



Promoting the Inclusion of Europe's Migrants and Minorities in Arts and Culture

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Executive Summary

European cities are becoming ever more diverse. Yet, this cultural and ethnic diversity is rarely mirrored in the art celebrated in museums, the plays produced in major theatres, and the music heard in concert halls. A large gap remains between the vibrant cultural expression of immigrant communities and their participation and representation in mainstream cultural institutions, many of which primarily portray society as it once was rather than as it is today.

Until recently, cultural inclusion had received relatively little attention in debates about immigrant integration. And in the cultural sector, initiatives aiming to involve migrants and minorities have often been considered social responsibility efforts and conducted at the margins of the 'proper' artistic and cultural mission of museums, theatres, and other institutions. But the emergence of major anti-racism movements and the COVID-19 pandemic may be shaking up this status quo. The anti-racism protests that spread across Europe in 2020 threw into sharp relief long-standing issues of mis- and under-representation of minorities as well as discrimination in the cultural scene, rocking major cultural institutions. Meanwhile, pandemic-related restrictions on public gatherings and organisational operations have placed further financial strains on an already fragile cultural sector, raising key questions of long-term sustainability—even as the public-health crisis has highlighted the crucial role of arts and culture in the well-being, social cohesion, and resilience of local communities.

Increasing the inclusion of migrants and minorities in European arts and culture holds great promise on several levels: boosting the integration outcomes for individual migrants and refugees; strengthening social cohesion in local communities; and making cultural institutions more relevant, vibrant, and sustainable. Yet, this potential remains largely untapped. Migrants and minorities experience barriers not only to accessing available cultural offerings as visitors and consumers, but also to actively shaping local cultural scenes as artists and creators and as professionals with the power to decide what works of art are produced and celebrated. These include recognised obstacles that hinder these groups' access to other types of services, such as language barriers and physical distance between where services are concentrated and where migrants and minorities frequently live. But other barriers can go unnoticed, such as the nagging feeling that one is not welcome in a cultural venue or not the intended target of its offerings.

Increasing the inclusion of migrants and minorities in European arts and culture holds great promise on several levels.

This report, which draws in part on interviews with cultural professionals from across Europe, explores approaches to strengthening the participation of migrant-background and minority communities in art and culture—particularly by leveraging the contributions of museums, theatres, libraries, community associations, and other players that make up the cultural fabric of a city. Over the past decade, and particularly since the large-scale arrivals of migrants and refugees in 2015–16, a plethora of initiatives have emerged across Europe that aim to improve the inclusion of migrants, refugees, and minorities in art and

culture, often led by cultural institutions and civil-society organisations. Most of these strategies fall into three broad categories:

- ▶ **Promoting access to and participation in mainstream cultural institutions.** Some cultural organisations have tried to tackle financial barriers by reducing admission costs. Others have sought to address informational, locational, or psychological barriers by experimenting with targeted forms of outreach, designing welcoming spaces, or providing mobile cultural offerings in underserved parts of a city. Meanwhile, some cultural organisations that provide integration or social services (e.g., language cafes) have used these as entry points to invite immigrants to also partake in their cultural activities. Others have aimed to make their cultural offering more interactive and immersive to attract new audiences. While these initiatives are promising, facilitating access and participation is only the tip of the iceberg; if migrant-background and minority communities do not have a voice in the design of cultural activities and do not feel represented by them, they are far less likely to engage with cultural institutions. Furthermore, the pandemic has taken a toll on the in-person, interaction-based activities many of these approaches to engagement rely on.
- ▶ **Supporting cultural (co-)production by migrant and minority communities.** Some theatres, museums, libraries, concert halls, and other cultural institutions in cities across Europe have sought to involve migrants and ethnic minorities in developing and implementing cultural activities, strengthening their voices as artistic contributors. While these initiatives hold value, they are often scattered, one-off projects that are infrequently evaluated and replicated. These initiatives can also easily fall into the trap of 'folklorisation' if they emphasise the distance between 'migrant art' or 'ethnic art' and mainstream culture. The short-term nature of many of these initiatives, combined with the fact that participants are often not paid for their contributions, can lead migrants and minorities to feel like they have been used to boost an institution's reputation as socially conscious. Some organisations have tried to address these issues by actively involving migrants and minorities in programme design and decision-making, promoting bottom-up initiatives led by migrants themselves, or by working with schools to foster equal access to arts education in diverse or underserved neighbourhoods.
- ▶ **Anchoring diversity within institutions.** Looking inward, cultural institutions still face major diversity and representation gaps in their internal structures, processes, and staff—particularly at the leadership and managerial levels. While there is growing recognition among cultural professionals of the need to transform these institutions from within in order to remain relevant in increasingly diverse societies, the path ahead is a long one. Some institutions have taken steps to do so, such as hiring an inclusion advisor, changing recruitment procedures, or partnering with civil-society organisations to identify exclusionary practices and features within the sector. But overall, diversity management in European cultural institutions is still at very early stages and remains largely dependent of the commitment of individual leaders or staff. Organisational commitments to diversity are rarely translated into concrete measures and objectives, and cultural institutions often lack in-house capacity and resources to drive long-term structural change—a challenge that is likely being further exacerbated by the financial fallout of the pandemic.

Strategies to increase the participation and representation of migrants and ethnic minorities in art and culture should aim to think bigger. There is a need to look beyond single initiatives and consider the wider

structures of resource allocation and different layers of inclusion, from access to representation, production, and decision-making. While cultural institutions have pioneered promising approaches, policymakers have a key role to play in systematising and advancing the inclusion of migrants and minorities in art and culture, in partnership with these institutions. Policy options include:

- ▶ **Strengthening cultural institutions' role in migrant integration and social cohesion—while putting culture at the centre of sustainable urban development.** In Europe and beyond, cultural inclusion has often been neglected in immigrant integration policies and programming, particularly when compared to economic, educational, and civic integration. Promoting deeper collaboration between cultural venues and local stakeholders involved in supporting newcomers' socioeconomic inclusion, such as schools and language-training providers, could help immigrants familiarise themselves with a city's artistic and cultural opportunities early on in their integration pathway, while strengthening their integration outcomes and supporting cultural institutions' efforts to reach new audiences. At the same time, cities could more fully explore the contributions that museums, theatres, and other cultural venues could make to social and integration services—based on innovative experiences in areas such as language learning, skills development, and psychosocial support. Ultimately, however, advancing cultural institutions' progress on diversity and inclusion will require addressing structural ailments within the sector (from job precarity to funding uncertainty) and strategically leveraging art and culture for sustainable and inclusive urban development. Creating opportunities for cross-sectoral exchange between culture stakeholders and their counterparts in education, employment, and (digital) infrastructure would also allow these actors to explore how COVID-19-induced disruptions may affect cultural participation by different groups within society and how organisations can adapt.
- ▶ **Supporting the structural transformation of cultural institutions and making the business case for diversity.** Policy support is essential to give often-strained cultural institutions the expertise, capacity, and resources needed to implement effective institutional diversity strategies, ranging from audience development to programming and recruitment. Attaching diversity requirements to public funding, as has been done in the United Kingdom, for example, can encourage progress in this area—especially if these requirements are designed in partnership with cultural venues themselves (including some that are commercially run, which can help align diversity objectives and business sustainability). Meanwhile, dedicated institutes and programmes at the local or national level—such as the Berlin Institute for Research on Cultural Participation—or partnerships in academia can help fill persistent evaluation gaps and provide cultural institutions with data to support their development of diversity and participation strategies. Moreover, consultative forums involving migrant associations, such as Milan's Forum della Città Mondo (World City Forum), may help reduce the gap between institutional 'high' culture and the lively, but often less visible, forms of cultural expression in migrant and minority communities. Last but not least, interviews conducted as part of this study highlighted the essential role of Europe-wide exchanges in providing culture professionals with industry-relevant, diversity-related expertise and the leverage to promote related priorities within their institutions. While several existing EU networks of cultural venues have incorporated a diversity focus into their work plans, there is a need for more opportunities for exchange between cultural professionals, policymakers, and grassroots organisations to adequately identify and address multifaceted obstacles to inclusion.

Far from being an altruistic, public-spirited gesture that is only marginally relevant to the core artistic mission of museums, theatres, concert halls, and other cultural institutions, making these organisations more inclusive is crucial to their future relevance and sustainability in increasingly diverse European societies. While anti-racism movements and the pandemic have acted as a wake-up call for many, helping cultural venues understand that their very future depends on their capacity to transform and make genuine progress in this area will require the concerted engagement of a wide range of actors, from policymakers at the local, national, and European levels to civil society and schools. It will also mean treating art and culture as key elements of the future of European cities and engines of social cohesion, well-being, and urban regeneration.

1 Introduction

Decades of sustained immigration have transformed many European cities into mosaics of different cultures. Yet the diversity seen in their streets is not always mirrored in cultural institutions such as museums, galleries, theatres, concert halls, and festivals—both in terms of who leads and designs them, and what these institutions offer or display. In European debates on integration and inclusion, migrants' and minorities' participation and representation in art and culture have long been regarded as a 'soft' issue area that is to be addressed by voluntary social initiatives. In some cases, it may also be seen as something that could serve as a stepping-stone to improve these populations' integration outcomes in 'more serious' domains such as employment and education. In addition, even well-intended efforts to celebrate ethnic and cultural diversity through art and culture have frequently overemphasised differences and folkloric elements, exoticising minority groups rather than contributing to the normalisation of diversity within the broader society.

Decades of sustained immigration have transformed many European cities into mosaics of different cultures. Yet the diversity seen in their streets is not always mirrored in cultural institutions.

The May 2020 killing of George Floyd by police in the United States and subsequent Black Lives Matter demonstrations triggered a social reckoning that reverberated around the world.¹ During the same period, a number of countries saw an alarming rise in xenophobic attacks against Asian minorities following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.² Protests against these and other forms of racism and social inequity have drawn increased attention to the treatment and representation of minority groups and immigrants in mainstream society. In Europe, as protesters denounced the continent's own problems with racial injustice and discrimination, the cultural sphere became a central dimension of conversations around racism and representation. Protesters toppled and defaced statues of colonialists and people with ties to slavery,³ and major cultural institutions faced criticism of entrenched racism and discrimination,⁴ raising questions

1 Alasdair Sandford, 'Europe "Can't Breathe": Protest Continue across the Continent in Memory of George Floyd', Euronews, 7 June 2020.

2 Human Rights Watch, 'Covid-19 Fueling Anti-Asian Racism and Xenophobia Worldwide', updated 12 May 2020.

3 Kelly Grovier, 'Black Lives Matter Protests: Why are Statues so Powerful?' BBC, 12 June 2020.

4 See, for example, Constance Grady, 'If Museums Want Diversity They'll Have to Change. A Lot', Vox, 18 November 2020; France 24, 'Paris Opera Ponders Blackface as It Tackles Ballet's Race Problem', France 24, 5 October 2020; Jacob Kushner, 'In Germany, a New Museum Stirs up a Colonial Controversy', National Geographic, 18 December 2020.

around how to make art and culture more inclusive of under-represented members of society—in essence, how to ensure they reflect societies as they are today, not as they once were.

The pandemic has both constrained and elevated the role of arts and culture in diverse societies. On one hand, the cultural sector has been one of the hardest hit by the pandemic due to its disruption of cultural activities and the necessary imposition of social-distancing measures, which have drastically reduced revenues—particularly in visitor-based subsectors, such as the performing arts.⁵ The crisis has also brought into sharp relief the pre-existing fragility of the sector, characterised by short-term funding and precarious work arrangements, and challenged cultural actors to reach audiences in new ways.⁶ At the same time, (digital) art consumption and demand increased during lockdown in many countries,⁷ and many people have found art and culture to be invaluable to their well-being and mental health.⁸ Although many discussions regarding recovery from the pandemic have focused on other economic sectors (from energy to logistics, and from manufacturing to digital services), some have highlighted art and culture's potential to promote socioeconomic recovery—for example, by strengthening community resilience and social cohesion in crisis situations.⁹

Given both the acute equity challenges and potential benefits to social well-being of addressing them, what would it mean to make European artistic and cultural spaces more inclusive? Artistic and cultural inclusion encompasses several dimensions that need to be addressed in concert: it means being able to visit

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cultural venues and participate in artistic performances, but also, crucially, being able to (co-)design cultural offerings and have a say in what gets planned and funded. Some of the challenges migrant and minority populations face in accessing and participating in art

and culture mirror those found in other fields, such as housing and employment—from language barriers to experiences of discrimination. However, there are also mechanisms, risks, and opportunities for inclusion that are unique to the cultural sphere, with its major symbolic power and ability to reproduce or question a society's values, beliefs, and identities.

This study explores how European societies and cultural institutions can strengthen the participation of migrant-background and minority communities in art and culture, efforts to date to build this type of cultural inclusion, and how this can contribute to more inclusive and cohesive European cities. The analysis and findings presented here draw in part on insights shared in more than 20 interviews with representatives of museums, theatres, concert halls, festivals, and other cultural institutions in 11 European countries (see Box 1).

5 In the Netherlands, for instance, the total reduction in turnover for the cultural sector amounted to more than 400 million euros in 2020. See Isabelle De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe: Crisis Effects and Policy Recommendations* (Brussels: European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, 2021).

6 De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe*.

7 Filippo Ascolani et al., *Art Consumption and Well-Being during the Covid-19 Pandemic* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Cluj Cultural Centre, 2020).

8 Anne Tubadji, 'Culture and Mental Health Resilience in Times of COVID-19', *Journal of Population Economics* 34 (2021): 1219–59; De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe*.

9 Ana Filipa Vrdoljak and Alexander A. Bauer, 'Pandemics and the Role of Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 27, no. 4 (2020): 441–48; Sameh Wahba, Ernesto Ottone R., and Rana Amirtahmasebi, 'Culture in the COVID-19 Recovery: Good for Your Wallet, Good for Resilience, and Good for You', World Bank, 20 August 2020.

