The role of culture in promoting inclusion
in the context of migration

Report of the Voices of Culture platform

September 2016
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour guide:</th>
<th>Policy recommendations</th>
<th>Artistic examples</th>
<th>The wider framework (background, discussion and references)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

## The Sea Cemetery

INTRODUCTION

Refugees, by Brian Bilston

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PART 1: The WHY

Recommendations from PART 1

1. Moving inwards for change
2. Moving outwards for change
3. Moving together for change
4. Moving around for change

Let's Build a New Sudan, by Abazar Hamid

PART 2: CULTURE AND POLICY MAKING

Introduction

Key principles

The Potential of Culture in Policy Making

Recommendations from PART 2

Extract from a Play devised by young refugees

PART 3: IMPACT

The key success factors in successful projects

Measuring influence and impact

Key approaches to successfully measuring and evaluating a project

Evaluation Methodology

Recommendations from PART 3

Artwork by Tamara Nahar

AFTERWORD: “NONE IS PURE” – A FEW THEORETICAL REMARKS

FURTHER READING
SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SYRIAN CIVIL WAR, 4.6 MILLION SYRIAN PEOPLE HAVE LEFT THEIR HOME LAND.

CROSSING THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA BECAME THE LAST ROUTE TO HOPE.

AND, THE MOST DEADLY ROUTE OF THE 21ST CENTURY.

OVER 4000 SYRIAN REFUGEES, INCLUDING MANY CHILDREN, LOST THEIR LIVES AT SEA.

MANY OF THEM COULDN'T BE IDENTIFIED, COULDN'T EVEN BE FOUND.

NOW, THE SEA IS THEIR FINAL RESTING PLACE.
The SEA IS THEIR GRAVE.
The SEA CEMETERY
IN MEMORY OF THOUSANDS OF SYRIAN REFUGEES...

1 Opening page from www.theseacemetary.com, an initiative of Support to Life-International Humanitarian aid
INTRODUCTION

“What happens when we try to know another’s painful journey? When we try to hold it in some way, to say: you are here. I see you.” (Olumide Popoola)

* 

As members of the Voices of Culture Structured Dialogue on “The Role of Culture in Promoting the Inclusion of Refugees and Migrants”, we are grateful to the European Commission for the opportunity to comment and advise on this most pressing and immediate area of policy under the framework of the Structured Dialogue with Civil Society. With large numbers of refugees fleeing conflict and violence and reaching all the way to Europe, there is an urgent need to develop strategies that allow them at once to be included in European societies, while at the same time retaining a sense of their own identity, and a pride in their cultural roots.

The role of cultural and educational agencies is crucial, offering safe spaces where refugees can interact with local host communities, learn the language and develop social/cultural skills, and acquire the confidence to articulate their cultural identity in the European context, as well as assisting with early recovery and transition. Cultural activities have proven benefits for refugees and migrants, in terms of providing enabling environments to express themselves, recover from trauma and share stories, participate in communities, and take positive action towards active citizenship. The cultural productions and expressions resulting from such cultural encounters and processes can and should inform the development of policy in broader areas including education, housing and social policy, employment, in the context of migration.

This report highlights key areas where cultural interventions lead to tangible benefits. Some of these are clear and immediate, in relation to language learning, social skills, therapeutic benefits, employability etc. Such projects, conducted with newcomers, can lead to short-term gains in terms of inclusion in the context of migration, and are to be encouraged. However, this approach is not by itself a sufficient response to the nature of the current crisis, or a sufficient contribution to the longer-term development of an intercultural Europe. Without a wider cultural strategy to develop an open and equal dialogue between new citizens and their host cultures, the entire onus for “integration” will be placed on the newcomers themselves. The inference could be drawn that they simply need to “become European” - to abandon their original identities and fully adopt the modalities of host communities. We would dispute both the socio-political efficacy and the moral tenability of such a policy. If refugees, asylum seekers and migrants find their welcome limited to an education in the cultural norms of a pre-packaged European model, they are likely to feel that their legitimate status and human dignity are undermined; that their own values and cultural rights are devalued; and that European society, far from being open and democratic, is in fact xenophobic and insular. Such are the conditions that encourage the growth of exclusion, violence and extremism/radicalisation on both sides.

In this report, we therefore emphasise the importance of a further tier of cultural projects that do not simply engage refugees and migrants, but foster interaction and dialogue with wider European society. Our research across the continent has shown how cultural projects can serve to validate the human worth of these new citizens, and to generate empathy between them and more established
communities\textsuperscript{2}. Evaluation of such projects has demonstrated their significance in overturning racist stereotyping of refugee communities, and in promoting peaceful co-existence while respecting difference and upholding cultural rights. Here are just two quotations from responses to one such project, Flight Path, which took place in a deprived area of North-East England, where there were high levels of intercultural tension:

• “My dad doesn’t like refugees or asylum seekers, he doesn’t want anybody anymore to come to this country, but maybe if I tell him this story it will make him think twice about refugees.”

• “I’ve changed my opinion totally about asylum seekers. I think now it’s not the asylum seekers which is the problem it’s Great Britain what’s the problem.”\textsuperscript{3}

One of the great challenges of cultural work around social and political issues is that it can end up preaching to the converted, and so entrenching rather than overturning the divisions in European society. This is why our recommendations emphasise the embedding of this work into civil society and education, and particularly into the structures of local government and local authorities. By encouraging and financing art and culture projects that embrace all sections of the community, the EU can catalyse a “bottom-up” programme of cultural activities that genuinely build bridges between communities from different backgrounds even beyond the immediate context of migration.

In turn, the work created in this way is crucial to the future of democracy in Europe. As the radical right makes inroads into many European societies, encouraging prejudice and fostering xenophobia, there is an urgent need for an open and accessible cultural sector, in which the voices and stories of refugees and migrants are heard in dialogue with the European space. The encounters, energies and provocations resulting from such practices will inevitably be creative, progressive, and responsive to the current moment. As such, they will help us to create a more open and inclusive Europe. In this report, we therefore also explore the potential for cultural work to contribute to the development of policy in the context of migration. Finally, from our experience with a wide range of culture actions and projects, we want to point out that it is essential such projects be subject to rigorous monitoring and evaluation. In the third part of this report therefore, we discuss our proposed strategies in this area, arguing for flexibility of approach, alongside clear demonstration of impact.

