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**EU-LAC CULTURAL RELATIONS:
AN ANALYSIS ON EUNIC'S CULTURAL
COOPERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS
AND DEMOCRACY DISCOURSES**

Summary

This paper research focuses on international cultural relations between the EU and Latin America-Caribbean (LAC) through a case study analysis of EUNIC's projects, using Critical Discourse Analysis by Teun A. van Dyke as a methodology and the following theories: World-Systems, Post-colonialism and Human Rights and Democracy Discourse theory. The main research question is: what are the human rights and democracy discourses in cultural relations between EU-LAC cooperation in EUNIC's case and what are some power relations that derive from these regions historical contexts?

In the introduction there is a brief historical contextualization on EU-LAC cultural relations from the historical, political and cultural perspective. In it there is a critical perspective to colonization contexts that have impacted international relations. Moreover, contemporary cultural relations of these regions have been fostered by the historical democratic processes in them. In the case of cultural cooperation with Latin America and the Caribbean, there is a lot of sub-regional organizations, as well as leading cultural diplomacy countries such as Brazil and Mexico, which have bilateral agreements with the EU.

Moreover, world-systems theory discusses on power structures of the global social order that affects cultural relations. It states that the international system is influenced by historical events and global-local tensions as a result of micro and macro contexts. The World-System is characterized as well for having centre-periphery tensions that generate unequal exchanges and dependency under a social system, which is characterized for having members and structures that enable it. Following this theory, there is a debate on post-colonialism, as this theory critically assesses the historical relation with European thought and dependency relations. Lastly, human rights and democracy discourse theory, presents different levels of democracy, those within states, between them and the international system. This theory presents a landscape where democracy on a global scale is at tension with national based interests, but human rights and democracy discourse aims to raise consciousness. This aim is lobbied through the political legitimization of human rights. Moreover, this theory looks for a consensus on universal rights through communication or discourse, which is the source of analysis for this paper.

In the second chapter, there is an exposure of all the public EUNIC projects with Latin American and Caribbean countries in its main content. In this presentation of the empirical material, critical discourse analysis is conducted through institutional where institutional values are portrayed. Therefore, the research question of this paper is: what are human rights and democracy discourses in cultural relations between EU-LAC and what power relations derive from these regions historical contexts?

EUNIC (EU National Institutes of Culture) values and goals are strongly based on knowledge sharing, capacity building and intercultural dialogue. They have three types of projects with the LAC region: 1) European Spaces of Culture, 2) projects with EU delegations and 3) Cluster Fund projects. In European Spaces of Culture there is a goal to have an innovative approach to cultural collaborations, which strongly involves local partners, as well as aims to create shared leadership, going beyond the diversity of European cultures and promoting sustainable

development. The European Spaces of Culture project Triángulo Teatro (1) is a set of theatre performance that aims for regional exchange and showcases European dramaturgy through the work of selected Guatemalan, Honduran and Salvadorian theatre companies. From EU delegations projects, Cuba and Bolivia hold two initiatives in their territory: Cuba with CLIC- Culture to Connect and Bolivia with Gender Equality through Art. In the former there is a focus on developing the Cuban Cultural and Creative Industries, as well as fostering capacity building. In the Bolivia case, there is an aim for gender equality and sexual diversity for the civil society sector in this country through the aforementioned project. Furthermore, documented EUNIC projects with EU Cluster Funds are based in Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay and Argentina. In the case of Brazil, there has been two editions of Casa Europa, one dedicated to remembering the 1968 events in Brazil and Europe such as student movements against repressive governments and discussing freedom of expression in the country; as well as Casa Europa the Future of Museums, where there was a reflection after the 2018 fire on the Sao Paulo National Museum and focused on exchange and awareness raising. Moreover, Youth Wind & Percussion Orquestra, has its focus on inclusivity towards young people and knowledge sharing and professionalization.

In the case of Mexico, FlashAct, is a project thought to foster collaborations related to art, science and technology for citizen participation in relation to sustainable development with the participation of Panama, Guatemala, Honduras and Dominican Republic as well. Another project for the country is Music Femlab, where intercultural dialogue and gender equality in the electronic music scene were the main objectives. Furthermore, Uruguay, (E)uropean (U)ruguay Comics para el Futuro de Nuestro Medio Ambiente, has as a main objective to foster awareness on environmental issues in the EU and Uruguay. Finally, Argentina's project Migration Verbal Portraits, generates a dialogue on migrations issues in Europe, as well as a remembrance of historical migration patterns between Europe and Argentina.

Furthermore, the empirical material not only consisted of the analysis of public documentation on LAC projects but of an interview with EUNIC's director, Gitte Zschoch, where through a coding process there was an identification of repeating topics regarding human rights and democracy discourses in EUNIC's work with the Latin American region. In this regard, values and goals such as intercultural dialogue, mutual understanding and listening, bottom-up approaches, fair collaboration, equality were shared and emphasized and are derived from human rights and democracy notions. Moreover, this interview shows that there is an interest for having a new approach to cultural relations, which consists of involving local actors and needs.

Finally, there is a strong human rights and democracy discourse behind projects related to the Latin American region in EUNIC's work. This is a result of institutional discourses, which are partially embedded in EU institutional discourse. Moreover, the projects all consisted mainly of bilateral relations e.g. Europe with an specific LAC country. This is a result of Latin America not having a strong regional consolidation, which can foster stronger bi-regional cultural cooperation.

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

In this paper I will research international cultural relations between Europe and the Latin America-Caribbean region through the analysis of a case study of a contemporary cultural relations. Even though the general context is on EU-LAC relations, my case study will be on EU National Institutes of Culture (EUNIC) cultural relations, which consists of three types of projects: 1) *Triángulo Teatro* project of the European Spaces of Culture, 2) EU Cluster Funds projects and 3) EU delegations projects in the LAC region. *Triángulo Teatro* is focused on Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala; EU Delegations have projects in Cuba and Bolivia respectively; finally, there are the EUNIC Cluster Fund projects in Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and Peru. The main research question of this research is as follows: what are the human rights and democracy discourses in cultural relations between EU-LAC cooperation and what are some power relations that derive from these regions historical contexts? For sub questions see: 2.1 Methodology and Research Questions. In this introduction I will briefly present Europe and Latin America-Caribbean historical and cultural relations, as a background into the preceding research. In the first chapter I introduce my theoretical framework, in the second chapter present the empirical material, which will be based on institutional communication, documents and an interview that will be analysed through critical discourse analysis.

Undoubtedly, Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe have historical ties that bind them together. Though these relations have fostered cultural cooperation, they as well are questioned under neo-colonization relations. It is through “the realization of a European model of thought and customary practices that was used as an instrument of order” (Landaeta Mardones and Espinoza Lolas 2015, 8) during the colonization historical period. Therefore, things such as language, religion and more cultural influences of the past have been fundamental to understanding how these regions are linked in the present time and their cultural relations are shaped in present time. Furthermore, after colonization Latin American and Caribbean countries have gone through processes of independence and democratization, which have shifted their national contexts. “During the latter part of the twentieth century Latin American societies emerged from an era of authoritarian regimes and began processes of democratic renewal” (Latta and Wittman 2010, 107). This gave the different countries the independence to express national, regional and local identities in postcolonial times but structural social challenges were still present. Therefore, the relation between these two regions is inevitable on a cultural level, but political power relations have to be taken into consideration for international cooperation and cultural relations analysis.

The analysis of power relations in cultural cooperation projects has been increasingly relevant due to interest of a more fair international exchange. From the work of international organizations - enablers of cultural cooperation - there has been debate on fair cultural cooperation from organizations such as DutchCulture and the German Commission to UNESCO (Creative Europe Desk NL 2018, 1; Deutsche Kommission 2020, 1). The overall power

relations between the Global North and Global South are essential to understanding a concept of fair cultural cooperation and overall a non neo-colonial approach to cultural relations.

These demands for a power balance could be attributed not only to modern democratization processes in the southern hemisphere. The globalization phenomenon as well, exacerbated a more vigilant international community. After globalization and its process of increasing social, economic and political international exchange and interdependency (Durrer and Henze 1, 2020) international perspectives have been adopted and specific policies and programmes are undertaken by governments and institutions (Ibid), these translate to political phenomena in cultural relations. The international community, further developed by the globalization phenomenon, has been held accountable by the demand of having more transparency and more conscious reasoning behind its work. This affects post-colonial thought and critical analysis to contemporary political exchanges.

The history of EU and LAC cultural cooperation increased in the twentieth century, after the Second World War. The main documented exchanges are between Spanish speaking countries where “Hispanic American cultural cooperation gained relevance, which broadened into Ibero-American dimensions during the eighties and nineties, primarily financed and influenced by Spain” (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, 4). The cultural cooperation agreements and activities between the EU and LAC started being conducted in post-colonial and post-war times, where Nation-States of both regions were strengthened by their democratic processes. Furthermore, the social, political and economic situations of these two regions were different post World War II as in Europe there was “a catalyst for a renewed interest in European unity” (Unwin 2013, 3) and in this quest for a European regional identity, the European Union was founded officially in 1993 (Unwin 2013, 11) but not without ratification problems in member states at the beginning (Ibid). In the Latin American context, the political circumstances left the region struggling with dictatorships and repressive governments. It was not until the 2000’s that there was a stronger democratic process that allowed for cultural cooperation to be practiced in nations from the region. The beginning of the century saw a left wing political movement where “the underlying narratives on the relationship between Latin America and Europe were reinterpreted” (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, 25). This new way of conducting cultural cooperation amongst these regions was a result of these historical events that influenced their cultural relations frameworks after both of the regions violent regional episodes.

The historical turn in Latin America brought cultural cooperation changes and saw political leadership from specific nations. There has been documented stronger participation of countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Colombia (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, 25) and from EU Member States towards Latin America: Germany, Spain, France (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, 26) and former Member, the United Kingdom. In Latin America and the Caribbean besides a regional organization, there are a variety of important subregional entities such as Southern Common Market (Mercosur), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and some that encompass a relation with Spain and Portugal such as the Organization of Iberoamerican States (OEI). The multiplicity of sub regional organizations in the region can be seen as a fragmentation of building a stronger

regional integration in cultural cooperation with other regions such as Europe. Some of the policy instruments of these cultural cooperation actors are international agreements, in the region there is some on sub regional levels such as: “framework cooperation agreement with Mercosur, and the agreements entered into with CARIFORUM, and the Central and Andean America countries” (Crusafon 2015, 226). There is as well a strong nation-based cooperation with Europe, for example Mexico and Brazil have cultural programmes with the EU (Crusafon 2015, 226). These two countries are of interest to EU policy, mainly Brazil, which both will be briefly analysed in this research.

Moreover, on the regional level the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) was officially created in 2011, with the aim to provide a regional integration (CELAC n.d.). But with pre-existing sub regional organizations, its practice has not been as smooth, as this organization “enters a crowded regional space and duplicates services already provided by other international bodies” (Kennedy and Beaton 2016, 53). This poses concerns of regional and subregional integration and representation, as if sub-regional organizations form could be for identity or practicality reasons. One factor to take into consideration on an over Latin America and Caribbean level is language, as the CELAC has 18 of its Member States from Spanish speaking countries, 12 English speaking, 1 French speaking and 1 Dutch speaking country (EU-LAC Focus, n.d.). Therefore an organization aiming to represent the region has the challenge to represent its diverse subregional identities, as well the diversity of its languages, otherwise subregional organizations can seem a stronger option for all the nations that are supposed to be represented.

After the Cold War, there was a historical turn in Latin American cultural policies context. In this period in time, “Latin American and Caribbean countries have embarked on a process to institutionalise and diversify their cultural policy within their possibilities” (Bonet, Négrier and Zamorano 2020, 42). Though, still with these developments on a regional level, the EU-LAC relations had their challenges, especially due to the socioeconomic context of the LAC region, as still there was an “uneven development of national models and the institutional fragility of emerging cultural diplomacy is conveyed in the narratives, resources and levels of involvement in supranational cultural action” (Ibid). The national development of some of the nation-states conforming the region posed difficulties for cultural cooperation as social challenges were straining.

Furthermore, the EU had an interest on cultural external relations in relation to the European political project of regional values. It seems that culture in Europe was intended “for purposes of enhancing a sense of transnational identity and citizenship” (Dewey 2010, 114). This regional identity and values become essential to building a regional cooperation with foreign regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover, the EU seeks for its values to be projected across the Globe, through “the importance of cultural diplomacy and cultural cooperation in advancing and communicating throughout the world the EU’s and the member states’ interests and the values that make up European culture; [and stress] the need for the EU to act as a (world) player with a global perspective and global responsibility” (Crusafon 2015, 227). These values are explicitly stated in its foreign policy and more specifically on the EU strategy

for International Cultural Relations that guides the cooperation between the aforementioned regions.

Contrary to the EU, the CELAC, as the main regional organization representing the Latin America-Caribbean region, has had more consolidation struggles since its foundation in 2011. One critique to the organization is that it does not seem to have a clear objective and some of the representatives of its Member States seem to aim for the CELAC to be a countermovement to the power of the United States of America over the region, while others look for regional integration (Kennedy and Beaton 2016, 53). This political landscape makes it complex for Member States wishing for the latter option to be the focus of regional politics, as other political motives are behind some key Member States. In this matter, the LAC region could assess this critique and strengthen a regional identity and the regional cultural project.

The regional integration and identity of Latin America and Caribbean would serve as a progress for the region to unite on common problems and values, those of which foster cultural relations. There are common cultural and historical connections amongst the regional countries, those of which have often been the argumentation behind trying to promote its regional integration, but in the political reality it has not been in these countries priorities and it is not certain how regional identity is being perceived. These concerns with regional integration affect cultural cooperation in practice, as there seems to be a stronger subregional or bilateral cooperation with the EU but a regional structure could strengthen the LAC political project and allow for a stronger cultural cooperation outcome on a bi-regional level. The values that the EU wants to portray across the globe are similar to what the international community is fostering with common global goals, such as the sustainable development goals, which are in a framework of human rights and democracy values and discourse.

Finally, the interest in the cooperation amongst these regions has been strengthened through cultural cooperation projects such as the ones conducted by EUNIC and other organizations. In the upcoming chapters EUNIC's projects with LAC countries will be analysed through critical discourse analysis and World-System, postcolonialism, human rights and democracy theory. The following methodology, theories and case study will be briefly introduced in the upcoming chapter, as well as analysed in detail in its corresponding sections.