This report begins by examining the myriad potential benefits of strengthening migrants' and minorities' cultural inclusion as well as barriers that can hinder this inclusion. Section 3 offers an overview of pragmatic and creative approaches to overcoming these barriers and engaging immigrant and minority populations in the local art scene, with a particular focus on efforts involving cultural venues and community-based organisations. Section 4 offers recommendations on how policymakers at different levels of governance, in partnership with cultural venues and institutions, can help advance migrants' and minorities' participation in art and culture. Changing how societal diversity is reflected in artistic and cultural institutions will not be an easy endeavour, but the payoff could be significant—especially at a time when communities need new and positive reasons to come together.

BOX 1 About This Study

This research was conducted within the framework of the Urban Agenda Partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees. This partnership, which is co-led by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Home Affairs (DG HOME) and the City of Amsterdam, brings together local and regional authorities, EU Member States, EU institutions, and other key stakeholders—including think tanks, civil-society organisations, international organisations, and migrants and refugees themselves—to address inclusion challenges through concerted, multi-level policy action. The partnership's new action plan for 2021–22 envisages seven targeted actions covering a wide range of topics, from improving access to health care and the inclusion and participation of LGBTQI+ migrants in society, to the protection of children in migration and strengthening evidence-based policymaking. This study aims to inform one of these action areas: the inclusion of migrants and refugees in art and culture.

The study draws its findings in part from semi-structured, qualitative interviews conducted via videocall or telephone by researchers from the Migration Policy Institute Europe (MPI Europe) with representatives of cultural institutions, civil-society organisations, and migrant-led initiatives promoting the participation of migrants and refugees in art and culture. The interviewees were based in 11 different European countries (Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and United Kingdom), and they work across different types of cultural organisations and initiatives: theatre (Comedia Theatre in Cologne, Global Voices Theatre in London, and the Powszechny Theatre in Warsaw); concert halls and other music-related organisations (Fundació Centre Internacional de Música Antiga [CIMA] in Barcelona, the Music Department of the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, Orpheus XXI project in Paris, and the Irish Chamber Orchestra in Limerick); museums (Gulbenkian Modern Art Centre in Lisbon, Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin, Weltmuseum Wien in Vienna, and Museum Cycladic Art in Athens); libraries (Espoo City Library in Finland); film festivals (Arabic Dublin Film Festival); nongovernmental organisations engaged in art and culture (Centro Internazionale di Quartiere in Milan, Sunugal in Milan, coculture in Berlin, Centro Informazione e Educazione allo Sviluppo [CIES] in Rome, and Centre for Creative Practices in Ireland); EU-wide cultural networks (Culture Action Europe); and foundations (German Federal Cultural Foundation). A few city officials working in culture departments were also interviewed (e.g., the Department for Culture and Europe of the Berlin Senate, and the Office for Networks and Cultural Cooperation of the Municipality of Milan).

For more information on the Urban Agenda Partnership on Inclusion and Refugees and its action plan, see www.inclusionpartnership.com

2 Migrants' and Minorities' Inclusion in Arts and Culture: The promise and the barriers

In Europe, the link between migrants, ethnic minorities, and the arts has long been understudied. This may be due in part to a deeply rooted tendency to view immigrants primarily in economic terms (as workers), as the sociologist Marco Martiniello has suggested.¹⁰ To the extent that migrants are viewed as influencing culture, this is often through a threat lens: newcomers are frequently perceived as a potential threat to a country or community's shared values and social fabric, rather than as cultural assets (for instance, as new audiences for cultural events and institutions, or as active contributors to the local artistic and cultural scene).

Over the last decade, however, the artistic expression of immigrant populations has gained increased attention in debates about multiculturalism.¹¹ And in policy circles and academia, art and culture have also begun to be seen as a tool that can support newcomers' integration, a growing concern as immigration has increased.¹² Yet, important gaps in understanding remain. For example, a large proportion of available studies focus on individual—and often small-scale—projects, and some lack rigorous research methodologies, thus limiting the ability to generalise their findings.¹³ In addition, there is a dearth of longitudinal research that could shed light on medium- and long-term trends in how immigrants' artistic and cultural participation interacts with other aspects of social and economic inclusion.¹⁴

Another challenge is that inclusion is sometimes confounded with consumption of cultural services. In fact, inclusion is a multifaceted concept that goes well beyond access to and consumption of the arts, and that includes a population's representation in, production of, and ability to contribute to decisions made about art. Boundaries between these dimensions are blurred, and they are deeply intertwined, making it essential that they be understood and addressed in concert. Yet, distinguishing between two broad forms of inclusion—the visiting/use of locally available cultural services, and the (co-)production of these offerings—can provide a helpful analytic lens when assessing migrants' and minorities' cultural participation and barriers to it.

10 Marco Martiniello, 'Immigrants, Ethnicized Minorities and the Arts: A Relatively Neglected Research Area', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38, no. 8 (2015): 1229–35.

11 Martiniello, 'Immigrants, Ethnicized Minorities and the Arts'.

12 See, for instance, European Commission, *How Culture and the Arts Can Promote Intercultural Dialogue in the Context of the Migratory and Refugee Crisis* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017).

13 For instance, a systematic review of research on the impact of music activities on immigrants' health and well-being found that only seven studies had been conducted, and that most of them lacked rigorous research methodologies that could allow for a generalisation of their findings. See Saras Henderson, Melissa Cain, Lauren Istvandy, and Ali Lakhani, 'The Role of Music Participation in Positive Health and Wellbeing Outcomes for Migrant Populations: A Systematic Review', *Psychology of Music* 45, no. 4 (2017): 459–78.

14 Hellen Gross, Nicole Schwarz, Stefanie Cramer von Clausbruch, and Katharina Hary, 'Art Projects as Transformative Services to Integrate Refugees', *Journal of Business Research* 127 (2021): 373–81.

BOX 2 Defining Cultural Participation

Art and culture are slippery concepts—ubiquitous in everyday conversations and academic debates, but understood in many different ways. In its wider sense, the word ‘culture’ encompasses the set of values, beliefs, traditions, customs, and symbolic systems that shape people’s everyday lives. In a narrower (but equally common) usage, ‘culture’ refers to manifestations such as the visual and performing arts, music, and literature. It is the former definition that most frequently underlies political, academic, and public debates on immigrants’ cultural integration (that is, their expected adoption of the norms and values of the receiving society). Meanwhile, the latter meaning—participation in a society’s artistic life and cultural offerings—has until recently played a much smaller role in the discourse around migration and diversity.

Defining ‘artistic expression’ and ‘cultural participation’ is no easy task, especially as common definitions risk reflecting (and perpetuating) existing power imbalances in art and culture. For example, academic and policy discourses, as well as empirical studies and surveys, frequently adopt (or imply) a narrow definition that equates culture with the so-called high arts—referring to classical art forms such as opera, ballet, theatre, the visual arts, classical music, literature, and poetry. These elite forms of expression are most accessible to more privileged socioeconomic groups, and they may therefore not capture the preferences, opportunities, and artistic and cultural practices of all members of a society, including many immigrants. Academic research has increasingly called into question the practice of implicitly equating ‘art and culture’ with the high arts and leaving out more informal manifestations of culture, such as storytelling, craftwork, traditional cooking activities, and folk or religious events.

While this report includes an exploration of migrant and minority inclusion in high-culture institutions—building on the existing secondary literature—it also draws on conversations with representatives of community-based initiatives engaged in grassroots cultural expression.

Sources: Diana Crane, ‘High Culture vs. Popular Culture Revisited: A Reconceptualization of Recorded Cultures’, in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, eds. Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Helen Spencer-Oatey, ‘What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations’, *GlobalPAD Core Concepts* (2012); Mădălina Dan, ‘Culture as a Multi-Level and Multi-Layer Construct’, *Revista de Management Comparat International* 21, no. 2 (2020): 226–40; Marcin Gońda, Marta Pachocka, and Karolina Podgórska, ‘Measuring the Cultural Dimension of Migrant Integration and Integration Policy in the European Context: Dilemmas and Discussions’, *International Migration* (2020); Barcelona City Council, *Survey on Cultural Participation And Cultural Needs in Barcelona* (Barcelona: Barcelona City Council, 2020).

A. *Why is inclusion in art and culture important for integration and social cohesion?*

The available evidence, discussed in this section, strongly suggests that promoting migrants’ and minorities’ participation in cultural services and institutions can yield important and varied benefits. These range from boosting individual migrants’ integration prospects and improving social cohesion to contributing to more vibrant local cultural scenes.

Strengthening migrants’ and refugees’ integration outcomes

A number of studies have highlighted how taking part in artistic activities and events can help migrants and refugees develop social bonds, support networks, and feelings of belonging in a new society, while also

giving them a chance to learn about the society's cultural practices and values.¹⁵ Art projects that involve mixed groups of participants with and without a migration/minority background may be particularly effective in supporting acculturation processes, likely thanks to the social support and cooperation experienced in the group.¹⁶ In addition, studies in Europe, the United States, and Australia have described artistic and cultural activities as empowering migrant and minority participants.¹⁷ This is credited to the opportunities artistic activities can provide participants to express themselves and communicate with others (at times in spite of limited destination-country language skills, or limited familiarity with the habits and norms of social interaction in the country); showcase their skills and competences; and affirm their own cultural capital.

Moreover, some studies have suggested that artistic practices such as drawing, painting, and performing music can have a positive impact on the physical and mental well-being of different populations, including migrants and refugees—reducing anxiety and depression by fostering feelings of belonging, increasing positive emotions and self-esteem, or even helping to mitigate the effects of health inequalities that put disadvantaged groups at higher risk of developing health conditions.¹⁸ Artistic engagement—and particularly forms of art that combining language and movement, such as theatre—can also help migrants and refugees learn the destination-country language. For example, research from the United States and South Africa suggests the benefits of drama programmes for migrant youth's host-country language skills.¹⁹

Promoting cohesion in diverse communities

Successive EU strategies and funding frameworks have acknowledged the central role of culture in promoting cohesive societies. This can be seen, for example, in the 2018 New European Agenda for Culture or the 2021–27 Creative Europe programme.²⁰ While this connection has often been drawn intuitively, recent research has empirically confirmed links between art consumption and creation, on the one hand,

15 See for example: Mari Pienimäki, 'Participatory Photography Supporting the Inclusion of Migrant Youth', *Journal of Youth Studies* (2020); Naomi Sunderland et al., 'They [Do More than] Interrupt Us from Sadness: Exploring the Impact of Participatory Music Making on Social Determinants of Health and Wellbeing for Refugees in Australia', *Health, Culture and Society* 8, no. 1 (2015); Henderson, Cain, Istvandy, and Lakhani, 'The Role of Music Participation'.

16 A large-scale German study assessing the impact of a school music programme on children with a migrant background, for example, found that those participating in music ensembles with other, non-migrant-background children developed a stronger host-culture orientation. See Emily Frankenberg et al., 'The Influence of Musical Training on Acculturation Processes in Migrant Children', *Psychology of Music* 44, no. 1 (2016): 114–28.

17 See, for instance, Cécile Rousseau et al., 'Playing with Identities and Transforming Shared Realities: Drama Therapy Workshops for Adolescent Immigrants and Refugees', *The Arts in Psychotherapy* 32, no. 1 (2005): 13–27; Kathryn Marsh, "'The Beat Will Make You Be Courage": The Role of a Secondary School Music Program in Supporting Young Refugees and Newly Arrived Immigrants in Australia', *Research Studies in Music Education* 34, no. 2 (2012): 93–111.

18 Clelia Clini, Linda J. M. Thomson, and Helen J. Chatterjee, 'Assessing the Impact of Artistic and Cultural Activities on the Health and Well-Being of Forcibly Displaced People Using Participatory Action Research', *BMJ Open* (2019); Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt and Alan Howarth, 'The Arts and the Social Determinants of Health: Findings from an Inquiry Conducted by the United Kingdom All-Party Parliamentary Group on Arts, Health and Wellbeing', *Arts & Health* 12, no. 3 (2019): 1–22.

19 Christa Mulker Greenfader, Liane Brouillette, and George Farkas, 'Effect of a Performing Arts Program on the Oral Language Skills of Young English Learners', *Reading Research Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (2014): 185–203; Lena S. Opfermann, 'Language, Trust and Transformation: Exploring Theatre as a Research Method with Migrant Youth', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 23, no. 2 (2020): 139–53.

20 European Commission, 'Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions: A New European Agenda for Culture' (COM [2018] 267 final, 22 May 2018); European Commission, *Creative Europe 2021-2027* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2021).

and attitudes such as openness, tolerance, empathy, and acceptance of diversity on the other.²¹ This correlation does not, however, mean a causal link has been found, and the key question remains: does cultural participation promote acceptance of diversity, or are more 'open' people simply likelier to attend art events? A small, emerging body of longitudinal studies suggests that artistic and cultural activities may indeed influence participants' views, beliefs, and attitudes. For example, a German study of participants in art projects involving refugees found that almost half of respondents reported an increase in positive attitudes towards refugees after the projects.²²

As such, cultural activities may not be able to change the views of strong opponents of migration, but they hold promise to reframe the perspectives of the so-called exhausted majority or moveable middle. For example, targeted interventions using music, theatre, or art exhibitions that combine images and stories can challenge negative stereotypes and prejudices by questioning assumptions and stimulating alternative ways of thinking about a particular topic.²³ Art can also promote greater mutual understanding and constructive conversations on polarising topics, such as migration and asylum, by transferring them from an immediately political to an aesthetic space. In the words of a museum director in Berlin: 'The museum has a secret weapon, which is history and material culture. When you talk about [immigration] politically, ideologically, people go directly to a position of defence... But with art and material culture, they are very open.'²⁴ Participatory art projects can facilitate positive encounters between people of different backgrounds in a space that is usually characterised by less rigid and hierarchical social rules compared to other domains of everyday life, such as the workplace, or even other leisure activities, such as sport contests.²⁵ Moreover, engaging in visual and physical (rather than verbal) forms of art, such as music, dance, and drawing or painting, can facilitate exchanges between newcomers and other community members who speak different languages.²⁶

Art can also promote greater mutual understanding and constructive conversations on polarising topics, such as migration and asylum.

