Shared Stories and Creative Dissonances: How Can Literature Contribute to Current Reflections on European Identity?

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ABSTRACT

Over the past years, European cultural organizations have initiated several transnational literary projects to reflect on what binds Europeans together. As part of a research project that examines what role these literary projects play in the debate on European identity, this article explores expectations held by the organizers of these initiatives. Drawing on discourse analysis, documents such as project plans are researched to examine discourses on European political and cultural identity, as well as the main argumentative strategies deployed by organizations to legitimize the literary contribution to the debate on Europe as a unity.
In October 2010, Dutch author Abdelkader Benali wrote a response in *The Guardian* to the proposal of banning the burqa in the Netherlands. In his article, entitled “I Migrated to Europe with Hope. Now I Feel Nothing but Dread,” Benali grieves over the loss of a hospitable continent:

> It’s time to come up with a new idea of what Europe is, drawing on the humane Europe as defended and described by writers such as Thomas Mann and Bertol [sic] Brecht. A Europe that newcomers consider a refuge, not a hell. If not, Europe will not die for a lack of immigrants, it will die for lack of light.

By referring to Mann and Brecht, Benali calls upon a long-standing tradition of interventions of intellectuals in European politics. Many scholars (Hewitson and D’Auria; Viehoff and Segers) argue that intellectuals have played a role in the process of European integration—and literary authors in particular (Heynders; Lützeler). Writers still have an important voice in discussions on what binds Europeans together, especially since financial and political crises have made this issue more pressing. However, in contrast to the tradition of individual, polemical interventions by the great European writers referred to by Benali, contemporary reflections by cultural actors on Europe’s identity seem more institutionalized. An example of this institutionalization is the EU’s Culture Programme: with a budget of 400 million euro it supported cultural projects that promote dialogues on shared heritage and cultural diversity. It is, however, not only a top-down policy to fund these types of initiatives: grassroots organizations independent of EU institutions, such as the European Cultural Foundation, also initiate literary festivals and projects. As a result of this process of institutionalization, contemporary literary authors are increasingly part of transnational literary projects, encompassing literary texts, festivals, and websites, planned by cultural organizations with the aim to engage writers and audiences in debates on European unity. A prime example is Benali himself, an active participant in several of these transnational literary projects, among others *Narratives for Europe*, organized by the European
Cultural Foundation in 2009. Despite this institutionalization of literary interventions in the form of transnational projects, most research on contemporary literary representations of European identity is still mainly focused on either individual authors or single works of fiction (see for example Hollis and Vitse).

This article is part of a larger study in which recent literary projects function as case studies to explain the role of these new, institutionalized literary contributions to the debate on European identity. The focus of this paper will be on one particular aspect: the expectations cultural organizations have when they launch projects that reflect on European identity from a literary point of view. In documents such as project plans, organizers present an image of Europe and employ strategies to argue for a literary perspective on these reflections. Such plans, in other words, are textual sites where organizers explicate their views on European identity and literature’s role in its construction. Analyzing these project plans, therefore, can offer answers to two questions: what image of Europe is presented in these projects? And why have the organizers invited authors of literary works, rather than politicians, for example, to reflect on these issues? The train journey Literatur Express Europa 2000 and the aforementioned Narratives for Europe function as case studies, singled out from my research to be discussed below.

The first and second section of this article address the theoretical framework that underpins key concepts concerning these questions. The political and cultural concept of European identity will be the focus of the first section, connected with the idea of “the Europe of Citizens” and the slogan “unity in diversity.” The second section presents a brief review of research on the literary contributions to discussions about Europe, summarized in four different strategies that argue for the importance of literature in European identity formation. This theoretical framework is followed by a third section on methods. Documents such as project plans have been researched from the perspective of discourse analysis, in order to bring to light both the images of European Identity.

1. A PhD research I started in 2014, titled Transnational Literary Projects and the European Identity.
identity, and strategies to argue that a literary approach is a valuable contribution to debates on European identity. The fourth section presents the preliminary findings of the two case studies.

**European Identity: A Cultural and Political Dimension**

European issues such as the Single Market, immigration, solidarity, and expansions of the EU, have provoked the question of a shared European identity. Public reflections on a European sense of self usually involve the idea of sharing values and a cultural world on the one hand, and a debate on the EU and its political institutions on the other. This dichotomy in thinking about a European self can also be found in several studies on collective identity in Europe, in which two sub-identities are discerned: a European cultural identity and a European political identity.