Culture is one of the few spaces left in our suspicious, divided, ossified world where you can encounter – not virtually or in a mediated way, but actually, physically, in the same room – people who are totally different from you. And you realise that they aren’t that different after all. Culture offers us a more fluid identity, allows us to be in someone else’s shoes, recognises that the other person’s problem is our problem too. It offers us a shared space in a segregated society, public life in an age of privatisation, participation in an era of passive consumption. It is the lifeblood of a continent evolving as a space of rich diversity, energy, productivity and peace.

\textsuperscript{2} A number of examples are given in Part 1.

Refugees

They have no need of our help
So do not tell me
These haggard faces could belong to you or me
Should life have dealt a different hand
We need to see them for who they really are
Chancers and scroungers
Layabouts and loungers
With bombs up their sleeves
Cut-throats and thieves
They are not
Welcome here
We should make them
Go back to where they came from
They cannot
Share our food
Share our homes
Share our countries
Instead let us
Build a wall to keep them out
It is not okay to say
These are people just like us
A place should only belong to those who are born there
Do not be so stupid to think that
The world can be looked at another way

(now read from bottom to top)
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Part 1: the WHY

What are the strongest arguments which can be made by civil society on WHY to use culture as a key instrument for governments to deal with the reality of migration?

1. Culture has proven HUMANITARIAN BENEFITS for refugees and migrants immediately after arrival
2. Cultural projects have a track-record in VALIDATING AND RAISING MIGRANTS’ HUMAN CAPITAL through stimulating personal growth and skill development
3. Cultural projects are powerful tools for the INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE EMPOWERMENT OF MIGRANT “COMMUNITIES”
4. Investment in culture has important spill-over effects and a high return on investment, and thus contributes to the ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE RECEIVING SOCIETIES
5. Cultural actions are strong to provide A MORE BALANCED PERCEPTION OF THE ISSUE OF MIGRATION IN THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE RECEIVING SOCIETIES
6. Cultural projects have a great capacity to IMPROVE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS which is an important asset in community development and social cohesion
7. Cultural action can play an important role in CONFLICT-PREVENTION AND CONFLICT-RESOLUTION
8. Culture can be an exceptional strength as an INSTRUMENT TO DEAL WITH THE REALITIES OF MIGRATION

Recommendations from PART 1

The participants in the Voices of Culture-platform put to the fore 4 movements for change, which coincide and influence each other, calling both the cultural sector and policy makers to take action.

1. **Moving inwards** - we need cultural action and policy making that:
   a. develops cultural leadership
   b. creates role models that have a multiplying effect
   c. encourages participatory work

2. **Moving outwards** - we need to drastically reduce the barriers to migrant participation in the cultural sector, at all levels, by:
   a. recognizing and validating refugees’ and migrants’ skills and talents, both formal and informal
   b. creating links, networks and platforms between local agents from a wide range of creative industries and newcomers
3. Moving together: we call for cultural actors and policy makers to:
   a. provide accessible local public space
   b. open up existing institutions to these forms of meetings and exchanges
   c. create new spaces/places where these can happen, including in remote areas

4. Moving around: cultural and policy makers need to support actions that increase, value and spread our knowledge about migration processes through:
   a. spatial dispersion
   b. distribution, including via the media

PART 2: CULTURE and POLICY MAKING

How can culture contribute to new policies in the context of migration?

The relationship between culture and politics ideally is a two-way relationship. On the one hand, it is the duty of politics to allow for culture to thrive. On the other hand, culture should work to inform, advise and substantiate policy making. In order to reach this potential, however, the interface between culture and policy must be strengthened.

Culture is particularly significant as an enabler of sophisticated democracy: it provides spaces for the articulation and dissemination of complex ideas, and facilitates broad participation in social space. The dynamic nature of cultural participation makes the cultural sector the perfect space from which to catalyse the development of polity and society as spaces in which refugees and other new citizens are afforded equal voice and status.

Recommendations from PART 2

1) The European Union should establish a new funding programme for creating ‘Spaces of Welcome’ in collaboration between local authorities, cultural sector, civil society and local organisations for refugees and migrants

2) EU programmes should have a varied approach, combining high-profile events and activities with sustained programmes for both short term and long term impact to scale.

3) EU funding programmes should be accessible to smaller local projects, engaging refugees directly with more established communities, facilitating cultural expression and upholding cultural rights.

4) The EU should support a networked approach to smaller local projects across national boundaries, as well as knowledge sharing

5) The EU should support people-to-people contacts and collaborations in the cultural sector
PART 3: IMPACT
Measuring the success factors of arts and cultural initiatives that promote inclusion in the context of migration.

The key success factors in successful projects
- Build on the skills and knowledge of refugees that are sometimes “invisible”
- Provide “safe” spaces for dialogue and constructive exchange between hosts and refugees
- Work at the local level, together with local organisations of or for refugees and/or migrants, and with local authorities.

Measuring influence and impact
Key approaches to successfully measuring and evaluating a project
- Inclusive approach
- Cross-sector and pluralistic approach
- Innovative approach
- Promoting human rights, freedoms and dignity

Evaluation Methodology
- Enable flexibility in the evaluation framework
- Measure at individual, community, institutions and policy levels
- Measure perceptions and emotions as well as concrete change
- Set cultural initiatives in the wider social, economic and political contexts (bigger picture)
- Set realistic, achievable and measurable Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)
- Perform baseline and follow up research for analysis
- Focus on the process as well as the product
- Carry out short and long term evaluation of benefits and impact
- Ensure sustainability through potential future funding and support or self-funding opportunities
- Encourage self-review and peer-review
- Encourage external evaluation from an independent viewpoint with sectoral experience

Recommendations from PART 3
The following recommendations are made to the European Commission in order to address these needs:

- Provide / Support training in monitoring and evaluation in preparation for project delivery and as a key part of implementation
- Provide specific funding - to artists and organisations - for developing evaluation tools (that should respect the criteria listed below) and delivering ongoing monitoring and evaluation of projects
• Support research (including mapping, Political Economy Analysis, gap identification, methodology development) to design robust projects and monitoring and evaluation frameworks