Contributing to more vibrant and sustainable local cultural scenes

Even before COVID-19, many cultural institutions faced an uncertain future due to dwindling public funding as well as increased competition for audiences, given the proliferation of virtual leisure options.²⁷ The

21 Xiaonan Kou, Sara Konrath, and Thalia R. Goldstein, 'The Relationship among Different Types of Arts Engagement, Empathy, and Prosocial Behavior', *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 14, no. 4 (2020): 481–92.

22 Gross, Schwarz, Cramer von Clausbruch, and Hary, 'Art Projects as Transformative Services to Integrate Refugees'.

23 See, for instance, Dave Miranda and Patrick Gaudreau, 'Music and Cultural Prejudice Reduction: A Review', *Musicae Scientiae* 24, no. 3 (2020): 299–312; Maria Vachou, coord., *The Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees: The Role of Cultural Organizations* (Almada, Portugal: Acesso Cultura, 2017); Hanka Otte, 'Bonding or Bridging? On Art Participation and Social Cohesion in a Rural Region of the Netherlands', *Poetics* 76 (2019).

24 Author interview with Stefan Weber, Director, Museum of Islamic Art at the Pergamon Museum, Berlin, 9 April 2021.

25 Otte, 'Bonding or Bridging?'.

26 Rashmi Kumar, 'Using Visual Arts as a Proxy for Language: Addressing the Marginalization of Linguistic Minority Parents', *Excellence & Equity in Education* 44, no. 4 (2011).

27 For instance, public expenditure on culture in the European Union was reduced by 3 per cent in the period 2007–15. See Clémentine Daubeuf et al., *Research for CULT Committee - Culture and Creative Sectors in the European Union – Key Future Developments, Challenges and Opportunities* (Brussels: European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, 2019); European Commission, 'European Audiences: 2020 and Beyond' (conference conclusions, European Commission, 16–17 October 2012); Mara Cerquetti, 'More Is Better! Current Issues and Challenges for Museum Audience Development: A Literature Review', *ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management & Policy* 6, no. 1 (2016).

pandemic has exacerbated this situation, with an abrupt drop in revenues in the cultural sector as well as pressure to innovate and adapt to constantly changing public-health restrictions. These challenges come at a time when European populations are increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse, particularly in major cities. Thus, catering to and engaging migrant-background and minority residents is not just a 'nice to have' goal—in many cases, it is critical to ensuring the future sustainability of cultural and creative industries.²⁸

At the same time, promoting artistic and cultural inclusion of all members of diverse societies can bring new life and colour to these spaces by welcoming new creative approaches, practices, and aesthetics. As some interviewees highlighted, migrant artists can also help local art scenes develop international connections and networks, thanks to their knowledge of cultural industries in other countries.²⁹ In turn, these positive effects on the local cultural scene may have wider benefits for the local economy and society. Creative cities have long been linked with urban economic development,³⁰ with some studies describing how community-based cultural activities can contribute to the revitalisation and socioeconomic improvement of disadvantaged neighbourhoods.³¹

B. *Barriers migrants face to accessing and shaping art and culture*

In Europe, these potential benefits remain largely untapped. Even when accounting for data gaps,³² migrants' and minorities' participation in culture and the arts clearly lags behind that of other members of European societies. According to Eurostat, across EU Member States in 2015, 54 per cent of people born outside the European Union had participated in cultural activities during the previous 12 months—10 percentage points lower than for native-born residents of these countries and the broader EU-born population.³³ Major gaps can also be seen when looking at individual countries: In Germany, a 2012 study found that the share of migrant-background people who visited high-arts institutions was 20 percentage points lower than for those without a migration background.³⁴ And in England, a 2017–18 survey of cultural

28 Author interview with Manuel Moser, Artistic Director, Comedia Theatre, Cologne, 20 May 2021; author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva, Head of Education, Modern Art Centre, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 17 April 2021.

29 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang, Connections Producer, Global Voices Theatre, London, 21 May 2021; Migrants in Theatre, *Creating a Thriving Environment for Migrant Theatre Artists in the UK* (United Kingdom: Migrants in Theatre, 2021).

30 Lily Kong, 'Transnational Mobilities and the Making of Creative Cities', *Theory, Culture & Society* 31, no. 7–8 (2014): 273–89.

31 Mark J. Stern and Susan C. Seifert, 'From Creative Economy to Creative Society', *Culture and Community Revitalization: A SIAP/Reinvestment Fund—2007-2009* (2008); Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Konstantina Soureli, 'Cultural Tourism as an Economic Development Strategy for Ethnic Neighborhoods', *Economic Development Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2011): 50–72.

32 While there is growing consensus around the need for more evidence-based cultural policymaking in the European Union, data on the cultural participation and cultural habits of migrants and refugees remain scarce. At the EU level, data on cultural participation are not collected regularly but instead through ad hoc surveys; for example, only one survey in 2015 collected information about the cultural participation of both EU-born and non-EU-born residents. At the national and local levels, there is also a dearth of surveys focusing on the cultural habits, tastes, and preferences of immigrants and refugees. See Eurostat, *Guide to Eurostat Cultural Statistics – 2018 Edition* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018); Eurostat, *Culture Statistics – 2019 Edition* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019).

33 The cultural activities covered in this survey include going to the cinema, attending live performances, visiting cultural sites, and practicing artistic activities such as playing a musical instrument, singing, dancing, or painting. See Eurostat, *Culture Statistics – 2019 Edition*.

34 Birgit Regina Mandel, 'Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity in German Public Arts Institutions?', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 49, no. 2 (2019).

participation commissioned by the government found that Black and Asian respondents were significantly less likely than White respondents to have visited a gallery or museum in the year prior to the survey.³⁵

However, cultural participation can vary significantly depending on the art form and the type of cultural institution. Research has suggested that, while migrant-background and minority populations in Europe participate less frequently in 'high culture', they tend to participate more in popular cultural activities such as cinema and festivals,³⁶ and in many countries they are well-represented among visitors and users of public libraries.³⁷ Moreover, artistic activities with a stronger performative (rather than narrative) core and more interactive elements have often shown greater promise in reaching and engaging immigrant and minority communities.

Migrant-background and minority populations also tend to be under-represented among directors, producers, artists, and writers (what has been referred to as 'backstage representation'³⁸) and among actors

Cultural participation can vary significantly depending on the art form and the type of cultural institution.

and performers ('onstage representation'³⁹) within established

cultural institutions. This gap was highlighted in interviews by several cultural professionals in cities as diverse as Berlin, Cologne, Dublin, Espoo, Lisbon, and Milan.⁴⁰ And even where opportunities for migrant artists exist, they are often folklorised and set apart from mainstream culture. In the words of a German theatre professional: 'I don't see why [a theatre play designed and

performed by migrant and minority professionals] could not play in the big city theatre. They are good actors, directors, dancers, projects. But they always seem to [remain confined] on a social/cultural level, and not included in the "high cultural" level.'⁴¹ Moreover, while publicly available data are limited, the information

35 While almost 45 per cent of White respondents had visited a gallery or museum in 2017–18, this percentage was less than 40 per cent for Asian respondents and approximately 30 per cent for Black respondents. See UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport, *Taking Part Survey: England Adult Report, 2017/18* (London: UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport, 2018), 10. The United Kingdom is one of the few countries in Europe that systematically collects data on ethnic minorities, which can be a proxy (albeit imprecise) for migrant populations and support understanding of the barriers they encounter.

36 For example, in 2015, going to the cinema was the preferred activity for non-EU-born populations in most EU Member States. See Eurostat, *Culture Statistics – 2019 Edition*. See also Mandel, 'Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity?'; Huong Le and Yuka Fujimoto, 'Motivators and Barriers of Ethnic Groups to Engage in Arts Performance' (paper presented at the 24th Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management Conference, Adelaide, December 2010).

37 In England, for example, public library use by Black and Asian people is higher than for White people, and the literature suggests that libraries are one of the most widely used cultural services in other countries as well. See Barbara Lison, Natascha Reip, Frank Huysmans, and Dan Mount, 'Research for Cult Committee: Public Libraries – Their New Role' (workshop documentation, European Parliament, Directorate-General for Internal Policies, July 2016), 12.

38 Sabrina Vitting-Seerup, 'Working towards Diversity with a Postmigrant Perspective: How to Examine Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Cultural Institutions', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 45–55.

39 Vitting-Seerup, 'Working towards Diversity'.

40 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh, Founder, coculture e.V., Berlin, 28 May 2021; author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva; author interview with Manuel Moser; author interview with Monika Sapielak, CEO and Co-Founder, Centre for Creative Practices, Ireland, 15 June 2021; author interview with Jaana Tynni, Director, Espoo City Library, Espoo, Finland, 7 May 2021.

41 Author interview with Manuel Moser.

that does exist suggests that migrants and minorities are often under-represented within the staff of these institutions—especially at the influential managerial and leadership levels.⁴²

A wide range of factors contribute to migrants' and minorities' under-representation as visitors and users of cultural venues such as museums, festivals, theatres, concert halls, and libraries. Stakeholder interviews and a review of existing research point to the following predominant obstacles:

- ▶ **Language barriers.** Recently arrived immigrants and others with limited destination-country language skills may struggle to access information on available cultural offerings⁴³ and participate in art forms that rely on verbal communication, such as theatre or storytelling.⁴⁴ And as one theatre professional noted in an interview, multilingual cultural offerings are rare in major cultural venues⁴⁵—especially in more conservative art forms, such as opera and classical theatre, where organisers may be hesitant to depart from the canon for fear of alienating their usual audiences.⁴⁶
- ▶ **Financial barriers.** Cost is another important roadblock that can hinder greater participation among low-income communities,⁴⁷ including some migrant and minority populations.⁴⁸ While immigrants have long been over-represented in Europe's lower income groups,⁴⁹ the economic fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic has hit migrant populations particularly hard.⁵⁰ Research suggests that, in times of economic crisis, lower-income groups tend to be more excluded from cultural consumption, due to a lack of financial means and time, or to stress and fears related to income precarity and employment uncertainty.⁵¹

42 In England, ethnic minorities accounted for only 13 per cent of the workforce in publicly funded institutions in 2019–20, and only 10 per cent of staff at the managerial level. In Italy, a study on the composition of the boards of directors of national cultural institutions observed a high level of homogeneity in terms of ethnicity and nationality. Similarly, a 2015 EU-funded study found a stark under-representation of immigrants in the staff and board management of most of the 50 public cultural institutions analysed across Austria, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Sweden. See Arts Council England, *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2019-2020* (London: Arts Council England, 2021), 14; Monia Castellini, Marianna Marzano, and Nicola Valentini, 'Searching for Diversity: An Overview of Italian Cultural Institutes Boards of Directors', *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* 10, no. 1 (2020): 32–46; INTERARTS et al., *Cultural Diversity Management in European Public Cultural Institutions: Compilation of National Reports* (N.p.: Brokering Migrants' Cultural Participation [MPC Broker] Project and European Commission, 2015), 29.

43 Le and Fujimoto, 'Motivators and Barriers of Ethnic Groups to Engage in Arts Performances'; author interview with Paweł Łysak, Theatre Director, Powszechny Theatre, Warsaw, 14 May 2021.

44 At the same time, research has found that even in art forms that require fewer verbal skills, language barriers often inhibit migrants' participation in artistic projects involving speakers of the destination-country language. See, for example, Sunderland et al., 'They [Do More than] Interrupt Us from Sadness'.

45 For instance, a London-based theatre producer described UK private theatre venues' hesitations to present international and/or multilingual plays, which they perceive as a risky investment. Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

46 Author interview with Pauline Püschel, General Affairs Team Lead, Senate Department for Culture and Europe, City of Berlin, 1 March 2021.

47 For instance, a 2015 Eurostat survey on cultural participation showed that, while 83 per cent of adult EU citizens in higher income groups had attended a live performance, gone to the cinema, or visited a cultural site in the year prior, less than half (46 per cent) of those in the lowest income group had done so. See Eurostat, *Culture Statistics – 2019 Edition*, 136.

48 Author interview with Jaana Tyrni; author interview with Sandra Rainero, ONSTAGE Transfer Network Lead Expert, URBACT, 2 June 2021; author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid, Deputy Director, Music Department, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 26 May 2021; author interview with Dina Giuseppetti, Coordinator, Youth Centre and Art School MaTeMù, CIES, Rome, 4 June 2021.

49 In 2019, 45 per cent of non-EU citizens living in the European Union were at risk of poverty and social exclusion. See Eurostat, 'Migrant Integration Statistics – At Risk of Poverty and Social Exclusion', updated January 2021.

50 See, for example, Liam Patuzzi, *Taking the Long View: Options for Inclusive Post-Pandemic Labour Markets* (Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe, 2021).

51 Magdalena Pasikowska-Schnass, *Access to Culture in the European Union* (Brussels: European Parliamentary Research Service, 2017).

- ▶ **Limited interest in/relevance of cultural offerings.** Some communities feel mainstream cultural institutions do not speak to or represent them.⁵² Moreover, while a number of studies indicate that many immigrants tend to favour artistic and cultural forms of expression related to their ethnic/national community,⁵³ mainstream cultural institutions in European cities rarely make these available—and where they do, they tend to clearly separate this ‘minority art’ from their mainstream programming.⁵⁴ Research has suggested that migrant and minority communities tend to view high-culture institutions as especially distant compared to less institutionalised forms of art and culture such as street festivals, community-based activities, public libraries, and community cultural centres.⁵⁵ Reasons for this may include the absence of a relationship with high culture among an individual’s family and friends;⁵⁶ perceptions or expectations of feeling bored, intimidated, or out of place in museums and other formal cultural establishments;⁵⁷ or a pervasive (if unspoken) sense of not being the envisaged target group for these offerings.⁵⁸ In addition, migrant and minority visitors may feel alienated by art they see as perpetuating colonial views of superiority and inferiority (for example, exhibitions of paintings in which Black people are primarily portrayed as slaves or maids).⁵⁹
- ▶ **Physical distance.** In many European cities, cultural services are concentrated in the city centre or other cultural hotspots, which may make them difficult and costly to reach for residents of other areas,⁶⁰ including disadvantaged neighbourhoods that may have larger immigrant or minority populations.⁶¹ In Riga, for example, 70 per cent of cultural institutions are concentrated in just two of the city’s 58 neighbourhoods,⁶² and other European cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin, and London have reported challenges linked to the excessive concentration of cultural services.⁶³ In recent years, this challenge has gained increasing attention from cultural institutions and policymakers, and several European cities are actively developing measures to distribute cultural services more equally throughout the city (see Section 3.A).

