

Cultural Borders of Europe

NARRATIVES, CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES IN THE PRESENT AND THE PAST

MAKING SENSE OF HISTORY



Edited by Mats Andrén, Thomas Lindkvist,
Ingmar Söhrman and Katharina Vajta

Cultural Borders of Europe

NARRATIVES, CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES IN THE PRESENT AND THE PAST

Edited by Mats Andrén, Thomas Lindkvist, Ingmar Söhrman and Katharina Vajta

This very rich anthology, with contributions from many strands of the humanities and social sciences, should enrich the field of border(ing) studies that is now in high demand.

Thomas Lundén, Södertörn University

The cultural borders of Europe are today more visible than ever, and with them comes a sense of uncertainty with respect to liberal democratic traditions: whether treated as abstractions or concrete realities, cultural divisions challenge concepts of legitimacy and political representation as well as the legal bases for citizenship. Thus, an understanding of such borders and their consequences is of utmost importance for promoting the evolution of democracy. *Cultural Borders of Europe* provides a wide-ranging exploration of these lines of demarcation in a variety of regions and historical eras, providing essential insights into the state of European intercultural relations today.

MATS ANDRÉN is Professor of the History of Ideas at the University of Gothenburg, where he also previously served as director of the Centre for European Research. His most recent book is *Nuclear Waste Management and Legitimacy: Nihilism and Responsibility* (Routledge, 2012).

THOMAS LINDKVIST received his doctorate at Uppsala University, and has been a professor of medieval history at the University of Gothenburg since 1999. His research focuses on social, agrarian and political structures in medieval Sweden within a broader European context.

INGMAR SÖHRMAN is Professor of Romance languages at the University of Gothenburg. Among his publications is *Diachronic and Typical Perspectives on Verbs* (John Benjamins, 2013), coedited with Folke Josephson.

KATHARINA VAJTA is senior lecturer in French at the Department of Languages and Literatures at the University of Gothenburg, where she also is Deputy Head of Department and Head of Education. She is a member of the steering committee of the University of Gothenburg's Centre for European Research.

EDITED BY ANDRÉN, LINDKVIST,
SÖHRMAN AND VAJTA

CULTURE
BOARD
OF
EUROPE



CULTURAL BORDERS OF EUROPE

Narratives, Concepts and Practices in the Present and the Past

Edited by Mats Andréén, Thomas Lindkvist, Ingmar Söhrman
and Katharina Vajta



berghahn

NEW YORK • OXFORD

www.berghahnbooks.com

Published in 2017 by
Berghahn Books
www.berghahnbooks.com

© 2017 Mats Andrén, Thomas Lindkvist, Ingmar Söhrman and Katharina Vajta

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system now known or to be invented, without written permission of the publisher.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Andrén, Mats, editor of compilation. | Lindkvist, Thomas, 1949- editor of compilation. | Söhrman, Ingmar, editor of compilation. | Vajta, Katharina, editor of compilation.
Title: Cultural borders of Europe : narratives, concepts and practices in the present and the past / edited by Mats Andrén, Thomas Lindkvist, Ingmar Söhrman and Katharina Vajta.
Description: New York : Berghahn Books, 2017. | Series: Making sense of history : studies in historical cultures ; volume 30 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017018279 (print) | LCCN 2017024868 (ebook) | ISBN 9781785335914 (e-book) | ISBN 9781785335907 (hardback : alkaline paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Cultural pluralism--Europe. | Multiculturalism--Europe. | Ethnicity--Political aspects--Europe. | Borderlands--Political aspects--Europe. | Borderlands--Social aspects--Europe. | Liberalism--Europe. | Democracy--Europe. | Europe--Ethnic relations--Political aspects. | Europe--Politics and government--1989-
Classification: LCC D2009 (ebook) | LCC D2009 .C85 2017 (print) | DDC 306.094--dc23
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017018279>

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-78533-590-7 hardback
ISBN 978-1-78533-591-4 ebook

§ Cultural Borders of Europe §

MAKING SENSE OF HISTORY

Studies in Historical Cultures

General Editor: Stefan Berger

Founding Editor: Jörn Rüsen

Bridging the gap between historical theory and the study of historical memory, this series crosses the boundaries between both academic disciplines and cultural, social, political and historical contexts. In an age of rapid globalization, which tends to manifest itself on an economic and political level, locating the cultural practices involved in generating its underlying historical sense is an increasingly urgent task.

