Illegal Cultural Commons and the modern European Cultural Identity

A case study on illegal cultural Commons in the Heart of Europe

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Summary

Nowadays, cultural commons give young Europeans the platform to express their cultural identity. The commons have existed for centuries and are therefore not stated to be a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, recent controversial media attention on cultural commons, especially illegal cultural commons has led to a greater interest on scientific approaches to describe this phenomenon.

Therefore, this research proposal outlines how I am going to answer the research question *To what extent do illegal cultural commons express the European Cultural Identity?*

Even though the commons is already focus of several social researchers, cultural commons, especially illegal cultural commons and their values have not been connected to the concept of the modern European Cultural Identity yet.

Further this study will bring insights regarding the current situation in Europe of illegal cultural commons. The results can help to improve the societal position towards these illegal cultural commons could contribute to the legalizations of these cultural institutions.

1. Introduction

"Police stopped riots in front of the Rote Flora" (Arning, 2015), Aljazeera has titled: "'Occupy' the commons: Teatro Valle redefines citizenship and political participation in Italy" (Ratta, 2013)

The fight for culture in European societies. Numerous voices have been demanding that the European Union should not be limited to economics, over and above culture must also be included. Culture is one of the most important aspects of the European Identity and it probably is Europe's greatest heritage. Protection of cultural resources became focus of illegal movements for culture as a common good. These cultural commons aim to build the cultural resource accessible to all members of a society (Ostrom p.688). Are these illegal cultural commons the societal answer to the ongoing process of privatization? Was it the government that had closed the door for cultural participation within European societies? Local authorities have historically managed this territory in supporting cultural activity, but their role in this area is under serious threat. Often, local authorities are not the organisations directly delivering tactivity, and in the short term their departure from the field might not seem to matter too much, but over time it will mean that the space for local cultural expression becomes more fragile (Wilson, 2014). Thus these autonomous communities and the buildings they occupy are a particularly pressing topic in Europe at the moment (Sutton, 2013).

However as indicated by the headlines mentioned above, the attitude towards these communities, later referred to as illegal cultural commons, remain coherently negative.

The Teatro Valle, the Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69 (hereinafter referred to as Ungdomhuset) are stereotypes of these illegal cultural commons. They all have been occupied in order to protect a specific cultural resource. With their passion, dedication and positivism, the actors in these movements aim to protect what many sociologists, identify as one of the core aspects of Europe: Culture.

However the strategy of occupation, the legal entity of the foundation and experimentations with a new governance of cultural production has led to a greater attention within media and society (Bailey & Marcucci, 2013). But why do people organize these types of illegal cultural commons? How is the European Identity expressed in the commons? And do they take over what the European Union fails to address? According to the European Commission (2012) it is possible to have a cultural construction of Europe that is taking place independent of attempts at institutional integration and that cannot be claimed by the EU as part of the integration process. This statement goes in line with Robert Schuman¹ who used to say that the idea of Europe is above institutions and is also a response to the deep aspiration of its peoples. This aspect implicates, that shaping and developing the European Cultural Identity can have different faces. Further according to the European Commission (2012), the development of the European Cultural Identity still remains unfinished business. Moreover Scheuer and Schmitt add that a collective identity constitutes a political community and therefore it's even more important to take a closer look at those driving forces.

Although the commons, including cultural commons exist since many years, research on cultural commons, especially illegal cultural commons is rather new. The existing literature on illegal cultural commons mainly focuses on a single illegal cultural common. These examples are illustrative and far from exhaustive. Each involves a constructed cultural commons worthy of independent study, but independent studies only get us so far. A more systematic approach is needed (Madison et al., 2010). While Kroijer & Sjorslev (2011) only refer to a single cultural common, this research adds the comparative aspects in form of analyzing and describing three illegal cultural commons. In addition to

¹ Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Robert Schuman was a Luxembourg-born French statesman. Twice Prime Minister of France and a Foreign Minister. He was regarded as one of the founders of the European Union, the Council of Europe and NATO

Arvanitakis (2006) who expanded the theory of the commons to the cultural sphere, this research will bring further understanding on illegal commons in the cultural sphere. The overall research question will be answered by utilizing an applied research strategy. For this purpose the theories the commons developed by Ostrom and the Modern European Cultural Identity by Scheuer and Schmitt are applied to the Teatro Valle, the Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69. The data will be gathered by directly studying the specific commons in terms of their cultural programme, their institutional settings and their organizational structure. This data will be analyzed with the help of qualitative content analyses in order to describe to what extent the three illegal cultural commons under observation express the modern European Cultural Identity.

After stating the research question, the relevant theories are presented and discussed in a detailed way. Later stages describe the relevant methods in terms of the research design, case selection, data collection and data analysis. Afterwards the results are presented and compared in order to discuss them with the current scientific literature. Finally this research serves a formal conclusion of the observed results and its meaning for the European Union in terms of a policy recommendation.

1.1 Research Question

This research observes illegal cultural commons, as the unit of analysis and aims to describe their expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity. Therefore I will focus on three specific illegal cultural commons, mentioned above, and observe to what extent the illegal cultural commons express the modern European Cultural Identity. Thus, the following research question will be addressed:

To what extent do illegal cultural commons express the modern European Cultural Identity?

In contrast to Arvanitakis (2006) who concludes most of the commons to be counter globalization movements, this paper will argue, that the commons, even illegal cultural commons, can have positive expressions towards internationalization, at least in terms of Europeanization.

Expected answers can range from cultural common (A) expresses the European Identity to a large extent, while cultural common (B) and (C) do not express the European Identity at all or none of the observed cultural commons shape the European Identity.

Results of this study could contribute to a more positive cognition within media and in the best case even convince decision-makers for the need of these cultural commons. Further it could contribute to the current debate on cultural construction of Europe that is taking place independent of attempts at institutional integration.

2. Conceptualization

This chapter is divided into two parts and outlines the theorization of the RQ. The first section of this chapter deals with the commons and cultural commons. This section is subdivided into two further sections which elaborate on the concepts of the commons, as described Hess and Ostrom (2007) as well as cultural commons described by Santanaga et al. The second section in this chapter investigates the research about the European Identity and especially the modern European Cultural Identity. In the course of this section, special emphasize is given to the research conducted by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009), because this is the theory which is used to answer the RQ.

This interpretative research will have two theoretical emphases, namely the concept of the commons, especially cultural commons and the modern European Cultural Identity.

The Commons

As already mentioned in the section Research Question, research on cultural commons is rather new. However the focus of research on cultural commons is rapidly growing. In order to answer the research question, I will base my theoretical framework on:

Hess and Ostrom (2007) who defined Commons as a general concept that refers to a resource shared by a group of people, built on principles of self-governance, community action and local action. While Prüss (2014) contributes, the Commons determines resources as well as products (hereinafter referred to as resources), which may have been and still are commonly created, used as well as administered by the prevailing society. Resources are therefore managed in a way that all needs may be equally met. In doing so, society is enabled to pursue their right of participation by committing certain talents and capabilities and by collectively respecting the finite nature of applied resources. Furthermore, society is responsible for disapproving the neglect of resources as it may lead them towards disappearing (Prüss, 2014). However the selected cases are operationalised as a community accessible to all members of society by characterized by culture, space and community.