The idea of sharing a cultural world, as one aspect of European identity, implies a historical perspective. Europe’s cultural identity “consists mainly of a partially shared historical heritage and experience” (Wintle, “Cultural Identity” 24), such as Christianity, the Enlightenment, and industrialization. The text of the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1991 to create the European Union, reveals how this common history and shared heritage are underlined to construct an image of unity in a diversity of cultures—a diversity which is increasingly perceived not as different national cultures, but as diversities in regional artifacts and events (Sassatelli 74). The phrase “unity in diversity” was adopted by the EU to frame Europe’s cultural identity. However, the ambiguity of this slogan leads Klaus Eder to conclude that “such paradoxical wordings do not provide a new narrative” (43). Monica Sassatelli perceives the emptiness of this slogan as an opportunity to research the different ways in which this discourse on European cultural identity is translated into practice. She argues: “[t]he rhetoric of ‘unity in diversity’ is now dominant; however, its ambiguity means that it can be instrumentalized in different ways, and its meaning is particularly dependent on the context and on the agency that is adopting it” (73). Her work shows how recipients actively transform and translate
this institutional discourse by offering different interpretations of European unity and diversity.

A sense of cultural identity—of sharing values and a common heritage—does not imply political legitimacy of the EU. Wintle underlines that cultural heritage and the idea of Europe should be differentiated from daily EU politics ("The Question of European Identity" 18). Political identity, the second pinpointed aspect of a European identity, can be defined as "the overarching and inclusive project that is shared by the members of the polity, or in other words the set of political and social values and principles in which they recognize themselves as a ‘we’" (Cerutti 6–7). This “we” is not a fixed entity: it is re-formulated, negotiated, and developed over time. Luuk van Middelaar offers an approach that may be useful to grasp this process of political self-understanding. In The Passage to Europe (2013) he distinguishes “the Europe of Citizens” as one of the “basic discourses” in the “torrent of words devoted to European politics” (2). The discourse focuses on a visionary idea of Europe, and the participants in this discourse are mainly writers and intellectuals who speak on behalf of European citizens. In this discourse, European public opinion, elections, and a European parliament are depicted as necessary elements on the path towards a more federal Europe. Crucial to the emergence of such a public sphere, participants in this discourse argue, is the interplay between political institutions, civil society, and the media. Citizens’ involvement with the EU could be increased by creating a public sphere that allows people to take part in Europe-wide political and cultural organizations and interest groups, which not only participate in, but also critically oppose EU institutional discourses.

**Literature and European Identity Formation**

According to the scholars discussed in the previous section, intellectuals and authors in particular have a role in the construction of both a European cultural and political identity. Wintle argues that

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2. The other discourses are the Europe of States and the Europe of Offices.
cultural self-understanding is increased by writers, who have often been actively engaged in formulating shared European experiences and values (“The Question of European Identity” 18). Likewise, Van Middelaar sees an important role for writers and intellectuals in general in the process of political self-understanding and the discourse of “the Europe of Citizens,” since the formation of a European citizen is not only the domain of EU politicians or officials.

In several scholarly studies on Europe and literature, four different strategies can be discerned as arguments for the importance of literature in European identity formation. The first strategy suggests that literature has the capacity to mediate between the individual and the local on the one hand, and the global and the universal on the other. Paul Lützeler, who has emphasized the importance of literary texts in the process of conceptualizing and unifying Europe in a range of publications, explains that literature offers a way to resist the homogenizing effects of globalization, as it is always focused on particularities—but with a universal outlook (14). The second strategy claims that literature is a medium that can represent shared memories across borders and is therefore capable of creating a European imagined community. Ann Rigney, for example, argues that it is feasible to create a European memory, as literature helps us “to ‘thicken’ imaginative relations with other groups with whom one is already economically and politically connected” (622). The third strategy argues that literature offers a safe space for thought experiment and a subversive approach to the debate on Europe. This argument is built upon the capacity of literature to imagine a yet unknown European future. Anne Kraume has studied the different designs for Europe created by literary writers between 1815 and 1945, and points out that literature is conceived of as a place of experiment, fantasy, and contestation—and therefore forms a valuable contribution to political discussions. The fourth strategy is found in Kraume’s research as well, as she concludes that literature is also perceived as a place of diversity. The exchange of ideas, the different voices, and the diversity of genres reflect the idea of a multifaceted Europe; it is therefore in literature that the richness of European diversity can be expressed (Kraume 364–5).
Sources and Methods