For a full volume listing, please see back matter

Contents

List of Figures and Tables	vii
Introduction	1
<i>Mats Andréén and Ingmar Söhrman</i>	
Part I The Challenges of Religious Borders	
1. Territorial and Religious Identifications in Europe	21
<i>Linda Berg</i>	
2. Europe with or without Muslims: Creating and Maintaining Cultural Boundaries	40
<i>Göran Larsson and Riem Spielhaus</i>	
3. Ilm al-Hududiyya: Un-Inheriting Eurocentricity	54
<i>Klas Grinell</i>	
Part II Linguistic Borders in Practice	
4. When the Intercultural Goes National: Textbooks as Sites of Struggle	71
<i>Katharina Vajta</i>	
5. The Pluricentric Borders of Bavaria	85
<i>Barbara Loester</i>	
6. The Influence of Imagined Linguistic Performances	100
<i>Ingmar Söhrman</i>	

Part III Mental Spaces and Barriers

7. Mental Barriers Replacing Nation-State Borders 117
Fernand Fehlen
8. Crossing Borders and Redefining Oneself: The Treacherous
Life of Aino Kallas 128
Katarina Leppänen
9. Evolving Symbolic Divides in Basque Language Promotion
Logos 143
Johan Järlehed

Part IV Scholars Making Borders

10. The Controversial Concept of European Identity 159
Mats Andréén
11. The EU as a 'Large Space'? Carl Schmitt and the
Contemporary Dilemmas of Political Rituals and Cultural
Borders 170
Jon Wittrock
12. How Prehistory Becomes Crucial for Border Making 184
Per Cornell
- Conclusion 196
Thomas Lindkvist and Katharina Vajta
- Index 201

Figures and Tables

Figures

1.1	Ethnicity, religion, nationality or part of country as one of three most important aspects of identification, per country (per cent).	29
1.2	Religious denomination (none, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim or other), per country in the EU27 (per cent).	30
1.3	National pride, per country in the EU27 (per cent).	31
7.1	Partitions of the former Duchy of Luxembourg.	119
7.2	The Greater Region without inner borders.	123
9.1	Map of the Basque Country, showing the seven historical territories, the Spanish–French border, and the autonomous communities of the Basque Country and Navarre.	145
9.2 and 9.3	Traditional nationalist graphic repertoire in early logos.	150
9.4 and 9.5	Stylized local symbols free from nationalist connotations (<i>Ibilaldia</i> 2002, 2003).	152

Tables

1.1	Religious denomination (none, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim or other) and national pride, in the EU27 (per cent).	31
1.2	Religious denomination and geographical belonging/feeling very close to different territorial levels, in EU27 / 18 European countries (per cent).	33
1.3	Correlations between religious denominations and territorial identifications in 18 European countries.	34
1.4	Religious denomination and different categories of multilevel attachments, in 18 European countries (per cent, correlations).	35

Introduction

MATS ANDRÉN AND INGMAR SÖHRMAN

A new, more complex cultural landscape is evolving in Europe. However, these changes are often based on the past and we can now see how these borders have developed, changed and partly turned into new frontiers. A number of mental borders are becoming increasingly important, mostly based on imagined cultural differences that in some cases create new, and in other cases strengthen old, identities. There is also the desire to construct or re-establish cultural borders in order to reinforce these identities and cultural communities. Given that the ongoing integration process of the European Union poses endless occasions for disputes, avoidance, and encroachment of cultural borders, there is a growing need to understand the cultural dimension of their construction and reconstruction.