CHAPTER 1 – Theoretical framework

1.2 Introduction to the theories

As presented in the general introduction of this research, the relations between Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean have strong historical background. This historical background brings a socio-political implication into these two regions and their bi-regional cultural cooperation, such as power relations as these are two regions with different contexts of development. Moreover, these two regions have political value-systems from the western hemisphere, these establish universal values that are in the framework of human rights and

democracy. As this research aims to identify the human rights and democracy discourses in the EU-LAC cultural relations in EUNIC's work, this theoretical framework gives a ground onto macro contexts that will be analysed in the second chapter.

The three theories that were chosen are known human rights theories in the international relations discipline, as one of the aims of this research is to discuss the human rights and democracy discourse in the ICR between Europe and the LAC region. Moreover, human rights theory in international contexts is useful to understand the cultural relations or cooperation between these regions and their history. The theory is 1) World System, 2) Post-colonialism and 3) Human Rights and Democracy discourse. The first theory – World Systems – aims to explain what we identify nowadays as Global North and Global South geopolitical context through a theory; the second one – post colonialism – aims to explain colonial pasts and the struggles for postcolonial societies such as the LAC region; the third and last theory that will be used in this research is –human rights and democracy discourse –this theory was chosen to identify the value-systems of these regions politics and specifically assess it through the lens of discourse, which will be the main dimension of research for this paper.

1.2.1 World-System theory

Even though Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe share a historical past, their contexts nowadays show strong differences amongst them in social, political and cultural domains. In these fundamental differences between a Global South and Global North regions respectively, there are structural power relations. The World-System theory is a useful theory to practically analyse these power relations in a geopolitical perspective, which is useful to analyse EU-LAC cultural relations.

First, World-Systems theory was created by Immanuel Wallerstein in the early 2000's to explain world order in contemporary times and under the phenomenon of globalization. This latter world phenomenon is responsible for strengthening an international community, which sets a regional and international agenda, besides the ones of Nation-States. The tendencies of a globalized agenda have been criticized in tensions between local needs and global agendas. In this theory this tension is identified as “we are told that there is no alternative to globalization, to whose exigencies all governments must submit” (Wallerstein 2004, 9). This global vigilance for domestic contexts can foster stronger local democracy or on the contrary, exacerbate interdependence that benefits a world order. The surge of international actors such as non-governmental organizations and regional organizations poses a distribution of power and further vigilance of the international community's work or lack of it in human rights and democratic global goals. Furthermore, this variety of actors promises a balance in power and voice, but does come with tensions in pre-existing historical power relations amongst regions. About these tensions from the past, it is stated: “we have been saying that this world-system has had many institutions-states and the interstate system, productive firms, households, classes, identity groups of all sorts-and that these institutions form a matrix which permits the system to operate but at the same time stimulates both the conflicts and the contradictions

which permeate the system” (Wallerstein 2004, 10). The interconnectedness of International Organizations and Nation-States is what characterizes how the international community constructs itself and operates. This World-System has been constructed in the context of historical events and political relations. “We have been arguing that this system is a social creation, with a history, whose origins need to be explained, whose ongoing mechanisms need to be delineated” (Ibid). Therefore, in this theory critical assessments of the systemic power relations this world order imply are called for, as they are intrinsically related to the geopolitical landscape that permeates into cultural relations, cooperation and diplomacy.

Often different areas of society are studied separately but in World-System theory it is stressed that often the social, political and economic spheres are intertwined. “Part of the problem is that we have studied these phenomena in separate boxes to which we have given special names-politics, economics, the social structure, culture-without seeing that these boxes are constructs” (Ibid). The study of cultural relations is inherently political and for the regions involved in this research, different economic contexts become crucial to understand the situation in which their cultural and artistic exchanges operate. Moreover, the relation of these domains – social, cultural, political and economic spheres – is considered as a construct and its interconnectedness is deemed as inevitable in this theory’s view. “The phenomena dealt with in these separate boxes are so closely intermeshed that each presumes the other, each affects the other, each is incomprehensible without taking into account the other boxes.” (Ibid). These domains present and develop in cultural relations as determining factors into the contexts of cooperation, besides power relations in the discourse on human rights and democratic values.

This theory is characterized by contextualizing itself in a capitalist world-economy and the modern world- system in which centrist liberal geoculture holds the world-system together (Ibid). The geoculture of Global North and Global South relations is subscribed to this world systems tendency of power dynamics. Furthermore, the structure of the World-System has historical implications and inequalities that emerged during these historical events. Amongst the characteristics described in this theory, centre-periphery relations are considered as part of this tensions and inequalities in the geoculture amongst the regions of this research. Wallerstein defines this as: “core-periphery tension, such that there is some form of unequal exchange” (Wallerstein 1990, 289). The unequal exchanges have been a tendency of geopolitical relations. The historical relations in this theory are understood as historical systems, both core-periphery and historical relations are related. As ‘world-systems’ are ‘historical systems’ as well (Wallerstein 1990, 288) but they bring a critical perspective on these tendencies, by giving an alternative, “a holistic view of a perspective that claims to be a call for a holistic historical social science” (Wallerstein 2004, 11). This last concept of a holistic historical perspective gives room for addressing the structural inequalities that are exposed through the World-System logic.

Moreover, the world systems theory has existed as unit of analysis before. The “World-systems analysis has existed under that name, more or less, for about fifteen years. Some of its arguments, of course, have longer histories, even very long histories” (Wallerstein 1990, 287). The political tensions that arise under this theory’s conception of the world can only be understood well before its own definition in academia, as these dynamics were happening

decades prior. Still, as a perspective of analysis or theory it emerged later on. It was further discussed “only in the 1970's. It presented itself as a critique of existing dominant views in the various social sciences” (Ibid). It is one of the main characteristics of this theory to be critical about the structural tendencies of the world-system, including dominant frameworks of thought. In further analysis of this theory it continued to develop as a unit of analysis. “The first and most obvious is that the appropriate ‘unit of analysis’ for the study of social or societal behavior is a “world system” (Wallerstein 1990, 288). This unit explains the global construct of power systems from a geopolitics perspective and mainly, the macro context. This theory explains that: “local and/or national behavior is explained/determined by structural evolution at the level of the world-system” (Ibid). Therefore, it sets that the global highly influences national agendas. There is a constant dialogue between the global and the national agendas. “The macro-micro issue is no different if one decides that the boundaries of a ‘society’ are those of a ‘world-system’ or that these boundaries correlate more or less with those of ‘nation-states” (Ibid). Thus, in this system nations have their autonomy but are influenced by the international community.

Within a macrosociological perspective, World-Systems establishes the connections between different fields of action. It specially describes the connection between economic and social as one social world (Martínez Vela 2001, 1) that as previously mentioned it proposes not to separate but find the underlining connections between this fields that cause inequalities on different regions of the world. Furthermore, Wallerstein’s approach is to keep the relation between reality and theory present. His approach is: “one of praxis, in which theory and practice are closely interrelated, and the objective of intellectual activity is to create knowledge that uncovers hidden structures and allows oneself to act upon the world and change it” (Ibid). Therefore, through World-Systems theory one can be critical about power structures that operate in cultural relations and cooperation amongst the LAC region.

World System theory is closely related to dependency theory. “Dependency theory focuses on understanding the ‘periphery’ by looking at core-periphery relations, and it has flourished in peripheral regions like Latin America. It is from a dependency theory perspective that many contemporary critiques to global capitalism come from” (Martínez Vela 2001, 3). The core-periphery dynamics are a necessary concept to understanding the EU-LAC cultural relations exchanges from a geopolitics perspective. Moreover Martínez Vela reflects on Wallerstein’s concept of the world system as a social system. About this he discusses that: “a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage” (Ibid). The social structures that Martínez Vela explains are interconnected and reproduce the dynamics of the core-periphery. The dominant system needs to be consolidated and reassured often through this tensions and processes.

Furthermore, it must be noted that World Systems theory strongly addresses economic relations and dependency, besides its relation to the social, political and cultural analysis presented in this section but this particular domain is not a part of the scope of this research. World-Systems theory helps unveil the inequalities amongst different political actors by

showing how it operates and under which concepts. It establishes that the different regions have an interdependent relation, regardless of their power in the World-System structure but this research focuses on the political and cultural relations in the EU-LAC cooperation through critical discourse analysis of EUNIC's work as a case study.

Finally, World-System theory gives context on the broader power relations and systematic construction of the geopolitical landscape, post colonialism theory gives an outlook on the perspective of Global South countries and specifies how those power relations were constructed in relation to a historical period, lastly, human rights and democracy discourse theory provides the language and communication tools that express progressive values in the form of discourse. The latter sets the ground for the second chapter on discourse analysis of the EUNIC projects with Latin America and the Caribbean.

1.2.2 Post-colonialism theory

In this subsection there will be an introduction to post colonialism theory and a discussion on the aspects of it that are relevant to this research. This theory has a variety of authors from different contexts, those of which they analyze inequalities and historical structures in the context of colonialism.

Post colonialism emerged as a theoretical discussion amongst former colonized countries and those with a colonial past. With a critical view “early postcolonialism exposed the limits of academic Eurocentrism, but it did so as an adjunct to mainstream critical theory” (Ghandi 2019, 9). Due to colonialism, eurocentrism has shown itself in other regions, such as the Latin American and Caribbean one, where European heritage and values have been deeply entrenched. The critical view over eurocentrism resulted in skepticism over knowledge from that region onto Global South countries with a colonial past. Furthermore, “postcolonialism was party to – indeed, at the helm of – a new philosophical *skepticism* in some European and American scholarly systems, with offshoots in counterpart postcolonial settings” (Ibid). This skepticism and critical thinking over Eurocentric thought in former colonized countries helped to establish theories and discussions that came from the southern regions. Furthermore “...skeptical systems maintain that we can never reliably know the external world and other minds due to the conditional nature of apperception, in essence.” (Ghandi 2019, 10) and that skepticism keeps a “conscious doubt about universal truth-claims” (Ibid). One of the main characteristics of postcolonialism is questioning the idea of a universal truth and universal ways of thinking about the world in order to understand southern experiences after colonization. “In this guise, skepticism shares crucial properties with *critique*” (Ibid). The discussion on universal truths is part of a critical theory tradition that was happening before the emergence of postcolonial studies, even before they were named as such. “Michel Foucault once described critique as the disposition to question governing values from the perspective of the present” (Ghandi 2019, 10). This conception of critical theory in relation to postcolonialism, shows that one of the motivations is to discuss critically deconstruct value-systems in relation to a contemporary experience of the world.

Therefore, some of the structural inequalities persisted in postcolonial societies. “The colonial aftermath does not yield the end of colonialism. Despite its discouraging tone, this verdict is really framed by the quite benign desire to mitigate the disappointments and failures which accrue from the postcolonial myth of radical separation from Europe” (Ghandi 2019, 7). The total emancipation from European value-systems poses difficulties, as regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean have cultural traditions that emerged from the mixing of European and indigenous cultures.

The concept of postcolonialism came as a recognition of colonialism itself but as well as an outlook into the period after it. The prefix ‘post’ dictates “it is both possible and necessary to break with tradition and institute absolutely new ways of living and thinking” (Ibid). The concept of ‘post’ still leaves a hope towards a critical thought. The rupture this word allows for not forgetting or repressing the past, but trying not to repeat it and not surpass it (Ibid). This rupture is understood as both necessary and agonistic. “The postcolonial dream of discontinuity is ultimately vulnerable to the infectious residue of its own unconsidered and unresolved past. Its convalescence is unnecessarily prolonged on account of its refusal to remember and recognize its continuity with the pernicious malaise of colonization” (Ibid). A response to uncontested past experiences that translate into present times and struggles is expressed, the prefix of the word ‘post’ establishes a continuation into new political landscapes for formerly colonized regions. Furthermore, this ‘post’ prefix is criticized too. “Whereas some critics invoke the hyphenated form ‘post-colonialism’ as a decisive temporal marker of the decolonizing process, others fiercely query the implied chronological separation between colonialism and its aftermath – on the grounds that the postcolonial condition is inaugurated with the onset rather than the end of colonial occupation.” (Ghandi 2019, 3). It is within these two conditions of the prefix ‘post’ colonialism that research has focused on, either a critical historical perspective or as ongoing relation with the past.

Nevertheless, in postcolonial theory a remembrance of the past is crucial to understand present issues. “If postcoloniality can be described as a condition troubled by the consequences of a self-willed historical amnesia, then the theoretical value of postcolonialism inheres, in part, in its ability to elaborate the forgotten memories of this condition” (Ghandi 2019, 7). Therefore, there is a need for understanding history and avoiding the repetition of the power relations that are implicated. Therefore, “its scholarly task inheres in the carefully researched retrieval of historical detail, it has an equally compelling political obligation to assist the subjects of postcoloniality to live with the gaps and fissures of their condition, and thereby learn to proceed with self-understanding” (Ghandi 2019, 8). This process of self-understanding is a complex idea for apperception processes, as they need to happen on the social world and in consideration of the subjects that postcolonial studies are concerned about, in the case of this research is a region being in equality grounds with another. The responsibility of creating equality and more power-free contexts involves an active role from both the subject of former colonization and the actor that led the colonizing. One of the actions that involves the active participation and responsibility of the global south and postcolonial contexts is memory and critical thought. Though “memory is the necessary and sometimes hazardous bridge between colonialism and the question of cultural identity” (Ghandi 2019, 9). This cultural identity for

Latin American and Caribbean countries as speakers of so-called European languages poses a secondary identity to these languages, as deemed to be original from another region, though in present times appropriated and part of nations outside of the European continent.

There are two underlining conditions that linger in postcolonial thought: the remembrance of violence and the reconciliation with it. The first condition is "the simpler disinterment of unpalatable memories, seeks to uncover the overwhelming and lasting violence of colonization" (Ghandi 2019, 10) and the second condition is "ultimately reconciliatory in its attempt to make the hostile and antagonistic past more familiar and therefore more approachable" (Ibid). Under these conditions the historical past has to be recognized as a constant and detrimental condition to postcolonial theory's hope for progress in postcolonial contexts. "Thus, we might conclude that the forgotten content of postcoloniality effectively reveals the story of an ambivalent and symbiotic relationship between colonizer and colonized. The sole historical and present violence that lingers in a colonized context is an obstacle to the idea of full emancipation and detachment from the history of the southern regions..." (Ghandi 2019, 11). This complex relation requires a balance and a fairer structure for the South to continue its political project of emancipation. Furthermore, "the lingering residue of colonization will only decompose if, and when, we are willing to acknowledge the reciprocal behavior of the two colonial partners." (Ibid). The aforementioned process of apperception is necessary to understand this relationship and have a critical perspective on its outcomes, as well as the recognition of its responsibility from the formerly colonized countries.