To explain the role of contemporary literary contributions to the current debate on a shared European identity, the expectations of cultural organizations have been researched from the perspective of discourse analysis, with a focus on discourses on identity and strategies to argue the importance of a literary perspective. Organizers formulate their expectations in documents such as invitations, interviews, announcements, and applications for funding. These documents, in other words, can be seen as paratexts accompanying the projects.

In terms of collective identities, discourse analysis works from the perspective that identities are shaped by social interaction, showing how national identity is “discursively, by means of language and other semiotics systems, produced, reproduced, transformed, and destructed” (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 153). These discursive practices have been established in discourse analysis as macro-strategies and also apply to European identity (cf. Grad). In the previous section, the dominant rhetoric of political and cultural identity was briefly sketched: the discourse of “the Europe of Citizens” and the institutional discourse of “unity in diversity.” Sassatelli points out how a dominant rhetoric of identity can be instrumentalized in different ways, depending on the context and the agent adopting it. Cultural organizations can thus be seen as agents instrumentalizing these discourses on European identity, providing production, reproduction, transformation, or destruction of European identity. With this theoretical framework, organizers’ expectations of both projects are compared and structured around these main discourses on identity.

From the perspective of discourse analysis, the paratexts can also be read as containing a range of argumentative strategies to legitimize the literary contribution to discussions on European identity. Unlike the macro-strategies used for national and European identity formation, there is no established range of strategies in research on discourse analysis to justify a literary perspective on issues of identity formation. The four different strategies that argue the importance of literature as a means of reflecting on Europe named in the second section will therefore function as the macro-strategies: literature as mediating between global and local levels, as memory, as subversion, and as
diversity. These strategies will guide the analysis of the arguments on the value of literature.

Case Studies
Three principles serve as guidelines in selecting case studies for my research. The research aims to analyze the ways in which the institutional discourse of “unity in diversity” is transformed and translated into practice, as proposed by Sassatelli. This discourse started developing during the nineties, so the first criterion is that projects have to be of a recent date. Secondly, the literary character of the projects constituted a principle of selection. In the past, literary mechanisms have been deployed to imagine Europe and reflect upon a shared European heritage. To understand why literary approaches are considered as valuable contributions to this debate, it is essential that the organizers of the proposed cases refer to their projects in literary terms. This might be by motivating their choice for authors of literary works or by arguing the importance of the literary form (a poem or a narrative). The third criterion for selection is that the projects should have a recognizable European dimension, as the research aims to gain insight into how these projects might contribute to the construction of European identity. This European dimension may be reflected in the content of the projects, as authors might have been asked to think about the question of what Europeans share, or in the organization, as projects may depend on European cross-border mobility, transnational circulation of artistic output, and intercultural dialogue. In this article, two case studies will serve as examples to illustrate my preliminary findings on organizers’ expectations.

The first case is the Literatur Express, a large-scale project organized in 2000 by the director of the Literaturwerkstatt Berlin, Thomas Wohlfahrt. The Literaturwerkstatt is an international cultural organization with a range of events and activities, meant to expand its international network, engage audiences in dialogues with writers, discover talented young writers, and support cultural education. The organization also houses the association Eurobylon, co-organizer of the Literatur Express, which supports cultural activities aimed at promoting
the idea of Europe in the fields of art and culture. The *Literatur Express* was a train tour around Europe with a hundred and three literary authors from forty-three European countries on board, who travelled for forty-six days through eleven countries. With stops in nineteen European cities, this project resulted in a range of meetings, debates, and events in European cities on what binds Europeans together. The result was an anthology with contributions by all participants, titled *Europaexpress: Ein literarisches Reisebuch* (2001).