At first sight, these tendencies seem to contradict the idea of shrinking economic and legal borders in Europe. Although these borders between the nation-states of contemporary Europe have weakened, the cultural ones are more visible than ever, although it is not always possible to classify them in such a strict manner, given that they exist mostly in the realm of perception. The idea of culturally homogeneous states has never been true and it is now being fundamentally challenged by migration, new political concepts, and resurgent claims of the cultural components of national identities from long-neglected historical minorities.

The new landscape of presumed or real cultural borders is not easily identified on a map. It never was, but a globalized world has brought the

issue to the fore. Due to the ongoing process, there is a need to understand the various dimensions of cultural borders, their construction and reconstruction. Questions may arise concerning culture, language and religion as markers of cultural borders. We need to know how and why cultural borders attain legitimacy; that is, how they are used. This is also the central question to which this book is offering tentative answers and providing examples from different parts of Europe and from different periods. The idea is to show a variety of relevant manifestations of cultural borders in modern and previous times in Europe that will help us to understand what is taking place now in different countries and regions.

The formation of cultural borders in contemporary Europe has entered a new phase. Historian Peter Burke (1998: 35–40; 2009) describes the period as one of cultural exchange and transformation, predicting that new cultural ‘ecotypes’ will emerge. More of these new patterns are now visible and they sometimes merge partly or totally with previous patterns and ideas. Cultural borders are formed as regional or local manifestations of a general European, or even global, pattern of increased emphasis on cultural diversity and regional cultural identity. This trend brings a sense of uncertainty to the liberal democratic traditions of European nation-states and the institutions of the EU. It also challenges the concepts of legitimacy and political representation, as well as the cultural and legal bases for citizenship. Thus, thorough research on cultural borders and their consequences in Europe is of the utmost importance, not only as an academic exercise, but also as a way to achieve a broader understanding and promote the evolution of democracy. Greater awareness of the ways that cultural borders are dealt with in Europe requires a more profound insight into their relationship with issues of belonging and loyalty, as well as the strategies that have emerged to deal with this task.

‘Europeanization’ needs to be redefined, given that it involves the merging of specific sets of national cultures. This becomes problematic when it excludes its Muslim and Jewish heritage and suppresses the continent’s religious diversity and identities that are not perceived as connected to a nation. Another complex, widely discussed issue is whether economic and legal integration also requires cultural coalescence. In recent decades the EU has striven to create and define a framework for a common culture and identity by means of symbols such as a flag, an anthem and the concept of European citizenship (Shore 2000; Fornäs 2012). Meanwhile, the proliferation of European cultural identities must be understood in order to grasp the meaning and consequences of changing cultural borders. Of central importance to this book on the cultural borders of Europe is to discuss and present important aspects of these identities, as well as cultural borders, as a means of establishing a common set of values.

The book is intended for academics and advanced students of European studies who need a broader background on which to base their research and papers. It will also serve as a source for journalists and eager readers with a wider interest in these cultural borderlands. It differs from other books dealing with this topic in that it gives a very broad perspective in regard to specific cases.

Proceeding from the Concepts of Border and Culture

The history of the concepts of *border* and *culture* offers a number of insights that might seem surprising. It also provides us with an initial framework from which we can embark upon this endeavour. The etymology of the word 'border' can be traced back to the far-flung no man's land between the English and the Scots in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the term 'border' referred not only to the dividing line between the two countries but also to the surrounding areas. 'Limit' (from the Latin *limes*) originally meant 'legal limitation on power or authority', and is slightly older than 'border' (about 1400, from the Old French *bordëur*, which was derived from the Frankish *bord/bort* = side), as it goes back to the Roman fortifications in Africa and Europe, which were called *limites* (Barnhart 1988: 434).