• Support the creation of tools and databases to i) gather existing knowledge, ii) facilitate exchanges and sharing best practice, iii) map contacts and initiatives, and iv) manage information

• Define - in collaboration with the arts and culture sector - indicators of success

The sector asks the European Commission to support the development of evaluation tools fit for the sector’s needs. Such tools should:

• Be developed through a participatory, cross-sectoral process, involving the sector in the definition of criteria/ principles/ tools for evaluation, and bringing practitioners and academics together as well as experts from other fields, collaborating to build evaluation models and indicators

• Build on lessons learnt from existing experiences in Europe and in other migration contexts, best practices as well as failures

• Allow for flexible frameworks and tools, whilst maintaining clear objectives and theories of change (dynamic evaluation)

• Include an external evaluation element (although practitioners should be involved in the definition of the evaluation criteria and tools)

• Be funded with a specific, additional budget (not as an extra priority in the regular funding schemes for projects /activities/ networks) and be sustained over time in order to allow for a long term evaluation which is crucial to capture the actual impact of the arts on integration in the context of migration.

***
PART 1: The WHY

What are the strongest arguments which can be made by civil society on WHY to use culture as a key instrument for governments to deal with the reality of migration?

Culture has proven HUMANITARIAN BENEFITS for refugees and migrants immediately after arrival

Upon arrival, newcomers and especially refugees can be in need of many things, from food, shelter and administrative help to psychological and social assistance.

In particular with the latter two, the positive effects and impact of cultural actions have been showcased through many examples all over Europe as well as in refugee-camps abroad. Artistic projects, bringing people together through creative painting, theatre workshops, music, writing, etc. help especially refugees to deal with trauma, displacement and managing life in an entirely new context. At the same time, they ensure that individual migrants can maintain social contact with others, both other migrants and members from the host societies, in a safe setting.

ICORN – the International Cities of Refuge Network, which works in partnership with PEN International to place persecuted refugee writers and musicians for up to two years in a host city (most of which are in Europe). On arrival there is a dedicated programme of support to enable them to keep working and help them integrate, including involvement in a programme of cultural activities. One-to-one, writer to writer, support can be helpful in providing housing and assistance as well as intellectual engagement in debate, leading to fulfilment and lessening the feeling of isolation; the chance for a discovery of commonalities between artists and artistic communities fosters empathy and mutual understanding in ways that go beyond the cultural sphere. Traditionally, several European PEN Centres (Flemish PEN through their Writers’ House, German PEN’s Writers in Exile Programme, etc.) have hosted refugee writers with similar mechanisms of support.

The discussions in the framework of Voices of Culture have shown how many refugee camps, reception centres, national and local social services have already benefited from taking a cultural perspective on things, and want to work together with the cultural sector to deal with the issues they are confronted with on a daily basis.

Cultural projects have a track-record in VALIDATING AND RAISING MIGRANTS’ HUMAN CAPITAL through stimulating personal growth and skill development

One of the most heard frustrations of newcomers and of the people in the receiving societies that come into contact with them, is the enormous waste in human capital (knowledge, degrees, job experience, networks, etc.) caused by the move from one place to another, especially for refugees and migrants coming from outside the EU. Together with interventions in other domains (language courses allowing for a faster levelling of the playing-field for newcomers, the creation of new legislative frameworks for the recognition of degrees or that allow them to enter the labour market more quickly and freely, etc.), cultural actions have a track-record of helping people regain momentum in their search for work, discover and gain new skills, or translate their skills into marketable activities – especially those people that tend to fall outside of the regular activation programmes, as they are hard to reach, have been given up on, or also because they are artists themselves.
Cultural projects can build on the skills and knowledge of refugees that are sometimes “invisible”, so that they can be fostered and shared with the larger community. In this way, refugees can build their capacity and self-esteem to be better placed to become an active part of society. This also implies, when possible, including refugees/migrants with relevant skills in artistic teams and processes, handing over responsibilities to them (and remunerating them accordingly).

Encounters – encouraging the job search of migrants through art. This was a project realized in Turku, Finland in 2014-2015 with the aid of the European Fund for Integration. The project was aimed at recently arrived young immigrants that had already gained a residence permit. Through the project, local art students and migrants hoping to find employment were brought together to make videos, animations and drama of the experiences of migration. The main outcome of the project was to enable participants in job searching, knowing their own strengths and through practice and drama to give them more courage in the job seeking and interview situations.

Cultural projects are powerful tools for the COLLECTIVE EMPOWERMENT OF MIGRANT “COMMUNITIES”

Without essentialising the concept of ‘communities’ – recognizing that these are fluid and ever-changing, existing only through perception and self-perception – there is a case to be made for receiving societies to support the empowerment of refugees and migrants not only at an individual, but also at a collective level. Collective empowerment allows for their voices to be heard, and their needs and opinions to gain political and societal weight. Today, the cultural sector in Europe is at the forefront of experimenting with different forms of participatory action, from co-involving refugees and migrants in the realisation of cultural projects to the co-creation of projects and even the complete handover of leadership, whereby the artists or cultural institutions in question only provide the tools or the space required for the performance, exhibition, or activity to take place. Such participatory projects play an important role not only in the individual empowerment of the people who partake in them, but also in their collective empowerment as a group and in the collective empowerment of the communities with whom they identify in general.
‘We Will Rise’ - an exhibition set up by refugees in the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum (Berlin). Here, the museum relinquished its space to a grassroots-refugee movement to represent their history and activities.

Refugee-TV: refugee.tv is an act of empowerment. Its vision is to create a TV station, which is designed by refugees in cooperation with a German/Austrian film team. The reporters of refugee.tv came to Europe as refugees. Amongst the refugees coming to Europe are many skilled workers, some filmmakers, journalists and camera men. Many refugees had to flee their home country because they were putting the spotlight on problems and injustices in their home countries. refugee.tv provides them a platform to continue their passionate work.

Investment in culture has important spill-over effects and a high return on investment, and thus contributes to the ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE RECEIVING SOCIETIES

Apart from the general economic benefits receiving societies enjoy through the personal growth and skills development of new citizens who are encouraged to find work that fits their skills and interests; many cultural projects with, by and for refugees and migrants have also resulted in the creation of new enterprises, which in turn create new jobs.
**MadebyOya**: a project in Ghent (Belgium) bringing local and migrant women together in a cooperative for making and selling textile products.