The second case is a project initiated by the European Cultural Foundation: *Narratives for Europe*. The ECF was established in 1954 to support Europe-oriented educational and cultural initiatives. Since 2002, their activities have mainly been focused on the development of a cultural policy for Europe. The current president, Princess Laurentien of the Netherlands, formulates the aim of the Foundation as follows: “At ECF, we seek to be a catalyst: to use the power of culture to open up, deepen and widen public debates and civil engagement. In doing so, we want to reach policymakers, influencers, artists, cultural operators and the broader public in Europe” (ECF, *Annual Report* 2009 5).

The project *Narratives for Europe* ran between 2009 and 2012, when the ECF aimed to be “a space of — artistic — expression, debate and reflection where narratives can emerge, be shared across Europe, and reach policy makers” (ECF, “Why ECF Embarked in the Narratives?” 1). The project resulted in an interactive website, a festival (Imagining Europe, 4–7 October 2012) and a publication entitled *Remappings: The Making of European Narratives* (2012). Academics and activists were invited to participate, and, as mentioned in the introduction, Abdelkader Benali was actively involved.

### Discourses on European Identity

An analysis of paratexts, such as interviews and applications for funding, shows how the organizers of the *Literatur Express* presented an image of Europe that reaches far beyond the borders of the EU: Europe extends “from the Atlantic to Azerbaijan” (*Literaturwerkstatt* Berlin). Intending to encompass the whole continent, the project was designed to “link countries in Western and Eastern Europe” (Gutherlet, Lange,
and Sanselme 5). The organizers presented this Europe as united in commonalities and differences. European diversity is instrumentalized by references to the various language areas and different cultural regions, as the train journey made its way “from the Romance language area of the south-west via the German-speaking countries of Central Europe to the Slavonic north-east of the continent” (5). European unity, on the other hand, is suggested by shared historical experiences, as the idea for this project had been based on the historical train route of the North-South Express, launched by the end of the nineteenth century to connect St. Petersburg, Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon by train. Wohlfahrt explains this in an interview with a Belgian newspaper in the following way:

The North–South Express was launched in 1896 and looks back on a highly eventful history …: the transportation of Jews, soldiers who invaded Belgium, the Russian aristocracy fleeing from the October Revolution, the Iron Curtain. (“De trein der Europese letteren”; my translation)

The Literatur Express came to an end on July 15 with a literary festival on Berlin’s Bebelplatz— the place where National-Socialists had burnt books in 1933. In the year 2000, this historical dimension “provides an opportunity to look back on events of the past 100 years and to look forward to what lies ahead in the new millennium” (Gutberlet, Lange, and Sanselme 5). The organizers describe Berlin as a city that summarizes their idea of Europe, because there is no other place which symbolizes European division and increasing integration as much as Berlin does (Literaturwerkstatt Berlin). By emphasizing these European commonalities and differences, the organizers present a discourse of “unity in diversity” and therefore participate in the construction of a European cultural identity rather than a political identity.

The scope of Narratives for Europe is comparable to that of the Literatur Express, namely an image of Europe that extends beyond the borders of the European Union. The ECF envisions “an open, democratic and inclusive Europe embracing the European Union and its neighboring countries” (Annual Report 2010 6). This vision has led
project managers to conclude that the notion of identity is not suitable to reflect on Europe; the ECF has therefore opted for the concept of narrative to replace identity, as “narratives are dynamic and open (unlike identities)” (ECF, “Why ECF Embarked in the Narratives?” 1). The image of Europe explored by the ECF is thus one of openness and diversity, including not only the EU but also Europe as a continent.

Apart from this similarity, an important difference between the projects is that the organizers of the Literatur Express frequently referred to shared values and a common past, whereas no reference to this is made in documents on Narratives for Europe. In a text to inform participants about this project, one can find a possible reason for this hesitation:

One of the most exciting challenge [sic] is how to give shape to narratives which are transnational. Not a collection of national perspectives. Our experience of Narratives is the experience of the nation-state forming, (mainly 19th century) when arts and culture, language, history were used to shape the national — and often nationalistic — narratives of the nation state. What could be the narratives of Europe, when Europe is even not a delimited territory, has multiple languages, more or less shared histories, and is a political entity in the making? (ECF, “Why ECF Embarked in the Narratives?” 1)

The ECF thus aims to avoid associations with nineteenth century nation-building activities, because representing a shared history and framework of values and ideas might be on a par with the strategies of national identity formation. These national strategies do not correspond with their image of Europe as an open, inclusive, and post-national society.