The challenge of postcolonial theory is to think of postcolonial regions outside of their historical past. "Principally, postcolonial amnesia is symptomatic of the urge for historical self-invention or the need to make a new start—to erase painful memories of colonial subordination." (Ghandi 2019, 4). There is a need to recognize the past but create a different framework of thought. The remembrance of the past in postcolonial thought aims at emancipation for the nations in these contexts. "The mere repression of colonial memories is never, in itself, tantamount to a surpassing of or emancipation from the uncomfortable realities of the colonial encounter" (Ibid). Therefore, postcolonial theory poses that confrontation and conscience of the past is fundamental for progress.

Emancipation processes can foster subaltern voices in societies where there was an hegemonic discourse. "Recent critiques of political theory and rescriptions of the history of political thought have been coincident to a large extent with the concerns of postcolonial theory, which seeks to understand contemporary dynamics of cultural diversity within sovereign political space" (Persram 2008, 12). The increasing necessity for the recognition of diversity in different contexts is discussed in postcolonial proposals of ways to look at societies and its possibilities of growth.

Finally, postcolonial theory poses a critical discussion on tensions of countries with a colonization past and challenges power implications of its history. The questioning of Eurocentric thought in former colonized countries in processes of stronger emancipations and

ongoing phenomenon's consequence of this contexts are a part of critically analyzing the circumstances in which EU-LAC relations operate.

1.2.3 Human Rights and Democracy Discourse theory

In this last part of the theoretical framework a revision on human rights and democracy discourse theory will be reviewed. Human rights and democracy are performed in discourse and in practice, this section will focus on its discursive aspect, as the values that the European, Latin American and Caribbean counterparts are expressed through philosophical views of the world, that are portrayed in political agendas in policy documents and institutional communication. There are multiple human rights and democracy theories but Eva Erman's approach to its discursive characteristics is useful to analyse values portrayed through communicative means. Furthermore, human rights and democracy are closely linked concepts, therefore having an interconnected approach of both is useful for analysing EU-LAC discourses on these concepts.

As previously mentioned, there is a strong relation between human rights and democracy as often intertwined concepts. These concepts have some structural differences as well, but in its discursive aspect they are usually linked: "human rights and democracy are mutually constitutive - two central themes of discourse theory" (Erman 2016, 2). As central themes of discourse theory, these concepts help explain contemporary socio-political movements and understand governmental objectives that frame international agendas. These concepts take place at different levels of society as stated through Erman's theory: "within political scientific research three democratic dimensions are elaborated on in relation to the international system: democratization within states, between states and of the international system" (Ibid). These levels of democracy are all within macro contexts, therefore its useful to identify broader discourses on human rights and democracy values on a regional level – as this would be classified as democracy between states. The exchanges amongst different regions would be under the international system.

The democratic discourse has not been similar in different regions of the world. "A current problem of cosmopolitan theories seems to be that the international order has not been influenced by the triumphs of democracy around the world" (Ibid). The power imbalances of the international community are problematic for democracy objectives and for a coherent international discourse on democratic values. National processes can influence the international sphere as "despite the fact that several nation-states have been democratized 'inwards', the international political system is still permeated by strategic action in line with nation-state interests" (Ibid). Therefore there is a dialogue between national and international processes of democracy, but political reality is not necessarily meeting the discourse. "We learn daily about democratic states not being very interested in democratization between states or democratization of the international system" (Ibid). Therefore democracy discourses are in constant tension with realities. Though this theory states that there is desire to having an international system, as this gives the political opportunity for democracy on a global scale

(Erman 2016, 3). Furthermore, human rights and democracy discourse theory strives for having a more integrated or stronger international community.

Moreover, the human rights discourse has been characteristic of international organizations, whose objectives are amongst recognizing human rights violations. "However, in order for a global institution to have any force, it is important to acknowledge that the process of consciousness-raising and of human rights implementation takes a long time" (Erman 2016, 6). Besides consciousness about human rights, another one of the challenges is the diversity of contexts in which human rights realities are found. Therefore, international organizations should be sensibilized to the diversity of contexts and reject any "truly severe abuses, deprivation, and inequalities while still being compatible with a wide range of political, moral, and religious cultures" (Ibid). In the recognition of the diversity of human rights and democracy contexts, international organizations become more coherent in discourse.

Furthermore, there are treaties that reflect these same values and that are used as instruments for the international community's work on fostering stronger human rights. "By accepting the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights and the two Covenants, the international community has, at least on paper, recognized human rights as a basis of legitimation of politics." (Ibid). Even though human rights and democracy are part of political discourse, this builds an agenda for the international organizations work. "We should not forget the recent developments of and progress within international organizations (both governmental and non-governmental), which, presumably, indicate that a stronger international overlapping consensus concerning a minimal conception of human rights could perhaps be reached in the future" (Ibid). This consensus on human rights can be valued as a minimum agenda on democratic values across the globe.

The concept of universal pragmatics becomes useful to a discourse analysis on human rights and democracy. About human rights and discourse, this theory establishes that: "is contended that this universal pragmatics offers a stronger justification for the universal use of communicative action regarding human rights issues" (Erman 2016, 20). In this regard, universal pragmatics establishes a common ground for the international community and organizations. Though there is a problem in defining and legitimizing human rights by institutional means, democratic theory can be of help (Erman 2016, 21). Therefore, democracy theory informs human rights theory to create a common agenda for institutions such as international organizations. "This is why a global rights institution must be supported by a network of formal and informal communicative arenas in order to work properly, e.g., a global civil society and a growing human rights culture" (Erman 2016, 22). The work of different human rights organizations, develop a democratic discourse for the international community.

In the universalism discourse of human rights, the public sphere of democracy theory and consensus debates come into place. "Since consensus about the universalizability of any common interest could only be a result of an intersubjective public discourse" (Erman 2016, 80). This consensus dictates universalism pragmatics and values. The aforementioned universal pragmatics contributes to the already existing elements of human rights theory as: "contributions to a discourse theory of human rights in particular must embrace both universal

and normative elements and be based on a universal pragmatics” (Erman 2016, 80). These universal pragmatics are the result of building what the minimum necessary conditions for democracy and human rights are, as: “universal pragmatics needs to start out from necessary conditions, which are universally applicable” (Erman 2016, 81). In this sense universal pragmatics and the epistemological reality are necessary to build the consensus that this theory proposes.

Even though the concept of universal pragmatics comes as a result of a necessary consensus for the international community, there is a concern in relation to this concept being functional to the reality of human rights. In human rights theory it is questioned whether such consensus can be possible: “it is questionable whether it is possible to found any universal pragmatics, which is supposed to be independent of context, on evolutionary theses” (Erman 2016, 70). One of the main concerns over the concept of universal pragmatics is that often other theories have been based on historical or social contexts, but this theory proposes not to be based on any of these phenomena. Furthermore, the universal pragmatics concept is defined as being independent from a context, in order to hold a universal value instead of only Western. “It is universal because it is general in character and does not express any intuitions of a particular culture or epoch” (Erman 2016, 79). Therefore, universal values for human rights and democracy discourse theory propose a general approach to its formulation.

The concept of mutual understanding is an aim of human rights and democracy, as well as universal pragmatics. This mutual understanding can be done by the universalization of values and communicative means that reflect it. “The language of any community does justice to itself only by virtue of the degree to which its universal common core makes translations between languages possible” (Erman 2016, 93). The universal values of human rights and democracy should be able to transfer to different contexts so it is useful for the international level of democracy, as explained by Erman.

Mutual understanding and equality can be understood through power-free dialogue. “The goal of communicative understanding by way of a ‘power free’ dialogue - the norms through which we could reach consensus are still dependent on a language philosophical basis functioning as an epistemological tool-box. Understanding in terms of consensual agreement presupposes a correct use of speech acts” (Erman 2016, 82). The notions of consensus and power free dialogue set out to be critical about contemporary notions of political institutions work and democracy discourse, by making use of essential concepts of democracy. “In an era in which questions about how to design political institutions are often limited to technical and administrative aspects, it becomes more important than ever before to return to some of the basic ideas of Ancient Greece, which are indeed relevant even today: the public space and the political dialogue between speaking and listening subjects” (Erman 2016, 1). The public debate and engagement is a characteristic of democratic values.

The international system is conformed by a lot of diverse Nation-States that construct democracy and human rights. Usually cosmopolitan democratic theories use the analogy that the international system is the construction of an international system that needs to be built on the democratic nucleus of every unit (Erman 2016, 3). Furthermore, even though this

theory recognizes democratic processes on a local level as well, its still mainly focused on macro-context speeches, discourse and communication. International organizations work on macro level discourse of democracy as: “new forms of political participation and of deliberative processes from the top downwards could also contribute to defining a human rights arena stabilized by, for example, global institutions” (Erman 2016, 3). The surge of international actors such as non-governmental institutions created the phenomenon of partially distributed power that this theory addresses. Moreover, contemporary organizations establish their discourse through communication, playing a role on the construction of political discourses. It is proposed that in this social world, communicative means are central as: “we should use communicative action to solve global problems in a stable way, since communicative action is the type of action that maintains social order” (Erman 2016, 149). This communication supposes understanding of the social context, as discourse forms the social world.

Finally, human rights and democracy discourse theory establish the aims of these two concepts in its communicative aspect. This communicative aspect is dialogued in relation to notions of consensus and universal pragmatics that develop in this theory’s proposal of analyzing discourse, as well as how international organizations become actors into the building of this political discourse and the political stand of having mutual listening as a standing concept for their work.

1.3 Conclusions

In this chapter three theories were briefly discussed to use as the framework of analysis of EU-LAC cultural relations in EUNIC’s work. From these theories, World-Systems theory informs us on the geopolitical context of the international community and the regions that will be analyzed in the following chapter; post colonialism discusses societies after the colonial historical period, as a particular phenomenon that occurred in the Global South and that affects power relations with the Global North; lastly, human rights and democracy theory instructs on the discursive aspect of these two concepts.

First, World Systems theory defines how the current world geopolitical landscape is on a macro perspective, questioning the power implications of such structures and in the context of international relations. In this theory, the social, political and economic spheres are interconnected, so it is proposed that they are studied as a whole. This theory relates to dependency theory also, where interconnectedness and core-periphery relations create power relations in the global scheme.

Subsequently, Post-colonialism presents a critical perspective on postcolonial contexts and societies, addressing the relation with Europe and its consequences. This theory proposes a remembrance of the past, recognition of inequalities and critically assessing the relation with thinking of formerly colonized countries outside of that historical reality. One of the main

notions for emancipation of these countries is having critical political thought over their past and progressing beyond it.

Lastly, human rights and democracy discourse theory establishes the communicative notion of these elemental concepts that encompass value-systems of western societies. Through this discussion it is understood that human rights and democracy discourse aim for a public consensus, so there is a minimum understanding of human rights and democratic values for universal pragmatics formulation for the international community. The first two theories inform us of the macro contexts where these two regions stand, following with the last theory that lays a ground for discourse analysis on value-systems that characterize the EU-LAC cultural relations discourses that will be the analysis of the second chapter.

CHAPTER 2 – Case study: EUNIC and the Latin American – Caribbean region human rights and democracy discourses

2.1 Methodology and Research Questions

In this chapter there will be a discussion on LAC cultural relations through the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter. This theoretical framework will be used under the critical discourse analysis methodology of Teun van Dijk (1993) applied to public institutional data regarding cultural projects of EUNIC with Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as an interview with the director of the organization for the term 2018-2021 – Gitte Zschoch. As one of the aims of this research is to identify the public discourse in EU-LAC relations in relation to human rights and democracy values, the analysis of their public institutional documentation is the primary material. The interview with EUNIC's director served as another means of getting an institutional input, in this case directly addressing some of the main topics that this research is posing, e.g. postcolonial relations, human rights and democracy and power relations.

As stated in the previous chapter, the main research question of this paper is: what are the human rights and democracy discourses in cultural relations between EU-LAC cooperation and what are some power relations that derive from these regions historical contexts?

Furthermore, the sub questions of this research are:

1. What type of activities does EUNIC (case study) develop with Latin American and Caribbean counterparts?
Methodology: literature review
2. What are the human rights and democracy values behind these exchanges?
Methodology: critical discourse analysis (CDA) and interview
3. What are the possible power relations developed from colonial pasts and inequality amongst these regions?
Methodology: CDA and interview

4. How is fair cultural cooperation addressed through democracy and human rights discourses in EUNIC's work?

Methodology: CDA and interview

The institutional communication that was analyzed to answer these research questions consists of PDF documents, webpages and an interview. The PDF documents are mainly dossier type of documents, the webpages are the single pages of each project that will be analyzed as public documentation on EUNIC projects. The interview was conducted online via videoconference on Google Meets, only the interviewee and myself were present, the script of the questions was written in a semi-structured way and presented as such (see Appendices: interview questions and interview transcript). It must be noted that as I presented one question and it was being answered, the interviewee was already answering the following question partially, therefore I mainly told her she could add any further remarks if needed.

As part of this qualitative research, there was a coding process through the programme "Atlas.ti". In it I did three steps of coding. One that was based on the theories, another one based on pre-existing data (such as institutional documentation) on EUNIC and the LAC, lastly codes that emerged on the interview. The coding process showed new topics that will be discussed in the interview analysis section. For a visual representation of the data that resulted from this coding process see appendices: Tables Atlas.ti coding and Networks of codes Atlas.ti.

Moreover, this research is focused on EUNIC and their public information or official discourses regarding projects with the LAC region. This research does not encompass the discursive side of the local partners, neither does it claim to be a full representation on contemporary EU-LAC cultural relations, but merely an introduction into this topic through EUNIC as a case study analysis. Furthermore, I aim to utilize international relations and human rights theories in this cultural relations or cultural cooperation case study to answer the aforementioned research questions.

In this chapter I will briefly introduce EUNIC, then analyze the public data related to their projects with LAC, then present the interview input and finally, present my conclusions in relation to critical discourse analysis and the theoretical framework.

2.2 European Union National Institutes for Culture – EUNIC

The European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) were founded in 2016 with the leadership of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, British Council, Danish Cultural Institute, Goethe-Institut, Institut Français and SICA, the predecessor of DutchCulture (EUNIC n.d.). This institution defines itself as: "Europe's network of national cultural institutes, with 36 members from all EU member states" and that its area of work is in "the arts, languages, youth, education, science, society, intercultural dialogue and development" (EUNIC n.d., 1). It is within the agendas of its members and of their institutional goals that cultural cooperation projects are established. Moreover, their role in connection to the EU is to "promote the role of culture in the EU's internal and external relations" (Ibid). Therefore they function as a network that collaborates with the EU in cultural matters, creates a common agenda for nation

based cultural institutes, and lobbies for culture to be a stronger component in EU external relations.