In the area of economic development, a strong argument to invest in culture is that this investment can be dispersed more easily across the territory of the European Union, and deliver a higher return in more remote areas than other investments (such as in infrastructure, in the attraction of large companies etc.) potentially could. Whereas the big economic centres – generally already vibrant cultural hubs – tend to attract investment relatively easily, the many smaller cities and villages where most people in Europe still live, as well as the impoverished areas of Southern and Eastern Europe where many migrants end up, are in need of an economic boost. Here, cultural actions can help. This way, the investment in cultural projects in the context of migration can be at the forefront of a re-developing of these areas, and a more equal spread of economic development (and cultural wellbeing) across the continent, parallel with or within other EU actions such as INTERREG.

Cultural actions are strong to provide **A MORE BALANCED PERCEPTION OF THE ISSUE OF MIGRATION IN THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE RECEIVING SOCIETIES**

The rise of extremism, xenophobia and racism in Europe is directly related to Europeans’ perception of the issue of migration. This perception is fed by and reflected in the imagery that mainstream media present of migrants (and today particularly of refugees), oscillating between victimization and accusation, portraying them as either helpless paupers or dangerous scroungers. There is a need to move the debate away from a discourse of urgency, exceptionality and security and towards a more balanced, realistic image of migration, reflecting the normality of everyday life. Here, the cultural sector can play a particularly important role, as it is capable – more so than e.g. the academic sector, the media or political movements – to make a wide array of realities visible to a large audience in ways that are both different and appealing. Artistic activity and production is able to generate empathy and understanding between refugees and receiving societies.
In 2016, the artist Ai Weiwei has drawn attention to the refugee crisis through different actions. In Berlin he wrapped a concert hall in thousands of refugees’ life vests (see picture); in Prague, he covered his previous sculptures in golden thermal blankets. At the same time, Ai has set up a studio for art students, especially Greeks and Germans, in Lesbos, in order to highlight the plight of refugees.

Furthermore, the cultural sector is highly adapted to allow for different voices to come to the fore, as difference and diversity rather than sameness and unity tend to be at its very core, and financial or political gain are not part of its raison d’être. By allowing these many different perspectives to reachbroader and diverse audiences, culture actions have had and will have an important impact on the perception of migration and migrants themselves in Europe.

**Cultural projects have a great capacity to IMPROVE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS which is an important asset in community development and social cohesion**

Culture does not only provide a platform for different voices to be heard by diverse audiences, it also creates spaces where people can meet on terms of equality, independent of social or economic status, gender, ethnic or religious identity, etc. More than other domains, culture tends to create spaces that are open, where the rules for interaction are flexible and ever-changing rather than fixed (as e.g. in sports or in the workplace). Meeting each other on equal terms in open spaces tends to enhance mutual understanding between individuals which, following the contact-hypothesis, seeps through to the group-level, and can help achieve more social cohesion and an easier way of living together.
“Migranland” was a theatre project held in Salt (Spain) in 2013 involving 45 migrants, mostly from Sub-Saharan and Maghreb countries. This initiative, organized by “la Caixa” Foundation and directed by Àlex Rigola, was premiered at the Temporada Alta Festival, one of the country’s major theatre festivals. For three months at workshops, 45 people originally from Cuba, Chile, Gambia, Morocco and Senegal, built a narrative charting the reality of migration based on their own experiences. At a basic level, this participatory theatre project contributed to social cohesion bringing people together, and providing neutral spaces in which friendships were developed. “Migranland” encouraged partnership, co-operation, promoted intercultural understanding and helped to recognize the contribution of different sections of a community.

Cultural action can play an important role in CONFLICT-PREVENTION AND CONFLICT-RESOLUTION

That many conflicts between groups of people in the context of migration (from the level of the international to the level of the neighbourhood, the workplace, or other spaces of daily life) have an important cultural aspect to them, has long been studied and accepted. In the wake of this, more attention is now being paid to the role of culture in the prevention and resolution of conflict at these different levels. Cultural projects and cultural activities do not only allow for different opinions to be brought together in one artwork or project, they also have the capacity to provide a space where people from opposing sides can come together and express their feelings and opinions in non-conflictual, non-violent ways, without however shunning controversy and contention.
Refugees can be key to conflict resolution in their home countries - sometimes when they return, and sometimes when they are able to articulate the case for peace from outside. These are important policy considerations in relation to the current crisis, where the resolution of conflicts in Syria and elsewhere is a priority for the EU. The Guatemalan genocide had a successful conflict-resolution process, to which the refugee community in Mexico made significant contributions. It was the revitalisation of indigenous Mayan culture that made the reconciliation possible, as it gave the peasantry an equal voice at the table. The work of the Mayan cultural group Grupo Sotz’il (pictured) is an example of this important approach, which needs to be encouraged. Cultural activism is essential to the preservation of refugee identity, which is itself an enabler of the right to return and the articulacy of the voice of the dispossessed.

Furthermore, culture has the power to transcend barriers, norms and stereotypes, by engaging audiences and telling stories in a human and moving way. This unique space in which culture operates enables activities to contribute towards conflict prevention and resolution in conflict-affected areas, but also to challenge perceptions of conflict, representing the dignity of those affected rather than their vulnerability. Culture can also provide avenues into different sectors such as political spheres and the public domain, to raise awareness of conflict to work towards peacebuilding and policy change to address conflict and migration.
Since 2013, the British Council has been supporting the theatre production “Queens of Syria”, a play devised by Syrian women refugees in Jordan and based on their personal lives affected by conflict and crisis. In 2015, the British Council brought these Syrian stories to the European stage in Brussels through the screening of the documentary “Queens of Syria” by Yasmin Fedda at the European Policy Centre, alongside the British Council exhibition “Syria: Third Space” at the European Parliament and debates on the role of Culture in Conflict.

This year 2016, in partnership with Developing Artists and Refuge Productions and alongside many other humanitarian, cultural, public and private entities, the British Council supported the project on a 3-week Queens of Syria UK tour, where more than 4500 people saw the play across the United Kingdom with strong media coverage. In addition to the 17 performances, the British Council organised school visits where over 100 pupils took part in face-to-face Q&A sessions with the women, and developed learning resources and webcasts on refugees and conflict accessible to thousands of schools via their Schools Online network. Furthermore, events were held in the UK Parliament and Scottish Parliament to discuss the role of women in peace building and engage with decision makers and influencers. Through this project, theatre and storytelling were used as a channel to access political and educational platforms and raise awareness in the media and online of the human dimension of the refugee crisis and the role of women and culture in peacebuilding.