On these grounds, commons require distinct rules, which is why many different institutional forms are present. Thus, communing describes and comprises the process of common care taking, reciprocal support and welfare and building of social relationships. Commons may therefore not be existent without the social "process" of communing (Prüss, 2014). Especially care taking and building of social relationships play a major in the commons under observation. However as this paper aims to describe and interpret expressions of cultural commons, it will not describe internal social constructs in dept.

Cultural Commons

The applied theory on cultural commons, will be based on the basic characteristics of the commons theory, which are rooted in former research by Ostrom (p.688). However this research describes cultural commons and therefore it is needed to define the concept of cultural commons.

A Cultural Commons is a cultural resource shared by a group, which can generate one or more social dilemmas. A Cultural Commons is defined by the confluence of three dimensions: culture, space and community (Santanaga et al). As already indicated, this research focusses on illegal cultural commons. Thus the theory pointed out by Santanaga will be adjusted to illegal cultural commons.

European Identity

European identity/identities have been a research topic on the European Commission's agenda since the 1990s and the 5th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (European Commission, 2012). However, there is a variety of research on this topic, but the theory need to be limited to a few concepts, namely concepts within the book Introducing European Societies: Identity and Daily Life and the Research by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009) which I will refer to in following part of this proposal. A model of European identity described by Bruter (p. 1153) suggests that it is composed primarily of civic factors and cultural factors. The civic factors refer to the degree of identification with the political institutions defining the laws, rules and rights that have an effect on their daily lives. The cultural factors refer to the sense that individuals from other European nations are closer to them in terms of shared values, norms, and beliefs than individuals from non-European nations. However, this research focuses on the cultural factors and therefore focus on the modern European Cultural Identity.

Modern European Cultural Identity

As stated in former parts of this proposal, the theory on the European Identity is based on the research by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009). The cultural element or variable related to European identity involves the cultural and social factors that influence the development of a common identity. Europeans share many common cultural elements including common musical and literary achievements. Modern Europeans also share common political cultural values and ideas such as concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, human rights, individualism, and separation of church and state (Scheuer and Schmitt, p. 509)

2.1 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter an overview was given on the current debate about illegal cultural commons and expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity. It was outlined in particular what characterizes cultural commons, especially illegal cultural commons. Further this chapter described the current understanding of European Identity and especially the modern European Cultural Identity. In the context of a European society the scholars emphasize that a European Identity can have different faces. In the second section of this chapter a closer look was taken on the research of Bruter (2003) and Scheuer and Schmitt (2009) who independently from one another defined a European Identity by cultural characteristics.

3. Methods

In this Chapter, the methods of the current research are presented. Given my research question I will represent a strategy, designed to achieve a comparison between the three cultural commons mentioned in the beginning of this proposal, in order to identify their different expressions of the modern European Cultural Identity. First the chapter outlines why the study is designed in form of a case study, with respect to Punch's (2006) basic characteristics of case studies. Therefore a comparative case study approach will be applied to answer the overall research question. The second section describes what the general approach is to study the selected illegal cultural commons and presents the unit of analysis, the unit of observation as well as the timeframe and justifies why this particular approach for studying the pages is used. In the next section of the chapter the operationalization and data collection method are introduced. Finally, the data analysis approach is described.

Case study - General

The basic idea is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate (Punch, 2006). In this case study, the research will focus on small number of cases, namely The Teatro Valle, the Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69. As described by Punch, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible (2006). In order to achieve this goal, the number of cases is held small. In order to validate the choice of a case study approach for my research on cultural commons, the following part applies the four characteristics of case studies, as described by Punch (2006).

The case is a bounded system

It is highly important to identify the boundaries of the selected cases. However the cases under observation are communities with different fields of actions. The boundaries of the selected cases are defined by the geography, the field of action and the goal to achieve.

Cultural Common	Geography	Field of action	Goal to achieve
Teatro Valle	Rome, Italy	Theater, Art	Run a Theater with regular shows and a constantly changing program
Rote Flora	Hamburg, Germany	Art (Punk, Hip Hop, Electro), Youth house, Political events (demonstrations etc.)	Organizing and running a cultural Youth house with different events (Art/ Music/ Political), organizing Political Freedom, Promotion of Human Rights
Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69	Copenhagen, Denmark	Youth house, Punk Art, Political events	Organizing and running a cultural Youth house with different events, preserving Punk Art in the center of Copenhagen, Promotion of Human Rights

Case of something

According to Punch (2006), it needs stressing what the case is a case of. Therefore it is needed to identify the unit of analyses of the selected cases. The Teatro Valle, the Rote Flora and Ungdomshuset - Jagtvej 69 are stereotypes of illegal cultural commons. They all create a cultural value for the society, without being a legal part of the society. Moreover they all have occupied buildings, owned by governmental authorities in order to reproduce their cultural value. With their inner structure, their organization, their illegal entity and their aim to create cultural value for society those selected cases stand for illegal cultural commons in Europe in general. The problems that these commons are facing, their ideological point of view and the impact on the European society are coherently comparable.

Explicit attempt to preserve the wholeness, unity and integrity of the case

According to Punch (2006), not everything can be studied; even about one case, specific focus is required. Thus, the focus of research is held on the cultural (political) aspects of the selected commons. However legal issues needs to be addressed too, but will not be analyzed in dept.

Multiple sources of data and data collection

For all the three cases under observation, several sources of data are available. First of all, the selected cases were highly discussed in local, national and international media. Second, former research on these cases is available, for instance: Bailey, S., & Marcucci, M. E. (2013). Legalizing the Occupation: The Teatro Valle as a Cultural Commons; Krøijer, S., & Sjørslev, I. (2011). Autonomy and the Spaciousness of the Social in Denmark: The Conflict between Ungdomshuset and Faderhuset and Hofmann, K. D. (2011). "Rote Flora": Ziele, Mittel und Wirkungen eines linksautonomen Zentrums in Hamburg.

Third, I connected online to personal contacts to all three cultural commons in order held interviews with them.

3.1 Case Selection

Inclusion Method – Positive Case selection

There exist numerous illegal cultural commons across Europe, such as the Ernst-Kirchweger-Haus (Austria), Karlo Rojc (Croatia), Squat Milada (Czech Republic), Freetown Cristiania (Denmark), Anna Haava (Estonia) Les Frigos (France), La Miroiterie (France), Le Point G (France), La Pelle-Tueuse (France), Hafenstraße, Topf and Sons Factory (Germany), Kunsthaus Tacheles (Germany), Villa Amalia (Greece), Antiviosi (Greece), OT 301 (Netherlands), Het Slaakhuis (Netherlands), CS Leoncavallo (Italy), Officina 99 (Italy), Blitz (Norway), Hausmania (Norway), 491 Gallery (UK), Bank of ideas (UK), Can Vies (Spain), Rozbrat (Poland), Centrum Reanimacji Kultury (Poland) and numerous more in several other countries.

However the selected cases Teatro Valle, Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69 are stereotypes of these illegal cultural commons. They aim to create cultural added value for the society, but remain in an illegal unsafe situation. Further the cases were selected due to their attention within media and science. This aspect allows collecting a coherent set of data in order to describe the illegal cultural commons in the most valid way. Moreover the selected cases can be described as the "lighthouses" of illegal cultural commons. Their work, passion and dedication have been role models for other commons and have brought the problematic of these organizations to a broad public.