The purposes of EUNIC are: cultural diversity and mutual understanding within Europe and with third countries, implementing cultural policy in conjunction of the European Commission and other European institutions, international understanding, strengthening the cultural sector, conducting research on European cultural matters that will benefit other European institutions, share best practices and common interests (EUNIC 2016). Furthermore this institution's strategic framework for 2020-2024 shows 3 main objectives: "strengthen cultural relations by fostering cooperation between its members and local stakeholders worldwide; advocate a prominent role for culture in international relations and as a strategic partner of the EU in cultural relations; enhance its capacity as a network to continue to be a reliable cooperation partner in cultural relations" (EUNIC 2020). These objectives focus on the importance of cultural relations and the leadership role of the EU in this matter.

Moreover, as contextualization of EUNIC's nature and work, their values are a relevant component for analysis on human rights and democracy discourses. About this they state that they "aim to build fair partnerships by practising mutual listening and learning and engaging in dialogue, co-creation, and joint capacity building" (Ibid). These values seem reflected in using this concepts in the discourse of bilateral projects with Latin America and other regions, in the case of LatAm there is documented projects in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Cuba, Bolivia, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina.

It must be noted there is only multiple documented projects with Brazil and Mexico, Brazil being one of the priority third countries of EU foreign relations and having the most projects with EUNIC. In overall cultural relations between the EU and the LAC region, often Brazil and Mexico appear as the strongest countries in terms of cultural cooperation with the EU (see Schargorodsky and Bonet 2020) but we can see in recent projects in EUNIC there is a clear leadership from Brazil with four projects, contrary to Mexico having two and the others having one project only. Moreover, on its international cultural relations, EUNIC's work encompasses a wider conception of culture, such as that it includes "the arts, creative industries, development cooperation, digitalisation, education, gender, heritage, human rights, language and multilingualism, social inclusion, sports, sustainability, tourism, youth, and others" (EUNIC n.d.). This wider understanding sets a framework of human rights and democracy in cultural cooperation agendas with the Global South, as well as relates itself with the socio-political agendas of developing countries, which focus on priority areas regarding the most urgent issues on a national context.

The EUNIC, as the European Union National Institutes for Culture, represents EU institutions and EU Member States agendas regarding cultural relations within the region and third countries. Even though EUNIC does not establish a specific interest in particular countries or regions, it must be noted that the Latin America and Caribbean region does not seem to be a priority region of EU cultural relations in practice, only so Brazil is a priority country as a single bilateral projects. EUNIC operates with specific projects and its clusters on different regions of the world, it is within "90 countries worldwide with a network of 125 clusters" (Ibid)

that it performs its projects. The vision of EUNIC is: “Through culture, EUNIC strives to build trust and understanding between the people of Europe and the wider world. We work to make culture count in international relations” (Ibid). Therefore, as it has been presented in its institutional discourse, mutual understanding and multicultural dialogue is a key concept in EUNIC’s cultural relations understanding and work in the field. The mission of EUNIC is to: engage European organizations in cultural relations work; create European cultural collaboration with partners; advocate a prominent role of culture in international relations and the EU as a strategic partner, that actively is involved in the definition of European cultural policy; platform for knowledge sharing and for capacity building amongst its members and partners (Ibid). In these latter mission statements, the understanding of ICR as a priority for the EU, as well as a cooperation tool is defined further on.

In regards to human rights and democracy discourse, EUNIC aims for its ICR to contribute to international agreements, which its Member States have signed such as those related to the Sustainable Development Goals and cultural diversity (Ibid). It is in its third strategic objective within its strategic plan that we see how the concept of mutual understanding is operationalized, it is through good practices and knowledge sharing (Ibid) as well as capacity building as a part of EUNIC’s platform to ICR (EUNIC, n.d.). The human rights and democracy discourse is a core concept of EUNIC’s ICR. Furthermore, the discourse and aims of their work are on multiculturalism and sharing with external regions. In this regard they state the following: “Our work is international, transcultural, cross-continental. As a network our core business is to meet, share knowledge, strengthen our capacities together with partner organisations, and engage with the people of Europe and people on other continents.” (EUNIC 2020, 3). Due to EUNIC’s work being that of gathering EU’s national institute’s of culture together, its nature is multicultural and international. In discourse it embraces this nature and makes it a central identity factor for its work.

There are three main project-based work of EUNIC that are useful to EU-LAC cultural relations analysis: European Spaces of Culture, EU Delegations projects and EU Cluster Fund projects. These three areas of work have multiple projects with Latin America and the Caribbean, these will be analysed in relation to the theoretical framework presented in the first chapter and the methodology explained beforehand.

EUNIC’s projects with the LAC region

In this section there will be an analysis of EUNIC’s projects with Latin America and the Caribbean. Therefore, sub question 1 is the main point in the presentation of EU-LAC data: what type of activities does EUNIC (case study) develop with Latin American and Caribbean counterparts? In the case of sub question 2 and 3, these will be presented in the analysis of each project and the conclusions: what are the human rights and democracy values behind these exchanges? and what are the possible power relations developed from colonial pasts and inequality amongst these regions?

Furthermore, sub-question 4, how is fair cultural cooperation addressed through democracy and human rights discourses in EUNIC's work? is discussed in the analysis of the forthcoming analysis on the interview with EUNIC's director and the conclusions of this chapter.

2.3 Introduction to European Spaces of Culture

One of the main projects of EUNIC in relation to the LAC region is the European Spaces of Culture. European Spaces of Culture is an initiative, which started in the European Parliament and passed on to EUNIC through the European's Council's approval (EUNIC n.d.). Moreover, this pilot project is focused on third countries. "European Spaces of Culture is testing innovative collaboration models in cultural relations between European and local partner organisations in countries outside the EU. At the heart of the project lies a new spirit of dialogue, in which equality, mutual listening and learning represent the core values that help build trust and understanding between peoples" (Ibid). This democratic and human rights discourse aims to put EUNIC's values into practice in outside regions and in contexts of vulnerability.

Intercultural dialogue with regions outside the EU is a priority as one of the main projects of EUNIC is the European Spaces of Culture. "Perhaps by re-shifting the focus of our work. European Spaces of Culture, currently our main project, sets out to find new ways of doing European cultural collaboration outside the EU by testing different creative models..." (EUNIC 2020, 3). One of the projects that EUNIC has established with the EU is *Altavoz* Gender Equality through Art, with EU partners in Bolivia to foster gender equality and diversity in this country's context, in the context of sustainable development goals and gender equality. This direct human right advocacy objective inserts itself in discourses regarding democratic values. Moreover, on democratic values, EUNIC's work wishes to pursue "fair partnerships by practising mutual listening and learning, engaging in dialogue, co-creation and joint capacity building" (Ibid). In this regard, ICR picks up on traditional cultural diplomacy in its spirit for dialogue amongst different regions.

The concept of cultural relations emerges as a new approach on traditional diplomacy, institutions and organizations like EUNIC have strongly adopted this concept into their public discourse. "For a long time, in international relations culture was associated with soft power. Money was used to set the agendas top-down. Projects like European Spaces of Culture are indispensable in changing this" (EUNIC 2020, 5). The CR of EUNIC through the European Spaces of Culture proposes cultural cooperation that challenges traditional power structures that traditional diplomacy might entail.

Furthermore, European Spaces of Culture is an example of the values EUNIC sets to achieve and represent on the global scale. On an interview regarding the European Spaces of Culture there is a discussion on European values and universal values as the framework of this project. "European and universal values, shared spaces and new forms of collaboration, mutual listening and the role of culture that we are asking ourselves in this project, are most timely

and challenging” (Ibid). In this sense, there is a recognition of universalization of values and generation of generating exchanges beyond unilateral collaboration processes.

An institutional concern is generating mutual understanding and equality with EUNIC’s partners. On a local level, working with partners in projects such as European Spaces of Culture abroad, EUNIC states: “we understand that the project is not possible without the involvement of each of the partners” (Ibid) and it is added that in the process of creating a cooperation project they “host an induction where we co-create clear, shared codes of conduct to draft an agreement between all the partners. We aim to recognise everyone is equal” (Ibid). The latter sets the ground for what in discourse aims for a fair cultural cooperation derived from generating a consensus, as a democracy discourse theory practice. This framework of discourse exists within multiculturalism, mutual understanding and a more democratic approach to CR in practice. In the concept of cultural cooperation there is a shared leadership, one “to create a culture where everyone feels valued and then stepping back in order to allow the group to come forward. We all have our strengths and we all complement each other” (Ibid). Even though multiculturalism and equality are principles of European Spaces of Culture in the work field with local actors, it is observed too in EUNIC’s institutional goals aforementioned. Furthermore, all the actors involved in cultural cooperation, whether governmental or non-governmental play a role in EUNIC’s ICR role with the European Spaces of Culture. “It’s about being realistic about the function and capacity of every single partner. We try hard to make sure that when we engage local NGOs and community groups, we’re really clear about what their objectives are. We get them around the table and say: you’re all part of a puzzle; there’s a problem we want to solve; and we all have a part in it with different strengths. EUNIC’s role is important in setting that framework of collaboration and creating comfort in it” (Ibid). In this specific cultural cooperation project of EUNIC the different levels and types of actors are crucial to making its democratic and human rights based discourse of new ICR frameworks. “It’s essential to have the public and private sectors and civil society all working together. They all have different roles and functions. Making sense of everyone’s role, creating a framework for collaboration, this is EUNIC’s role” (Ibid). This discourse of equality in leadership and participation on cultural cooperation showcases an understanding of human rights in the operationalization of cultural relations amongst regions and nations.

Moreover, the European Spaces of Culture are planned and executed within the CR principles. These principles are in relation to the EU strategy for International Cultural Relations, which they base their work in. The principles are:

- “Encourage people-to-people contacts through a bottom-up approach, based on local consultation and co-creation
- Go beyond projection of the diversity of European cultures
- Focus on the process as well as on outputs and outcomes: a new spirit of dialogue, mutual listening and learning, where partners are on equal footing and engage in a joint capacity building process

- Facilitate learning from and across experiences, including cross-fertilization between the different collaboration models tested”
(EUNIC n.d.)

It was only in 2019 that the pilot projects of European Spaces of Culture came into place. The aim was to have an open call for project ideas that create “a partnership based on equal footing between local stakeholders - from civil society, the public and other sectors, European cultural institutes (EUNIC) and EU Delegations” (EUNIC, n.d.). One particular approach to EUNIC’s conception of cultural relations is the importance of civil society in this specific project, as often cultural affairs in foreign relations were left at governmental and institutional levels. But the European Spaces of Culture aim for a people-to-people approach and a bottom-up approach (Ibid). The former EUNIC objective is in connection to EU’s external relations, such as the following statement: “beyond the notion of presenting the diversity of European cultures and focusing instead on a cultural relations approach based on people-to-people contacts” (Ibid). This represents a more democratic discourse contrary to top-down notions of traditional diplomacy and the power relations it entails.

The innovation aspect of EUNIC’s proposal of ICR is not only on bringing more fair cultural relations. The pilot projects of the European Spaces of Culture look for new perspectives and processes to European cultural cooperation:

- “New concepts or ways of working with local cultural sectors, including digital cultural relations;
- Projects based on contexts and needs of local communities;
- Partnerships with new stakeholders, or brought to a new level by bottom-up approach and equality;
- Ideas on entrepreneurship, profitability and sustainability;
- Culture as a means for the promotion of values such as artistic freedom (of expression), social cohesion and equality.”

(EUNIC, n.d.)

In this regard, local actors become essential to ICR and community needs are prioritized as well through a bottom-up approach. Furthermore democratic and human rights values are encouraged, specifically those related to artistic freedom of expression, equality and cohesion, as well as a sustainability approach as international treaties and political agendas have increasingly influenced international cultural policy and politics. As this project is delegated by EU institutions onto EUNIC as a decentralized organization, there is expected general results from this approach to collaboration: increased people-to-people contacts between European and local stakeholders; concept of European Spaces of Culture, fostering a continuous process of improvement in cultural relations practices; New collaboration models identified for doing cultural relations; Learn from the pilot projects in order to enhance cooperation and pooling of resources; Evidence-based policy recommendations for European Spaces of Culture as structural financial instrument for European cultural relations; Monitoring & evaluation methodologies for cultural relations activities” (EUNIC, n.d.). Since there has only been pilot projects in 2019 and this year new ones will continue the impact of

this pilot projects is still yet to be known in depth, as well the fact that EUNIC's cultural relations approach establishes not to have a strong set of outcomes expectation.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the European Spaces of Culture were formerly known as European Houses of Culture in 2018. The project was later renamed by EUNIC (EUNIC, n.d.). Even though there seems to be changes onto how the concept of the European Spaces of Culture is portrayed abroad, the critique of incorporating the word "European" is addressed by the institution itself (EUNIC 2020). Still, EUNIC is an institution representing Member States interests, so the political implications of the term seem unavoidable.

Finally, European Spaces of Culture has a specific project aimed at northern Central American countries, that is Triángulo Teatro. This project will be the first Latin American project to be analysed in the repertoire of EUNIC projects with this region.

2.3.1 Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador: Triángulo Teatro

European Spaces of Culture has an on-going project in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. The project is called *Triángulo Teatro* and is defined as "a programme of theatrical performances which revolve around the contemporary interpretation of European dramatic art" (EUNIC 2020). This project is done with members of EUNIC such as Centro Cultural de España Tegucigalpa, Centro Cultural de España Guatemala, Centro Cultural de España San Salvador, Alliance Française San Salvador, Alliance Française Guatemala, Alliance Française Tegucigalpa, Società Dante Alighieri Comitato di Guatemala, Centro Cultural Alemán de Tegucigalpa and EU Delegations to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala (Ibid) as well as local partners such as Laboratorio Teatral de Artes Landívar in Guatemala, Escuela Nacional de Arte Dramático in Honduras and Asociación Azoro in El Salvador (Ibid). As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Germany, France and Spain are amongst the leading nations for cultural cooperation with Latin American countries, in this case Italy is a member that participates and from the LAC counterpart, Central American countries do not tend to appear as a leading cultural cooperation countries but with European Houses of Culture they become a focus in recent EU-LAC relations.

