



CULTURAL SECURITY

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ROADMAP:

- **Week 1: Introduction to the course. What is cultural security.**
- **Week 2:** : History and theories of cultural security.
- **Week 3:** Identity and belonging.
- **Week 4:** Nationalisation of culture.
- **Week 5:** Cultural universalism.
- **Week 6:** Religion as a security issue.
- **Week 7:** Globalisation of culture.
- **Week 8:** The West and the Rest: non-Western approaches to culture in world affairs.
- **Week 9:** European Community – multicultural policies in contemporary Europe.
- **Week 10:** Clash of cultures.
- **Week 11:** Culture and Violence: cultural underpinnings of conflicts.
- **Week 12:** Main cultural security challenges.
- **Week 13:** Consolidation and summary.

RECAP:

- What is culture what is civilisation;
- Two traditions;
- Characteristic features of culture;
- Culture and space – four ways of interaction;
- Cultural diffusion - characteristic;
- National culture as a cultural fact;
- Epos;
- Genos;
- Logos;
- Ethos;
- Topos;
- Political culture and civic culture.

TODAY (AND NEXT WEEK):

- Culture and Security. Theoretical approaches:
 - a) Factors and variables
 - a) “The End of History”- Francis Fukuyama
 - b) “Clash of Civilisations”- Samuel P. Huntington
 - c) “Jihad versus McWorld” - Benjamin R. Barber
 - d) The Third Wave" – Alvin and Heidi Toffler
 - e) "Global ecumene" - Ulf Hannerz
 - f) “Global cultural flows” - Arjun Appadurai
 - g) “Multiple modernities” - Shmuel Eisenstadt
 - h) “Glocalisation” - Roland Robertson
 - i) “Collage of cultures” - Ryszard Kapuściński

CULTURE AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

Culture is:

- A space where political processes take place;
- the subject of political action;
- determinant of international affairs (political and economic);
- warrant/basis of ethnic/national sovereignty;
- The importance of culture in two aspects:
- A determinant of political action;
- an object of political decisions.

CULTURE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Political affairs can be conceptualised as:

- **Every deliberate and organised activity directed abroad**
- Be it political, economic or cultural in nature,
- **between the participants, i.e. organized entities**
- **Conscious,**
- **respecting (or seeking to create new) rules and principles.**

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

- norms and rules of conduct are generally negotiated;
- Currently: Western civilization (international law);
- **space of international relations;**
- Actions **more or less culturally determined;**
- **cultural factor is a crucial factor.**

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

- A facilitator of cooperation
- Factor hampering cooperation
- Neutral element for international cooperation
- culture as a sign of existence and recognition

CULTURE AS AN OBJECT OF POLITICAL DECISIONS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

- **cultural policy** or export/exchange
- sector of **international cooperation**;
- **constant evolution**;
- The **impact of policy on culture**.

CULTURE AS AN OBJECT OF POLITICAL DECISIONS (DEPENDENT VARIABLE)

- One of the tasks of the state is to create a **national culture**.
- a **support for artistic activity (narrow approach)**, and/or maintenance or **patterns of behavior, values, norms and sanctions (wide approach)**;
- **Culture is export goods** (soft power).

SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL FACTORS

- Various types of state influence on the culture
- Cultural relativism
- Cultural diplomacy
- Culture in EU policy
- Policies towards national and ethnic minorities

SOCIETAL FACTORS

- **Democratization of social life;**
- Increased cultural competences;
- active participation;
- cultural institutions;
- **Democratisation of culture;**
- The audience is unlimited;
- Mass culture and mass media.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

- **The need for sponsorship;**
- the state and private sources;
- The scale of the funding;
- **Adequate financial resources.**
- **Culture as the source of income/profit.**

TECHNOLOGICAL FACTORS

- Breakthroughs :
- Printing press:
- Radio;
- Cinema and television;
- Internet;
- Transport and communication.

MAIN THEORIES OF CULTURAL SECURITY

MAIN THEORIES OF CULTURAL SECURITY

- Selected important theses:
- Leading theories agree on three things:
- **They agree on the cultural diversity of the world;**
- **Believe in the possibility of overcoming the difficulties arising from the existing cultural differences;**
- **State's interests, culture, morality as primary.**

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

- At first an essay in 1989, then a book (End of History and a Last Man, 1992);
- what is essential and what is contingent or accidental in world history;
- History with capital „H“;
- The triumph of the West,;
- Universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

- Not an original concept;
- Mankind has progressed through a series of stages;
- Each stage = concrete forms of social organization;
- History culminates;
- Man as a product of concrete historical and social environment.