Another selection criterion was the geographical aspect. The selected cases are spread across Europe and will help to understand the illegal cultural commons as a European phenomenon. Finally, the size and the impact on the society were criteria to select the illegal cultural commons mentioned above. Teatro Valle, Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69 do have extensive numbers of supporters and activist. Due to this strength in terms people participating in their activities and supporting them, the impact on the society is most likely to be the biggest within Europe.

3.2 Data Collection

To conduct the analysis, data needs to be collected. Qualitative data collection methods play an important role in understanding the processes behind observed results. The following part describes the data collection process, methods and the reason for collecting these data.

First of all it needs to be clear what data were collected. The data which was used for the analysis is based on:

- Websites and cultural programs observations
- Quick scan cultural programs
- Interviews
- Former research
- Newspapers and other online Media such as Magazines, Blogs², Facebook³ pages
- Photography (retrieved from the commons websites)

Further it is important to validate the source of data. Thus, data has been retrieved from the commons websites www.rote-flora.de/; www.teatrovalleoccupato.it and http://www.ungeren.dk/ in terms of cultural programmes, press releases, related blog posts and exclusive website articles. Thereby, it has been of high importance to select information, which has been affirmed and released through the own web sites of each cultural common. This aspect allows to interpret the data with respect to the own view of each cultural common.

First of all quick scan analysis of the cultural programs were conducted in order to get an initial assessment of the relevant data.

Later stages of the data collection include the gathering of data by conducting a semistructured interview, which aims to deepen the understanding of the position towards Europe of each illegal Cultural commons.

Moreover the data gathered by conducting a semi-structured interview will help me to interpret the data carried out by the qualitative content analyses.

Further the scientific data of this research is grounded on scientific journal articles as for instance Bailey, S., & Marcucci, M. E. (2013); Krøijer, S., & Sjørslev, I. (2011) and Hofmann, K. D. (2011). Moreover the scientific data, which is used build the theoretical ground of this research is based on the articles "Dynamics in European political identity" by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009); "Introducing European Societies: Identity and Daily Life" by Ringo Osseewaarde (2012) and "Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action" by Elenor Ostrom (1990). The articles mentioned above were found throughout the search engine for scientific articles *www.scholar.google.com*.

Additionally to academic journals, normal journal-, magazine- and newspaper-articles will be included in the data set for this research as well. These articles will help interpret the societal view on the illegal cultural commons. Further facebook pages and blogs will also be studied in order to include literature into the analyses, which is not restricted and censored in any terms.

Moreover photography which are either taken during the interviews or retrieved from the commons websites will be analyzed to describe the setting of the interview and to describe the scenery of each cultural common. All the data mentioned above were collected within the time interval January 2016 until the end of April 2016.

² A blog is a discussion or informational site published on the World Wide Web consisting of discrete entries ("posts") typically displayed in reverse chronological order

³ Facebook is a corporation and an online social networking service headquartered California, in the United States.

3.3 Operationalization

Extent of the shape of the European Cultural Identity

The topic of European identity has spawned a lively academic debate in recent decades that has generated hundreds of references ranging from abstract theoretical treatments to the dry presentations of 'facts' gleaned from attitudes surveys (European Commission, 2012).

However, this research will base the operationalization on former research by Scheuer, A., & Schmitt, H. (2009). The cultural element or variable related to European identity involves the cultural and social factors that influence the development of a common identity. Europeans share many common cultural elements including common musical and literary achievements. Modern Europeans also share common political cultural values and ideas such as concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, human rights, individualism, and separation of church and state (Scheuer and Schmitt, p. 509).

Therefore the following attributes will be observed in order to describe the extent to which the cultural commons express the European cultural identity: concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, human rights, individualism, and separation of church and state.



Figure 1 – Modern European Cultural Identity

The outcome will be categorized into four categories, namely, does not express the European cultural identity; does express the European cultural identity to a low extent, does express the European identity to a medium/normal extent and does express the European identity to a large extent.

Unit of analyses - Illegal Cultural Commons

The unit of analyses, Illegal Cultural commons is determined by the case selection, as described in further parts of this proposal.

3.3.1 Methods of data analysis

Qualitative content analysis has been described as the most difficult part of the case study process (Baskarada, 2014). The first step involves reading observational notes, and/or any other relevant documents, which may lead to the development of preliminary notes or memos that can then be used to formulate initial categories, themes and relationships (Baskarada, 2014). In the second step a qualitative content analyses will be used in order to interpret the different expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity. The following part presents the coding scheme, which was created in order to conduct the qualitative content analyses.

This coding scheme allows me to quantify the qualitative data of this research. It gives the chance to select and interpret the cases. By this technique, I have developed 15 keywords, which are created to classify the positions of the illegal cultural commons under observation towards the modern European Cultural Identity as defined by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009): Modern Europeans share common political cultural values and ideas such as concepts of *the modern nation state, democracy, human rights, individualism, and separation of church and state.*

The following table indicates the applied theory, the codes for the selected theory as well as keywords for each feature of the theory.

Theory>	Code>	Keyword				
Abstract	Abstract					
Real						
	Language	1. German/Italian/Danish				
	Feeling German/ Italian/	2. Germany / Italy/ Denmark				
modern nation state	Denmark					
	Respect the law	3. Democratic power				
	Voting	4. Voting/ Vote for				
democracy	Free speech	5. No censorship				
	Respect foreigners	6. Refugees Welcome				
	Acceptance	7. Gay pride				
	Prejudice	8. Black power				
human rights		9. Right of residence /				
	Justice	Lampedusa				
		10. PKK				
	Identity is based on the	11. Feminism				
individualism	individual					
	right to privacy	12. Tracing				
	Self-reliance	13. Occupation/ Occupy				
separation of church and state	separation of church and state Freedom of religion					
	Religious pluralism	15. Atheism				
Total number of keywords: 15						
General		\longrightarrow				
Particular						

1. Coding Scheme - modern European Cultural Identity

This coding scheme will be used to analyse the cultural programmes of the Teatro Valle, the Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69. The number of keywords found in the cultural programmes will indicate the position towards the modern European Cultural Identity. The codes of each theory are based on the characteristics pointed out by the Coucil of Europe Portal – <u>Compass</u>. One of the most important steps for creating a coding scheme is the process of assigning codes and finding related keywords. In case of the modern nation state, the related codes/categories Language; Feeling German/Italian/ Denmark & Respect the law can be expressed in the cultural programmes of each cultural common in form of the keywords *German/Italian/Danish*, *Germany / Italy/ Denmark and democratic*

power: In case of the concept democracy, the codes were assigned due to the related features of the concept, namely Representative elections, Freedom of speech and Respect for Minority rights. However, these characteristics still remain rather abstract, therefore the related codes Voting, Free speech and Respect foreigners were assigned in order to determine keywords, which will allow selecting and interpreting cases under these aspects. As indicated by the coding scheme above, the keywords *are Voting/ Vote* for, *no censorship* and *Refugees Welcome*. Further the concept of human rights is part of the modern European Cultural Identity, therefore codes and keywords needed to be created as well. However, the concept of human rights includes the main characteristics Tolerance, Non-discrimination and Justice. These characteristics are represented by the codes Acceptance, Prejudice and Justice. Thus, the keywords *gay pride, Black power* and *right of residence / Lampedusa* were determined in order select and interpret each case.