Triángulo Teatro's project emerges in the context of northern Central American Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs). "In Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, possibilities to produce performing arts are limited, due to a lack of public funding, limited consumption of cultural products and exhibition spaces, making it difficult for the sector to professionalize and to establish itself as a stable economic sector" (EUNIC n.d.). Therefore, this EUNIC project aims to professionalize the sector by collaborating with it and strengthening these areas of consumption and circulation of cultural products and services in the region. Furthermore, "Triángulo Teatro aims to respond to these needs with a programme of cross-border creation and (digital) mobility of cultural products throughout the region. Production and circulation of plays between the countries (albeit now virtual) should create a larger market and access to a bigger audience, improving capacities, awareness and cultural exchange in the region" (Ibid). This project aims to create a common market and flow of cultural activities within this region

in LAC, as well as following some of the guidelines of European Spaces of Culture on fostering cross-border collaborations.

One of the aims of European Spaces of Culture is to create more bottom-up approach to its CR. The latter is being done by having a stronger dialogue with local partners and civil society. In Triángulo Teatro's case it was "through a public call to theatre companies in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, the partners are collaborating on plays which vary in style and format. The productions are being staged in all three countries to promote cross-border cooperation. Triángulo Teatro also includes a professional development programme for the theatre sector, encompassing a technical training support programme. The project also offers information about European dramaturgy: links of interest and plays, both in the original language and translated into Spanish" (Ibid). Furthermore, the theatre plays that are staged are mainly from Spanish dramaturgists such as Luis O' Malley, José Zorrilla, Juan Mayorga, Tomás Afán Muñoz and Antonio Rojano (Triángulo Teatro 2020, 1). Besides the previously mentioned Spanish plays, there is only one play from another European dramaturgist, Yasmina Reza from France.

Furthermore, there is a technical training aimed to the theatre sector in the northern triangle countries (Triángulo Teatro, n.d.) as the strengthening of the capacities helps the sector grow and professionalize, which is one of the main goals of this EUNIC approved pilot project. From the side of the audience "it allows for a better access to the knowledge of contemporary European culture, through an interesting, varied and quality theatre offer" (Ibid). In this protagonism and interest in European culture and its promotion, Triángulo Teatro shows a bottom-up relation to its European counterparts which does not hold a mutual and fair cultural cooperation model such as the intentions of a democratic approach to ICR exchanges. Even though this pilot project started in 2020 and in the midst of the 2020-ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, they have conducted five documented activities: a virtual theatre festival, two events of the world theatre day, a series of conferences on contemporary dramaturgy and a follow up cycle of dialogues on the same topic (Triángulo Teatro, n.d.). The activities are diverse and adapted to digital spaces due to the restrictions on the world health crisis.

The main showcasing of the selected theatre plays from the main three countries involved was during the virtual theatre festival named: *Festival Virtual de Teatro. Triángulo Teatro (Circuito Europeo Teatral Centroamericano)* – Virtual Theatre Festival. Triángulo Teatro (European Circuit Central American Theatre). One of the intentions of this virtual encounter is "to create a new way to maintain theatre active and show the world the transformative power of art" (Ibid). The world theatre day was celebrated with two theatre plays, from theatre companies from El Salvador and from Spanish dramaturgists texts (Triángulo Teatro, n.d.) Furthermore, this theatre play within the EUNIC pilot project "promotes artistic creation, allowing cross border cooperation and mobility of cultural products in innovative formats" (Ibid). Therefore, this project incentivises through EU institutions the sub-regional integration of Central American cultural sectors.

Besides the theatre plays one of the other events that became virtual is the conferences on contemporary dramaturgy. *Ciclo de conversatorios: Dramaturgia contemporánea* is a monthly

gathering with the participation of a European dramaturgist, where he introduces his work and career together with the theatre company that chose his text (Ibid.) The only two documented conferences are that of one of the Salvadorian theatre company *Proyecto Dionisio* and that of the Honduran theatre company *Casa del Teatro Memorias* (EUNIC, n.d.) in both cases from Spanish dramaturgists.



EUNIC Global. El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala Triángulo Teatro. JPG. Brussels: EUNIC, 25/05/20.
<https://eunicglobal.eu/projects/el-salvador-guatemala-honduras-triangulo-teatro> (Accessed: 27/06/21).

2.4 Projects with EU Delegations

Another of the areas of work of EUNIC with the LAC region is that of cultural relations projects with EU Delegations in the region. The following subsection aims to briefly explain the nature of EU Delegations, as well as elaborate on the projects they have conducted. EU Delegations are those based in countries outside the EU, created to represent EU's interests abroad. Furthermore, the EU has over 140 representations that have been in action for over 50 years (European Commission n.d.) under the European Neighbourhood Policy And Enlargement Negotiations with the European External Action Service (EEAS), which has worked on cultural relations instruments with EUNIC and EUNIC works under EEAS general international cultural relations agenda.

The EEAS aims to make EU's external relations "more coherent and efficient, thereby increasing the European Union's influence in the world" (Ibid) and the delegations in Latin America are: Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, el Salvador, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad y Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela (European Union External Action Service, n.d.). From approximately 33 countries that conform the LAC region, 23 have a EU delegation in their territory, it must be noted that the main ones missing are islands, most of them of non-Spanish speaking with the exception of Puerto Rico. More specifically in cultural cooperation from EUNIC members there is only the following documented projects: CLIC (Cuba) and Gender Equality for Art (Bolivia). In the following subsections there will be an analysis of both of these EUNIC delegations projects.

2.4.1 CUBA – CLIC Culture to Connect



CLIC Cuba- Europa. No title. JPG. Cuba. 03/06/21.

<https://www.facebook.com/CLICCubaEuropa/photos/202358675069124> (Accessed: 27/06/21).

EUNIC performs projects with EU Delegations in 10 countries outside of the EU in a medium to large scale (EUNIC n.d.) Two of these ten supported EU projects are based in Cuba and Bolivia, CLIC- Culture to Connect and Gender Equality through Art respectively. The main objective of CLIC is to develop Cuban CCI's and "exchange, capacity building and co-creation activities, the project also aims to stimulate innovative and resilient urbanism in Havana" (EUNIC 2021). Therefore its clear that this EU funded project has similar values to those in the core of the European Houses of culture in relation to cooperation and exchange. As well it has the dependency factor, which seems a top-down and traditional approach to cultural cooperation in Europe, as it establishes the European counterpart as the one that enables capacity building for this project in Cuba.

Moreover, this EUNIC project focuses on the artistic disciplines of music, cinema, design, visual arts, architecture and urbanism (Ibid) and is set in one of the most important cities of the LAC region in regards to arts. Cuba has been known for its pioneering music and dance genres that led it to influence Spanish-speaking countries artistic production and be known worldwide. "Cuba has one of the highest artistic education rates in the region and hosts important cultural institutions and events" (Ibid). It is important to note these specific traits as it makes it one of the strongest countries in the region in terms of artistic output. Even though it is a country that has struggled in a lot of other areas such as economic and social domains, as well where technology has not development as other countries of the region, creativity in the arts has been a strong characteristic of its national identity, as well as arts as having arts be related to being a "source of sustainable development and social inclusion" (Ibid). The latter has been something that has been strengthened in the present times in EUNIC's work and translates into CLIC's human rights and democracy discourses, through the aim of having this cultural cooperation project be inserted in the social reality where its implemented.

CLIC has a spirit of exchange in its foundation, though based in the strength of Cuban CCI's and its professionals. More specifically CLIC establishes that it "supports the organisation of exchange, educational, research, promotion and co-creation activities around four strategic areas" these are:

- “Supporting the development of Cuban cultural industries
- Strengthening the capacity of creators and professionals linked to them
- Inserting Cuban artists in professional networks and markets in Europe
- Stimulating innovative, inclusive and resilient urbanism in Havana”

(Ibid)

From CCI's in Cuba, there is a special focus on the youth and professionalization. It is stated that all CLIC activities are “driven by the idea of promoting young Cuban talent and connecting Cuban artists and professionals with European counterparts, thus strengthening their capacities” (Ibid). Therefore, besides promoting the work of Cubans, there is an interest in connecting them to European artists and CCI's in that region. The latter action is perceived as related to capacity building, another key value and aim of EUNIC's work. Besides developing the CCI's in Cuba and the skills of its professionals in the creative and cultural sectors, there is an underlining of EUNIC's values such as those related to the last strategic area of CLIC: inclusivity, resilience and innovation.

In cultural cooperation or cultural relations, mutual exchange is a primary component, CLIC project is based on this value. It is “based on the exchange of experiences and knowledge, for which Cuban and European experts from the most varied disciplines participate: cinema, dance, fashion, music, architecture and visual arts” (Ibid). Besides the diversity of artistic disciplines, there is a true involvement of local actors since the beginning of the project. It is stated that: “in the first phase of the project, the focus has been on boosting existing local initiatives and existing local structures in the cultural industries” (Ibid). One interest of EUNIC is to work with existing contexts and needs, which is something that is reflected in projects in the LAC region such as in the Cluster Fund.

Furthermore, it's important to note the EU actors involved and leading this Project. First, the CLIC Project is “funded by the EU Delegation to Cuba, is coordinated by the Spanish Agency for International Development (AECID) and implemented together with the EUNIC cluster in Cuba” (Ibid). This comes to show the ongoing leadership of Spain in the Caribbean region. Furthermore, the Spanish Embassy in Cuba is one of the main representatives, its counsellor is in charge of the project and mentions that “EUNIC Cluster to strengthen the EU as a key partner in cultural cooperation in Cuba” (Ibid). Therefore, Spain is not only establishing power in the region but fostering other EU members and counterparts to do cultural cooperation with Cuba. Moreover, the Cluster in Cuba has specific aims such as “find synergies and increase the impact of its cultural cooperation activities” and they add that “the EU Delegation in Cuba has allocated a budget for this EUNIC Cuba initiative” (Ibid). The Cluster Funds projects have a focus on providing capital to make cultural cooperation with member states and EU delegations abroad such as the Cuban case.

The Cuba EUNIC Cluster was formed in 2018 (Ibid) but CLIC started in 2020 and continues in 2021 with the following co-organizers: EUNIC Cuba, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation for Development (AECID), EU Delegation to Cuba, *Clandestina* (Sustainable Cuban fashion brand), Havana World Music Festival, *Inteligencias Colectivas* and the

International School of TV and Cinema (Ibid). This shows that besides EUNIC and EU member states, there are direct local actors as co-organizers.

In 2020 alone the EUNIC CLIC project has produced 5 joint activities in fashion, film, music, dance and heritage (Ibid). One of them has a focus on sustainability - *Calentamiento Global* – an emergent experience on sustainable fashion and furniture brands; *Incubando*, where Cuban producers and directors undergo a week of training and networking with European filmmakers, scriptwriters and producers; *Primera Base*, 3 bands - *Raúlito Prieto*, *Los Monos Lácteos* and *Kill the Party*- where selected from a music contest, which have their music produced and launched on an online platforms and get integral training on management and marketing; *Réquiem Siá Kará*, a Spanish dance company in Cuba, a French choreographer and an Italian composer co-choreographed a piece of contemporary dance to be presented in Cuba and Europe; lastly, *Inteligencias Colectivas Cuba* - an online platform to identify, research and scale constructive solutions that are the results of processes of collective intelligent and emergent heritage (Ibid). Some of the underlining areas of work of CLIC in all its activities are in relation to CCI's capacity building, promotion, exchange and showcase with the EU in a wide variety of artistic disciplines.

Furthermore, there was EU members involved in making these activities happen as a part of EUNIC, besides local partners such as: EUNIC Cuba, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation for Development (AECID), EU Delegation to Cuba, *Clandestina* (Sustainable Cuban fashion brand), Havana World Music Festival and its young musical bands competition “*Ira Base*”, *Inteligencias Colectivas*, the International School of TV and Cinema (Ibid). It must be noted that no local or national governmental authorities are involved in the process, this can enable the EUNIC Cluster in Cuba to directly address the local and national CCI's in the private sector and independent artists but having no involvement from a governmental institution in the host country can set the ground for unequal relations.

2.4.2 BOLIVIA – Gender Equality through Art

Besides CLIC in Cuba, there is another documented project of EUNIC with EU Delegations, this project is based in Bolivia: Altavoz Gender Equality through Art. As its name states there is a direct connection of this cultural project to the issue of gender equality. This EUNIC project with the EU Delegation in Cuba looks to establish this topic in the Bolivian cultural sector with special emphasis on civil society. About this they state that they aim to: empower the Bolivian cultural sector and for it to “promote equality, gender equity and sexual diversity and to strengthen its link to civil society organisations” (EUNIC 2019). Further adding that one of the goals is to “change public opinion, the challenges of ‘machismo’ (Ibid) in Bolivia.

Moreover, one of the aims is to promote gender equality and sexual diversity culture, as well as challenge the existing *machismo* culture in the context of human rights discourse and agendas. In the case of Bolivia, human rights have become an increasingly stronger topic of debate but not necessarily in the cultural sector (Ibid). Therefore this is one of the concerns and goals of this project, tackling specifically human rights related to gender equality and

sexual diversity, which are as well linked to the sustainable development goals, an interest to EUNIC's cultural relations approach at the present time.

One of the main concerns of EUNIC in Bolivia is the bureaucracy, as well as not developing top-down approaches as EUNIC members. Moreover, this human rights and democracy discourse agendas are dictated by EUNIC members involved in this project, in this case the Goethe Institute seems very active, as well as the Spanish Cultural Center and Alliance Française (Ibid). In this case Sabine Hentzsch, director of cultural programming of the Goethe Institute in this country, discusses that they do not want to tell local actors what they should do, but help with networking and giving spaces that can be used for “meetings, actions, programmes and projects” (Ibid). In this latter conception of EU cultural cooperation with Bolivia, Europe becomes a partner and enabler that foster democratic and human rights in this context.

This project has the purpose of establishing more democratic approaches in the way it operates, in order to enable that same democratic outcome is essential to EUNIC's understanding of cultural relations. The role of the EU delegation in this EUNIC project is more of an enabler and partner than that of a executor/co-executor and knowledge sharer.



Proyecto Altavox Bolivia. Cobija | Amazonía AlzaLaVoz. JPG. Bolivia n.d.
<https://proyectoaltavoxbolivia.com/elproyecto/> (Accessed: 27/06/21).

