offer to the world”<sup>131</sup> because of its adherence to the protection and promotion of ideals with a universalistic reach, such as fundamental values and rights, the rule of law and the promotion of peace.

What is more, the EU recognizes that it should have an active role in shaping the international policy agenda and play its full part in the promotion of global development and prosperity. This notion of the EU as a normative power, driven by idealistic motives to promote common principles and diffuse norms brings to the fore issues of cultural neo-imperialism pertaining to the legitimacy of EU’s cultural soft power role in the international system. These concerns should be addressed by the EU in order to dispel false impressions, eliminate impression bias and create the conditions to achieve greater neutrality for its initiatives.

Moving to another level, the developments outlined in this thesis can lead us to argue that the EU has a consolidated perception of the expediency of a common foreign policy that will allow the EU to speak with one voice.

However, to what extent do its Member States share the same perception? How willing are they to foster cooperation and integration processes when the discourse of the Westphalian model of sovereignty remains extremely relevant? These topics should be further investigated, primarily since global challenges require consensus on collective, large-scale actions that cannot be solved in a national framework. The EU is struggling to strategise its cultural external relations, albeit with restricted spheres of competence. This means that EU institutions can only adopt incentive measures. They support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the Member States, and this is realised mainly through funding mechanisms.

What is more, the EU has to face multiple challenges and crises. The fact that it is being considered a political dwarf, a “fortress”<sup>132</sup>, the discussion concerning the limited impact of its foreign policy pose questions concerning its role in a multi-polar world, which call for prompt actions.

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<sup>131</sup> See European Commission. 8.6.2016. *op. cit.*

<sup>132</sup> Kentrotis, K. (2013). “I E.E. kai i eksoteriki politiki tis sti dephteri dekaetia tou 21ou aiona” (The EU and its foreign policy in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century). Research paper for the Jean Monnet IRA Action “New challenges in the dynamics of the EU integration process”. Available at [http://www.diethneis-sxeseis.gr/site/files/jean\\_monnet/kentrotis\\_research\\_paper.pdf](http://www.diethneis-sxeseis.gr/site/files/jean_monnet/kentrotis_research_paper.pdf) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

What is of equally crucial importance, is to address the concerns about its future and its policies. EU's cultural power can generate the "New Narrative" Europe is in search of to allow European citizens to reinvent it; to foster a sense of "Europeanness" founded on the notion of cooperation towards achieving a common goal. This effort relies heavily on the capitalization of its cultural wealth to shape a common European identity with which Europeans can identify themselves with.

Another issue that can be pointed out and needs prompt action, is that of the compatibility of the EU's cultural goals with the measures taken, and with the political framework within which these measures are decided. The cultural discourse of the EU is shaped around arguments that are based primarily on the social and economic dimensions of culture, forming a picture that culture is not viewed as a factor on its own merits, but as a means to confront the challenges that the EU faces.<sup>133</sup> As a consequence, the fact that culture is included in the EU agenda in the context of economic and social policy renders debatable the instrumental role attributed to it as a means of achieving objectives that go beyond the development of cultural wealth per se.

Nevertheless, the modern and innovative approaches of the EU and its commitment to strategizing cultural policies through specific actions, initiatives and programmes, prove that the EU has the reflexes to identify cutting edge issues, as well as the mechanisms to address them with the objective to establish norms and patterns of behavior in the global system. All things considered, emphasis should be placed on monitoring mechanisms for the policies launched and supported by the EU, that is, if they are appropriately implemented and successful to further the objectives of the EU's external relations.

To conclude, having examined the new dimensions of cultural diplomacy in the case of the European Union, it can be claimed that the EU can and should have a pivotal role in cultural policies. This is valid both for its internal relations to confront challenges such as the recession and the migration crisis, and its external relations. By being a major player in international development cooperation, the

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<sup>133</sup> Psychogiopoulou, E. (2015). "I anoichti methodos syntonismou gia ton politismo" (The Open Method of Coordination for Culture" Working Paper 63/2015: ELIAMEP. Available at [http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/59\\_2015\\_-WORKING-PAPER.pdf](http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/59_2015_-WORKING-PAPER.pdf) (Accessed 09/09/2017).

EU will be able to play its full part in global affairs. The EU can contribute to shaping policies and measures to address global development challenges and to the creation of conditions for peoples and societies to interact, to coexist and be united in diversity.

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