Consequently the concept of individualism and its associated characteristics Identity is based on the individual, right to privacy, Self-reliance needed to be integrated in the coding scheme. Accordingly to the main characteristics, the following codes were assigned to the concept of individualism: *Feminism; Tracing and Occupation/ Occupy*. Finally the separation of church and state is one of the major aspects of the modern European Cultural Identity, hence it is integrated in the coding scheme. Main characteristics consist of Freedom of religion and Religious pluralism and will be coded as *atheism and free roma*. However the gathered data will build the ground for describing and interpreting the illegal cultural commons by being analyzed in terms of qualitative content analysis. The second stage of the data analyses will involve the analyses of the semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interviews are often preceded by observation, informal and unstructured interviewing in order to develop an understanding of the topic of interest, which necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions. Therefore quick scans of the homepages of each cultural common under observation were undertaken, as well as quick scans of the cultural programs. Moreover several questions, like what is your role within this cultural common, were asked to members of each cultural common in order to identify the most suitable interview partner.

The Interviews are held either directly on the territory of the illegal cultural common or via Skype⁴. According to Given and Saumure (2015) using Skype to conduct research interviews has numerous advantages: 1) it is inexpensive; 2) it is geographically flexible; 3) it is user-friendly and easy to install/use; 4) Skype has an instant messaging function, which is a useful tool for managing data collection problems and sharing information among participants; and, 5) ease of audio recording is a key benefit, as researchers can easily record computer-to-computer and computer-to-telephone conversations. However, in case of the rote flora the interview will be held at Achidi-John-Platz 1, 20357 Hamburg. The location is the building occupied by the rote Flora common. It is the best location to conduct the interview, because the interview partner will answer in a safe place in which he feels comfortable to answer in his own words and can talk freely without any restrictions. The interview with a member of the Teatro Valle will be held via Skype, due to reasons relating to both time and expense. As mentioned above, interviewing the illegal cultural commons in a traditional faceto-face context would have been costly and time intensive and would not increase the quality of the interview. However Skype offers researchers the opportunity to conduct inexpensive, synchronous online interviews (Given & Saumure, 2015). The last interview which will be carried out, with Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69, will be also held via Skype, due to same reasons as for the Teatro Valle interview. Further it needs to be considered that the illegal cultural commons under observation are facing extensive problems with the local state authorities. For instance the Rote Flora was infiltrated

⁴ Skype is an IP telephony service provider that offers free calling between subscribers and low-cost calling to people who don't use the service. In addition to standard telephone calls, Skype enables file transfers, texting, video chat and videoconferencing.

for more than 10 years by the undercover police women Iris Schneider (undercover name). Schneider participated in almost every activity, carried out by the Rote Flora and reported internal details right to the responsible state authority. Further Schneider even had sexual relationships to other members of the organization in order build trust. When the German Zeit magazine titled in 2014 "The Spy who loved us" (Twickel, 2014), the scandal was born and has led to a more skeptical interaction between Rote Flora activists and people outside of the common. Due to that reason, the interviews will be anonymized.

Finally it needs to be explained how the results of the qualitative content analysis are used in order to describe and compare the illegal cultural commons under observation. Firstly, the results for each illegal cultural common are presented in frequency table in Annex B. These tables present the counts of the assigned keywords, the total word count in the relevant documents and the sum of the counted keywords. The counts for each assigned keyword indicates expressions towards a specific feature of the modern European Cultural Identity. The sum of the counted keywords will indicate the overall extent to which the illegal cultural commons under observation express the modern European Cultural Identity. In the final stage of the analysis, the sum of the counted keywords will be compared and categorized on behalf of the following table:

Figure 2 – Comparison Table

Extent of expressing the modern European cultural identity					
No	Low	Medium	Strong		
0-16	17 – 50	51 - 85	85 +		

The categories of the comparison table are based on the coding scheme and were defined through the multiplication of the assigned keyword. For the category "No expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity", the total count for an individual cultural common is 16 or less. This means that on average, each assigned keyword was found less than one time within the relevant documents. It may seem to be very critical to categorize "No expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity" with a boundary of max. 16 counts, but by this it is ensured that the results are not over-interpreted. Therefore no expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity can be described. For the category "Low expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity", the total count for an individual cultural common is between 17 counts and 50 counts. This means that on average, each assigned keyword was found min. 1 time and max. less than 3 times. In case of the category "Medium expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity", the total count for an individual cultural common is between 51 counts and 85 counts, which means on average. each assigned keyword was found min. 3 times and max. less than 5 times. For the category "Strong expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity" the total count for an individual cultural common is more than 85 counts. This means on average each assigned keyword was counted min. 5 times.

However, the following part describes the process of developing precise questions for the semi-structured interview with members of The Teatro Valle, the Rote Flora and Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69. The questions were designed in order to interpret the position of each illegal cultural common under observation towards the key features of the modern European Cultural Identity: modern nation state; democracy; human rights; individualism and separation of church and state.

Question	Process of developing effective questions for semi-structured interview on illega			
number	cultural commons in the heart of Europe			
1	Feature of modern European Cultural Identity: modern nation stateOne of the main characteristics of the modern nation state is the national language.Therefore the question was designed in order indicate the position towards the use of the national language.			
	Question: Which languages are used to communicate within your common and which language or languages are used to communicate outside of your cultural common?			
	Feature of modern European Cultural Identity: democracy			
2	One of the main characteristics of democracy is the democratic decision making process. Due to that reason, the question is designed in order get knowledge about the decision making process in each cultural common.			
	Question: How would you describe the decision making process within your cultural common? Would you call it democratic? Can you explain your answer?			
	Feature of modern European Cultural Identity: human rights			
3	Human rights are an increasing topic in the media at the moment. The on-going refugee crisis in Europe has rehashed the debate on it. Thus it is likely that a question on the current refugee crisis can indicate the position towards human rights in general.			
	Question: What is the position within your cultural common towards the on-going refugee crisis in Europe? Can you please motivate your answer?			
	Feature of modern European Cultural Identity: individualism			
4	The following question is designed to identify what is more important in each illegal cultural common, the individual or the collective? If collectivism is a central value in the cultural common under observation, than the individual is probably limited. However if it is still possible achieve individual goals and develop individual projects, than individualism is retained.			
	Question: Is there some kind of collectivism in your cultural common? Is there a common ownership or lots cooperation in your common? Can you give an example?			
	Feature of modern European Cultural Identity: separation of church and state			
5	The position towards the separation between church and state can be interpreted by asking questions about the involvement of the church on political issues.			
	Question: Can you tell us something about the religious values within your common? And what do you think about the involvement of the church on political issues?			

Finally it needs to be mentioned that the questions designed for the semi structured interview include political and subject specific language, which is untypical for a semi-structured interview. However, the illegal cultural commons under observation are highly political and mainly intellectual. The wording used by each cultural common normally includes political and subject specific language. Therefore the wording of the questions in the semi-structured interview is suitable. The final questionnaire that will be used for the semi-structured interview can be seen in the table 1.1 in Appendix A.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

In summary, this interpretive research will use a comparative case study approach in form of conducting a qualitative content analysis of the cultural programmes and interviews of the illegal cultural commons Rote Flora, Teatro Valle and Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69. The content will be analysed interms of their expressions towards the modern European Identity as described by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009). Later stages of this research will categorize and compare the results.

4 Results & Discussion

In this chapter it is described to what extent each of the three illegal cultural commons under observation express the modern European Cultural Identity. It begins with stating the results of each illegal cultural common, starting with the Rote Flora and ending with the Ungdomshuset. Later the will results are compared and brought into the context of the relevant theory by Scheuer and Schmitt (2009).