2.5 Projects with EUNIC Cluster Fund

The Cluster Fund is the main primary fund for EUNIC members abroad to implement cultural relations projects abroad (EUNIC 2020). Furthermore, the latest goals of EUNIC's Cluster Fund are:

1. “Contribute to the principles of international cultural relations and to the implementation of the new EUNIC Strategic Framework of 2020-2024
2. Support local cultural scenes worldwide in response to the current Covid-19 pandemic
3. Strengthen cooperation amongst EUNIC cluster members and partners on the ground

4. Deliver the local cluster strategies

5. Raise the profile of EUNIC through improved quality of EUNIC clusters' projects"

(Ibid)

These goals reflect the on-going EUNIC values and goals, as well as contemporary concerns developed by the COVID-19 pandemic that started in 2020. One characteristic that can be seen in projects that started in 2020 is that they had to adapt to online formats or different restrictions depending the country and the measures taken towards the cultural sector. Furthermore, the projects for 2021 have a similar tendency of adaptation to online or hybrid formats, as well as addressing current problems and inequalities that emerged stronger during the pandemic.

2.5.1 Brazil

Casa Europa 1968 – FLIP



EUNIC Global. Casa Europa and Youth Orquestra. JPG. Belgium 31/10/19
<https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects/eunic-brasilia> (Accessed: 29/06/21).

On EUNIC clusters, Brazil has two clusters just as Argentina. In Brazil's case it has clusters in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, two of the main important cities of the country. Those of which sometimes work together but their financing schemes are different (EUNIC 2018). This particular EUNIC Cluster Fund project is framed under the relation between Brazil and the historical events of Europe in 1968. In this year there was a lot of social unrest in Brazil, especially student movements emerged as contesting the repression of the dictatorship and demanding a change (Donoso Romo 2018, 54). The EUNIC project Casa Europa 1968 is conformed by some of the pressing issues of that time, such as freedom of speech and they make several activities in relation to the student movements 1968 in Brazil and other European countries such as France and Czech Republic. One of the activities was in a literature festival in Paraty in 2018 they did several readings and panel discussions inside a Baroque church, where Brazilians and Europeans reflected on the 1968 legacy and their concerns on freedom

of speech in the context of the 2018 elections (EUNIC 2018). The members and partners involved are “Alliance Française, British Council, Goethe-Institut, Instituto Cervantes, Institut Français du Brésil, Istituto Italiano di Cultura and Instituto Cultural da Dinamarca, SESC-SP/RJ/National, SENAC SP, FLUP RJ, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro City Governments, São Paulo Bienal Foundation, Itaú Cultural, MITsp, Instituto Moreira Salles, Instituto Tomie Ohtake, FLIP (Ibid).

Moreover, Brazil is one of the clusters that have generated projects that think on a regional scale. This country's clusters sometimes work together with neighbouring countries clusters to generate joint projects that not only address Brazil's national concerns but regional topics as well (Ibid). There is no mentioning of which projects have been done in partnership with neighbouring countries, as well as they do not seem to be documented through EUNIC.

Casa Europa Rethinking the Future of Museums - FLIP

Casa Europa is once again the one presented in the International Literary Festival in Paraty (FLIP) but in this time dedicated to museums in 2019. EUNIC established a programme on “the Future of Museums” after the 2018 fire in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. Some of the speakers were Brazilians and other Europeans in the cultural sector, as well as the programme had collaboration with the Frankfurt Book Fair (EUNIC 2019).

In this second participation of Casa Europa within the FLIP festival, there was funding from outside the EUNIC Cluster Fund as well. Some of the EUNIC Members that were involved were: British Council, Goethe-Institut, Instituto Cervantes, Institut Français du Brésil, Alliance Française, Istituto Italiano di Cultura (EUNIC, n.d.) But as well there was support from EUNIC Global, Delegation of the European Union to Brazil and Frankfurt Book Fair/German Foreign Office (Ibid). Some of the topics that were addressed were those related to accessibility of museums and matters of cultural memory (Ibid).

This EUNIC project has as part of its objectives values such as inclusivity and awareness, as well as Exchange of Brazilian practitioners with European ones. The main concern of this project is mutual dialogue in the contexts of museums.

Youth Wind and Percussion Orquestra

Youth Wind and Percussion Orquestra is a project based in Brasilia and its main objective is to include young people (EUNIC 2019) restructure their musical education and professionalize the musical ensemble (EUNIC 2020). Furthermore they aim for this young people to be closer to “advancing exchanges of knowledge and experiences by promoting presentations, concerts and master classes with European artists” (EUNIC 2019, 2020). The Youth Orquestra project does have a direct concern with knowledge sharing, this is something that is present in other EUNIC projects in Latin America. Moreover, knowledge sharing seems to be conceived in a

unilateral way, contrary to a notion of intercultural dialogue that EUNIC has as a driving objective.

Furthermore, some of the institutions involved are: Alliance Française Brasília, Instituto Cervantes Brasília, Goethe-Zentrum Brasília, Embassy of Italy, Embassy of Poland, SESC, EU Delegation to Brazil (EUNIC 2019) and Embassy of Portugal/Instituto Camões (EUNIC 2020). In the institutions involved there are some recurring EU members that are present in other projects, adding Poland and Portugal to this project.

2.5.2 Mexico

Flash Act



EUNIC Global. Mexico FlashAct. 05/05/21. (Accessed 29/06/21) <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects/flash-act>

Just after Brazil, Mexico is the second country with which the EU has the most projects through the Cluster Fund and overall publicly documented projects of EUNIC in Latin America. There are two projects of the Cluster Fund projects that EUNIC has with Mexico: Flash Act and Music Femlab. In the case of Flash Act, this is a project that aims to “develop new forms of collaboration between art, science and technology and to promote systemic thinking and citizen participation in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean in the current context of the pandemic” (EUNIC 2021). Furthermore, their goals involve generating “a multidisciplinary network supported by a virtual platform, in order to promote new initiatives and innovative formats of collaboration around artistic creation and scientific communication in Mexico and neighbouring countries” (Ibid). This EUNIC Cluster Mexico led project involves not only the aforementioned country but also Panama, Guatemala, Honduras and Dominican Republic.

As it is stated by EUNIC, this project has been proposed in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, this project is focused on trans disciplinary art “with a goal to promote, through the resulting projects, direct experiences, critical thinking and active participation that significantly transform humans' relationship with our environment, as well as creatively join the Sustainable Development Goals (Ibid). Therefore, besides the pandemic context which forces cultural relations into online formats, there is a concern to address social issues, especially those related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) which are a priority on EUNIC's strategic framework (EUNIC 2020). The sustainable development goals

are themselves part of the human rights and democracy discourse, as they are tackling social, political, cultural and economic issues in the world-systems structure.

There are 3 exchanges which are planned to be done under this project: Flash ACT Lab (prototype on science, art and technology on a weekend), Flash ACT Encounters (workshops and consulting with experts) and Flash ACT Festival (presentation of results to international jury). This project overall seem to reflect the cultural relations principles that EUNIC has developed through recent times, as well as their contemporary political agenda, showcased in their Strategic Framework.

Furthermore, some members and partners involved are: Goethe-Institut, Insitut français, Centro Cultural de España, Alliance Française; Centro Cultural de España in Guatemala, Centro Cultural de España in Nicaragua, Centro Cultural de España in Dominican Republic, Embassy of France in Honduras, Alliance Française in Costa Rica, Embassy of Germany in Guatemala, Embassy of Germany in Costa Rica; IRD (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement), Mexico City; Centro de Cultura Digital, Mexico-City; Universum, Science Museum, Mexico-City; FundAHrte - Fundación Alemán Healy, Panama Estudio Nuboso, Panama (EUNIC 2021).

Music Femlab

The other EUNIC Cluster Fund project with Mexico is Music Femlab. This project aims to “promote intercultural encounters in Mexico City focused on women who are part of the electronic music scene” (EUNIC 2019). Music Femlab was produced during Women’s Month and it has a focus on women and gender equality issues in the national context (Ibid).

This project has a spirit of dialogue, human rights and capacity building. The project is described as exacerbating “peer-to-peer dialogue spaces of mutual learning for the professionalization of local participants” and targeting “women, representing 20% of a male-dominated sector in a local context of structural violence against women” (Ibid). Moreover, Music FemLab is “a space for the exchange of experiences, co-creation, and networking, in which gender becomes a crosscutting issue and a central one to the experience of participants” (Ibid). It has 3 formats: creative tandems, laboratories and co-creation presentations, and will stage 4 encounters. Due to its relation to gender equality, this project is founded under a basic human right (United Nations and the Rule of Law, n.d.) as well as under sustainable development goals, such as gender equality (Departamento de Asuntos Económicos y Sociales, n.d.)

Furthermore, some of the members involved are: AECID / Spanish Cultural Center in México, Goethe-Institut, British Council, Instituto Italiano di Cultura, Alliance Française, Austrian Embassy, Polish Embassy, Swedish Embassy / Swedish Institute, Portuguese Embassy / Instituto Camões; EU Delegation to Mexico; Casa del Lago - National Autonomous University of Mexico (Ibid).

2.5.3 Uruguay

E(uropean) U(ruguayan) Comics para el futuro de nuestro medio ambiente

The last two EUNIC Cluster Fund projects that are documented by this institution are E(uropean) U(ruguayan) *Comics para el futuro de nuestro medio ambiente* in Uruguayan and Migration – Verbal Portraits in Argentina. Both countries only have one project in their territory under EUNIC Cluster Funds projects.

The Uruguayan project is focused on climate change and environmental issues, as well as a variety of SDG's on this topic. Such as SDG 13: Climate Action (United Nations Development Programme Latin America. n.d.). This project is concerned on these issues and stresses its importance to Uruguayan and European policy makers and describes that the project consisted in European and Uruguayan comic artists produced comics on these topics (EUNIC 2020). This focus on environmental issues that serve societal concerns shows a connection to EUNIC's purpose to generate cultural relations with third countries on a human rights and democracy perspective, addressing concerns from the international community.

Furthermore, this collaboration will be showcased at the Montevideo Comics Festival and will consist as well on workshops and talks in relation to environmentalism through the comics (Ibid). This project had the following institutions involved: Centro Cultural de España, Goethe-Institut, Instituto Cultural Anglo Uruguayo, Alliance Française de Montevideo, Camões - instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, Instituto Cultural Suecia-Uruguay, Instituto Italiano de Cultura, Fundación Tsakos, Instituto Iberoamericano de Finlandia, Delegación de la Unión Europea en Uruguay, Embassy of France in Uruguay, Montevideo Comics, Universidad ORT Uruguay, Fridays for Future (Ibid). In the case of this project there is a lot of partners of different countries involved from the European counterpart, in the official communication of EUNIC there does not seem to be any particular member taking the leadership on this project.

2.5.4 Argentina

Migration - Verbal Portraits

As mentioned before, Argentina together with Brazil are the only two Latin American and Caribbean countries that has two clusters in its territory. In Argentina's case is Buenos Aires and Córdoba (EUNIC 2017). The following project aims to create a dialogue around the topic of migration, in relation to the EU's migration challenges and the history of migration in Argentina (Ibid). Therefore this project aims to create a dialogue on the context of human mobility that has impacted both of the regions involved.

Furthermore, this project had three main activities: two conferences with the Cultural Ministry, collaboration with the European Film Festival in Buenos Aires and a multidisciplinary exhibition (Ibid). In this particular project there was an involvement of a national cultural institute, which can propose an equal start in the bilateral relation in the cultural cooperation amongst EU members and the LAC counterparts. The members and

partners involved in this project are only the EUNIC Clusters in Buenos Aires and Cordoba (Ibid).

Overall the aforementioned EUNIC projects have a strong human rights and democracy discourse, as they are based on EUNIC's values, Strategic Framework and the EU international cultural relations strategy, which are in themselves embedded in human rights and democracy values. There is a stronger concern about human rights and democracy in some EUNIC projects more than others, which is reflected in their discourse. Some of the projects that did directly address human rights or democratic contexts in the LAC countries are: Argentina – Migration Verbal Portraits, Bolivia – Gender Equality through Art, Brazil – Casa Europa 1968, Casa Europa Youth Wind & Percussion Orquestra, Mexico – Flash Act, Mexico – Music Femlab, Uruguay – E(uropean) U(ruguayan) Comics para el Futuro de Nuestro Medio Ambiente. These projects either were concerned with specific human rights such as gender equality (e.g. Gender Equality Through Art or Music Femlab), political rights such as citizen participation (e.g. Flash Act) as well as those sensibilizing about conflictive contexts in their countries (e.g. Brazil – Casa Europa 1968), as well as Comics para el Futuro in regards to concerns on environmental issues (See Table 1 for EUNIC's projects per country and in relation to human rights and democracy discourse).

Country	Project	Human Right & Democracy value
Brazil	Casa Europa 1968	Freedom of speech
Brazil	Youth Wind and Percussion Orquestra	Education
Mexico	Flash Act	Citizen participation, environment
Mexico	Music Femlab	Gender equality
Argentina	Migration Verbal Portraits	Mobility, peace, safety
Bolivia	Gender Equality Through Art	Gender equality
Uruguay	(U)ruguay (E)uropean Comics para el Futuro de Nuestro Medio Ambiente	Environment

Table 1. EUNIC's projects per country in relation to human rights and democracy.

EUNIC. n.d. "Projects". EUNIC Global. Retrieved on 01/06/21. <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects>

Moreover, it must be noted that there is a diversity of actors involved in EUNIC's projects, even amongst member states. Though there is a diversity of actors, there is some main political actors such as Spain, France, Germany, followed by Italy, Portugal, Sweden and to a lesser extent Austria, Finland, Denmark and Poland (See Figure 1), The main three Member States that were involved have strong traditions of cultural diplomacy and cultural cooperation, meanwhile the most active member, Spain, has a colonial relation to the region and the Spanish language is the most spoken language in the region.

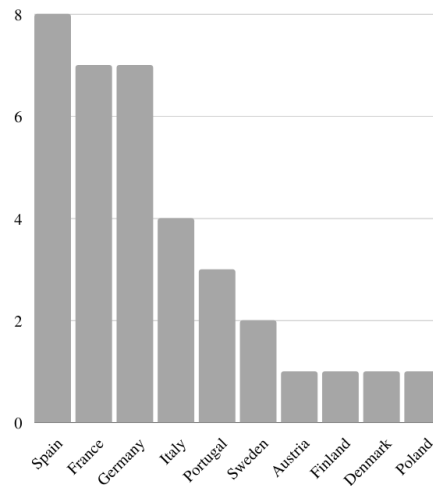


Figure 1. EUNIC Members number of projects with countries in Latin America or the Caribbean

EUNIC. n.d. “*Projects*” EUNIC Global. Retrieved on 01/06/21. <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects>

Besides the preexisting data on public documentation of EUNIC regarding projects with the LAC region, there is an analysis on an interview with EUNIC’s director at the point of this research.