52 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh; author interview with Manuel Moser; author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva. This finding is consistent with available survey data as well; in a 2012 German survey on the impact of migration on cultural life in the country, for example, the principal reason migrant-background respondents gave for not attending cultural offerings was lack of interest. See Susanne Keuchel, *The 1st InterCultureBarometer. The Impact of Migration on the Arts and Culture in Germany* (Bonn: Zentrum für Kulturforschung, 2012).

53 Gina Netto, ‘Multiculturalism in the Devolved Context: Minority Ethnic Negotiation of Identity through Engagement in the Arts in Scotland’, *Sociology* 42, no. 1 (2008); Le and Fujimoto, ‘Motivators and Barriers of Ethnic Groups to Engage in Arts Performances’; Keuchel, *The 1st InterCultureBarometer*.

54 EDUCULT et al., *Access to Culture – Policy Analysis* (N.p.: EDUCULT et al., 2015).

55 European Commission, *A Report on Policies and Good Practices in the Public Arts and in Cultural Institutions to Promote Better Access to and Wider Participation in Culture* (Brussels: European Union, 2012); Els Vanderwaeren, ‘Integrating by Means of Art? Expressions of Cultural Hybridisations in the City of Antwerp’, *Identities* 21, no. 1 (2014): 60–74.

56 Mandel, ‘Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity?’.

57 European Commission, *A Report on Policies and Good Practices in the Public Arts and in Cultural Institutions*; Mandel, ‘Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity?’; Netto, ‘Multiculturalism in the Devolved Context’; author interview with Paweł Łysak.

58 Author interview with Dina Giuseppetti.

59 Pauline Bock, ‘Structural Racism, Colonial Bias and Invisible Artists: The Struggles of a Black Art Historian in Brussels’, *The Brussels Times*, 2 July 2020.

60 Netto, ‘Multiculturalism in the Devolved Context’. According to some studies, however, this barrier is less salient than questions of affordability or interest. See, for instance, Le and Fujimoto, ‘Motivators and Barriers of Ethnic Groups to Engage in Arts Performances’.

61 In the great majority of Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in 2009, immigrants were over-represented in deprived neighbourhoods. See OECD and European Commission, ‘Immigrants and Housing’, in *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling in* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015), 182.

62 URBACT, ‘“Culture with Everyone”: Why Creating Culturally Inclusive Cities Is Changing the Way Capital City Policymakers Approach Their Work’, updated 26 August 2020.

63 Author interview with Rebekah Polding, ACCESS Network Lead Expert, URBACT, 18 June 2021.

- ▶ **Competing commitments.** Newly arrived migrants have numerous priorities—such as finding accommodation and employment, accessing basic services, learning the language of the destination country, and securing their residence status—that may need to be met before they can pursue cultural activities. This is reinforced by public integration policies that often prioritise newcomers' economic participation over engagement in art and culture, which may be regarded as simple leisure (or even as a luxury). Meanwhile, child care and other family commitments, sometimes combined with social pressure and norms, can prevent or discourage some migrant and refugee women from visiting cultural venues and engaging in artistic activities.

Looking beyond access to cultural services, another set of barriers limits migrants' and minorities' cultural inclusion in terms of their ability to have a voice in and influence the cultural scene as artists, cultural producers, and shapers of cultural programming. These include:

- ▶ **Lack of networks and cultural capital.** In a field often highly dependent on personal connections, many migrant and minority artists lack the types of social capital that can open doors to opportunities for funding, concerts, exhibitions, or performances.⁶⁴ Additional challenges may involve unfamiliarity with unwritten industry norms⁶⁵ and (country-specific) job-related practices and procedures, such as knowing the channels through which job vacancies are advertised, preparing a grant application, or even mundane tasks such as writing an invoice.⁶⁶ Navigating the rules of the game—both formal requirements and unwritten behavioural norms—can be especially difficult for newcomers and those with limited proficiency in the language of their country of residence.⁶⁷
- ▶ **Difficulties accessing funding.** Many migrants—particularly recent arrivals—lack familiarity with the art and culture funding landscape, or they may lack the culturally specific knowledge and skills (e.g., project management, budgeting, funding legislation) that are expected for a successful grant request.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, diaspora and minority cultural associations are often characterised by a high degree of informality, which can make it hard for them to build consortia and compete for funding with more established and professionalised organisations.⁶⁹ In some cases, these groups are so small they fail to satisfy even basic grant requirements, such as having a bank account.⁷⁰ In addition, the rules of some funding programmes exclude art forms popular among immigrant and minority artists.⁷¹

64 Author interview with Modou Gueye, President, Sunugal Association, Milan, 7 May 2021; author interview with Zhui Ning Chang; author interview with Monika Sapielak.

65 See, for example, Nils Asle Bergsgard and Anders Vassenden, 'Outsiders? A Sociological Study of Norwegian Artists with Minority Background', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21, no. 3 (2015): 316.

66 Author interview with Monika Sapielak; author interview with Khaled Barakeh.

67 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh; author interview with Monika Sapielak.

68 Author interview with Pauline Püschel; author interview with Monika Sapielak.

69 Netto, 'Multiculturalism in the Devolved Context'. For example, some EU funds (such as the EU Erasmus+ funding for cultural organisations) require setting up a strong consortium with reputable members from different EU Member States, which may pose a challenge for smaller organisations with little visibility across Europe. See Rosanna Lewis and Polly Martin, *Research for CULT Committee – EU Funding for Cultural Work with Refugees: Towards the Next Programme Generation* (Brussels: European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, 2017).

70 Author interview with Rebekah Polding; Netto, 'Multiculturalism in the Devolved Context'. See also Lewis and Martin, *Research for CULT Committee – EU Funding for Cultural Work with Refugees*.

71 For example, one French interviewee noted how the emphasis on original compositions in publicly awarded music grants can penalise migrant or minority composers building on traditional folk motifs. Author interview with Anne Le Gougec, Coordinator, Orpheus XXI, Paris, 30 April 2021.

- ▶ **Barriers to pursuing artistic education or getting foreign qualifications recognised.** Across Europe, art education is often expensive and has high entry requirements.⁷² This, coupled with the uncertain employment and income prospects of pursuing a career in the arts, may lead migrant and minority youth from lower-income households to decide against this path.⁷³ The fact that minorities are often under-represented among primary and secondary school art educators and in arts curricula can further exacerbate this pattern. For example, 2017 data from the UK Department of Education show that almost all visual art teachers in UK schools (94 percent) were White, even as nearly one-third (31 per cent) of pupils in the country had a minority background.⁷⁴ In an industry where having the right formal qualification is often essential to landing a position in high-culture institutions, this can contribute to representation gaps in all subsequent stages of the art-and-culture value chain—from higher education programmes, to entry-level jobs, to curatorial and leadership positions.⁷⁵ For artists born and educated abroad, getting third-country qualifications recognised by European creative and cultural institutions and professionals is an additional challenge, even though this sector is characterised by a relatively high level of cross-border professional mobility.⁷⁶ Moreover, some art forms are more tightly tied to national traditions and canons (such as theatre, where considerations around language and how emotions are expressed are more prominent), and this may make it more challenging for destination-country institutions to understand immigrant artists' competences and experiences.⁷⁷
- ▶ **Discrimination, (conscious and unconscious) biases, and lack of intercultural awareness in cultural institutions.** High-culture venues such as art museums, concert halls, and theatres may adhere to (and, thus, promote) a conservative, rigidly codified understanding of what art 'should look like'. Theatres are often wary of working with directors or performers, including those with a migrant background, whose work is perceived as not in line with conventional, culturally specific aesthetics or storytelling tropes.⁷⁸ Migrant actors—especially if they have a foreign accent—often find themselves relegated to stereotypical, sometimes caricatural roles.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, the work of migrant artists is frequently categorised as 'ethnic art', both othering it and dimming the focus on its inherent aesthetic qualities. Similarly, art created by forced migrants is often labelled 'refugee art' and discussed primarily as part of humanitarian rather than artistic conversations. As a result, refugee artists can struggle

72 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh.

73 Bergsgard and Vassenden, 'Outsiders?'; Hans Abbing, *The Changing Social Economy of Art: Are the Arts Becoming Less Exclusive?* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

74 Kabir Jhala, 'How Racist Is UK Art Education? A New Report Aims to Find Out', *The Art Newspaper*, 15 March 2021.

75 In the United Kingdom, for example, entry into museum-sector professions generally requires, at a minimum, a postgraduate degree plus a period of unpaid (ideally, in-country) work experience. See Richard Sandell, 'The Strategic Significance of Workforce Diversity in Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 3 (2000): 213–30.

76 See, for example, Mafalda Dâmaso et al., *The Situation of Artists and Cultural Workers and the Post-COVID-19 Cultural Recovery in the European Union* (Brussels: European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, 2021); Bergsgard and Vassenden, 'Outsiders?'

77 One UK-based interviewee highlighted the case of a Romanian director who, before moving to London, used to work in the National Theatre of Bucharest, and how little this prestigious experience was valued by UK-based theatre companies and venues. Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

78 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

79 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang; author interview with Paweł Łysak.

to gain proper artistic recognition, and they may feel pressure to constantly represent the flight experience in their work.⁸⁰

Importantly, migrant-background and minority populations are highly heterogeneous groups, and individuals' experiences with these barriers can vary depending on factors such as gender, age, socioeconomic background, education level, language skills, and length of time in the country.⁸¹ For example, a large-scale German survey from 2012 identified differences between the preferences of first-, second-, and third-generation migrants (likely related to subsequent generations increasing educational levels as well as their nativity). While first-generation migrants were found to be more interested in traditional, folkloristic art linked to their countries of origin, the second generation showed a much stronger affinity for popular, mainstream cultural events and activities, and the third generation expressed a greater openness to high culture.⁸² Additionally, as already suggested, the type and extent of inclusion challenges vary significantly between art forms and types of cultural institution.

3 Local Practices to Promote Inclusive Artistic and Cultural Scenes

In the years following the 2015–16 European migrant and refugee crisis, numerous projects and initiatives across the European Union have explored the role of artistic and cultural activities in promoting newcomers' integration and participation in receiving societies. These efforts have often involved museums, libraries, theatres, and other cultural institutions,⁸³ but few have sought to ensure that migrants are able to shape these offerings and that these activities are as diverse as the communities they serve.⁸⁴ Recent protest movements may have started to change this paradigm. There is a newfound recognition that art and culture hold major symbolic power and, thus, can play a key role in challenging social inequalities and exclusion.

This section explores different practices and approaches to strengthening the participation of migrants, refugees, and ethnic minorities in European cultural scenes. To do so, it considers three dimensions of this issue: fostering migrants' and minorities' participation as audiences and visitors; promoting

80 Research from Austria, for example, showed how recently arrived refugee artists struggle to gain proper artistic recognition, as they are expected to constantly represent the experience of flight in their work and are often first and foremost treated as experts on 'refugeeness'. See Michael Parzer, 'Double Burden of Representation: How Ethnic and Refugee Categorisation Shapes Syrian Migrants' Artistic Practices in Austria', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47, no. 11 (2021). Additional information from author interview with Khaled Barakeh; author interview with Anne Le Gouguec; author interview with Stefan Weber.

81 Enrico Bertacchini, Alessandra Venturini, and Roberto Zotti, 'Drivers of Cultural Participation of Immigrants: Evidence from an Italian Survey' (Discussion Paper No. 12854, IZA Institute of Labour Economics, Bonn, December 2019); Fiona Syson and Emma H. Wood, 'Local Authority Arts Events and the South Asian Community: Unmet Needs – A UK Case Study', *Managing Leisure* 11 (2006); Le and Fujimoto, 'Motivators and Barriers of Ethnic Groups to Engage in Arts Performances'.

82 Keuchel, *The 1st InterCultureBarometer*.

83 Vachou, coord., *The Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees*. For example, a study conducted by a group of EU Member State experts in 2017 analysed more than 200 initiatives of this kind. Several studies by different organisations have also showcased and mapped different case studies from museums, libraries, and the performing arts, aiming to give culture professionals the tools to support the social inclusion of migrants. See Vachou, coord., *The Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees*. See also Elaine McGregor and Nora Ragab, *The Role of Culture and the Arts in the Integration of Refugees and Migrants* (N.p.: European Expert Network on Culture and Audiovisual, 2016); Yasmin Fedda, Daniel Gorman, and Tory Davidson, *Creation and Displacement: Developing New Narratives Around Migration* (Brussels: International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts, 2016).

84 As mentioned, one reason for this is that migrants in Europe have long been primarily considered workers, 'not supposed to be interested in culture and arts, especially as producers and artists but also as consumers.' See Martiniello, 'Immigrants, Ethnicized Minorities and the Arts', 1230.

their participation as artistic and cultural (co-)creators; and integrating diversity and inclusion into the institutional policies and practices of cultural organisations.

A. *Promoting access to and participation in mainstream cultural services*

Cultural institutions have developed a variety of practices to reach out to groups that are under-represented among their visitors, including migrants and minorities.⁸⁵ One of the most common interventions—implemented both by individual cultural venues as well as by some public authorities—is to provide free or reduced-price tickets to immigrants, refugees, and other groups for whom cost may be a barrier to participation. In London, the Young Vic theatre has, for the past 20 years, distributed approximately 10,000 tickets a year (about 10 per cent of its tickets) to first-time theatre goers.⁸⁶ In Ireland, the Dublin Arab Film Festival admits refugees for free, and depending on available funding, in the next few years it aims to provide free filmmaking workshops for refugees.⁸⁷ Among the (local or national) government programmes that address financial barriers to cultural participation are the Austrian federal programme Hunger auf Kunst und Kultur (Hunger for Art and Culture)⁸⁸ and Berlin's local Berlinpass,⁸⁹ both of which provide free or discounted admission to cultural institutions for audiences with economic needs.