5.1 Rote Flora

The following part describes the analysis of the illegal cultural common, the Rote Flora in Hamburg. It aims to describe and interpret the Rote Floras expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity in order to compare the results with the Teatro Valle and Ungdomhuset Jagtvej 69.

The Rote Flora is an autonomous centre in the remaining building of the former Flora Theatre in the Schulterblatt 71 in Hamburg/ Sternschanze. Since 1988 it is a symbol of a radical leftist resistance or focal politically motivated violent clashes. Since November 1989, the building is occupied in order create cultural activities carried out by the members of this illegal cultural common. According to Hofmann (2011), the Rote Flora and its strong ideologies were rooted in the radical left wing movement taking place during 1981 and 1989 in the Hamburger Hafenstraße⁵. However Hofmann (2011) points out that ideological similarity between Hafenstraße and Rote Flora cannot be denied, but still needs to be observed separately. As it can be seen in Figure 3, the building of the former Flora theatre is a colorful and friendly appareance. The facade shows political statements, such as "Olympia interessiert uns brennend"⁵ and "Massaker Cizre"⁶, which both refers to human rights issues. Moreover the facade shows the rainbow color⁷ which indicates the support of homosexuality in European Societies and therefore can be interpreted as an expression for the support of human rights. However the results of the qualitative content analysis will take up on this aspect and will validate the support of human rights within the Rote Flora. Nonetheless, the friendly and open appereance of the Rote Flora is rather new. The Rote Flora building was refurbished in 2015 in order prepare the building for a broader audience in cultural activities. As described by Appen (2015) who interviewed a Rote Flora activist in 2015 "Shall we build walls around it, to be safe from Kretschmer⁸, or do we want open us more, which also means protection from Kretschmer". By this strategy the Rote Flora has improved its reputation in and around Hamburg. The common has taken own financial resources to refurbish the building and therefore invested in the improvement of the urban image in Hamburgs Sternschanze. Moreover, with the refurbishment the former Flora theatre was made accessable for people with handicap.

⁵ refers to human rights violations caused by olympic games as for instance in Beijing in 2008

⁶ refers to the massacre in the Kurdish city of Cizre, in which about 60 people have been killed by the Turkish armed forces

⁷ is a symbol of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) pride and LGBT social movements

⁸ Klausmartin Kretschmer, offical owner of the occupied former Flora Theatre since 2001



Figure 3 – Rote Flora

For describing and interpreting the expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer, A., & Schmitt, H. (2009), two diagnostically conclusive documents were included in order to build the ground for the qualitative content analysis on the Rote Flora. These documents are namely: The Cultural Programme of the Rote Flora within the time frame 10.03.2016 - 10.04.2016 and the interview with a Rote Flora activist from the 04.03.2016. As mentioned in previous chapters, the interview took place at the former Flora Theater in the Schulterblatt 71 in Hamburg/ Sternschanze. The general interview atmosphere was friendly throughout the whole interview. Further the respondent explained detailed and comprehensibly the current situation of the Rote Flora. Finally the respondent was really interested in the topic of the European identity. The full transcript of the interview with further descriptions on the conduction of the interview and the retrieved cultural programme can be seen in Appendix A. Further the complete results carried out by the qualitative content analysis on the Rote Flora can be seen in tabular summary in Appendix B.

As indicated by the summary carried out by the qualitative content analysis, several tendencies within the expression of the *Rote Flora* Activists towards the support of the modern European Cultural Identity can be described.

As described in former parts of this paper the acceptance/support of the **modern nation state** is one of the main characteristics of the modern European Cultural Identity. In case of the *Rote Flora*, all assigned keywords were found in the documents under observation. Especially democracy and democratic decision making are central values within the illegal cultural common *Rote Flora*. Additionally, the recognition of the national language is another major feature of the modern nation state. However as indicated by the Summary table above, German, which is the national language, is recognized as the central language for communication within the Rote Flora:

"The two dominating languages within the Flora³ are German, as we/ I live in Hamburg, and English, as also many foreign individuals (permanently or temporarily) join our activities". (Lisa, personal communication, March 04, 2016)

Another feature of the modern European Cultural Identity is **Democracy**. As it can be seen in the summary table above of the three assigned keywords, only the term refugees / refugees welcome could be identified as an interpretive meaning towards the modern European Cultural Identity. However the concept Democracy was mentioned directly within the interview and the Cultural programme. Additionally the keyword "voting" could not be observed, anyhow democratic decision making seems to be still important within the *Rote Flora*.

"I think democratic decision-making is very important a) for the individual, since everyone feels obliged (not in a negative way) to contribute to a certain extent (having equal rights, having equal power, having an equal chance to make a change). Furthermore, I think democratic decision-making is important b) to the group as a whole, as we learn to interact as a team in order to tackle certain debates/ conflicts/ challenges." (Lisa, personal communication, March 04, 2016)

Moreover **Human rights** are a central aspect of the modern European Cultural Identity. Therefore the relevant documents were scanned in order to identify the following keywords: Gay pride; Black Power; Right of residence / Lampedusa; human rights; asylum and justice. However, the keywords gay pride and black power could not be identified in the relevant documents. Therefore the remaining keywords for this category were identified 13 times, which allows to interpret a strong expressions towards human rights. Moreover as the concepts name itself was one of the assigning keywords, the following citation indicates the central role of human right within the *Rote Flora*.

"No one is illegal! Human rights for everyone! It sounds populistic, but in the Flora community it is perceived that e.g the aggravation of the asylum law, which has been undertaken in the past months and will possibly be object to changes in the future, foments right wing ideas, ideology and accompanying right violence. In my opinion, this is mainly due to past actions from the "Bundesregierung" (Lisa, personal communication, March 04, 2016)

Also for the category **individualism** three keywords were assigned, namely feminism; Individual and occupied / occupation. According to the summary table above, all keywords were observed within relevant documents. However strongest tendencies were identified towards the keyword "individual", which was identified six times. The following citation of the Interview from 04.03.2016 validates the interpreting carried out by the qualitative content analysis:

"Nevertheless everyone is free to make his/ her own choices. We do not forget about the individual. Everyone has different needs and wants; we try to incorporate those." (Lisa, personal communication, March 04, 2016)

Finally the category **Separation of church and state** was observed in order to interpret the *Rote Floras* position towards the modern European Identity. Similarly to the categories described before, three keywords were assigned in order to identify the expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity. These keywords are namely: atheism/religion; Roma/Gipsy and Jewish. However all keywords were identified in the relevant documents. Nevertheless, strongest tendencies

were observed to the keyword atheism/religion. This keyword was identified in both the cultural Programme of the Rote Flora as well as the Interview with a Rote Flora activist from March 04, 2016.

To sum it up, the assigned keywords were identified 62 times within the relevant documents. Therefore it can be described that the Rote Flora, as the first illegal cultural common under observation, expresses strongly the values of the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer& Schmitt (2009). In other words it can be described modern European values do play a central role within the illegal cultural common – Rote Flora.

5.2 Teatro Valle

The Teatro Valle in Rome is the heart of the Italian movement for culture as a common good and has become an important site of experimentation with alternative forms of governance and and the protection of cultural resources (Bailey& Marucci 2013). The It was opened in 1727 and is the oldest theatre that is still active in Rome. Since 2011 it has been occupied by a group of theatre workers protesting against privatisation plans but it still stages events ranging from film retrospectives to open rehearsals.