The idea of Europe as a political entity in the making, opposed to a European cultural identity with a shared history, is often underlined by the ECF’s project managers. The ECF’s ambitions are also explicitly political, as they aim to influence European cultural policymakers. Furthermore, the documents show that the ECF values the idea of a shared public sphere as vital to the consolidation of a civil society and
a sense of belonging to Europe as a political project. A perceived lack of this sense of belonging constituted the starting point for *Narratives for Europe*, and project managers aimed to bridge this gap between the people and politics:

People of this continent are experiencing Europe every day; they live in Europe but do not feel like belonging to it. Many of them are part, or strive to become part, of Europe as a political project—the EU—but feel disconnected, if not excluded. (ECF, “Why ECF Embarked in the Narratives?” 1)

The ECF argues that the power of storytelling and the arts create opportunities for a public sphere and a sense of European citizenship. In her contribution to *Remappings*, this idea is expressed by Odile Chenal, one of the project managers at the ECF:

The stories of tomorrow indeed must also be looked for—and perhaps first looked for—among local, groundbreaking initiatives where young, and older, people develop new political languages and practices and experiment with new models of civic participation, joined by artists whose imaginative approach sharpens the challenge of such initiatives. (Chenal 27)

A comparison of the two literary projects suggests that the organizations have a different outlook on European identity. In general terms, the *Literatur Express* reproduces the discourse of cultural identity in its interpretations of “unity in diversity.” *Narratives for Europe*, on the other hand, aims to contribute to European political identity formation and reproduces the discourse of “the Europe of Citizens.” At the same time, it transforms and dismantles the discourse of European cultural identity by comparing this rhetoric to nineteenth-century nation-state formation, and these nation-state formation activities they seek to overcome. Both images of Europe are reflected in the ways in which project managers argue that literature is a valuable contribution to the debate on European identity.
Legitimizing the Literary Perspective

In addition to discourses on identity, the paratexts of these projects can also be understood as textual sites that contain a range of argumentative and discursive strategies to legitimize the literary contribution to public discussions on European identity. The strategies discerned in the second section have informed this analysis: literature as a medium between global and local levels, literature as mnemonic device, as subversion, and as space of diversity.

The following quote is an example of the strategies deployed by the organizers of the Literatur Express:

A single European market and a single European currency will be clear external signs that the continent is growing closer. However, bringing Europe to the hearts and minds of the people is a very different matter. Culture will play a crucial role in the establishment of a new European identity. Culture alone has the power to instill in people an interest in their fellow Europeans, which transcends territorial and linguistic barriers. (Gutberlet, Lange, and Sanselme 5)

The organizers present literature, and culture in general, as geared towards the same goals as politics and economy. They argue that the latter domains paved the way for European integration and interaction, but for the emergence of a European identity, a cultural approach is required in order to enhance political and economic efforts. Literature, as a medium between local, personal, and global or abstract levels, can offer a concrete experience and a way to the hearts and minds of Europeans.

The organizers also argue that literature presents and creates stories of both cultural memory and diversity. The introduction to Europaexpress. Ein literarisches Reisebuch explains how literature “uses, plunders, works on, changes and guards cultural memory” (Wohlfahrt and Lange 9; my translation). The organizers embrace the idea that Europe contains a network of cultural memories connected to different communities across the European continent. The justification for the use of literature in the debate on European identity is therefore
that literature creates the possibility to connect with different cultural memories—an argument based on the assumption that in addition to political and economic relations, we need these “imaginative relations” with other national and regional communities for a European identity to emerge (Rigney 622). However, the project aimed to bring about not only the diversity but also the commonalities of Europe. The organizers argue: “Culture plays a crucial role in a politically and economically unified Europe because it enables people to understand the ways in which they differ, but also to appreciate the things we have in common” (Gutberlet, Lange, and Sanselme 23). The train journey resulted in a collection of writings from the participating authors, and the project managers underline how all these stories of a collective experience reflect personal interpretations, different styles of writing, and many national backgrounds. The anthology Europaexpress. Ein literarisches Reisebuch in itself thus represents the slogan “unity in diversity.”