In order to be effective, free or discounted tickets may need to be paired with other efforts to diversify audiences as affordability only becomes a barrier once an individual is interested in attending an exhibition, performance, or other cultural offering.⁹⁰

To overcome information gaps, build trust, and inspire this initial interest, cultural institutions have experimented with more diversified, targeted, and

low-threshold forms of outreach. Representatives of the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin and the Global Voices Theatre in London pointed to how using social media channels such as WhatsApp and Facebook has helped them engage migrants and refugees in their activities.⁹¹ Other interviewees highlighted the benefits of analogue, face-to-face approaches, particularly in informal public spaces. In Warsaw, for example, the Powszechny Theatre took advantage of its location in one of the city's most diverse neighbourhoods by

To overcome information gaps, build trust, and inspire this initial interest, cultural institutions have experimented with more diversified, targeted, and low-threshold forms of outreach.

85 Investing in audience development does not automatically mean investing in audience diversification. For example, research from Germany has suggested that, especially among publicly funded cultural institutions, audience development tools are often used mainly to maintain or increase visitors' numbers, rather than to engage new groups of users or catalyse institutional change. See Mandel, 'Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity?'

86 Sue Emma, Associate Artistic Director of the Young Vic theatre in London, quoted in "'But Who's Standards?'" *Questioning and Changing Institutional Standards*, Diversity Arts Culture, accessed 7 December 2021.

87 Author interview with Zahara Moufid, Founder, Dublin Arab Film Festival, Dublin, 20 September 2021.

88 While cultural institutions provide most of the funding for these tickets, they also receive some financial support from the programme. See World Cities Culture Forum, 'Kulturpass. Democratizing Access to Culture through Free Admission', accessed 7 December 2021.

89 Berlin Senate Department for Integration, Labour, and Social Affairs, 'Berlinpass', accessed 7 December 2021.

90 European Commission, *A Report on Policies and Good Practices in the Public Arts and in Cultural Institutions*.

91 Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, 'Salma Jreige (Project Coordinator of Multaka: Museum as a Meeting Point)' (video, YouTube, 31 January 2019); author interview with Zhui Ning Chang; author interview with Stefan Weber.

having staff personally hand out invitations and free tickets for a play at a nearby street market. By doing so, the theatre was able to attract a good number of first-time theatre attendees, many of whom had a migrant background.⁹²

To appeal to visitors with limited connections to mainstream cultural institutions and to build up their image as places for community well-being rather than elitist clubs, some cultural venues have sought to reconfigure their spaces and services to make them more welcoming. In Finland, the Espoo City Library has centred its approach on accessibility—for example, by spreading small libraries across the whole city; doubling its opening times, thanks to self-service options; and hiring migrant-background and minority customer service staff to inspire greater trust among traditionally underserved communities.⁹³ In Berlin, coculture—a cultural organisation focused on supporting the work of displaced artists—has organised its studio space in an ‘emotionally intelligent’ way (for example, including a garden and several other amenities) with the aim of making it appeal to the neighbourhood’s ethnically diverse residents as a space in which to meet and spend time informally. This then provides the coculture team an opportunity to stoke visitors’ curiosity about the organisation’s art exhibitions, seminars, documentary viewings, and other cultural events.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, cultural institutions that offer social and integration services—for example, museums and libraries that began hosting language-learning programmes following the large-scale arrivals of migrants and refugees in 2015–16—have found creative ways to make these services entry points for cultural participation. In Vienna, the Weltmuseum Wien has consulted with migrants and refugees taking part in its language café on how to shape the museum’s exhibitions—in one particular case, on planning a children’s book section dedicated to the topic of diversity.⁹⁵ And in Rome, the nongovernmental organisation (NGO) CIES, which offers art courses for youth through its project MaTeMù alongside a range of publicly funded social support services (from language training to psychosocial counselling), has invited ‘spillover’ between these offerings by deliberately overlapping their schedules; the aim is to stimulate casual encounters between social-service recipients and participants of musical and other courses, thus sparking the former’s curiosity about the artistic activities on offer.⁹⁶

Other initiatives have attempted to address both the perception of ‘high culture’ as intimidating as well as accessibility barriers deriving from the concentration of cultural venues in city centres. Mobile cultural services began multiplying in Europe starting in 2015–16, seeking to reach asylum seekers in remote accommodations.⁹⁷ While many of these initiatives were short lived, they have had a lasting impact by making cultural institutions more aware of the importance of having an on-the-ground presence in different communities as a way to cultivate dialogue and engagement. Desk research and interviews revealed numerous recent examples of efforts by museums, theatres, and libraries to make culture accessible in

92 Author interview with Paweł Łysak.

93 Author interview with Jaana Tyrni. The Espoo City Library in Finland has been recognised twice (in 2019 and 2020) with the Library of the Year Award at the London Book Fair’s International Excellence Awards. See *Designing Libraries*, ‘Espoo Wins Library Award of the Year’, accessed 7 December 2021.

94 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh.

95 Author interview with Doris Prlic, SWICH Project Coordinator, and Petra Fuchs-Jebinger, Head of Education, Weltmuseum Wien, Vienna, 17 May 2021.

96 Author interview with Dina Giuseppetti.

97 For example, in 2015 the Espoo City Library used a ‘bookmobile’ to deliver books to remotely located accommodation centres and regularly shuttled interested asylum seekers to the library. Author interview with Jaana Tyrni.

different areas⁹⁸—generally with the help of migrant associations and civil-society organisations. In 2020, the Dublin Arabic Film Festival launched a collaboration with the Red Cross to bring movies to newly arrived refugees who had to undergo quarantine upon arrival.⁹⁹ Over the past two years, Milan's Museum of Cultures (MUDEC) has implemented successful cultural events in areas of the city characterised by high levels of cultural diversity—such as a contest between Arab and Italian poetry at an open food market—in cooperation with migrant associations based in the neighbourhood.¹⁰⁰ In 2020, the Comedia Theatre in Cologne set up a workshop space for youth in a shut-down shop in a highly diverse neighbourhood, in partnership with migrant NGOs. Moreover, theatre staff regularly seek to exchange with communities and NGOs across the city when preparing new plays—a 'field-research' element that it considers essential to staying relevant as a theatre.¹⁰¹ In some cases, governments in cities such as Amsterdam and Berlin have also taken actions to distribute cultural services more equally across the city.¹⁰²

Beyond improving outreach and accessibility, some cultural institutions are increasingly recognising that engaging a more diverse audience requires rethinking the cultural experience itself—for example, making it more interactive and immersive.¹⁰³ Some have utilised cultural spaces often perceived as rigidly regulated (e.g., libraries) or elitist (art museums) in unusual ways, opening them up to different forms of self-expression and interaction.¹⁰⁴ In 2020, the MUDEC in Milan opened its storage spaces for hip-hop courses, which were well attended by youth from a variety of backgrounds.¹⁰⁵ In Finland, the Espoo City Library has reinvented some of its spaces, for instance by setting up music studios where children can try out a range of musical instruments free of charge and by hosting performances such as dance exhibitions.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon has partnered with the Portuguese Refugee Council for the project *Aqui Eu Conto* (a play on the expression's double meaning in Portuguese: 'Here I can tell' and 'Here I count'). The project combines language training with theatre to help migrants and refugees learn Portuguese in an innovative, interactive way that makes active use of the museum's spaces and objects.¹⁰⁷

While the art professionals interviewed as part of this study revealed a rich variety of approaches to promoting inclusion, this may not be an accurate reflection of the state of the European cultural sector as a whole; interviewees were selected based on their organisations' interest in inclusive practices

98 See for example EDUCULT et al., *Access to Culture – Policy Analysis*.

99 Author interview with Zahara Moufid.

100 Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia, Head of Office, Office for Networks and Cultural Cooperation, Municipality of Milan, 17 May 2021. Similarly, the Vienna Weltmuseum has cooperated with a social organisation in one of the city's highly diverse districts to provide cultural activities and workshops to small groups of 20–30 people. Author interview with Doris Prlic and Petra Fuchs-Jebinger.

101 Author interview with Manuel Moser.

102 Berlin has created a specific department to work directly with districts and ensure an equal distribution of services across the city. Meanwhile, Amsterdam is exploring the development of new museums in the outskirts of the city and is increasing its focus on neighbourhood-based cultural activities. Author interview with Pauline Püschel; City of Amsterdam, '[Policy: Art throughout the City](#)'; accessed 9 September 2021.

103 The evaluation of an audience development pilot project in Germany showed that collaborative and participative projects were often more successful at attracting new audiences, including more migrants and first-time participants. See Mandel, 'Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity?'

104 Author interview with Maddalena Camera, Independent Collaborator, Centro Internazionale di Quartiere, Milan, 8 June 2021.

105 Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia.

106 Author interview with Jaana Tyrni.

107 Author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Annual Report 2020* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2021), 63. Similarly, at the Museum of Cultures (MUDEC) in Milan, which runs language cafes for newly arrived migrants, language learners were encouraged to express their migration experience by referring to the museum's artwork. Author interview with Maddalena Camera.

and previous engagement with migrants and refugees. This research also highlighted cultural institutions' persistent challenges in building long-term relationships with migrant and minority audiences.¹⁰⁸ Among the factors that contribute to this are: the perceived distance and elitism of (some types of) cultural venues; limited in-house capacity and competences (e.g., on how to expand or diversify outreach); and a lack of motivation and incentives (particularly outside the circle of institutions, such as ethnographic museums, that see diversity, interculturality, and migration as within their thematic remit). In addition, COVID-19 has temporarily jeopardised interaction-centred models, making it more difficult to cultivate trust with new and hard-to-reach groups. While many organisations' move to digital activities allowed them to expand their geographic reach to other cities and countries, interviewees pointed to a common shift in the profile of participants, including migrants, towards the better educated and more digitally literate; as a result, those who were already less engaged in art and culture have often fallen further off the radar.¹⁰⁹

COVID-19 has temporarily jeopardised interaction-centred models, making it more difficult to cultivate trust with new and hard-to-reach groups.

B. Supporting cultural (co-)production by immigrant and minority communities

Cultural inclusion goes well beyond helping under-represented groups find their way to (institutionally recognised) artistic products and cultural services. It also involves ensuring they are able to see themselves reflected in art and become active co-creators, rather than remaining passive observers. One key element in this is ensuring that migrants and minorities have genuine and ongoing opportunities for self-expression that will help reshape local cultural scenes—and push the boundaries of what is commonly understood as 'art and culture'.

European cultural institutions have launched a range of initiatives to involve migrants and minorities in developing and implementing cultural offerings, from art exhibitions to dance performances and theatre plays. A well-known example is the project Multaka in Berlin. Launched in 2015 by the Museum for Islamic Arts in cooperation with three other Berlin museums and still running today, the project has trained Syrian and Iraqi refugees as museum guides who can give tours to other refugees and Arabic-speaking visitors and interpret historical objects with new eyes, linking works of art created in the past with contemporary debates.¹¹⁰ A similar approach has been taken by several museums in Italy, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum's 2020 project *The Power of the Word* invited Arabic and Persian speakers to join the museum's curatorial and educational staff, with the goals of bringing fresh, diverse perspectives to the objects in the museum's Middle East collection and enhancing visitors'

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Mandel, 'Can Audience Development Promote Social Diversity?.'

¹⁰⁹ As one museum professional noted: 'It was easier to reach individuals all over the world than to reach one group [in the local community]': Author interview with Doris Prlic and Petra Fuchs-Jebinger.

¹¹⁰ Multaka, 'Project Multaka: Museum as Meeting Point – Refugees as Guides in Berlin Museums', accessed 7 December 2021. The project was launched in collaboration with the Department of Education, Outreach, and Visitor Services of the Berlin State Museums and the German Historical Museum, and it is now active in 15 museums. See Multaka, 'Partner', accessed 7 December 2021.

experience of these works.¹¹¹ And in 2019, the Powszechny Theatre in Warsaw, as part of the EU-funded project Atlas of Transitions, brought theatre staff together with immigrant and non-immigrant city residents to jointly plan and present a number of plays that touch on questions of identity and migration.¹¹²

The potential advantages of these initiatives are manifold. From the point of view of audience development, involving migrant and minority communities in planning and delivering cultural services is often a decisive

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factor in efforts to attract a more diverse audience—thanks to word-of-mouth within informal networks, reduced language barriers, and increased perceptions of the cultural venue as safe and welcoming due to the presence of peers. Perhaps most importantly, engaging migrants in artistic production and planning can contribute to making artistic and cultural expression more reflective of the experiences and feelings of migrant-background visitors—and therefore,

more compelling. In the words of a theatre professional in Germany: ‘We have an actress with a Kurdish background [...] A girl saw her on the stage and said “Aw, I didn’t know there could be actors like you!” She had never seen actresses who look like her; only blue-eyed, blonde German-looking actors. This gives [her] motivation to go on [engaging in theatre].’¹¹³

As cultural institutions seek to engage participants of varied backgrounds, it is important to avoid the risk of folklorisation: the distortion, oversimplification, or even caricature of traditional forms of cultural expression, which ends up setting a piece of art apart from what is considered ‘high’ or even ‘mainstream’ culture.¹¹⁴ As mentioned in Section 2, several interviewees stressed that many migrant-background or minority individuals feel pushed into a niche—that of ‘migrant artists’, ‘minority artists’, or ‘refugee artists’—with which they do not identify and which they feel limits them.¹¹⁵ To prevent this, some cultural venues have promoted artistic co-production in culturally and socially mixed groups. In the early 2010s, the Comedia Theatre in Cologne started offering dedicated drama workshops to refugee and migrant youth, so that they could bring their migration experiences to the stage; within a few years, to avoid stereotyping and give greater freedom to participants to decide what to put on stage, it shifted to mixed groups, where youth of different backgrounds could develop and produce plays together.¹¹⁶ And in Rome, the initiative MaTeMù—which offers young people free courses on break dancing, music, theatre, photography, and comic drawing—has attracted participants from a mix of backgrounds and created a climate of mutual peer support and personal empowerment. A key factor in the initiative’s success has been its emphasis on high artistic standards. In the words of the programme director: ‘We gave ourselves the condition that [...] these courses would not just be a means to an end—for example, playing the guitar as a means to socialise. [We

111 Author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva; Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, ‘Power of the Word I / Pilgrimage / Hajj’, updated 20 April 2020; Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, ‘Power of the Word III’, accessed 7 December 2021. The museum also sought to engage immigrant communities to design a celebration for Nowruz (the Iranian New Year) in the museum, centred on exhibitions of key pieces from the Islamic art collection. See Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, ‘Nowruz, Feasting in Spring’, accessed 7 December 2021.