The theatre workers, acting together as a social movement for the protection of cultural commons, utilized the legal entity of the foundation to ensure its common as opposed to public or private ownership. The foundation serves not only to protect the theatre from privatization but also structures its governance in such a way as to encourage and stimulate the collective process of cultural production (Bailey& Marucci 2013).

Figure 4 – Teatro Valle



As it can be seen in figure 4, the Teatro Valle basically remains in its original condition. The facade of the historical building is protected and well maintained by the Teatro Valle common. The only aspect that indicates the autonomous administration of the building is the bill placed at the front

Illegal Cultural Commons in the heart of Europe Yannik Seyfert of the Teatro Valle. The bill points pout "*like water and air – Reclaim Valle*". It refers to the outcome of a recent Italian referendum on water, claiming water as fundamental common good to which acces must be guaranted as a fundamental right (Bailey& Marucci 2013).

For describing and interpreting the expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer, A., & Schmitt, H. (2009), two documents were included, analogous to the Rote Flora analyses, in order to build the ground for the qualitative content analysis on the Teatro Valle. These documents are namely: The Cultural Programme of the Teatro Valle within the time frame 10.03.2016 - 10.04.2016 and the interview with a Teatro Valle activist from the 04.03.2016. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the interview was conducted via Sykpe. The quality of the interview in terms of sound and video quality was sufficient throughout the whole interview. In terms of the language, the quality was moderate, but could be improved by conducting the interview in the commons national language. In general the atmosphere was friendly and the respondent was interested in this particular research. The full transcript of the interview with further descriptions on the conduction of the interview and the retrieved cultural programme can be seen in Appendix B. The following table states the results carried out by the qualitative content analysis.

As indicated by the summary table carried out by the qualitative content analysis in Annex B, several tendencies within the expression of the *Teatro Valle* towards the support of the modern European Cultural Identity can be described.

As described by Scheuer, A., & Schmitt, H. (2009) the acceptance and support of the modern nation state is a central characteristic of the modern European Cultural Identity. Therefore the Teatro Valles expressions towards the **modern nation state** were analysed. The two observed documents indicate strong expressions towards the support and acceptance of the modern nation state.

"In our theatre we use Italian. But sometimes we have international act at Teatro Valle. Then we also speak English." (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

In terms of the feature **Democracy**, it can be seen in the summary table in Annex B, that out of the three assigned keywords, the term refugees / refugees welcome and no censorship could be identified as an interpretive meaning towards the modern European Cultural Identity. However the concept Democracy was mentioned directly within the interview and the Cultural programme. Anyhow democratic decision making seems to be important within the *Teatro Valle*.

"When we have to make decisions, we sit together and discuss the problem or planning for upcoming acts etc. Sometimes the discussions take place until late in the night or early morning (laughing). But most of the time it ends with a result, which everyone is fine with. And yes, I think that's democratic (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

The next observed feature for the concept modern European Cultural Identity is **Human rights**. Therefore the relevant documents were scanned in order to identify the following keywords: Gay pride; Black Power; Right of residence / Lampedusa; human rights; asylum and justice. Out of the six observed keywords, only in terms of the keyword human rights tendencies towards the modern European Cultural Identity can be described.

"I would say Refugees welcome! I mean we must help the people. You know, most of them do have a long way behind them. It's difficult! I have friends who also left their mother country because of wars etc." (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

However, it needs to be mentioned that the respondent sees the ongoing refugee crisis as European problem which indicates a thinking in a European rather than in national way.

"I think I do speak for everyone at the Teatro when I say that we hope that our European Governments start to handle this situation responsible!" (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

Analogous to the Rote Flora analysis, three keywords were assigned for the category **individualism**, namely feminism; Individual and occupied / occupation. According to the summary table in Appendix B, the keywords individual and occupation observed within relevant documents. However, strongest tendencies were identified towards the keyword "occupied / occupation", which was identified 15 times. The following citation of the Interview from 07.03.2016 validates the interpreting carried out by the qualitative content analysis:

"One friend of mine was putting his own ideas into the website, he included this twitter window on our website, also the design for that were basically made by him. He is just really good at his stuff." (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

Finally the category **Separation of church and state** was observed in order to interpret the *Teatro Valles* position towards the modern European Cultural Identity. The following citation from the interview clearly expresses a strong support of the separation between church and state.

"...whenever I hear the Pope talking about current political things I have to laugh! In history we see how it ends when the church is doing politics." (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

However the interview also indicated a strong support of nihilism. This was expressed by the following statement.

"At the teatro we religion doesn't play any role at all. For me the bible is a really good book, but not more!" (Franco, personal communication, March 7, 2016)

To sum it up, the assigned keywords were identified 50 times within the relevant documents. Therefore it can be described that the Teatro Valle, the second cultural common under observation, expresses the values of the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer& Schmitt (2009). In other words it can be described modern European values are important within the illegal cultural common – Teatro Valle.

5.3 Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69

The following part describes the analysis of the illegal cultural common, the Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69 in Copenhagen. It aims to describe and interpret the Ungdomhusets expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity. Analogous to the other illegal cultural commons under observation the results will be compared. ("About the house" 2014)

Ungdomshuset, was political and cultural centre. It was the base of the radical D.I.Y. scene ⁹in Copenhagen, a venue for music and rendezvous point for varying autonomous and leftist groups from 1982 until 2007 when - after prolonged conflict - it was torn down ("About the house" 2014). Due to the ongoing conflict between the municipal government of Copenhagen and the activists occupying the premises, the building was subject to an intense media attention and public debate since the mid-1990s ("About the house" 2014).

On the 11th of June 2008, it was decided in the city council to let the Undomhuset common take over two buildings in the North western area of the city. It's situated between Dortheavej and Rentemestervej in the North-western part of Copenhagen, approx. 2,8 km from Jagtvej 69. ("About the house" 2014) However the commons name still refers to the former occupied building in Jagtvej 69. Thus this research consolidates the activities carried out by the illegal cultural common in Jagtvej 69 with Dortheavej 61.



As it can be seen in Figure 5, the building of the Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69 is a colorful and friendly appareance. The facade shows political statements, such as "*Something is worth to fight for*"¹⁰. Moreover the grafitty art on the façade of the building underlines the cultural aspiration of the illegal cultural common Ungdomhuset – Jagtvej 69.

For describing and interpreting the expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer, A., & Schmitt, H. (2009), two diagnostically conclusive documents were

¹⁰ refers to the fight around the occupied building

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⁹ DiY Scene, is a Punk Rock scene, started in DIY Skaters bowl in the famous outlaw zone in Krisitanstad in Copenhagen

included in order to build the ground for the qualitative content analysis on the Ungdomshuset. These documents are namely: The Cultural Programme of the Ungdomshuset within the time frame 04.03.2016 - 31.04.2016 and the interview with an Ungdomshuset activist from the 07.03.2016. As mentioned before, the interview took place via Skype, due to geographical und financial reasons. The sound and video quality of the in interview were sufficient. However, the interview partner did nnot answer the question in an extensive way and therefore the word count of the interview is limited.

The full transcript of the interview with further descriptions on the conduction of the interview and the retrieved cultural programme can be seen in Appendix B. Further the complete results carried out by the qualitative content analysis on the Ungdomshuset can be seen in tabular summary in Appendix B.