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

- End of history means the end of violence;
- Contradictions drive history;
- The role of ideas.

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

„This consciousness may not be explicit and self-aware, as are modern political doctrines, but may rather take the form of religion or simple cultural and moral habits. And yet this realm of consciousness in the long run necessarily becomes manifest in the material world, indeed create the material world in its own image. Consciousness is cause not effect...”

Fukuyama, 1989

- Goes against school of **deterministic materialism**.

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

- no need for generals or statesmen; what remains is primarily economic activity;
- The roots lie in the realm of consciousness and culture;
- consciousness will remake the material world in its own image;
- Both economics and politics presuppose an autonomous prior state of consciousness that makes them possible.

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

- Fukuyama: Are there any fundamental "contradictions" in human life that cannot be resolved in the context of modern liberalism, that would be resolvable by an alternative political-economic structure?
- Both fascism and communism proved to be failed projects;
- Religion and nationalism?

END OF HISTORY – FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

- Nationalism not one single phenomenon;
- Nationalist movements do not have a universal political program;
- historical and a post-historical world;

„The end of history will be a very sad time. The struggle for recognition, the willingness to risk one's life for a purely abstract goal, the worldwide ideological struggle that called forth daring, courage, imagination, and idealism, will be replaced by economic calculation, the endless solving of technical problems, environmental concerns, and the satisfaction of sophisticated consumer demands. In the post-historical period there will be neither art nor philosophy, just the perpetual caretaking of the museum of human history.” (Fukuyama, 1989)

BASIC THEORIES

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS – SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS - HUNTINGTON

- First an essay then a book;
- Culture as the fundamental source of conflict in the new world;
- Nation states vs civilisations;
- The clash of civilisations:
- Western, Confucian (China is a civilisation pretending to be a state – Lucian Pye), Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic Orthodox, Latin American and (possibly) African.

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS - HUNTINGTON

- First, Second, and Third World no longer relevant;
- Countries grouped in terms of their culture and civilisation;
- The highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have;
- common objective elements and by the subjective self-identification.

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS - HUNTINGTON

- Blending and overlapping;
- Sharp but real;
- Dynamic;
- human history have been the history of civilisations.

WHY CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS?

1. Differences among civilisations:

- God and man;
- Man and society;
- Man and the state;
- Inside families;
- Rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy.

WHY CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS?

2. Globalisation.

3. Economic modernisation.

Revival of religion and "religious fundamentalists".

WHY CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS?

4. Dual role of the West:

Antioccidentalism – antiamericanism?

elites versus the populaces

WHY CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS?

5. Cultural characteristics/differences less mutable

Religion vs ethnicity

6. Economic regionalism is increasing.

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS - HUNTINGTON

Occurs at two levels: (1) micro and (2) macro.

1. Along the fault lines between civilisations.
2. States from different civilisations.

“The Iron Curtain of ideology has been replaced by the Velvet Curtain of culture as the most significant dividing line.”

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS - HUNTINGTON

- the West and Islam;
- 1000 years of history (Islam has bloody borders);
- Western democracy strengthens anti-Western political forces;
- Demography;
- Symmetry.

CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS - HUNTINGTON

- cultural balancing and bandwagoning;
- limited but with the potential to spread;
- There is nothing like „the world community” (the West and the Rest, Kihone Mahbubani);

„The next world war, if there is one, will be a war between civilisations .” Huntington, 1993: 39

BASIC THEORIES

JIHAD VS. MCWORLD – BENJAMIN R. BARBER

JIHAD VS. MCWORLD – BARBER

- Interaction between the West and „the Rest”;
- World trapped between two eternities: race and soul
- tribalism and reactionary fundamentalism and the forces of modernization and economic and cultural globalization .
- cultural monism (McWorld) and cultural fundamentalism (Jihad).

JIHAD

„The first scenario rooted in race holds out the grim prospect of a retribalization of large swaths of humankind by war and bloodshed: a threatened balkanization of nation-states in which culture is pitted against culture, people against people, tribe against tribe, a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and mutuality: against technology, against pop culture, and against integrated markets; against modernity itself as well as the future in which modernity issues.”