112 Author interview with Paweł Łysak; Powszechny Theatre, ‘Atlas of Transitions’, accessed 7 December 2021.

113 Author interview with Manuel Moser.

114 Peter Setel, ‘Proposed Terminology for Intangible Cultural Heritage: Toward Anthropological and Folkloristic Common Sense in a Global Era’ (working definitions from an international roundtable ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’, UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], Piedmont, Italy, March 2001).

115 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh; author interview with Modou Gueye.

116 Author interview with Manuel Moser.

wanted] professional courses, which would require effort, constant exercise, and offered on a high level. [...] We are [...] not asking for applause because they are migrant youngsters, but for the work that they were doing.¹¹⁷

To address similar concerns, some cultural venues have actively encouraged artistic and cultural (co)production on transversal themes and by highlighting intersectional voices. For example, in Berlin, coculture hosts art exhibitions by female and queer artists and promotes events on environmental sustainability in a deliberate effort to not be 'just "the Syrian place"'.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, the Global Voices Theatre in London dedicates specific theatre nights to one region, culture, or ethnicity, but gives the stage to a diversity of voices and narratives; for example, a Latin American night might involve plays written and directed by Latin American women, LGBTQI+ persons, and/or immigrants.¹¹⁹ And in Milan, the yearly exhibition Milano Città Mondo (Milan World City), which in each of its first four years focused on the history of a different diaspora community in the city,¹²⁰ centred its 2020 edition on women's contributions to art and culture and set up a planning committee of five women—young Milanese residents with different migrant and minority backgrounds.¹²¹

One major risk inherent in artistic co-production initiatives hosted by established cultural venues is that their relationship towards migrants and minorities may remain hierarchical, because it is the institutions that set the terms of engagement. Addressing the following questions early in the process of designing the project could help prevent this imbalance: What are the power relationships between the institution and outside actors? What level of input and decision-making power do partners and stakeholders representing

Migrants and refugees are often involved in a non-remunerated way in artistic co-production activities, thus indirectly reinforcing the notion that they are the 'real' beneficiaries, and that their contributions are the work of volunteers rather than professionals.

the diverse communities within the city have? What resources will be made available to them? And what influence will they have in shaping narratives?¹²²

However, interviewees suggested this is rarely a systematic practice. Moreover, migrants and refugees are often involved in a non-remunerated way in artistic co-production activities, thus indirectly reinforcing the notion that they are the 'real' beneficiaries, and that their contributions are the work of volunteers rather than professionals.¹²³

As a result, disillusioned migrant and minority

cultural producers may view these efforts as tokenistic, window-dressing exercises. Referring to the trend of museums working with refugee guides, the director of a migrant organisation in Italy commented: 'Initially, I thought it was interesting; then I realised that it was just a way for the museums to say "Look how good we are, we have migrants as guides!"'¹²⁴

117 Author interview with Dina Giuseppetti.

118 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh.

119 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

120 Namely, the city's Ethiopian/Eritrean, Chinese, Egyptian, and Peruvian diaspora communities.

121 Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia; MUDEC, *La Città delle Donne – Milano Città Mondo #05* (Milan: MUDEC, 2021).

122 These questions were discussed in an interview with Anna Zosik, Head of Programme 360° – Fund for New City Cultures, Federal Cultural Foundation, Halle (Saale), Germany, 10 September 2021.

123 Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia, Head of Office, and Silvia Iannelli, Expert in Participatory Museology and Intercultural Practices, Office for Networks and Cultural Cooperation, Municipality of Milan, 17 May 2021.

124 Author interview with Modou Gueye.

Some have tried to address power imbalances and protect migrant and minority artists' creative control through choices about the design of co-production activities. For example, the Comedia Theatre in Cologne lets its groups of young people work autonomously on a concept for the first four to six weeks before bringing in theatre professionals to help put the youths' vision into practice.¹²⁵ But while such practical considerations can indeed help, they do little to shift the underlying power dynamic: Cultural institutions retain the power to decide what role and emphasis to assign these co-production initiatives within their overall artistic and strategic planning—and they never have to leave their comfort zone if they do not wish to.

For some institutions, however, this may be slowly changing. Recent years have seen increasing interest among cultural institutions (and some local governments) in involving migrants and minorities in programming, rather than just in individual events. In 2020–21, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon worked with a group of 18- to 25-year-olds of different backgrounds to help shape the organisation's cultural programme for young audiences (a project known as 15–25 Imagina).¹²⁶ And in Warsaw, the Powszechny Theatre includes representatives of migrant communities in its annual Forum on the Future of Culture, where different stakeholders come together to discuss how to reflect social and political trends in the theatre's and the city's cultural offerings.¹²⁷ Such efforts to bring community members into cultural programming are promising, but interviewees suggested they are at early stages and, in many cases, not focused on migrant and minority populations.

Another category of approaches reflects a wish by migrant and minority artists to take matters into their own hands, rather than waiting for a helping hand from the cultural establishment. These bottom-up initiatives, usually launched by migrant associations or civil-society organisations with strong roots in migrant and minority communities, support migrant and minority artists in asserting themselves in the cultural sector by providing information, networking opportunities, mentoring, and skills development. In Berlin, coculture runs Support the Supporters, a programme offering migrant and refugee artists fellowship places, mentoring, and practical support.¹²⁸ In Dublin, the Centre for Creative Practices, founded in 2009, offers an annual event called Meeting Point for Migrant and Culturally Diverse Artists. The event provides capacity-building and professional development for migrants and culturally diverse artists through workshops, talks, and mentoring opportunities. The Centre for Creative Practices has also established itself as an effective bridge between migrant artists and the local cultural establishment.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, in Milan, the NGO Sunugal has for more than 20 years promoted cultural co-creation and artistic 'cross-pollination' between migrant and native-born artistic producers—including by inaugurating an International Neighbourhood Centre (Centro Internazionale di Quartiere) in 2016.¹³⁰ Through varied activities that bring

125 Author interview with Manuel Moser.

126 Author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid. The project, which is part of the EU-funded programme ADESTE+, resulted from a set of workshops to engage several of the foundation's departments in developing strategies to centre the experience of audiences, develop pilots for specific audiences, and encourage institutional change. See ADESTE+, 'Gulbenkian 15-25 Imagina: An Initiative of Cultural Programming and Curatorship for the Young Which Took Place at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation', updated 3 February 2021.

127 Author interview with Paweł Łysak; Powszechny Theatre, 'Forum for the Future of Culture. 26-28 March 2021', accessed 7 December 2021.

128 coculture, 'Support the Supporters', accessed 7 December 2021.

129 Author interview with Monika Sapielak; Centre for Creative Practices, 'Meeting Point Online Series for Migrant and Culturally Diverse Artists', accessed 7 December 2021.

130 Centro Internazionale di Quartiere, 'Chi siamo', accessed 20 December 2021.

together dance, music, fashion, theatre, video-making, cooking, and sport, Sunugal creates low-threshold cultural spaces that emphasise peer-to-peer encounters and cross-fertilisation of ideas over folklorisation.¹³¹

Some of these initiatives have turned to digital platforms to create participatory artistic and cultural spaces (in other words, spaces that are less controlled by museums, theatres, galleries, libraries, and other well-established and well-resourced cultural venues). For example, 2020 saw the launch of Contatto, an online platform featuring weekly interviews with migrant artists residing in Ireland to boost their visibility as central contributors to 'real' Irish culture, rather than as exotic presences.¹³² In 2021, coculture developed the Syria Cultural Index as a career accelerator for Syrian artists in Berlin and around the world that encourages exchange and collaboration, while disseminating information about funding and open calls.¹³³ Some more established institutions have also leveraged digital tools to raise the visibility of migrant artists. In 2021, the Powszechny Theatre in Warsaw started publishing videos of migrant artists working across the cultural sector to highlight their contributions.¹³⁴

The strong appetite for such support initiatives among migrant artists and professionals, described by several interviewees, points to an area of unmet needs. More long-lived and established initiatives, such as the Centre for Creative Practices and Sunugal, have attracted the attention of major cultural venues and local authorities, and they have thus been able to contribute to more regular collaboration between migrant artists and the culture establishment.¹³⁵ However, one potential limitation is that that, while such initiatives frequently support those with formal qualifications and prior experience in the cultural sector, they may do less to address the financial, psychological, and institutional barriers that can prevent migrant and minority individuals from accessing arts education and entering the field professionally (see Section 2 for a discussion of these barriers).

Intervening at these earlier stages—both of an individual's life course, and of the value chain of art and culture—is an approach adopted by some programmes. For example, in Limerick, Ireland, the Irish Chamber Orchestra has launched the programme Sing Out With Strings to offer free classes in singing, song writing, and instrumental tuition to 300 school children, many living in disadvantaged areas. Children are also given the opportunity to meet high-calibre professionals through the orchestra's Meet the Artist series, perform with professional musicians, and attend the orchestra's concerts for free, together with their families.¹³⁶ The programme's innovative model and its success at creating more equal opportunities to access art education have attracted international attention, and a Europe-wide effort launched by the URBACT network, known as ONSTAGE, aims to transfer it to six other cities and towns across the European Union.¹³⁷ Similarly, in L'Hospitalet, a highly diverse municipality on the outskirts of Barcelona, the public Music School and Arts Centre, in collaboration with eight primary schools, has introduced music, dance, and theatre lessons into the regular school curriculum from Grade 1 on. Not only did nearly 8 per cent of participating pupils decide to continue their musical and artistic studies, the initiative has also reportedly contributed to improvements in the academic outcomes of students in the participating primary schools compared to other schools in the

131 Author interview with Modou Gueye.

132 Gemma Tipton, 'Migrant Artists Don't Need to Be Invited as the Exotic Guest of the Day', *The Irish Times*, 17 April 2021.

133 coculture, 'Syrian Cultural Index', accessed 7 December 2021.

134 Author interview with Paweł Łysak.

135 Author interview with Monika Sapielak; author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

136 Author interview with Aibhlín McCrann, Chair of the Board, Irish Chamber Orchestra, and Chair of Cruit Éireann, Harp Ireland, Dublin, 15 November 2021.

137 Author interview with Sandra Rainero; URBACT, 'On Stage! Music and Arts for Social Change', accessed 7 December 2021.

area, while strengthening students' social skills and sense of community.¹³⁸ By and large, however, this kind of success story is still rare. While numerous cultural venues collaborate with schools, this often happens on a more occasional basis. Achieving wider scale and sustained engagement is difficult not just due to limited staff capacity, but also because it may require institutional negotiations with public education authorities to adapt school curricula—an undertaking that most cultural venues would understandably view as well beyond their resources and remit.

C. *Anchoring diversity in institutions*

In the last decade, culture professionals and policymakers have increasingly recognised that efforts to make cultural institutions more inclusive must go beyond outward-facing activities (such as outreach and audience development programmes) and also take a critical look inward at organisational structures and processes. Yet, as research and the professionals interviewed for this study note, introspective inclusion efforts are still very far from having reached maturity. While it has become more common for cultural institutions to commit to diversity in their mission statements, concrete strategies to increase diversity, equity, and inclusion at different organisational levels and phases of the culture cycle (from creation to production and dissemination) are still the exception rather than the norm. This becomes all the more evident when looking specifically at migrant inclusion strategies. For example, a 2015 study assessing the diversity management of 53 cultural institutions across five EU Member States found that the great majority did not reference the cultural participation of migrants in their institutional vision statements.¹³⁹

In the last decade, culture professionals and policymakers have increasingly recognised that efforts to make cultural institutions more inclusive must go beyond outward-facing activities ... and also take a critical look inward.

The Black Lives Matter movement has added new urgency and momentum to this evolution, as several interviewees remarked.¹⁴⁰ In Europe and globally, major cultural venues have ramped up their efforts to represent diversity and combat racism.¹⁴¹ In 2020, the Tate Modern in London established a Race Equality Taskforce, and in 2021 the London museum committed to a number of diversity, equality, and inclusion actions across different areas, from human resources to public relations and programming.¹⁴² Meanwhile in Brussels, the BOZAR museum recruited an inclusion advisor to improve diversity and inclusion across all levels of the institution.¹⁴³

Rethinking institutional structures to better represent societies' ethnic and cultural diversity is not a challenge unique to cultural venues. Interestingly, however, some interviewees suggested that the lack of

138 URBACT, 'ONSTAGE. Music Schools for Social Change', accessed 7 December 2021.

139 INTERARTS et al., *Cultural Diversity Management*.

140 Author interview with Silvia Iannelli, Expert in Participatory Museology and Intercultural Practices, Office for Networks and Cultural Cooperation, Municipality of Milan, 17 May 2021; author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

141 In England, following anti-racism protests focused on the cultural sector, for example, government-sponsored cultural organisations improved the diversity of their boards and commissions. See Inc Arts UK, *A Year of Anti-Racist Action* (N.p.: Inc Arts UK, 2021); Geraldine Kendall Adams, 'Beyond the Black Square: Slow Progress on Sector's Anti-racist Commitments', *Museums Journal*, 15 June 2021.