There is a crucial difference between the two meanings of border. The first refers to a link with that which lies beyond; the second refers to a frontier, a line that must not be crossed – the legal system of a state and the power of its ruler end there. In other words, a border represents both that which it circumscribes and that which it excludes, but the exclusionary aspect has grown stronger and gained the upper hand during the last two centuries. Dimensions of this trend can be identified in the conscious creation of national languages and cultures (Andersson 1991; Liedman 1997: 153ff; Berger and Lorenz 2010; Hirschi 2012: 105). Literature and folkloristic perceptions are of the utmost importance in cultivating and promoting the culture, creating a basis of political and cultural differences. The role of literature is often downplayed in these discussions, but it has an impact as a means of both describing a complex cultural crossroads and promoting a regional or recently unified language, as has been the case in Rhaeto-Romance Switzerland (Grisons), where literature is written both in various Romance varieties and in the unified language of Rumantsch Grischun. This is also the case in the Basque Country in Spain. Basque author Bernardo Atxaga stresses that literature has an important role to play in countering the predominant political discourses of contemporary society (Atxaga 2013: 54–56). Images and ideas are easily manipulated for various purposes, and they need to be recognized for what they are.

Johann Gottfried Herder stands out as the main philosopher of the reconstructed concept of border in symbiosis with culture. Herder's idea was that national borders stemmed from autochthonous cultures. German culture was the product of history, strengthened by the creation of a national language (Herder 1965: 259f, 272f, 385–92, 484f). He emphasized cultural borders, whereas his philosophy included the idea of *Humanität* shared by all human beings (ibid.: 157ff, 375ff). From Herder's perspective, cultures set specific borders while humanity violated them, but he did not advocate a world without borders; national cultures were to be preserved. His ideas were taken up by Romantic nationalists, who interpreted them as vital to promoting national identity, especially among those peoples – Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Italians – who did not have their own state (Andrén 2001: 85ff). Presently other peoples, such as the Samis, Galicians, Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Flemings, Scots and Roma, are stateless. Most are not demanding their own state, but one can still wonder how far this fragmentation into small homogeneous states should continue.

The modern concept of border emerged from this tension between cultural dividing lines and an all-embracing universalism. Two observations are relevant at this point. First, if cultural borders are regarded as a given, the problem is how to deal with them. The hypothesis advanced by Samuel P. Huntington that future conflicts will arise from cultural and religious tenets is based on such an assumption (Huntington 1993) – as are the ideas of tolerance and multiculturalism. However this last concept may refer to both legal recognition and a norm. In analysis it is more accurate to use multiculturalism as a more neutral term related to the current situation without any ideological implications. The ongoing controversy about these two terms infuses the management of cultural borders with a great deal of conflict. Second, if universalism is seen as the fundamental concept, cultural borders should not exist – perhaps they are actually evil and a source of conflict. Ideas such as cosmopolitanism, universalism and globalism are essential to such a perspective, but it is also important to know their purpose. While globalism and universalism might seem ideal for many people, they can also be tools for undermining regional cultures and minority languages. Many nineteenth-century liberals and socialists saw these regional languages and cultures as atavisms that should have been allowed to die out as soon as possible. Signs in the bars of early twentieth-century Brittany warned, 'Défense de cracher par terre et de parler breton' (Spitting on the floor and speaking Breton is prohibited) (Piriou 1977: 9–46).

Objections need to be raised to the above juxtaposition of cultural borders and an all-embracing universalism. These concepts do not have equal empirical status. Cultural borders belong to the real world, having consequences for contemporary society, but they are nevertheless human artefacts that change over time. Their importance varies depending on the

person you are talking to and the particular context. Although someone may be highly influenced by their cultural identity, s/he still has a choice of remaining within this framework, taking on another identity or living with both. If it is a question of religious identity, moving to another part of the world can be a way of maintaining it (such as non-conformist European Protestants who left for America in the seventeenth century) or removing oneself from the predominant society. This can entail anything from an accent to a dress code, either voluntary or the result of peer pressure, gender-related or not. Nothing is as simple as it appears. The answers are often very complex. Anthropologists have paid a great deal of attention to the ways that cultural borders are politicized, whereas political and economic borders can be culturalized (Wright 1998; Ivanescu 2010). Furthermore, cultural borders may be fixed to a greater or lesser degree and for longer or shorter periods of time. Meanings are always in flux – administrative and legal borders sometimes clash with cultural identities (e.g. Eder 2006; Delanty 2006).