The exceptional strengths of culture as an INSTRUMENT TO DEAL WITH THE REALITIES OF MIGRATION

These are the main arguments the Voices of Culture-platform has brought to the fore to make the case for culture as a necessary tool to help governments at the European, national and local levels deal with the challenges posed by migration, and move beyond those, towards the opportunities it offers. These arguments are reinforced by the overarching characteristics of the cultural sector, three of which are particularly important in this context.
One is the fact that cultural actions are highly mobile by nature, and thus well adapted to address the issue of migration (which has mobility at its core) and to allow for international and interregional cooperation between governments within the European space.

Two, the cultural sector is known for its high return on investment, even when regarded in a strictly economic sense. Hereto, its direct use-value must be completed with indirect-use value (such as the related economic turnover cultural activities entail) and non-use value (the economic value non-users bestow upon it). In a broader sense, the concept of cultural value (aesthetic, historical, emotional, identificational, etc.) has provided ample evidence for the much wider impact of culture than what is commonly measured.

Three, cultural action is always heavily intertwined with many other aspects of life, beyond the cultural sector. Most cultural projects have significant spill-over effects into widely differing fields, such as education, social welfare, economic development, policy making, etc. A direct investment in culture therefore entails an indirect investment in many other segments of life, and does not remain limited to the cultural field on its own.

In this moment of perceived urgency, culture is far from the last thing that should be on our minds, as it offers efficient and innovative ways to deal with many of the problems posing themselves today while at the same time embracing a long-term perspective on the inclusion of newly arriving refugees and migrants. To paraphrase François Matarasso, “now is the moment to start talking about what culture can do for society, rather than what society can do for culture”. The participants of the Voices of Culture-platform strongly subscribe this proactive stance. Through simple actions, policy makers can help the cultural sector to do this work for society. The following pages provide a number of direct recommendations in this direction. The second part of this report then moves on to the question of how culture can contribute to inclusive policy making in the context of migration.
**Recommendations from PART 1**

The participants in the Voices of Culture-platform put to the fore 4 movements for change, which coincide and influence each other, calling both the cultural sector and policy makers to take action.

1. **Moving inwards for change**

Migration causes us to question the forms and methods currently used in the cultural sector. This poses a challenge, but at the same time, it also presents us with a great opportunity to change the ways in which we work and make them more inclusive and forward-looking. Therefore, we need cultural action and policy making that:

- Develops cultural leadership

Internal organisational changes are needed to enable cultural diversity at all different levels. Different points of view are needed in order to come to new identity narratives also for cultural organisations.

Cultural organisations and policy makers alike should promote the hiring of ‘experienced experts’ (people with experience-based skills) in the context of migration. E.g., this can mean providing the opportunity to learn from refugee artists to develop new artistic methodologies.

And on a general note, migrants and refugees should be supported to become cultural leaders and be paid for their expertise.

- Creates role models that have a multiplying effect

It is important to promote the work through role models, whilst bearing in mind that the cultural sector is about spreading the message instead of just selling the product. At times, there is a need to adopt some principles of celebrity marketing also in the fields of culture and cultural industries, thus acknowledging the unique conditions that apply to the cultural sector and tailoring these marketing strategies accordingly to reach broader and more diverse audience and beneficiaries.

It is also useful to engage beneficiaries of the cultural activities as ambassadors to increase visibility and draw more people in for social interaction and mutual understanding. Migrants and refugees who are contributing to the cultural sector should also be celebrated as role models, to emphasise the important contribution of different perspectives and provide encouragement for more refugees and migrants to enter the cultural sector.

- Encourages participatory work

As mentioned above, many cultural actions in the context of migration have been characterized by a strong participatory approach. Such an approach has led to particularly valuable results for collective empowerment and social cohesion. In order to widely disperse its application throughout the arts and culture sector, policy makers should encourage such participatory projects.
2. Moving outwards for change

As indicated in Part I of this report, the cultural sector has many assets to address the issue of migration in present-day societies. However, in order to ensure the success of cultural actions in this field, we need to drastically reduce the barriers to migrant participation in the cultural sector, at all levels, by:

- Recognizing and validating refugees’ and migrants’ skills and talents

We need a quick validation of people’s skills and talents, both formal and informal. There is an urgent need for a legal framework that gives opportunities to employ more people in the arts, cultural and heritage sectors – those whose talents now remain unused as their degrees are not recognised, their status does not allow them to work, etc.

There is currently often a distinction between the value assigned to European artists and migrant/refugee artists with the first party receiving remuneration and the second often doing the work without payment. This creates a power imbalance which undermines the contribution of refugees/migrants.

### How to include people if we exclude them legally?

Refugees, displaced persons, asylum seekers and newcomers often bring skills, talents, and aspirations that have the potential of becoming great contributions to the new social context. It is thus necessary to create links, networks and platforms between local agents from a wide range of creative industries and newcomers, to detect/identify talents, skills and knowledge and provide spaces where synergies between them can be created and realised, developing new products and opportunities - tangible as well as intangible ones.

- Making space for different subjective voices

Cultural activities and actions are ideal platforms for diverse and even completely opposed opinions and ideas to come together in dialogue. However, for such ‘meetings’ to take place, there needs to be a clear way into the cultural sector and the confidence to share experiences and stories. We therefore need to support actions that focus bringing to light individual experiences, providing the freedom to express the stories in a way they want to tell it and not linked to a pre-assigned ambition, and enable an exchange of voices between refugees and host communities to foster mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue.