142 Tate, 'Our Commitment to Race Equality', updated 20 May 2021.

143 Bozar, *Rapport annuel 2020* (Brussels: Bozar, 2021).

systematic diversity-management efforts in art and culture may partly derive from culture professionals' common perception of their field as inherently open and progressive.¹⁴⁴ Some museums, theatres, and other cultural venues, perhaps recognising the value of an external perspective, have sought to partner up with civil society (especially organisations that are well-rooted in migrant communities) to help identify and raise awareness of exclusionary practices and features within the field.¹⁴⁵ In Berlin, the city and the German Federal Culture Foundation have funded the project *Postcolonial Remembrance in the City* (2020–24), in which the Berlin City Museum cooperates with three NGOs to shed light on how colonial history still affects museums in the city and is visible in present-day inequalities in the cultural sector.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, prominent theatre companies have engaged in virtual town hall discussions run by Migrants in Theatre, a civil-society initiative advocating for greater representation of migrant artists and professionals in British theatre.¹⁴⁷ Such opportunities for dialogue can help cultural institutions identify and understand obstacles to participation, illustrate the (untapped) potential of migrant artists and cultural professionals, and propose concrete actions that individual institutions can take to make themselves more inclusive. Meanwhile, the EU-funded project *Brokering Migrants' Cultural Participation*, which ran from 2013 to 2015 in Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Sweden, aimed to train public cultural institutions to improve their management of cultural diversity. The project created learning partnerships between cultural institutions and migrant associations to bring intercultural competence into public institutions while enhancing the cultural participation of immigrant communities.¹⁴⁸

Even when cultural institutions gain greater awareness of how their internal processes and structures may hinder migrants' and minorities' representation, there is a risk that progress will stop there.

Even when cultural institutions gain greater awareness of how their internal processes and structures may hinder migrants' and minorities' representation, there is a risk that progress will stop there. As numerous interviewees pointed out, a lack of concrete strategies and tools for acting on this increased awareness can prevent needed changes from happening. One music professional commented: '[Although I have] a sincere interest in [promoting diversity] [...] I confess that I would not know how to achieve this diversity in terms of our institutions.'¹⁴⁹ In general, and not limited to the arts sector, studies point to a frequent lack of in-house expertise in how to manage sustained institutional change centred on diversity promotion. This results in a highly uneven landscape of change efforts. While some organisations stand out for their multi-pronged

144 Author interview with Silvia Iannelli; author interview with Anna Zosik; author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid.

145 For example, a 2019 survey of cultural professionals in a number of Berlin cultural institutions by the civil-society network Citizens for Europe concluded that cooperation with civil society is one of the most effective means of promoting diversity. See Juan Vivanco et al., *Vielfalt in Kultureinrichtungen – VINK. Ein Ergebnisbericht von Vielfalt entscheidet – Diversity in Leadership für Diversity Arts Culture* (Berlin: Foundation for Cultural Education and Cultural Consulting and Citizens For Europe, 2019); Diversity Arts Culture, 'Diversity in Cultural Institutions', accessed 6 December 2021.

146 Federal Cultural Foundation, 'Dekoloniale', accessed 7 December 2021; Stadtmuseum Berlin, 'Modellprojekt zur Dekolonisierung städtischer Erinnerungskultur gestartet', updated 16 December 2019.

147 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang, who helped initiate the Migrants in Theatre movement. The town halls have addressed the potential added value of migrant artists in terms of creativity, excellence in training, connection to international networks, and improving the engagement of diverse local communities. Migrants in Theatre has also developed an action plan for theatre companies, which covers topics ranging from building intercultural competence, to making hiring and casting practices more transparent, to taking foreign work experience into account, to making programming more participatory and reflective of diversity. See Sally Beck Wippman, 'Migrant Representation in the U.K. Theatre Industry: How Covid-19 Catalysed a Movement', *The IACT Journal* 22 (2020); Migrants in Theatre, *Creating a Thriving Environment*.

148 MCP Broker, 'About', accessed 7 December 2021.

149 Author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid.

diversity strategies that aim to reshape outreach, recruitment processes, as well as artistic programming and performances—such as the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin and the Young Vic theatre in London—many others have not translated commitments to diversity into concrete targets and measures, or these have been limited to occasional awareness-raising trainings.

The gap between awareness and action is especially evident when it comes to improving diversity in staffing. Anchoring diversity in cultural institutions cannot simply rest on involving migrants as artists and performers (the focus of most efforts, as described in the previous subsection). It also requires including migrant and minority professionals among the influential 'offstage' staff—as curators and artistic directors, for example—who, by deciding what artistic works are presented or exhibited and by whom, determine what forms of art and culture receive institutional recognition.¹⁵⁰ Research suggest that, in Europe, migrants and minorities are notably absent from the more influential roles in cultural programming and leadership.¹⁵¹ Still, interviewees pointed to a few isolated experiments that have aimed to address these imbalances. For example, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon brought additional flexibility into the application process for its participatory cultural programming initiative 15–25 Imagina—e.g., making it possible for youth to apply with photos or videos as an alternative to a written application—which led to a more ethnically and socioeconomically diverse pool of candidates.¹⁵² Others have focused on raising awareness of inequities within the industry. For instance, the MUDEC in Milan has made posts on social media to encourage public debate about the role of 'racialised' communities in museums, asking questions such as 'What do racialised people do within a museum? Are they curators, directors, or cleaning personnel?'¹⁵³ By and large, however, efforts in this area appear to be sporadic. The lack of progress, in should be noted, is not solely attributable to cultural organisations' inaction. In some countries, for example, public institutions may be bound by recruitment rules that favour nationals (or at least people with in-country education), which limits their ability to hire foreign-born and foreign-trained professionals. And, as is described in previous sections, important obstacles lie 'upstream' that hinder migrant and minority youth from participating in artistic education and considering a career in the arts.

4 Strategies to Ensure Cultural Institutions Mirror Societal Diversity

While the wide-ranging approaches examined so far point to an increasingly nuanced understanding of inclusion challenges in cultural life, the research also highlights major limitations and sustainability gaps. Initiatives are often short-lived, dependent on the commitment of individual leaders,¹⁵⁴ and backed by a small number of committed staff, who may struggle to anchor lessons learnt across the whole organisation. And despite growing interest in engaging with migrants and minorities, doing so is still perceived by many

150 Vitting-Seerup, 'Working toward Diversity'.

151 INTERARTS et al., *Cultural Diversity Management*.

152 The project, which took place between January and July 2020, aimed to involve young people in cultural programming and curatorship. Author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 'Gulbenkian 15-25 Imagina', accessed 24 January 2022.

153 Author interview with Silvia Iannelli. The sixth edition (2021) of MUDEC's Milano Città Mondo exhibition, MCM#Remix, self-critically explored the inequalities that migrants and minorities face in producing/consuming art and culture. See MUDEC, 'Milano Città Mondo #03', accessed 20 December 2021.

154 Author interview with Francina Medina, Executive Secretary, Fundació CIMA, Barcelona, 28 May 2021; author interview with Anne Le Gougec; author interview with Khaled Barakeh.

cultural institutions as a social responsibility effort, only marginally relevant to the institution's 'proper' artistic and cultural mission—let alone wider questions around the sector's sustainability.¹⁵⁵

In addition, many cultural venues' reliance on project-based funding for initiatives around inclusion and diversity can make it difficult to engage in long-term strategic planning, and to translate lessons learnt from one project into more durable structures and processes.¹⁵⁶ In the words of a theatre director in Warsaw: 'We receive important financial support from the city [...]. [But] very often, we had money for something specific, for example a festival [engaging the neighbourhood's diverse communities]. And each time, I do not know if it will be the same money next year. [...] So, I do not know if we can [durably develop] the structure of the institution.'¹⁵⁷ Such funding uncertainty, often coupled with a lack of in-house expertise, can result in diversity being named in an organisation's values or mission statement but not operationalised into measurable targets and processes of organisational change, and few diversity efforts have a monitoring and evaluation component. In this uneven field, attempts to systematically transfer best practices to new organisations and contexts are still confined to a limited number of promising initiatives—such as URBACT's transfer networks ONSTAGE and ACCESS.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the fact that diversity-related initiatives tend to be concentrated among institutions such as ethnographic museums or politically/socially engaged cultural venues suggests that inclusion and diversity are often treated more as 'subjects' to promote to the public, rather than as transversal priorities with direct implications for the strength of an institution.¹⁵⁹

This section sets out a range of policy options to advance the inclusion of migrant and minority communities in European cities' cultural and artistic scenes—not only as users but also as cultural producers and decisionmakers. It places special emphasis on mobilising cultural institutions as key allies to achieve these objectives, while acknowledging that the cross-sectoral and multi-layered nature of inclusion challenges (not least the major impact of the pandemic on the cultural sector) calls for wider partnership responses.

A. *Strengthening cultural institutions' role in migrant integration and social cohesion, while putting culture at the centre of sustainable urban development*

To a significant extent, cultural preferences and engagement are shaped by a person's experiences and opportunities early in life.¹⁶⁰ For immigrants, integration obstacles encountered in other areas, such as

155 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang; author interview with Modou Gueye; author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva; Daria Agapova, Dinara Khalikova, Olga Sinitsyna, and Nana Zhvitiashvili, eds., *Migration: Revealing the Personal. Museum Practices and Recommendations for Working on Migration, Mobility and Diversity* (Moscow: Russian National Committee of the International Council of Museums [ICOM Russia], 2020).

156 Author interview with Paweł Łysak; author interview with Stefan Weber.

157 Author interview with Paweł Łysak.

158 URBACT, 'European Capital Cities Leading the Urban Agenda for Cultural Inclusion', updated 8 January 2021; URBACT, 'ONSTAGE. Music Schools for Social Change'.

159 Author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid.

160 Studies in the United States and the United Kingdom, for example, have found a positive correlation between being exposed to art lessons and cultural events at a young age, and taking advantage of cultural offerings later in life. See Anni Oskala, Emily Keaney, Tak Wing Chan, and Catherine Bunting, *Encourage Children Today to Build Audiences for Tomorrow. Evidence from the Taking Part Survey on How Childhood Involvement in the Arts Affects Arts Engagement in Adulthood* (London: Arts Council England, 2009); Charles M. Gray, 'Hope for the Future? Early Exposure to the Arts and Adult Visits to Art Museums', *Journal of Cultural Economics* 22, no. 2/3 (1998): 87–98.

employment, housing, or health care, can also delay or negatively affect cultural participation.¹⁶¹ This phenomenon is generally exacerbated by public integration programmes' relative neglect of artistic and cultural inclusion, particularly when compared with economic, educational, and civic integration. Yet, involving cultural institutions in integration efforts could benefit not only migrants and refugees but also cultural institutions themselves. To do so, policymakers can make use of several policy levers, described in this subsection.

Fostering cooperation between cultural institutions and other stakeholders with a role in socioeconomic inclusion

Promoting systematic cooperation between cultural institutions and other stakeholders relevant to immigrant inclusion—such as schools, providers of (language) training and psychosocial support, and employment counselling points—can have multiple benefits. For one, it can help newly arrived migrants familiarise themselves with local artistic and cultural offerings, reducing informational and psychological barriers to cultural participation down the road. It can also boost integration outcomes, with a significant body of research showing cultural participation's positive knock-on effects on migrant education, language acquisition, mental health, and interactions with members of the receiving community.¹⁶² Last but not least, it can improve cultural venues' audience development efforts by increasing their understanding of intersectional obstacles to cultural inclusion and help them engage with hard-to-reach groups, such as migrants without secure legal status and those suffering from trauma.

Many cultural institutions have experience collaborating with NGOs and social-sector organisations, as numerous interviews highlighted, but these collaborations are often focused on one-off projects. Strengthening their involvement in local networks on migrant integration could lead to more regular exchange opportunities with all relevant integration stakeholders, public as well as private—from employment agencies to social service providers. This would help shed light on the concrete role museums, theatres, and others can take in supporting migrants' integration pathways, thus giving both them and their partners a better basis on which to plan initiatives. At a minimum, publicly funded art and cultural programmes could more strongly incentivise cross-sectoral collaboration between cultural institutions and organisations in education, health care, social care, or other areas. These collaborations, which tend to be chronically underfunded,¹⁶³ could improve understanding of how cultural inclusion intersects with other dimensions of social participation and well-being within a community, and support the development of joint actions.

161 As explained in the previous section, people with lower socioeconomic status are less likely to participate in art and culture. See, for example, Hei Wan Mak, Rory Coulter, and Daisy Fancourt, 'Patterns of Social Inequality in Arts and Cultural Participation: Findings from a Nationally Representative Sample of Adults Living in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland', *Public Health Panorama* 6, no. 1 (2020): 55–68

162 Divya Jindal-Snape, 'Impact of Arts Participation on Children's Achievement: A Systematic Literature Review', *Thinking Skills and Creativity* 29 (2018): 59–70; Otte, 'Bonding or Bridging?'; Greenfader, Brouillette, and Farkas, 'Effect of a Performing Arts Program'; Cline, Thomson, and Chatterjee, 'Assessing the Impact of Artistic and Cultural Activities'.

163 De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe*. In Denmark, for example, the programme Art and Culture in Vulnerable Residential Areas support artistic projects addressed to residents of 'vulnerable housing areas' as classified by the Danish government (based on demographic, business, education, and crime characteristics) through partnerships between social housing and cultural actors. See Danish Minister of Culture, 'Nye projekter skal fremme deltagelse i kultur i udsatte boligområder', updated 19 January 2022.

Giving cultural inclusion a more prominent role within integration programming

To elevate the cultural dimension of integration, policymakers at the local, regional, national, and EU levels could give cultural inclusion a more prominent role within integration programming. Concrete measures to do so could include: providing (specific categories of newcomers) free cultural passes¹⁶⁴ or exploring cultural institutions' role as providers (and often, innovators) of public services—from language training to skills development and psychosocial support. For instance, cultural initiatives have often been at the forefront of innovation in co-creation and co-design methodologies, which can be used to incorporate the perspectives of migrant and other under-represented communities into wider service planning. And, as previously mentioned, artistic activities can boost language learning; ease symptoms of mental health problems; and foster employability-enhancing skills by supporting participants' self-confidence, emotional self-expression, and development of practical skills such as photography. Furthermore, enlisting cultural venues as providers of social and integration support could improve their access to much-needed regular funding, allowing them to plan inclusion efforts that are strategic, long term, and go beyond one-off projects.