The ways in which literature is deemed to be a valuable contribution to reflections on European identity according to the Literaturwerkstatt are partly comparable to those put forward by the ECF. This organization explained the need for a human dimension in Europe as a ground for their project Narratives for Europe. As the ECF’s 2010 Annual Report states:

> It is the disconnect between ‘Political Europe’ and ‘People Europe’ that we seek to address … We believe that there is a personal, human dimension that is currently missing from the European project. And that the stories that can provide this missing dimension are already being created all around us. (6)

A similar statement is made by the organizers of the Literatur Express, who conceived of literature as a way to bring Europe to “the hearts and minds” of people.

There are, however, some important differences between the strategies of the two organizations. Whereas the focus of the Literatur Express is more on the strategies of cultural memory and diversity to legitimize a literary perspective, the emphasis of Narratives for Europe is on the strategy of literature as subversion, or a place of opposition to
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official EU narratives. Project managers at the ECF defined “narratives” as “collective stories and representations, which are made of people’s memories of the past, experience of the present, and above all imagination of the future” (Chenal 23), and to them, the attractiveness of the concept lies precisely in its openness and diversity. Contrasting comparisons are made between EU institutional narratives on the one hand, and new and emerging narratives, which are the focus of the ECF, on the other hand. In this context it is telling that the ECF does not aim to be “a space where politically correct stories about values and hopes of Europe are distilled from above,” but first and foremost a space where narratives can emerge (ECF, “Why ECF Embarked in the Narratives?” 1). The 2011 Annual Report reads that “[a]rt and culture provoke unconventional thinking and unconventional approaches” (4), and that Narratives for Europe “brings together unheard or less heard voices” (40). The 2010 Annual Report summarizes the subversive capacities of narratives as follows:

We are not talking about a single, overarching ‘grand narrative’. On the contrary: living stories, those that really tell us about the lives we lead and what Europe means to people, are multiple and multilayered. We do seek to identify common ground, where this exists; but we also seek out the creative dissonances, even the downright contradictions. (6)

Clearly, the ECF has committed itself to a strategy that presents culture and the power of stories as a preferred means to oppose institutional narratives, or at least as a possibility to present different narratives besides the institutional story.

Discussion and Conclusion

The preliminary findings for the Literatur Express and Narratives for Europe suggest that cultural organizations currently function as agents that instrumentalize different discourses on European identity. Consequently, the hypothesis might be that the type of discourse they participate in, is related to the argumentative strategies to legitimate a
literary contribution to European identity formation—an idea that has not been the subject of research on the role of literature in thinking about Europe before. Organizers of the *Literatur Express* expect a literary perspective to contribute to European cultural identity formation as stories give readers access to cultural memories of communities across the European continent. Literature is considered to be a prime representation not only of this type of diversity, but also of a European past that is shared between different communities, symbolized by a historical train journey. Whereas the organizers of the *Literatur Express* reproduce the official discourse of “unity in diversity,” the organizers of *Narratives for Europe* transform and dismantle this institutional narrative on cultural identity, because of its undesirable connotations with the process of nation-state formation. The ECF reproduces a discourse of European political identity, specified by Van Middelaar as “the Europe of Citizens.” Literature’s subversive character—its capability to imagine new, opposing, and different narratives—is expected to contribute to the creation of a transnational public sphere and thus to European political identity formation.

This direct contrast between both projects—the one cultural, the other political—is, however, not as clear-cut as it first appears. The organizers of the *Literatur Express* aimed, for example, to incorporate a political dimension in their project by asking the authors to present their work to the European Parliament during the journey. At the same time, one can argue that the ECF does take part in a discourse of “unity in diversity,” as a prevailing metaphor used to strategically position the role of stories in their documents is “weaving.” Watson observes, for example, in the afterword to *Remappings*, that “[n]arratives are journeys, and ECF’s work has been to trace some of these journeys … The individual lines traced form the intricate web that is Europe” (190).

This article has aimed to provide insight into the organizers’ expectations of literary contributions, but to understand fully the current role of literary projects in discussions on Europe, other important perspectives need to be included: those of the writers who participated and those of the audiences that were targeted. What images of Europe did writers present in the texts resulting from these projects? In which ways was the public involved through the websites that were
part of these literary initiatives, and how are these projects evaluated by their audiences? I will address these questions in further research on current literary contributions to the debate on the past, present, and future of Europe as a unity.

WORKS CITED


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