The national cultures of contemporary Europe need to be redefined as the nation-states become more multicultural due to an awareness of immigrant groups and national minorities, as well as their demands and rights. So attentiveness is demanded when talking about ‘national borders’, as the accurate expression is mostly ‘state borders’. Particularistic identities are rapidly emerging, relaxing some borders while enforcing others. ‘Multiculturalism’ may refer to parallel cultures, which may or may not accept each other, but always on terms set by the majority (Söhrman 2004: 65–80). Literature is often a reliable reflection of how these situations are perceived by various groups. References to ‘second generation immigrants’ or a ‘regional minority’ may leave them with a feeling of not belonging anywhere. The very concept gives the impression that the origin of one’s parents is all that matters, even though one may have spent one’s whole life in the country. It would be more appropriate to be specific – for example, ‘first generation Germans’. At least that label is inclusive. So much prejudice and exclusion is abetted by the use of ‘ethnic’ terms. This is surely one of the factors that led (and leads) to riots in European cities such as London, Paris and Stockholm. Such social, economic and political borders are difficult to separate from cultural borders. But this book will focus on identities, especially national identities, that have an ideological and historical basis, and cultural borders that have appeared and disappeared as a result of historical currents, ideological awareness, and relationships with neighbouring peoples who do not belong to the same cultural community even though there may not be political borders between them. The situation in the former Yugoslavia shows how complex the issue is. The old Serbian majority that dominated the army is spread out across most of the new countries and has become a minority in these new states. The same is true for many Russians in the Baltic countries.

The transition from a powerful majority to a subservient minority is not easy, affecting self-esteem and the sense of national identity. Have these new minorities maintained their old national identities? Are new cultural borders emerging? In the case of old minorities and a linguistic majority in a neighbouring country, the issue of identity arises. Does the Hungarian minority in Transylvania have a Hungarian identity or one of their own? Is the Russian-speaking minority in eastern Ukraine Russian or just Russian-speaking? Whose interests do these various definitions serve? Many ideological and personal interests are at stake. The examples – Belgium, Luxemburg, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, and so on – are legion.

Meanwhile ‘universalism’, also referred to as ‘Europeanization’ and ‘cosmopolitization’ by Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande (Beck and Grande 2004), is a growing phenomenon in politics and in the society as a whole. When political projects and civic responsibility go beyond the cultural borders of nation-states, cultural identities and borders become blurred. Such changes are immanent with possibilities both of new openness and threats of intolerance. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2006) and other scholars have warned of the dangers associated with current modes of cultural and national identification, all the more relevant in light of the financial crisis of 2008 and its long aftermath.

The crossroads between cultural borders and national identities represents an important field for further empirical and theoretical research. One objective in this anthology is to embark on such research. We are well aware of its pitfalls; a Scandinavian, German or French researcher who relates national identity to a nation-state without considering old minorities with varying ideas and with cultural borders (the Samis in northern Scandinavia, Sorbs in Germany, Alsatians in France, etc.) will probably carry different ideological baggage from a Spanish researcher who is aware of turbulent national activism in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia. Researchers may like or dislike these discourses, but there is no way around them as they threaten the very existence of the Spanish state. Extremists in many European countries accept neither immigrants nor national minorities. Thus, awareness of these identities and cultural borders, their interrelationships and complexity, is essential to the understanding of modern society. The promotion of one particular standpoint can easily be used for political purposes that were never the intention of the researchers who came up with the standpoint.

Previous Literature as a Springboard

The chapters in this volume explore the cultural borders of Europe in their relation to the construction of European ideas, identities and institutions,