Barber (1995, 34:35)

MCWORLD

„The second paints that future in shimmering pastels, a busy portrait of onrushing economic, technological, and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize peoples everywhere with fast music, fast computers, and fast food—MTV, Macintosh, and McDonald's— pressing nations into one homogenous global theme park, one McWorld tied together by communications, information, entertainment, and commerce.”

(Barber 1995: 35)

JIHAD VS. MCWORLD – BARBER

- „Caught between Babel and Disneyland, the planet is falling precipitously apart and coming reluctantly together at the very same moment. (...) The apparent truth, which speaks to the paradox at the core of this book, is that the tendencies of both Jihad and McWorld are at work, both visible sometimes in the same country at the very same instant.”.

(Barber, 1995:35)

Two motifs:

- End of history as a victory of science and reason;
- Apocalypse, i.e. the end of the world as we know it.

THIRD VAWE – ALVIN AND HEIDI TOFFLER

- „Creating a **New Civilization**: The Politics of the Third Wave”, 1995;
- Economy-centric theory;
- Thesis: economic transformations have an impact on cultural processes
- three “waves”:
 1. **The agrarian wave**
 2. **The industrial wave**
 3. **The third wave** is connected with **new technologies**.

THIRD VAWE – ALVIN AND HEIDI TOFFLER

- The new civilisation means „a new style of family life, changes in how we work and how we interact with each other, a new shape of economy, new political conflicts, and most of all – new awareness” [Toffler 1996, p. 17];
- **The waves are not consecutive;**
- **In present times many states feel the „pressure of two or even three waves of changes**, each of different character and pace, and strength” [Toffler 1996, p. 20-21].
- Clashing waves;

THIRD VAWE – ALVIN AND HEIDI TOFFLER

- “the geographical boundaries of these civilisations cannot be delineated by referencing the traditional definitions” [Toffler 1996, p. 27-28];
- Civilisation – a concept “encompassing issues as dramatically different as: technology, family life, religion, culture, politics, economy, social structure, hierarchy of authority, values, sexual ethics and epistemology” [Toffler 1996, p. 29];
- **The modern world has been shaped by the three waves.**

GLOBAL ECUMENE - ULF HANNERZ

- Global ecumene = the total amount of cultural relations and interactions in the world.
- **Thesis 1:** don't look at singular "cultures" but cultural diffusion of various elements;
- **Thesis 2:** Contemporary cultures transcend beyond their temporal and spatial dimensions;
- **Thesis 3:** Cultural exchanges are asymmetrical;
- **Thesis 4:** In every era there are specialised centres;
- **Thesis 5:** There are four scenarios for the future of the global ecumene:

GLOBAL ECUMENE - ULF HANNERZ

1. **Global homogeneity (monism)**
2. **Cultural Saturation**
3. **Cultural deformation:**
 - a) **filtering;**
 - b) **adaptation;**
4. **Cultural amalgam/Creolisation (hybridisation):**

GLOBAL CULTURAL FLOWS – ARJUN APPADURAI

- „**Modernity at Large**: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization” (1996);
- Globalization as a game changer
- Deterritorialization (media and mass migrations);
- Globalization does not mean westernization;
- Local contexts;
- This applies to music, art, patterns, housing, consumption patterns, politics and others.

GLOBAL CULTURAL FLOWS – ARJUN APPADURAI

- Not Americanization, but the expansion of regional centers as a threat;
- Diaspora and multiculturalism;
- The role of migration and media;
- ethnolandscapes;
- Metropolises;
- **reality of "cultural flows" rather than the "melting pot".**

RONALD ROBERTSON - GLOCALISATION

- A term **derived from the Japanese word dochakuka**;
- marketing strategy;
- Globalisation = global + local;
- homogenisation (unification) and heterogenisation (differentiation) occur simultaneously;
- inseparable.

MULTIPLE MODERNITIES - SHMUEL EISENSTADT

- “Utopia and modernity” – comparative analysis of civilisations;
- **Civilizations are constantly changing;**
- There is **no one “modern Western civilization”** (polemic with Fukuyama and Huntington);
- The expansion of the West has different effects on the world:
 - a) the moment insulation ended
 - b) level of development
 - c) the strength of local culture and elite;
 - d) attitude towards changes.