3. Moving together for change

Whereas this report has stressed at several occasions how cultural actions can provide a ‘safe space’ for intercultural meeting, which in turn strengthens mutual understanding and social cohesion, in practice, this cultural functionality is thwarted because of a lack of actual (physical) spaces. Therefore, we call for cultural actors and policy makers:

- To provide accessible local public space
- To open up existing institutions to these forms of meeting
- Create new spaces/places where these can happen
Providing shared spaces

There is a need to create spaces where refugees and other newcomers are welcomed, where they can find protection and support, and where they can belong, together with people from local societies. In these spaces, all people should be able to come together to share, work, learn, create and find solace. From creating activities or spaces where people can meet, to devising communication campaigns and experiences that build empathy, there is a need to find ways to reveal prejudices and stigmas, and address these at both a rational and an emotional level. These spaces also facilitate dialogue and constructive exchange between hosts and refugees.

If successful interaction can be established, there is much to be gained. Local communities can discover value in the diversity brought by refugees, while refugees can establish social ties that are crucial to their inclusion. Through the arts and culture, new spaces can open up (be they physical, digital, or the metaphorical third space), where people can express themselves, appreciate cultural diversity, gain an understanding of cultural identities and learn to be more inclusive.

Furthermore, this report has shown how cultural projects have important spill-over effects to almost all other parts of society. Projects with refugees have had considerable impact on people’s health and general wellbeing; projects with jobseekers have enhanced their chances for finding work and have created incentives for new businesses; projects with people from different sides of a conflict have helped in conflict resolution; etc. The cooperation between the cultural sector and other sectors however often remains implicit or even absent. Therefore, policy makers should encourage co-operations between cultural and other actors, such as health professionals, welfare providers, unions, local authorities, entrepreneurial organisations, etc.

4. Moving around for change

Even though over the years, academic researchers have gathered a lot of knowledge about migration and its links with the wider national, European and global contexts in which it takes place, this knowledge does not easily find its way to the general public. We have already stated above that cultural actions provide an ideal means to make the link between specialized knowledge and a broad audience. On the other hand, a lot of knowledge that is available on the ground, among refugees and other migrants and the associations that work for/with them never makes its way to the academic world. Therefore, cultural and policy makers need to support actions that increase, value and spread our knowledge about migration processes.

- Spatial dispersion

Cultural projects need to be allowed to ‘tour’ throughout Europe and the world, in order to facilitate exchange. Moreover, it is of the utmost importance that policy makers support cultural projects in the context of migration also outside of the main urban centres and cultural hubs of Europe, into medium and small-sized towns, into the countryside and into the Southern and Eastern periphery.

- Dispersion through the media

There is a need to cooperate with the mainstream media, to distribute the results of cultural actions outwards, and as such multiply their impact and influence perceptions. For now, the results of cultural actions all too often do not reach as big an audience as they potentially could. Here, a strong involvement of the classical and social media channels could make a big difference and serve as an information channel to reach these audiences with diverse messages and stories.
Let's build a new Sudan,
With all the components of Sudan: Arab, African, Muslim, Christian,
And religion-less.
This Sudan wouldn't have to be divided.
PART 2: CULTURE AND POLICY MAKING

How can culture contribute to new policies in the context of migration?

European societies will only be able to include refugees and migrants safely and ethically if they recognise their cultural rights and the need for cultural dialogue as a precursor of policy making.

Introduction

When considering the contribution that culture can make to new policies, we emphasise the desire to maintain, enable and improve an understanding of culture as a right and as rooted in the following declarations and charters, and expressed in policy documents:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention)
- Agenda 21 for Culture
- European Convention on Human Rights
- UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions
- Report on the role of public arts and cultural institutions in the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue (EU Open Method of Coordination)
- Rainbow Paper of the Platform for Intercultural Europe
- The Europe 2020 priorities in education
- March 2015 Paris Declaration

Key principles

The relationship between culture and politics ideally is a two-way relationship. On the one hand, it is the duty of politics to allow for culture to thrive. On the other hand, culture should work to inform, advise and substantiate policy making. Culture is particularly significant as an enabler of sophisticated democracy: it provides spaces for the articulation and dissemination of complex ideas, and facilitates broad participation in social space. The dynamic nature of cultural participation makes the cultural sector the perfect space from which to catalyse the development of polity and society as spaces in which refugees and other new citizens are afforded equal voice and status.

- The universal right to cultural expression creates the obligation for all policy levels to create the necessary conditions for this. This also means taking into account the wider global political and social situation, which is at the core of the so-called “refugees emergency” and the “integration crises” of newcomers and their descendants. All effort toward integration into European societies must still enable refugees and migrants to retain a sense of their own identity and a pride in their cultural roots.
• Arts and culture do not exist in isolation from wider society, but are intrinsically inter-twined with all other fields of human existence. Furthermore, they are, and should be, closely connected to their local communities. Therefore, they have an enormous potential for informing policy decisions. In order to reach this potential, however, the interface between culture and policy must be strengthened.

**The Potential of Culture in Policy Making**

• Cultural projects make needs visible, which can form the basis for policy. This works particularly well at a local level, where cultural actors and policy makers are more closely connected.

• Local projects can bring together refugees, migrants and the local ‘native’ community on one hand, and local decision makers and officials on the other, thus creating dialogue, empathy and awareness, which policy makers can support and turn into action.

• Projects that are connected and make use of lessons learnt elsewhere become multipliers of knowledge, which can provide stronger evidence for policy making and greater impact.

**Case Study 1: Border Crossings & Plymouth Theatre Royal (UK)**

In 2012, Border Crossings undertook a theatre project in Plymouth with young refugees who were housed there on arrival, prior to dispersal through the UK. Two months of workshops explored their creativity, and drew off their experiences, their hopes and their dreams, culminating in a performance called ‘Division’ at the Drum Theatre.

What was very salutary about this group was the complex and fluid nature of the identities they were exploring. In some ways, they were defined by their past and by their refugee status. On the other hand, they felt an intense need to move beyond that restricted identity, and to create a new way of living in the new space they have come to. They are young people, with much to give and much to expect; so they cannot and must not be defined solely by a past over which they had no control.

What’s more, the group were wonderfully eloquent about all this when we had a post-show discussion, and that discussion involved not only theatre people and friends, but also public figures like the police, the racial equality council and other public agencies. In fact, this work became a study in how theatre can become an attribute of participatory democracy. The police in particular came to change their approach to the newly arrived young people in the city, as they had acquired a real understanding of their backgrounds and their needs.
Case Study 2: Tandem Projects

Funding programmes like Tandem Shaml or Tandem Turkey facilitate the meeting of European with Arab or Turkish artists and cultural workers and give money to implement joint projects that have an impact not only on partner organizations and project beneficiaries, but also on local communities, while at the same time providing cultural managers with training on intercultural skills.