As indicated by the summary carried out by the qualitative content analysis, several tendencies within the expression of the Ungdomshuset Activists towards the support of the modern European Cultural Identity can be described.

As described, the acceptance/support of the **modern nation state** is one of the main characteristics of the modern European Cultural Identity. In case of the Ungdomshuset all assigned keywords were found in the documents under observation. Analogous to the Rote Flora and Teatro Valle, democracy and democratic decision making are central values within the illegal cultural common Ungdomhuset. Additionally, the recognition of the national language is another major feature of the modern nation state. However as indicated by the Summary in Appendix B, Danish, which is the national language, is recognized as the central language for communication within the Ungdomhuset:

"We communicate in Danish, but I think most of us can speak English almost as good as Danish". (Frederik, personal communication, March 07, 2016)

Another feature of the modern European Cultural Identity is **Democracy**. As it can be seen in the summary table (Appendix B) of the three assigned keywords, only the terms refugees / refugees welcome and Nocensorship could be identified as an interpretive meaning towards the modern European Cultural Identity. However the concept Democracy was mentioned directly within the interview and the Cultural programme. Additionally the keyword "voting" could not be observed, anyhow democratic decision making seems to be still important within the *Rote Flora*.

"In my opinion all refugees are welcome in Denmark! I think we should kick out the fascist and capitalist people and exchange them with more refugees (Frederik, personal communication, March 07, 2016)

Another observed feature for the concept modern European Cultural Identity is **Human rights**. Therefore the relevant documents were scanned in order to identify the following keywords: Gay pride; Black Power; Right of residence / Lampedusa; human rights; asylum and justice. However, out of the six observed keywords, only in terms of the keyword human rights tendencies towards the modern European Cultural Identity can be described.

"As I said before in my view everyone is welcome, refugees are welcome! But that's not everyone's way of thinking in Denmark. We have to many people in our country who do not believe in human rights anymore. (Frederik, personal communication. March 07, 2016)

"That's different in the Ungdomhuset, We all believe in human rights! (Frederik, personal communication. March 07, 2016)

Illegal Cultural Commons in the heart of Europe Yannik Seyfert Further for the category **individualism** three keywords were assigned, namely feminism; Individual and occupied / occupation. According to the summary table in Appendix B, the keywords individual and occupation observed within relevant documents. However, strongest tendencies were identified towards the keyword "occupied / occupation", which was identified eight times. The following citation of the Interview from 04.03.2016 validates the interpreting carried out by the qualitative content analysis:

"I think it's all about individualism! I mean we're running a theatre, that's art! Art always goes hand in hand with some kind of individualism." (Frederik, personal communication, March 07, 2016)

In the final analysis the category **Separation of church and state** was observed in order to interpret the *Ungdomhuset* position towards the modern European Cultural Identity. Similarly to the categories described before, three keywords were assigned in order to identify the expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity. These keywords are namely: atheism/religion; Roma/Gipsy and Jewish. However the keywords atheism/religion; Roma/Gipsy were identified in the relevant documents. Strongest tendencies were observed to the keyword atheism/religion. Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that all the observed keywords for the category Separation of church and state were observed in the interview and none of the keywords were observed in the cultural programme.

To sum it up, the assigned keywords were identified 37 times within the relevant documents. Therefore it can be described that the Ungdomhuset, as the third illegal cultural common under observation, expresses strongly the values of the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer& Schmitt (2009). In other words it can be described modern European values do play a moderate role within the illegal cultural common – Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69.

5.4 Comparing Results

Based on the results presented in this chapter it can be said that the illegal cultural commons under observation do express the modern European Cultural Identity. In this chapter, the findings will be discussed in theoretical terms. With reference to the theories that were elaborated on in the second chapter, the data will be brought into context. First this part will compare the results of the qualitative content analysis of all cultural commons under observation. Later the results will be linked to the general aspects of the European Identity and especially the five characteristics of the modern European Cultural Identity. Finally the theory will be brought into the context of observed results.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the sum of the counted keywords for each illegal cultural common under observation need to be compared in order to point out the different levels of expressing the modern European Cultural Identity. In case of the Rote Flora the assigned keywords were counted 62 times (see frequency table in Appendix B) within the relevant documents. Therefore, in accordance with the comparison table in chapter 3, the Rote Flora can be described to express the modern European Cultural Identity to a medium/ normal extent. In case of the Teatro Valle the assigned keywords were counted 50 times (see frequency table in Appendix B). This result is interpreted as an expression of the modern European Cultural Identity to a low extent. For the Ungdomhuset Jagtvej 69, the assigned keywords were counted 37 times, which describes no expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity.

First of all the results validate the European Commission's (2012) statement that it is possible to have a cultural construction of Europe that is taking place independent of attempts at institutional integration. This can be described by the results stated in this chapter. The results have shown that commons which are not supported through the European institutions and even limited through their legal status within their national country can express the cultural construction of Europe.

Compared to the time that nation-states took to consolidate, the history of European integration is still rather short (Scheuer&Schmitt). This aspect can also be reflected by the illegal cultural commons under observation in terms of the founding years of each common. The Rote Flora was founded and occupied in November 1989, the Teatro Valle common was founded and occupied in June 2011 and the Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69 was founded 1982, but became illegal in 1999 due to the occupation of the sold building in Jagtveij 69.

Over half a century after World War II, a majority of EU citizens identifies with the new political community European Union (Scheuer and Schmitt, p. 509). However Europeans consider themselves to be a community of values and ideas. The idea of liberty, of democracy, of the modern nation-state, individualism, human rights, freedom of speech, rationality, the political republic, and the separation of Church and State—all this is considered to be 'European' (Scheuer and Schmitt, p. 509). As stated in this chapter two, this research observes expressions towards the following features of the modern European Cultural Identity:

- Modern nation state
- Democracy
- human rights
- individualism
- Separation of church and state

Summarizing the results of the qualitative content analysis, the strongest expressions were observed towards the concept of the modern nation state (42 counts). Followed by the concept of individualism with 40 counted expressions. Moderate counts of keywords can be described for the concepts Separation of Church and State (26 counts) and human rights (24 counts). The lowest counts were observed for the concept Democracy (19 counts).

5.5 Concluding Remarks

To sum it up, in case of the Rote Flora, the assigned keywords were identified 62 times within the relevant documents. Therefore it can be described that the Rote Flora, expresses the values of the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer& Schmitt (2009) to the largest extent. While for the Teatro Valle, the assigned keywords were identified 50 times within the relevant documents. Therefore it can be described that the Teatro Valle, the second cultural common under observation, expresses the values of the modern European Cultural Identity as described by Scheuer& Schmitt (2009). And in case of Ungdomhuset, the assigned keywords were identified 37 times within the relevant documents. In other words it can be described modern European values do play a moderate role within the illegal cultural common – Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69.

5 Conclusion

This section answers the main research question "To what extent do illegal cultural commons express the modern European Cultural Identity?" Generally, it can be said that the cultural commons under observation, operationalised as a community accessible to all members of society by characterized by culture, space and community, do express the modern European Cultural Identity. Yet, the extent to which the cultural commons express the modern European Cultural Identity differs. In the following, the expressions towards the modern European Cultural Identity are summed up which is followed by answering the main research question. Lastly, the implications of the findings are outlined with respect to the European Union's cultural policy. Based on the qualitative content analysis of the relevant documents, it is safe to say that the illegal cultural commons under observation express modern European cultural values such as the concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, human rights, individualism, and separation of church and state (Scheuer and Schmitt, p. 509).