2.6 Interview with EUNIC director (2018-2021) Gitte Zschoch

In this interview with EUNIC’s current director, Gitte Zschoch, EUNIC values and projects with the LAC region were briefly discussed. Furthermore, this interview showed that there is an institutional awareness and discourse regarding Global North – Global South power relations in the context of EU-LAC cultural cooperation. It was discussed in the context of growing debates on fair cultural cooperation, as well as on the institution’s awareness on postcolonial cultural relations.

The aim of this interview was to assess the arguments and conclusions that I was coming to with the existing institutional documents and communication, as well as pose direct questions in relation to power structures that derive from post-colonialism and world-systems theories mainly. In this section I will divide different topics addressed in the interview, as a result of the coding process, which is explained in the methodology section.

2.6.1 Introduction to the interview subject

Gitte Zschoch is the director of EUNIC since 2018 and until this present day (EUNIC 2020). Her education background is on literature studies and further specializing in Korean literature, she has been involved in cultural relations since her work in the Goethe-Institut in South Korea, Japan, South Africa and Germany (Ibid).

The initial contact with Gitte Zschoch was through an email from my supervisor, dr. J.A.C. Kolsteeg towards her institutional email – they had no prior connection. Afterwards she answered and I continued the contact, which only consisted of me presenting a brief description of the research proposal and setting a date for the interview. The interview was held the 21th of may 2021, via an online videoconference, which was recorded only for the purpose of transcription for this research and its analysis.

Through this interview there was some reassurance on some institutional communication regarding human rights and democracy discourse, though there was some specific topics and values which seem to repeat themselves and therefore will be analysed in that manner through some pairings I did based on topics that correlated and appeared in the coding process.

2.6.2 Intercultural dialogue: mutual listening and understanding

One of the main values and concerns in EUNICs work is mutual listening and understanding, this translates to LAC projects in the section presented before where each project was briefly analysed. “So at the core of the project is the are the values of the strategy as well, which is bottom up approach, mutual listening and learning, creating a spirit of dialogue.” In this case the European Houses of Culture project -Triángulo Teatro- subscribes to these values and exacerbates the intercultural approach of this institution and its member states as one entity. Moreover, mutual understanding is a chore human rights and democracy discourse element that is present in this specific project.

In regards to mutual listening and exchanges, understanding cultural relations and inequality implications amongst countries and regions is necessary. In this aspect, critique on colonialism and European heritage shows some insights into how mutual understanding can be shaped with more equal relations. In this topic the following is discussed: “when we talk about trust and understanding when talking about this issues can deepen our trust and understanding. At least that’s something that my personal experience shows, when I worked in Kinshasa on colonialism or anything it was present the awareness, it was there, partners could feel it and appreciate that” (Ibid). Therefore trust and understanding can be strengthened through more equal and non-colonial relations in cultural cooperation with global south countries, in this research’s case the LAC region.

2.6.3 Fair cultural cooperation, equality and bottom up approaches

The concept of fair cultural cooperation poses a perspective of more equal and democratic approaches to cultural relations discourse. The concept of fair cultural collaboration is addressed in EUNIC’s work, about this they state some of the following ideas.

First, it was stated that fair collaboration is something they are working on as an institution. About this Gitte Zschoch mentions: “for us at EUNIC, what in the end of 2019 the General Assembly has decided to work more deliberately on fair collaboration and define what that

means for us as actors in cultural relations or cultural diplomacy” (Zschoch 2021). Therefore, influenced by EU goals on external relations, EUNIC adopts this discourse in relation to equality as a central value in cultural relations. Furthermore, they have an interest in practical ways to bring fair cultural cooperation into practice. This is made through a forthcoming toolkit, as an example comes the toolkit made by the Netherlands international cooperation office - DutchCulture: “because there a lot of, there has been this toolkit produced by IETM and DutchCulture and OntheMove on fair collaboration on international performing arts, so they where talking about when you are co-creating a theatre piece, where are the pitfalls, what are some things that can go wrong, I found it very useful just to reflect what to take into account when you want to set an effective space for cooperation” (Ibid). But even though, this toolkit is recognized by EUNIC’s director as an instrument for fair cultural collaboration, she established the need for a specialized toolkit on EUNIC’s cultural relations. About this concern this was stated: “the existing toolkit only talk about performing arts and we first of all deal with all the arts and beyond” (Ibid). In this wider conception of culture in international relations or cooperation, the institution is structuring a Fair Collaboration Toolkit (Zschoch 2021: EUNIC 2021). Therefore this instrument attends the institutional values and goals.

Furthermore, when stating the difference on this toolkit on fair collaboration they establish their understanding of culture in their work. “Our understanding of culture is quite wide as you will also see, also we are not institutions that are like theatres were you have your public in a certain city and then for this public you want to create international work. We are already intermediate organizations that facilitate international exchange and we are working, we are based in third countries, we are there, we go to where our international partners are so I feel this is just a particular set up of our work so this needs to be taken into account, that’s why we decided to work on a toolkit on fair collaboration but to us” (Ibid). The creation of this toolkits entails another step into human rights and democratic values for cultural relations discourses.

Lastly, in this topic there are different approaches to creating more fair exchanges that EUNIC takes into consideration. This approaches go beyond Global North – Global South relations or post colonialism contexts as stated by EUNIC’s director which emphasized that: “now we are dealing with it in a much wider sense including climate change, fair collaboration, fair pay and all of these inclusivity, diversity, all of these topics” (Ibid). Therefore it can’t be assumed that the new collaboration toolkit and therefore, cultural cooperation activities of EUNIC have a decolonizing sensitivity or approach.

In the line of fair cultural cooperation, European Spaces of Culture with Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador it is addressed that they are “trying to do is to set a sort of governance of this projects, that fulfill this equal equitable approach” (Ibid). This focus entails including the LAC counterparts in a similar level in the cooperation processes. The artistic aspect is co-shared from beginning stages, but planning and institutions involved have a strong leadership from European counterparts. From the Member States involved and their institutions abroad, Centro Cultural de España en Tegucigalpa has a stronger participation in the project.

The concerns for equality are not only related to having equal roles on a social and political level when doing cultural exchanges, but as well funding is a factor behind the power

imbalances within cultural cooperation projects of Global South and Global North countries in the EU-LAC cooperation in the World-System structure. About this Zschoch mentions: “you know what’s often difficult is that when you wanna create equality with stakeholders is that often the one with the money has more power, you know because they can decide how the money is spent” (Ibid). The power imbalances in funding are a structural problem to EU-LAC relations, as usually it is European funded and lead.

Moreover, another aspect of inequality for the LAC region is access to Internet, especially in the context of the pandemic. In the case of European Houses of Culture and the project Triángulo Teatro, the format had to be adapted to online events but the challenges of accessing online cultural activities is not possible for all audiences, therefore they state that “they also used radio, so they can reach out to those groups of society who don’t have access to the internet who of course that is a huge challenge in those countries” (Ibid). The questions of equality within southern countries in the context of the pandemic pose further barriers for EU-LAC relations.

In regards to European Spaces of Culture and Triángulo Teatro, there is an objective to bring bottom up approaches to ICR in EUNIC’s work. The work of EUNIC is aligned with the EU strategy on ICR, therefore “at the core of the project is the are the values of the strategy as well, which is bottom up approach, mutual listening and learning, creating a spirit of dialogues” (Ibid). They subscribe to the goals of this strategy and reflect values that the EU wishes to portray in other regions through the EU strategy on CR.

2.6.4 Sustainable Development

As mentioned in the previous section that encompassed the analysis of EUNIC’s public institutional communication in regards to projects with LAC countries in all its areas, there is a recent interest from EUNIC to align their activities to the Sustainable Development Goals, which are subscribed to an international human rights discourse and the agenda is aimed for the international community.

In the interview material EUNIC’s director discusses the institutions interest in the SDG’s and working towards this within the understanding of involving Global North and Global South countries alike. The interest in SDG’s was reassured by the following statement: “we started working on the sustainable development goals, SDGs and the agenda, UN agenda 2030 which is both a broader and more global sort of call towards we can work and also, this is called development but for all of us, all countries” (Ibid). In this regard, EUNIC frames its work and some of the objectives through this agenda and having both Global North and Global South counterparts be active partners, there is a mutual dialogue and responsibility.

2.6.5 European Art, showcasing and traditional diplomacy

In the cultural relations approach in EUNIC’s discourse, there is a separation from traditional diplomacy, such as portraying one’s country or regions art onto an external country/region.

About this, the institution shared that in their more equitable approach they do not want their projects to be traditional showcasing of European art abroad: “they shouldn’t be showcasing, what we do not want to do anymore when we work together as EUNIC ...” (Ibid). The concern of showcasing is related to top-down relation as the dialogue is predominantly one dimensional, without involving the counterparts artistic production in the exchange. As EUNIC’s cultural cooperation focuses in creating mutual understanding, one directional exchanges does not seem to fit into EUNIC’s approach to CR.

Moreover, they explain that there are other cultural activities EU members make that are not under EUNIC’s line of work, which they classify as more traditional public diplomacy. These activities are related to the day on the diversity of European Languages and other cultural activities as film festivals which they classify as showcasing or public diplomacy: “but what EUNIC has done more and more is to work in what we call cultural relations” (Ibid). EUNIC’s cultural relations aim to make cultural cooperation more into mutual understanding, learning and listening. The traditional cultural diplomacy seems to be conflictive in EUNIC’s work in the following sense: “We do not want to have this showcasing or just celebrating the diversity of European cultures, we want to actually go into a relationship with our practitioners, with the public, with students, anyone who we identify who we want to work with on a given project that makes sense on the ground and that is has a European added value on top of that” (Ibid). Therefore, European values in EUNIC’s understanding are related to having a local approach to their cultural relations projects with the LAC region and beyond.

In the interview there was a discussion on European art and European values in relation to the critique on showcasing art abroad without considering the local context and needs, specially in relation to recent discussions on European heritage as something that is being contested (see Appendix: Interview Transcript answer 5). In this sense, there is a critical self reflection on European institutions “for example I think in those countries when you constantly try to bring in European artists, when you have too much of a showcasing, in this moment its not something that is needed, why should we showcase our beautiful European or German culture...” (Ibid). These remarks show the critical self-reflection of EUNIC in relation to power structures and traditional one dimensional exchanges between Global South and North partners and local realities, which EUNIC’s cultural relations and proposed values propose to do in a different manner.

CHAPTER 3 – Conclusions

3. 1 Conclusions and further discussion

“By using human rights language is referred to human rights standards, which guarantees individual artists and expressions already so there is standards already. We do not have to recreate it...” Dr Srirak Plipat – Freemuse director (EUNIC 2020)

The previous discussion on EUNIC’s projects with the LAC region in the context of EU-LAC cultural relations and their democracy and human rights discourses showcases value-systems

of these regions political and social agendas, as well as leaving a lot of open discussion in this specific line of research and others.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the main research question of this paper is as follows: what are the human rights and democracy discourses in cultural relations between EU-LAC cooperation in EUNIC's case and what are some power relations that derive from these regions historical contexts? The human rights and democracy discourse of EUNIC is based in the values and strategic framework of the institution. The main human rights discourse is in relation to mutual understanding and equality perspectives in EUNIC's work with external countries or regions, as well as through the specific human rights that the projects aim to develop in each of the contexts or the democratic values that are a part of the conception of the projects.

Moreover, EUNIC's projects are directly linked to human rights such as freedom of speech, citizen participation and gender equality, as well as they aim to foster democratic contexts through education and peace building (See Table 1). Some of the power relations that derive from historical contexts between these two regions are the colonial relations, such as the consistent involvement of countries like Spain in the region, as the listed partners showed in different projects. Also by the leadership of the EU and the European political leadership in human rights and democracy discourses when collaborating with the Latin American region.

In regards to the sub questions of this research, the answer to sub-question 1, what type of activities does EUNIC develop with the LAC region? is discussed in this chapter as a reflection of EUNIC's overall work, which is characterized by a wider conception of culture, including arts. Some of the arts and creative disciplines involved are: theatre, music, cinema, design, visual arts, architecture, urbanism, photography, music, comics, opera and museums. Also, there is a project that fostered dialogue and a multidiscipline between art and technology. Moreover, in relation to sub question 2, what are the human rights and democracy values behind these exchanges? there is a clear human rights and democracy discourse through the institutional values portrayed in EUNIC's work, such as the ones mentioned beforehand: mutual listening and understanding, equality, freedom of speech, citizen participation, education and peace. In sub-question, what are the possible power relations developed from colonial pasts and unequal social contexts amongst these regions? There is a colonial relation portrayed in the leadership of Member States with a colonial past with LAC region, besides socio-political inequalities of these regions that are reflected in Europe having a more cohesive regional organization, while Latin America mainly works on a bilateral relations basis as seen with EUNIC, instead of multilateral. Finally, sub-question 4, how is fair cultural cooperation addressed through democracy and human rights discourses in EUNIC's work? This is addressed by having cultural relations that are based in mutual understanding and listening, as well as looking for more fair exchanges with their partners abroad and to have a process that is more bottom-up and that includes and prioritizes local needs.

This research focused on macro discourses such as those in world-systems, post-colonialism and human rights and democracy theory. These traditional international relations and human rights theories are applied to a cultural relations and cooperation case study in this research.

These theories under the methodology of critical discourse analysis help analyse the socio-political structures in EU-LAC relations and EUNIC as a case study. Even though this research focused on macro theories and macro discourses, it was clear through EUNIC's work and the theories used that micro-macro tensions are a topic of discussion in themselves when analysing cultural relations under human rights and democracy values. Critical discourse analysis demands for a direct questioning into power structures that world-systems theory identifies, both world-systems and critical discourse analysis focus on power structures and question them.

The formulation of universal pragmatics on democracy and human rights discourse theory faces the skepticism from post-colonialism notions of universal truth. The conception of human rights is conceived under 'universal' notions of values, which are reflected in political discourses. In this conception of human rights as universal, mutual dialogue is essential to human rights and democracy discourse theory and does translate to EUNIC's work. This is reflected in the institutional interest to generate fair cultural collaboration, as well as realizing post-colonial cultural relations as the interview showed.

In regards to post-colonial relations, it is discussed that regional organizations of Latin America are not as consolidated, therefore in bi-regional cooperation with the EU, there is a stronger leadership from Europe. This tendency presupposes a tension for a postcolonial perspective, as the participation and political leadership of the LAC region is dependent on specific nations generating projects on a bilateral basis with the EU.