COLLAGE OF CULTURES– RYSZARD KAPUŚCIŃSKI

Chosen theses:

1. the crisis of imagination;
2. rejection of the Other;
3. learning about other cultures;
4. the history of European relations with the Other can be divided into 4 periods:
 - **Merchants and envoys era;**
 - **the era of great geographical discoveries;**
 - **The humanist era;**
 - **the Enlightenment era.**
5. Western civilisation comes to an end:

COLLAGE OF CULTURES– RYSZARD KAPUŚCIŃSKI

- Kapuściński is closest to **Benjamin Barber and Arjun Appadurai**:
- The mechanism around which the modernity revolves (...) **is the struggle of two great forces on the global scales: the forces of desintegration and the forces of integration** [Kapuściński 2007, p. 133];
- the concept of the **world as a rich "collage of cultures"**
- persistence of cultural patterns;
- **Rebuttal to Fukuyama and Huntington**

BASIC CONCEPTS

IDENTITY

WHY IDENTITY?

- the „unexplained variance” (Goldstein 1993);
- Definition?
- Lack of consensus
- Often taken for granted.

IDENTITY

- **a reservoir of belief and value patterns** (Eiser 1995, p. 161 cited in O'Riordan 2001);
- a **set of definitions and roles** (Baumeister 1986, p. 13);
- **affective, normative and cognitive mechanisms;**
- **social identity** (sociological perspective) determined by primarily **group membership** (Kelly & Breinlinger 1996, p. 87);
- **the influence of culture;**
- **influence the political behaviour** (Arena, M. P. & Arigo 2006).

BELONGING:

- Belonging: emotional attachment, feeling safe and “at home”, act of self-identification AND identification by others, a dynamic process, not a reified fixity (Yuval-Davies 2006)
- Where the border between ,us' and the „Other' is?
- What is its shape and how the line is drawn?
- Who is included and who is excluded and why?
- How easy is to join the group?

IDENTITY AND BELONGING:

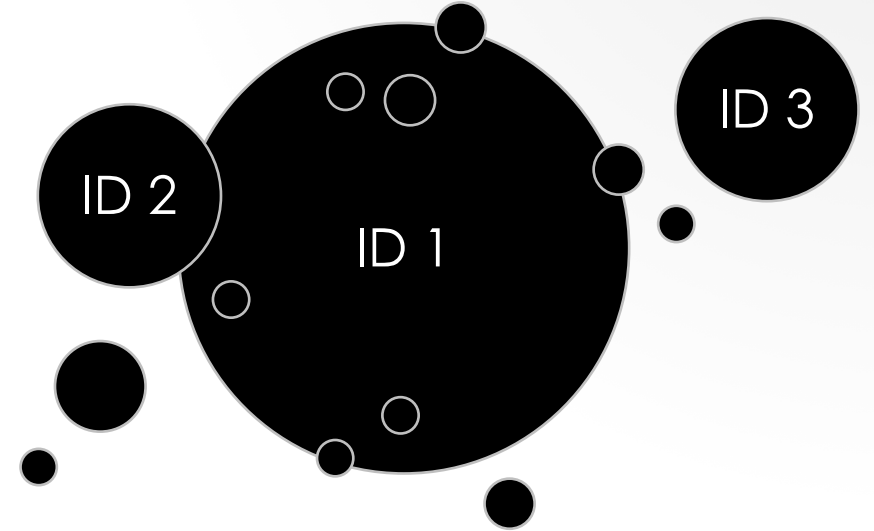
- continuum from the personal to the social
- perceive and define who are the ‚us‘, and therefore, by contrast, who we are not (Bruter 2003, p. 1150);
- ‚the dirty work of boundary maintenance‘ (Crowley 1999)
- „The relationship between the social categories to which individuals perceive themselves to belong and other social categories is crucial.” (Herriot 2009, p. 165).

APPROACHES TO IDENTITY:

I-We-Them Triangle (Cherni 2001)

Four levels of analysis (DeVos 1983):

- Subjective experience of identity;
- Patterns of behaviour;
- The social-structural level;
- Patterns of social interactions.



Multidimensional circles (Liebkiend 1983)

ONE OR MANY IDENTITIES?



INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE IDENTITY?