Recommendations from PART 2

- The European Union should establish a new funding programme for creating ‘Spaces of Welcome’, i.e. spaces where identities are explored and formed in collaboration and in a safe place. Such a programme should be implemented speedily, as an immediate response to the current need. It should enable local authorities (cities, rural districts etc.) to receive funding to implement programmes of welcome for refugees coming to their areas, in close collaboration with local cultural actors (theatre companies, music groups, museums, public libraries etc.), civil society, and local organisations of or for refugees and/or migrants. The connections of all these actors to other audiences with different perspectives allow for the cultural sector to break out of its own environment and make the connection to the wider world whilst supporting and promoting inclusion.

- EU programmes in this field should encourage a combination of high-profile welcoming events that engender a level of civic and community pride in the welcome offered, alongside sustained programmes of cultural work engaging both the refugees and the existing communities.

- EU funding programmes should be accessible to smaller local projects, where culture can make the biggest impact on policy and for people. It is in the local that people experience and shape their environment and communities. Cultural actors who have successfully worked on the theme of migration are generally rooted in specific localities. This allows them to look at migration from a different perspective, rooted in everyday realities, thus taking the phenomenon out of the political sphere and into daily life. We would recommend new strands within EU cultural programmes that allow for projects on a local level that engage refugees directly with more established communities, facilitating cultural expression and upholding cultural rights.

- The EU should support a networked approach to smaller local projects across national boundaries. Knowledge sharing might also include the creation of new manuals and a wide dissemination of the already existing ones, for people working on the integration or inclusion of refugees and migrants. In this framework, programmes that support people-to-people contacts and collaborations in the cultural sector.
Border Crossings (UK) works with young refugees

Extract from a play devised by unaccompanied refugee children

**Ifra:** Look, I know you don’t understand me but I really am trying my best to help you find your father.

*Pause*

Maybe my sister is delaying my brother.

*Pause*

I know what it’s like to lose someone.

**Omar looks at his watch**

**Ifra:** This is useless, you don’t understand me. But I want to help you. I don’t know what to say, this is too difficult. Don’t worry, it’ll be okay, I promise.

**Omar:** Mais il viens quand alors!?
PART 3: IMPACT

Measuring the success factors of arts and cultural initiatives that promote inclusion in the context of migration.

The key success factors in successful projects

To measure the success of recent cultural initiatives for social inclusion in the context of migration, it is vital to establish what the key factors are that make a project successful. To build on the previous two parts of this report, in this section we would like to highlight that cultural projects have a particularly positive impact on the inclusion of refugees and migrants when they:

- Build on the skills and knowledge of refugees that are sometimes “invisible”
- Provide “safe” spaces for dialogue and constructive exchange between hosts and refugees
- Work at the local level, together with local organisations of or for refugees and/or migrants, and with local authorities.

The evaluation of success is of utmost importance and must be strengthened. However, while projects may have desired outcomes at the outset, the dynamic nature of integrative projects means that success indicators must be allowed to adapt and change as the project progresses and in response to information gathered from participants and communities. It is they that ultimately determine success in this context.

Measuring influence and impact

In order to measure the key success factors, there are a number of approaches that are necessary in order to provide evidence of impact, whilst giving the project freedom and flexibility to adapt to gain the best results. Moreover, a type of methodology in the design and implementation of an evaluation framework has been suggested as outlined below.

Key approaches to successfully measuring and evaluating a project

Inclusive approach

Evaluation should aim to:

- keep an open view/approach to culture, using UNESCO’s holistic definition of culture
- consider culture as a two-way process, an interface, a mutual learning process; use of a “fair-trade” approach; use a bottom-up approach; focus on reciprocity
- adopt a participatory / inclusive approach, valuing co-creation, co-production, intercultural dialogue
- consider the trust-building potential of projects
Cross-sector approach

Ideally, evaluation should ensure that experts from academia, social, education, psychological, political and other fields join the arts and culture professionals concerned to define criteria and models of evaluation.

Innovative approach

Innovation, risk-taking and daring attitudes are inherent to many arts projects, including those dealing with inclusion. Monitoring and evaluation should take this into account and accept that actual process and results may be different from those planned, but equally suitable to foster inclusion.

Promoting human rights, freedoms and dignity

It should be recognised that culture is not always a positive influence and that some traditions and behaviours may not respect human rights. All initiatives should therefore promote human rights, freedoms and dignity according to the Human Rights Act.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>While there is general agreement on the importance of monitoring and evaluation for cultural projects dealing with inclusion in the context of migration in order to demonstrate success and impact, these should not be too burdensome on artists and organisations such as to limit creativity and affect successful delivery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility in the evaluation framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear objectives and a Theory of Change should be determined from the beginning, but should be revised throughout the project to take into consideration changes to the context on-the-ground, arising needs of refugees and host communities, lessons learnt, unexpected outcomes etc. It is hard to predict the expected results of a project for inclusion in an ever-changing environment and because of the dynamic nature of inclusion. The evaluation framework should therefore allow for flexibility in the way a project is delivered, whilst maintaining a clear direction and overall strategy/goal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure at different levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to measure the success of a project, it is important to look at the benefit to the individual, community, institutions and policy at large. Although all projects may not have an impact at these different levels, it is vital to take a pluralistic approach and measure the change at these levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure perceptions as well as change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furthermore, in a context of inclusion between different peoples, measuring perceptions and emotions of both hosts and refugees is just as important as measuring concrete change (such as skills development, outputs, relationships built). These factors will demonstrate real impact and success, such as wellbeing and feeling of security to measure inclusion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bigger Picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is hard to isolate the specific impact of the arts from the influence of other factors (economic, social, education etc.) in achieving social transformation. It is therefore important to set any cultural initiative in the wider social, economic and political contexts, as these elements are likely to impact the delivery and success of a project.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Realistic, achievable and measurable Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)

Following on from the point above, it is important to set goals that show the “contribution” of the arts and culture to social change and inclusion, rather than pinning all success on one element. The KPIs should reflect this plurality and be realistic to ensure they can be achieved. It is important the wording can demonstrate measurable change whether by using quantitative or qualitative data.