Furthermore, fair cultural collaboration is a recognition of hierarchies between actors involved in these exchanges. EUNIC's cultural relations approach could presuppose a challenge to the 'secondary' identity that post colonialists criticize of European and LAC connections with the past, as EUNIC's work actively engages in generating equal exchanges and putting attention to local needs. This line of work is challenging the hierarchies of World-Systems and the secondary identity. The latter comes in the conception of knowledge sharing and human rights from one region to the other, as it is related to dependency theory related to World-Systems, but also closely connected to post-colonialism as it analyses power relations between what have been historically considered as core-periphery regions.

Beyond power relations that can be affecting EU-LAC cultural relations discourse, specific nations in Latin America showcase a strong political leadership on a bilateral basis, which further problematizes the regional integration. In post-colonialism concerns on power relations, cultural exchanges between EU-LAC, require for Latin America to recognize the 'secondariness' implications. Being aware of this in cultural relations discourse could foster fair cultural cooperation and avoiding top-down cultural relations with Europe.

In the European counterparts case, there is a need to think of the LAC region outside of its past, so true equal grounds can take place. As in human rights and democracy discourses, equality is a necessary component. Furthermore, discourse as speech acts in human rights and democracy discourses is one level of fostering fair cultural cooperation in international organizations work as EUNIC.

Furthermore, this research focused on these types of discourses in EUNIC's projects with the LAC region. Through the speech acts that were produced by EUNIC it is noticeable that there is a strong sense of dialogue building from EUNIC as a political actor that aims to represent democratic values. This is showcased as well through constant debates where consensus on topics such as fair exchanges is discussed. The consequences of an unequal world-system and post colonial societies, directly affects human rights and democracy in cultural relations.



Figure 2. EUNIC projects in Latin American and Caribbean countries

EUNIC. n.d. "Projects" EUNIC Global. 01/06/21. <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects>

Moreover, some other projects in the LAC region have a focus more related to development and professionalization of CCI's such as in the material from Triángulo Teatro – Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and CLIC – Cuba, where exchange with Europe is part of the proposal or in Casa Europa - Rethinking the Future of Museums, where it is a dialogue on a specific discipline of the CCI's, in this case it is museums. Besides, there are some projects in which knowledge sharing is a strong component in what the project looks to achieve see 2.4.1 Cuba (CLIC Culture to Connect) and 2.5.1 Brazil (Youth Wind & Percussion Orquestra in Brazil). The concept of knowledge sharing has a top-down relation, where the European counterpart gives the "know-how" to the creatives and artists in the LAC region. There seems to be a connection between this and the spirit of exchange between cultures, but it this notion can fall into post-colonial critique of dependency relations.

Finally, there is a clear sensibility to these power relations from what was expressed through the EUNIC interview (see Appendix Interview with Gitte Zschoch transcript), by either colonial or economy based issues.

3.2 Further research

This paper focused on discursive means but EU-LAC cultural relations such as cases as EUNIC, can be analyzed on its practice and actions in regards to this topic. Moreover, there is a lot of research that can develop in EU-LAC cultural relations, such as in the case of EUNIC specialize in analyzing one country of the LAC region. Also, analyzing countries with strong cultural diplomacy traditions in collaboration with the EU, such as Brazil or Mexico, that did present more activity with EUNIC. Moreover, there is a possibility to continue in bi-regional studies of EU cultural relations or external cultural policy, by analyzing its cooperation with other priority areas in the EU strategy for cultural relations.

As regional integration is a necessary component to generate bi-regional exchanges such as EU-LAC cultural cooperation research presented in this paper, another possibility of research would be in regards to regional integration. One could focus on analysing whether generating external projects serves EU member states feeling like a cohesive political and cultural group or on the contrary, if these type of exchanges foster and show the differences amongst them in power and historical relations with the outside world, such as World-Systems theory and post-colonialism theory addresses.

In contrast to liberalism or universalistic approaches to human rights, such as the one my theoretical framework presupposes, another area of research could be in relation to critique of these approaches. Specifically how internationalization can hinder human rights and democracy in local contexts, since the discourse of institutions such as EUNIC, have stronger focus on local needs and local driven projects, just as the material exposed.

Finally, there is a lot of research that can be done on cultural relations in contrast to traditional cultural diplomacy and nation-branding, just as the interview with Gitte Zschoch showed and by the institutional discourses of institutions such as EUNIC, Cultural Relations Platform and more institutions working on international cultural exchanges.

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APPENDICES

Appendix Interview Script to EUNIC's director

Semi-structured interview script

Objective: To further analyse human rights and democracy value-system discourse in EUNIC's work in cultural cooperation, especially with Latin American and Caribbean countries. As well as to deepen into the existing arguments in their institutional communication regarding human rights and democracy in the LAC region.

1. EUNIC has a number of projects with the LAC region, specifically right now there is the project of the European Spaces of Culture in northern Central American countries: Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. This project focused on theatre performances amongst these countries as a regional exchange, the pandemic made it adapt to an online format predominantly. How would you describe the objectives behind this project? In relation to EUNIC's values
2. Besides European Spaces of Culture, EUNIC has projects with the LAC regions such as those with EUNIC Cluster Funds (Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay and Argentina); and with EU Delegations such as CLIC in Cuba and Gender Equality through Art in Bolivia. What can you tell us about both this projects in terms of its relation to EUNIC's values?
3. There seems to be a change in which cultural cooperation is done with Global South countries and EUNIC's discourse seems to be in synchronization with that, how would you describe this discourse and practice change? In relation to fair cultural cooperation and EUNIC's work
4. What have been some challenges of working in LAC contexts with cultural cooperation projects? ("fragile"? Global South)
5. If this subject is in EUNIC's agenda of research and practice, how is EUNIC preventing or noticing colonial aspects in cultural relations?
6. Finally, what are some other/extra/last/general remarks you would like to add about EUNIC's work with Latin America and the Caribbean?

Appendix Interview Transcript Gitte Zschoch

Transcription Interview

Interviewee: Gitte Zschoch

Position: EUNIC Director

Date: 21/05/21

Place: Online (video call Google Meet - RUG account)

*The content of this transcript is confidential, if you wish to have access to it for research or other professional purpose you can contact me and explain why you wish to obtain this material at: cristinaperegrina@outlook.com

Appendix Tables Atlas.ti coding

The following tables are a result of the coding process of Atlas.ti. The codes are derived from all the EUNIC projects webpages and the interview transcript.

Table 2. Human Rights and Democracy discourse codes

Color	Name	Foundation	Density	Groups	Number	Comments	Creator	Date of creation
●	Cultural diversity	2	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	Cultural diversity: languages	2	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21
●	Cultural Relations	11	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	Democracy	0	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	Democracy: bottom-up approach	1	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	Development	22	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	Development: cultural development	1	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	Development: development cooperation	4	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	Development: Sustainable Development	7	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	Environment	2	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	Environment: Global Warming	2	0	Democracy and Human Rights	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21

Table 3. Table post-colonialism codes

Color	Name	Fundamentation	Density	Groups	Number of groups	Comments	Creator	Date of creation
●	Colonialism	10	0	Post-colonialism	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	Conflict	0	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	Conflict: power relations	3	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	Cultural Diplomacy: showcasing	4	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21
●	European Art	13	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21
●	European Art: European Artists	1	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21
●	European Art: Heritage	0	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21
●	European Values	11	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21

●	Fragile contexts	0	0	Post-colonialism	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	C
●	Inequality	7	0	Democracy and Human Rights, Post-colonialism, World Systems	3		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	C
●	Representation: eurocentricism	1	0	Post-colonialism	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C
●	Resilient	2	0	Post-colonialism	1		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	C
●	Showcasing	4	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C
●	Violence	7	0	Democracy and Human Rights, Post-colonialism, World Systems	3		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	C

Table 4. Table World-Systems codes

Color	Name	Fundamentation	Density	Groups	Number of groups	Comments	Creator	Date of creation	
●	Capital	0	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C
●	Capital: Funding	4	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C
●	Conflict	0	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	C
●	Conflict: power relations	3	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C
●	Cultural Diplomacy	2	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C
●	Cultural Diplomacy: showcasing	4	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21	C
●	Cultural relations: EU Strategy for ICR	6	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21	C
●	European Art	13	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	C
●	European Art: European Artists	1	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	C

•	European Art: Heritage	0	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21
•	European integration	4	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21
•	European integration: Member States	0	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/28/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21
•	European Values	11	0	Post-colonialism, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	4/28/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21
•	Global - Local	1	0	World Systems	1		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21
•	Global - Local: Local	4	0	Democracy and Human Rights, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21
•	Global - Local: top-down	4	0	Democracy and Human Rights, World Systems	2		Cristina Peregrina	5/27/21	Cristina Peregrina	6/10/21

Appendix Networks of codes Atlas.ti

The following maps are derived from the codes showcased in the previous appendix. The codes with other colours besides the prominent one mean they overlap with other theories.

Figure 2. Map of networks in relation to Human Rights and Democracy discourse codes

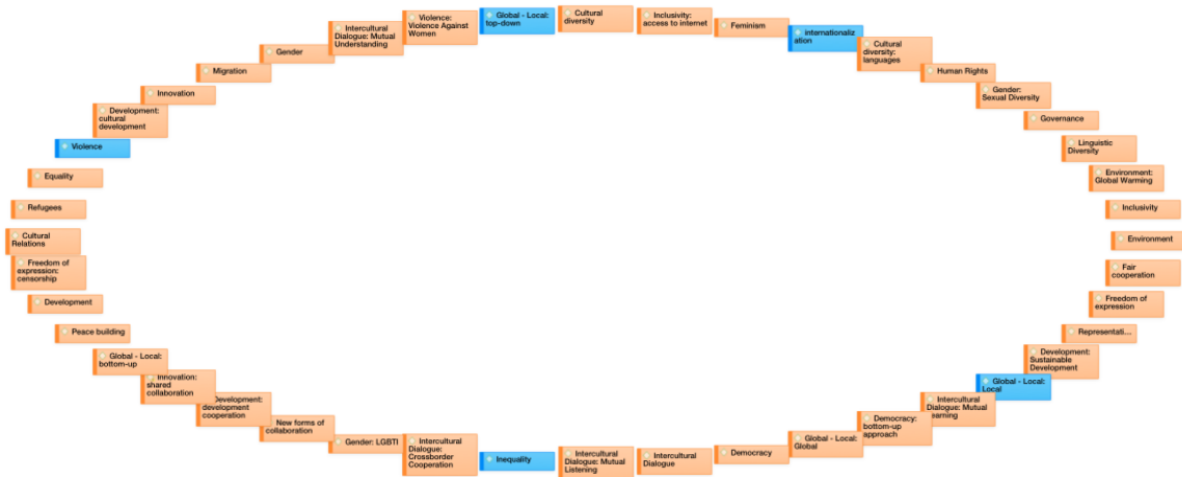


Figure 3. Map of networks in relation to Post-colonialism codes

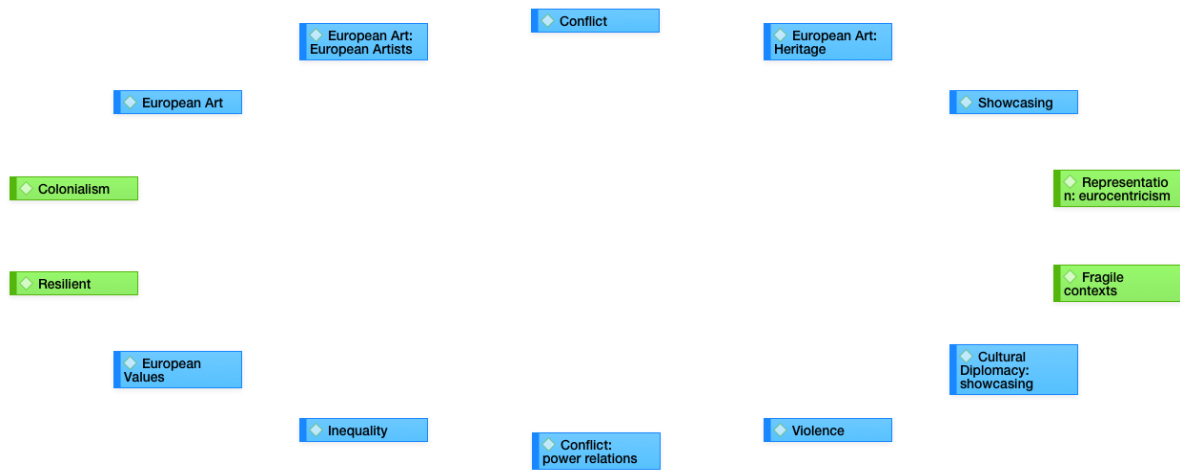
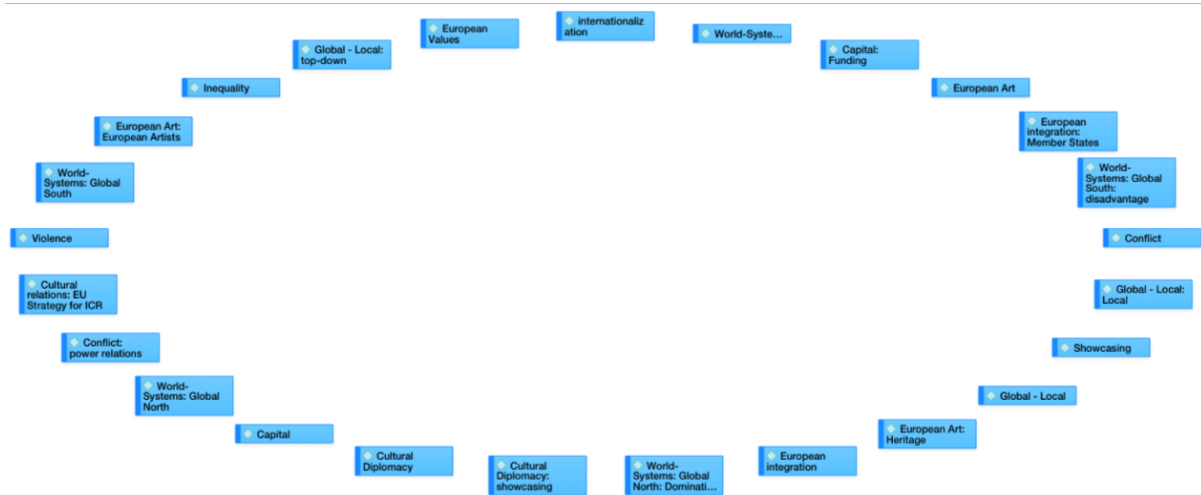


Figure 4. Map of networks in relation to World-Systems codes





culturalrelations.network