CONSTRUCTED AND RECONSTRUCTED



- constructed and hence mutable, and malleable.
- shaped and reshaped.

PERHAPS CREATED?



Religious identity can be created anew.

SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL

- the binding temporal dimension
- A continuous process
- Different in various corners of the world.

NOMINAL OR REAL?

- authentic and consistent way.
- How does the variation happen between the same beliefs which ultimately lead to different actions?
- more differences than similarities? Or are the differences irrelevant in view of the commonalities?
- Can an identity that is only ascribed to you be meaningful in any way?

NESTED IDENTITIES (MATRYOSHKA)



conceptualised as concentric circles

CROSS-CUTTING IDENTITIES

- some, but not all, members of one identity group are also members of another identity group



OVERLAPPING IDENTITIES

identities cannot be analysed
as items that are added up
but rather a constituting each
other (Yuval-Davies 2006)



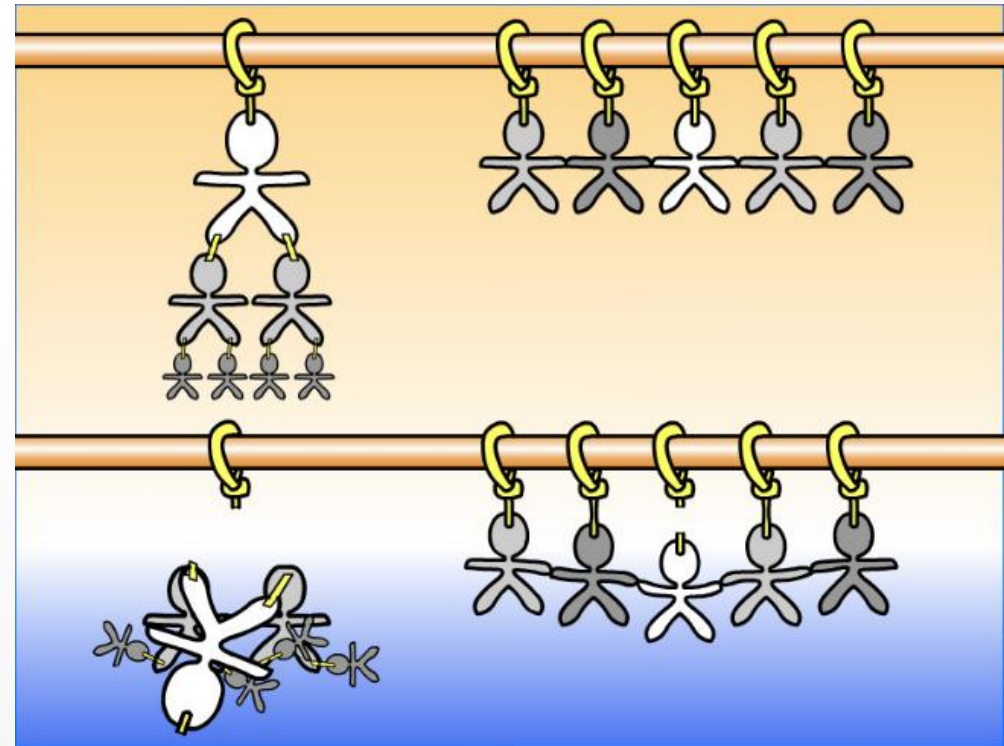
IDENTITY HATS



No gradation of importance.

HIERARCHY OF IDENTITIES

What happens when conflict occurs?



MASTER ROLE?

the principal, dominant identity
(Richard Travisiano 1970 basing on
Parsons' representative role concept
1951).



MASTER ROLE

- **Subordination** or **elimination of other roles and identities**
- **reconciles different aspects of the self**
- **maintains unity** of the “real self.”
- Stands in direct opposition to **compartmentalisation** (Staples and Mauss 1987).
- **in-group vs out-group dynamics** (Henri Tajfel 1974).

IMPLICATIONS

- **specific events** vs **particular social settings**
- **Varying strengths**
- **which one of them is chosen** and **why**;
- **affects the actions** but also **interprets the reality**

POLITICS OR CULTURE?

Demos, ethnos or not?

In essence the debate revolves around two assumptions that identity **either can or cannot be secondary to political structure.**



NEXT WEEK:

FROM CULTURE WARS AND CULTURAL DOMINATION
TO SOFT POWER