Baseline and follow up research for analysis

The context and needs on the ground of both refugees and host communities should be explored and understood from the beginning and clear baselines established to measure against further down the line.

Process AND Products

Another key point is the need to focus on the process (the activities and the way they’re carried out) and not only on the products (the objective, concrete results). Specifically for the arts (even more when applied to social contexts), the process is crucial and the product can be used to demonstrate the power of the process.

Short and long term evaluation

The success of projects and initiatives using the arts and culture to promote social inclusion in the context of migration has to be measured in the short and long term, with different aims and objectives depending. Inclusion is a long process that can require many years or even generations; understanding the long-term perspective is crucial as well as showing the benefits in the short term.

Sustainability

Evaluation should take into account as much as possible the long-term and sincere engagement of the participating organisations to ensure inclusion. This end goal should not be an add on to a project design, but rather a key element to be considered with a clear exit strategy with potential future funding or self-funding opportunities, and/or a long term commitment to continue support.

Self-review and peer-review

When carried out directly by those involved in the projects, evaluation can be a valuable tool for self-improvement. Peer-review is also a good approach in that it allows for an external and informed view on the activities.

External evaluation

The role of culture for inclusion in the context of migration is fairly new and unexplored, and it also crosses many sectors such as the arts and culture, civil society, and migration. Given these factors, an external evaluation can add value to demonstrate the change and impact thanks to an independent viewpoint and sectoral experience. Having said that, the definition of the evaluation criteria and tools should be determined jointly with the practitioners to ensure they meet the needs of the organisation and are aligned with the Theory of Change.
Recommendations from PART 3

The group identified a series of needs of the cultural sector in order to deliver successful projects and be able to monitor and evaluate them to demonstrate impact. These included resources, both financial and other, for monitoring and evaluation. The following recommendations are made to the European Commission in order to address these needs:

- Providing / Supporting training in monitoring and evaluation in preparation for project delivery and as a key part of implementation
- Providing specific funding - to artists and organisations - for developing evaluation tools (that should respect the criteria listed below) and delivering ongoing monitoring and evaluation of projects
- Supporting research (including mapping, Political Economy Analysis, gap identification, methodology development) to design robust projects and monitoring and evaluation frameworks
- Supporting the creation of tools and databases to gather existing knowledge, facilitate exchanges and sharing best practice, mapping contacts and initiatives, and managing information
- Defining - in collaboration with the arts and culture sector - indicators of success

The sector asks the European Commission to support the development of evaluation tools fit for the sector’s needs. Such tools should:

- Be developed through a participatory, cross-sectoral process, involving the sector in the definition of criteria/ principles/ tools for evaluation, and bringing practitioners and academics together as well as experts from other fields, collaborating to build evaluation models and indicators
- Learn from existing experiences in Europe and in other migration contexts, best practices as well as failures
- Allow for flexible frameworks and tools, with clear objectives and theory of change (dynamic evaluation)
- Include an external evaluation (while practitioners have to be involved in the definition of the evaluation criteria and tools)
- Be funded with a specific, additional budget (not as an extra priority in the regular funding schemes for projects /activities/ networks) and be sustained over time in order to allow for a long term evaluation which is crucial to capture the actual impact of the arts on integration in the context of migration.
Artwork by Tamara Nahar: a Syrian refugee artist now living in Germany
AFTERWORD: “NONE IS PURE” – A FEW THEORETICAL REMARKS

In all areas of life, the complexity of the cultural has become a major issue. An increasingly bewildering array of set pieces from different backgrounds with different meanings constantly remixes into new, highly complex and endlessly differentiating forms. Historically, this is nothing new – although the speed and depth of the process have grown remarkably in recent decades.

As Ernst Rebel points out, images by “strange peoples” first appeared in art education in the 1920s. These images were used in order to foster the imagination and creativity of children through the exotic encounter with the unknown⁴. Since the 1960s, approaches have been developed that in principle recognize and value cultural differences. Focused on mutual tolerance and understanding, these concepts have been labelled as intercultural. They aim to appreciate cultural diversity as well as to establish and maintain a peaceful dialogue.

While none of these aims seem obsolete, intercultural concepts have been subject to critical discussion⁵. On the one hand, they tend to see cultures as rather closed and homogeneous fields. This includes ways of perceiving and interpreting the world, forms of expression and attitudes. On the other hand, an intercultural perspective emphasizes difference and therefore strangeness. Its use of the term “culture” can be linked to the theory of difference, focusing on borders and implying they can be crossed without the devaluation of being different⁶.

The difficulty of such approaches lies in the fact that they strengthen difference rather than reduce it. This has been called othing⁷. Leslie Adelson has made the claim that building bridges “between two worlds” is intended to fix the distance between them exactly in the way it pretends to bring them together⁸. In the early 1990s, Wolfgang Welsch has therefore coined the term transculture “in order to deny all attributions of cultural homogeneity⁹. From this point of view, cultures can be seen as reservoirs of symbols, signs and behaviours that are permanently undergoing transformation and change especially regarding their meaning. As Edward Said puts it: “All cultures are hybrid; none is pure; none is identical with a ‘pure’ people; none is made of a homogenous texture.”¹⁰

---

⁹ Langenohl et al, op cit
¹⁰ Said op cit 24
As an alternative to the idea of *hybridity*, it has been proposed to use *cultural remix* instead\(^{11}\). This concept focuses on putting together existing forms, works, narratives and images in a new way while at the same time attributing new meaning to them. The idea of transculturalism does not aim at a single, globally unified culture. On the contrary, it directs the attention to the formation and change of differences between what is considered one’s *own* and what is considered *strange*.

Personal identity can also be described from a transcultural point of view. This includes seeing the individual itself as a cultural hybrid, combining various influences and aspects into a fluid identity. When working with refugees and migrants, the idea of transculturality seems to be a good starting point, allowing us to start from similarities rather than differences\(^{12}\). From there, variety and difference can be addressed from a ‘safe’, more equal position.

---


FURTHER READING

- “Culture, Cities and Identities in Europe” by Culture Action Europe and Agenda 21 for Culture, commissioned by European Economic and Social Committee; http://cultureactioneurope.org/files/2016/06/Culture-Cities-and-Identity-in-Europe.pdf