However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, not all the features of the modern European Cultural Identity were expressed in each illegal cultural common under observation. In case of the Rote Flora, expressions towards the concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, human rights, individualism, and separation of church and state can be described and interpreted. For the Teatro Valle expressions towards the concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, individualism and separation of church and state can be described and interpreted. Nonetheless the expressions towards human rights can't be described due to the low number of findings in this respect. In case of the Ungdomhuset Jagtvej 69, only low expressions towards the concepts of the modern nation state, democracy, individualism and separation of church and state can be described, due to the low number of findings in this respect. However in terms of human rights, no expressions can be described, due to the low number of findings in this respect.

Taken it all together, the Rote Flora expresses the modern European Cultural Identity to a *normal extent*, while the Teatro Valle and Ungdomhuset Jagtvej 69 do express the modern European Cultural Identity to a *low extent*.



Figure 6 – Expressions towards Modern European Cultural Identity

Illegal Cultural Commons in the heart of Europe Yannik Seyfert Aside from the findings carried out by the qualitative content analysis it is noteworthy that the illegal cultural commons are aware of the other illegal cultural commons under observation and that there is somehow a connection. This was reflected by cultural programme Teatro Valle which refers to events that are taking place in the Rote Flora (e.g. Event Life in Stills – Israel). Nevertheless, the connection between illegal cultural commons throughout Europe was not focus of this research and would be worth of an independent study.

While Scheuer and Schmidt (p. 510) argued that the common cultural political values such as human rights and separation of church and state are not sufficient to mediate these differences and create a common European identity that transcends cultural factors such as ethnic and religious differences, this research has clearly described opposite cases. At the end, the results of this research validate the European Commission (2012) statement that it is possible to have a cultural construction of Europe that is taking place independent of attempts at institutional integration and that cannot be claimed by the EU as part of the integration process.

6.1 Policy Recommendation

As indicated in previous chapters, this research aims to add fundamental information to the current debate on illegal cultural commons in Europe. Up until now these illegal cultural commons have not been considered to have a positive effect on the modern European cultural Identity in terms of their expressions.

However, with the 2015-18 Work Plan for Culture, adopted by EU Culture Ministers in December 2014, the EU sets out four main priorities for European cooperation in cultural policy-making:

- Accessible and inclusive culture,
- Cultural heritage,
- Cultural and creative sectors: creative economy and innovation, and
- Promotion of cultural diversity, culture in EU external relations, and mobility.

After describing the results of this research, it goes without saying that the Rote Flora, Teatro Valle and Ungdomhuset Jagtvej represent an accessible and inclusive culture. Further they act in creative sector and they promote cultural diversity. Moreover that in terms of the Rote Flora and Teatro Valle a cultural heritage is protected. Therefore this paper argues in favour of a support by the European Union towards the illegal cultural commons Rote Flora, Teatro Valle and Ungdomhuset Jagtvej 69. A financial support as the EU provides in other cultural areas (e.g. Creative Europe programme), would help these cultural commons to a large extent. But also to support in terms of getting into dialogue with the relevant local authorities would help to create a more cultural value. Future research could extend this study in terms of empirical evidence by conducting a research with original data, e.g. The use of surveys could bring empirical evidence that the cultural commons under observation do not only express the modern European Cultural Identity, but even contribute to the shape of the European Cultural Identity.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that the development of the European Cultural Identity still remains unfinished business (European Commission, 2012), and therefore this paper argues in that including those actors who contribute to the development of the European Cultural Identity could accelerate the process.

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7 Annex

8.1 Annex A

Question Questionnaire - semi-structured interview on illegal cultural comm				
number	heart of Europe			
	Feature of modern European Identity: modern nation state			
1	Question: Which languages are used to communicate within your common and which language or languages are used to communicate outside of your cultural common?			
	Feature of modern European Identity: democracy			
2	Question: How would you describe the decision making process within your cultural common? Would you call it democratic? Can you explain your answer?			
	Feature of modern European Identity: human rights			
3	Question: What is the position within your cultural common towards the on-going refugee crisis in Europe? Can you please motivate your answer?			
	Feature of modern European Identity: individualism			
4	Question: Is there some kind of collectivism in your cultural common? Is there a common ownership or lots cooperation in your common? Can you give an example?			
	Feature of modern European Identity: separation of church and state			
5	Question: Can you tell us something about the religious values within your common? And what do you think about the involvement of the church on political issues?			

8.2 Annex B

Table 1 – Frequency table - Rote Flora Analysis

Category	Keywords	Cultural Program - Rote Flora 10.03.2016 - 10.04.2016	Interview - Rote Flora 04.03.2016	Total Count
	German	6	0	6
Modern nation state	Germany	0	1	1
	democracy / democratic	1	6	7
	Voting	0	0	0
Democracy	No censorship	0	0	0
	Refugees / Refugees welcome	5	4	9
	Gay pride	0	0	0
	Black Power	0	0	0
human rights	Right of residence / Lampedusa	2	1	3
	human rights	0	7	7
	Asylum ¹	1	1	2
	Justice	1	0	1
	feminism	3	0	3
individualism	Individual	0	6	6
	occupied / occupation	0	1	1
Separation	atheism religion	1	11	12
of church	Roma (gipsy)²	2	0	2
and state	Jewish	2	0	2
	Total:	4364	1228	5592
	SUM	24	38	
Summary				
	SUM	62		

Table 2 – Frequency table - Teatro Valle Analysis

Category	Keywords	Cultural Program - Teatro Valle 02.06.2011 - 16.10.2014	Interview - Teatro Valle 07.03.2016	Total Count
	Italian	7	1	8
Modern nation state	Italy	3	2	5
	democracy / democratic	3	5	8
	Voting	0	0	0
Democracy	No censorship	1	0	1
	Refugees / Refugees welcome	0	3	3
	Gay pride	0	0	0
	Black power	0	0	0
human rights	Right of residence / Lampedusa	0	0	0
	Human rights	0	3	3
	Asylum	0	0	0
	Justice	0	0	0
	feminism	0	0	0
individualism	Individual	0	4	4
	occupied / occupation	15	0	15
Separation	atheism / religion	0	2	2
of church	Roma (gipsy)²	2	1	3
and state	Jewish	0	0	0
	Total:	1415	822	2237
				0
Summary	SUM	29	21	50
Junnary				0
	SUM	50		50
				0

Table 3 – Frequency table - Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69 Analysis

Category	Keywords	Cultural Program - Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69 04.03.2016 - 31.04.2016	Interview - Ungdomhuset Jagtveij 69 07.03.2016	Total Count
	Danish	2	1	3
Modern nation state	Denmark	1	2	5
	democracy / democratic	4	3	7
	Voting	0	0	0
Democracy	No censorship	1	2	3
	Refugees / Refugees welcome	0	3	3
	Gay pride	0	0	0
	Black power	0	0	0
human rights	Right of residence / Lampedusa	0	0	0
	Human rights	1	3	4
	Asylum	0	0	0
	Justice	0	0	0
	feminism	0	0	0
individualism	Individual	1	2	4
	occupied / occupation	6	2	8
Seperation	atheism / religion	0	2	2
of church	Roma (gipsy)²	0	1	3
and state	Jewish	0	0	0
	Total:	422	769	1191
				0
Summary	SUM	16	21	50
Summary				0
	SUM	37		50
				0