Identifying features of other policy areas that can hinder participation in arts and culture

Since barriers to migrants' and minorities' cultural participation originate and develop across the whole value chain of art and culture—e.g., accessing an artistic education, getting qualifications recognised—policymakers could conduct an examination of the relevant policy frameworks and identify bottlenecks that disproportionately exclude some members of society from the field. In Finland, for instance, legislative changes to qualification requirements in public recruitment have allowed public libraries to hire staff of more diverse backgrounds.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, making requirements for public art schools more flexible could remove barriers affecting migrant and minority populations. In Spain, for example, applicants to advanced art schools who do not possess the standard educational requirements (e.g., a high school diploma or, for those over age 25, proof of having passed a university entrance exam) can prove their academic knowledge through a special entry test.¹⁶⁶ Multiplying the opportunities for cultural institutions to interact with policymakers would be a step in the right direction to identify such policy gaps (for more, see the discussion of facilitating knowledge exchange in Section 4.B).

Leveraging cultural inclusion for sustainable urban development, with an eye to the COVID-19 context

Structural ailments within the cultural sector (including precarious contracts and low pay) are a significant impediment to progress on diversity and inclusion for many cultural venues. Some interviewees criticised the hypocrisy of political and policy statements calling for art and culture to take greater social responsibility without also promising greater investment: 'There is a sort of schizophrenia where, on the one hand, there is a call for culture and the arts and their importance is acknowledged, but when it comes

164 For instance, in Berlin, the Berlinpass offers discounted access to cultural, educational, sports, and leisure activities for people entitled to social assistance benefits, including asylum seekers. Berlin Senate Department for Integration, Labour, and Social Affairs, 'Berlinpass'.

165 Author interview with Jaana Tyrni.

166 Spanish Ministry of Education, 'Real Decreto 630/2010, de 14 de mayo, por el que se regula el contenido básico de las enseñanzas artísticas superiores de Grado en Arte Dramático establecidas en la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación' (BOE 137, 5 June 2010).

to funding, the importance of art and culture becomes irrelevant again.¹⁶⁷ Europe's cultural and creative sectors are characterised by a high share of nonstandard workers with unstable income and lack of social security coverage.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the large majority of interviewees described cultural organisations often facing limited opportunities to create new jobs, due to funding gaps, and lacking the staff capacity to pursue diversity objectives, especially in smaller institutions without an HR department.¹⁶⁹

COVID-19 has amplified these challenges and created new financial strain (especially for cultural institutions that receive less public funding and, thus, may have had less of a cushion against revenue losses when in-person events were suspended).¹⁷⁰ Against this backdrop, diversity objectives risk being sacrificed—especially if, as is often the case, they are not considered strategically essential. Moreover, while precarity is a widespread challenge in the cultural sector, it tends to create higher entry barriers for certain groups, including migrants and minorities, due to its intersection with other factors. For instance, a precarious work contract and an irregular income may jeopardise an immigrant's legal residence rights.¹⁷¹

To address these challenges, there is a need to embed cultural inclusion in wider discussions around urban development, leveraging culture and diversity to serve broader goals. For instance, efforts to make the arts more inclusive could be an engine for social cohesion (through social mixing and positive interactions); mental health and well-being (by building self-confidence, easing mental health issues, and facilitating social bonds); and economic development (by making local cultural scenes more vibrant, increasing tourism, and spurring innovation).¹⁷² In the last decade, some European cities have increasingly approached

In the last decade, some European cities have increasingly approached cultural policy and cultural inclusion through a big-picture lens, explicitly acknowledging art and culture's role in driving social well-being and economic prosperity.

cultural policy and cultural inclusion through a big-picture lens, explicitly acknowledging art and culture's role in driving social well-being and economic prosperity. In 2015, Dublin developed a six-year cultural strategy that explores the impact of culture on the city's economy, education, tourism, community, and civic life, and that links culture to global competitiveness as well as local social cohesion.¹⁷³ Milan, in the run-up to its

hosting of the 2015 Expo, deliberately opted not to frame efforts to promote migrants' cultural engagement as an attempt to address integration deficits, instead highlighting their potential to boost the city's cosmopolitan vibrancy and international attractiveness.¹⁷⁴ However, these strategic commitments are often fragile and can disappear when political power changes hands. Moreover, support for cultural inclusion may

167 Author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva.

168 See De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe*.

169 For an analysis of these bottlenecks in different European countries, see INTERARTS et al., *Cultural Diversity Management*.

170 As explained by De Voldere et al., COVID-19-related financial strain is not just linked to the halting of social activities during lockdown but also to new costs incurred to make cultural activities 'corona-proof', as well as to longer-term changes in consumer preferences. See De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe*.

171 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

172 Author interview with Natalie Giorgadze, Communications and Community Director, Culture Action Europe, 25 June 2021.

173 United Cities and Local Governments, Agenda 21 for Culture, 'Dublin's Culture Connects', accessed 7 December 2021.

174 When describing in an interview the origin of several city-driven initiatives to promote and highlight migrants' and minorities' cultural contribution, a cultural policy specialist from the Municipality of Milan commented: 'The municipality, especially the city councillor for culture, thought: "With the EXPO, we will meet the world. But what could we do to make the world that is already here [in Milan] a resource?"' Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia.

spike on particular occasions (e.g., before the aforementioned 2015 Expo in Milan) and then disappear from the list of political priorities at other times—especially before elections.

As suggested in some interviews, EU policy frameworks and guidelines could help link cultural inclusion priorities with sustainable urban development agendas.¹⁷⁵ The aftermath of the COVID-19 shock may prove especially fertile for cultivating this more holistic perspective. For example, the European Union's 2021–24 strategic plan for research and innovation, published in February 2021, vows to leverage the full potential of art, culture, and creative sectors for recovery—as engines for sustainable innovation, job creation, and social well-being.¹⁷⁶ And the European Union was among the signatories (alongside several EU Member States) of the first G20 Declaration on Culture, adopted in July 2021, which reasserts cultural inclusion's links with education, job creation and youth employment, innovation, and other aspects of sustainable social and economic development.¹⁷⁷ Translating this into concrete strategies for urban development, however, will require operational steps: from strengthening localities' say in national programmes supported by EU funds, to investing in more opportunities for cross-sectoral exchange between culture stakeholders and policymakers and their counterparts in education, employment, and housing, as well as infrastructure and the digital transition.¹⁷⁸

These exchanges would also offer an ideal opportunity for a range of relevant stakeholders to jointly explore how pandemic-induced transformations in the arts and culture sector could affect cultural participation in diverse communities, and how to respond accordingly. On the one hand, the crisis risks exacerbating inequalities in access to culture (e.g., because of digital divides and the strain it has put on small-scale, community-led organisations).¹⁷⁹ At the same time, as a few interviewees highlighted, the shift to digital platforms and events may allow migrant artists and professionals to capitalise on their transnational experience and networks.¹⁸⁰ The sharp drop in tourism many cities experienced in 2020–21 could also make cultural institutions more sensitive to the preferences and needs of local communities.¹⁸¹

B. Supporting the structural transformation of cultural institutions and making the business case for diversity

Amidst the flurry of projects to promote migrants' cultural inclusion, holistic, long-term institutional diversity strategies—encompassing audience development, programming, and recruitment—are often lacking. As discussed in Section 3.C, this often stems from insufficient in-house capacity and resources, but also from the fact that many cultural institutions do not perceive the inclusion of migrants and minorities

175 A cultural policy specialist from the Municipality of Milan, for example, called for a stronger role on the part of the European Union in developing an agenda for cultural inclusion as an element of sustainable urban development in highly diverse cities; an agenda that, by encouraging minorities' cultural self-expression and contribution, would strengthen social cohesion and shed light on the skills and talent available in the city. Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia.

176 European Commission, *Horizon Europe Strategic Plan (2021-2024)* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2021).

177 UNESCO, 'G20 Agrees on First Declaration on Culture', updated 29 July 2021. Already in 2018, the New European Agenda for Culture highlighted the role of culture as an engine for local economic development, social cohesion, and well-being. See European Commission, 'A New European Agenda for Culture'.

178 Author interview with Natalie Giorgadze.

179 De Voldere et al., *Cultural and Creative Sectors in Post COVID-19 Europe*; author interview with Anne Le Gougec.

180 Author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

181 Author interview with Susana Gomes da Silva.

as essential to their artistic and cultural mission, let alone their long-term sustainability. In this sense, policymakers can use the approaches described below to provide resources and support to often-strained cultural institutions to help them undertake this long-term, strategic thinking—while at the same time encouraging institutions to see these goals not as a social responsibility effort or as a top-down mandate, but as crucial to their future sustainability and relevance in increasingly diverse societies.

Promoting a structural approach to diversity, but in a participatory fashion

In recent years, a number of national, subnational, and local governments in Europe (such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Flanders) have attached diversity requirements to public funding.¹⁸² This is a development that, as some interviewees noted, has contributed to greater sensitivity and efforts to diversify cultural institutions (e.g., in terms of leadership, workforce, or programming).¹⁸³ However, these requirements apply mainly or solely to publicly funded institutions. Moreover, such guidelines risk being seen top-down mandates and met with resistance, especially if they are perceived as putting additional strain on already stretched institutional capacities.¹⁸⁴ And by focusing on important categories such as race and ethnicity but generally neglecting others such as migration status or migration background, they may not capture some important challenges—for example, those linked to residence status.

Giving cultural institutions a stronger voice in defining diversity requirements could help foster a sense of ownership over them, while also tailoring diversity criteria to different artistic fields, such as theatres, museums, concert halls, and film festivals. These consultations could leverage the wealth of field-specific networks of cultural organisations that already exist at the European level (see also the subsection below on fostering knowledge exchange). Moreover, engaging commercially run cultural organisations in these conversations could help ensure greater alignment between diversity objectives and business sustainability, thus promoting wider acceptance and uptake of diversity initiatives by different types of venues. For example, the virtual town hall discussions organised by the UK-based advocacy group Migrants in Theatre in 2020 and 2021, in which representatives of several renowned British theatre companies participated, are an encouraging sign that private venues see increasing the representation of migrant

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182 Arts Council England has reasserted its requirement of inclusivity in its 2020–30 Strategy; organisations applying for funding need to identify under-represented groups and set and monitor targets to diversify their governance, leadership, workforce, programming, and audiences. Meanwhile, Flanders' cultural policy framework requires organisations receiving government funding to define concrete actions to advance diversity in participation, personnel, and programming. And in the Netherlands, publicly funded organisations are asked to consider a sectoral diversity and inclusion code and explain how they will apply it to their work. See Network of European Museum Organisations, 'Dutch Diversity & Inclusion Code Now Available in English', updated 28 September 2020; Arts Council England, *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case*; Council of Europe and ERICarts, 'Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe—Country Profile: Belgium. 19th Edition' (country profile, 2018); author interview with Rebekah Polding, ACCESS Network Lead Expert, URBACT, 18 June 2021.

183 Interviewees in the United Kingdom and Ireland, for example, observed that in their experience, these requirements helped bring greater diversity into the leadership of publicly funded organisations and make cultural institutions more open to migrant minority artists. Author interview with Monika Sapielak; author interview with Rebekah Polding; author interview with Zhui Ning Chang.

184 Hillary Glow, Anne Kershaw, and Matthew Reason, 'Leading or Avoiding Change: The Problem of Audience Diversification for Arts Organisations', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27, no. 1 (2021).

artists and cultural professionals in the field as a strategic interest and are keen to discuss concrete avenues for action. Meanwhile, engaging migrant associations and other NGOs that work on artistic and cultural inclusion would generate greater sensitivity to the challenges faced by different groups of migrants.

There are also some examples of public initiatives seeking to remedy cultural institutions' frequent lack of in-house expertise on how to design and implement diversity-related, long-term organisational change processes. In Germany, the public programme 360 Degrees – Fund for Cultures of the New City Society (2018–23) is helping 39 cultural institutions develop strategies for cultural programming, staffing, and audience development that improve representation of migrant-background residents and other under-represented groups.¹⁸⁵ What makes the programme particularly interesting—and a potential blueprint for similar initiatives—is how it combines the development of highly tailored, context-specific responses (by funding one 'diversity agent' in each institution) with a focus on consolidating expertise (by establishing an academy) and turning it into widely transferable, practical tools (such as field-specific handbooks, guidelines, and checklists).¹⁸⁶ Meanwhile at the city level, Berlin's Diversity Arts Culture agency, established in 2017 and funded by the city, supports primarily publicly funded cultural venues on diversity management, with services tailored to different stages—from early consultations to guidance for organisational development processes.¹⁸⁷ And in Ireland, the Arts Council committed in 2019 to developing a equality, intercultural, and diversity training programme for the arts sector.¹⁸⁸ Finally, mentoring partnerships between cultural institutions with more and less experience with diversity management—an approach experimented with by the 2015 EU project Brokering Migrants' Cultural Participation¹⁸⁹—could also help institutions develop more concrete action plans.

Giving cultural institutions tools to measure participation

To be able to identify barriers to participation, design targeted interventions to build engagement of new audiences, and translate these into changes in programming and institutional practices, cultural institutions require precise knowledge of their audiences. However, large and widespread data gaps remain across Europe, both within individual organisations and at the policymaking level. For example, few cultural institutions conduct regular audience monitoring.¹⁹⁰ Out of the hundreds of projects that, especially since 2015, have sought to leverage artistic and cultural activities to promote newcomer inclusion, only a tiny share have been evaluated, and where evaluations do exist, they frequently lack rigorous and robust methods.¹⁹¹

185 Author interview with Anna Zosik; German Federal Cultural Foundation, *Diversität als Zukunftsfaktor. Empfehlungen für eine nachhaltige Diversitätsentwicklung in Kulturinstitutionen aus dem Programm 360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft* (Halle an der Saale, Germany: German Federal Cultural Foundation, 2021).

186 German Federal Cultural Foundation, *Diversität als Zukunftsfaktor*.

187 Author interview with Pauline Püschel; Diversity Arts Culture, 'Who We Are', accessed 7 December 2021; Diversity Arts Culture, 'Services for Institutions', accessed 7 December 2021.

188 Arts Council, *Equality, Human Rights and Diversity (EHRD) Policy and Strategy* (Dublin: Arts Council, 2019).

189 The project led to learning partnerships between cultural institutions that were relatively more and less advanced in their fields in terms of diversity management. See MPC Broker, 'Learning Partnerships', accessed 7 December 2021.

190 Culture Action Europe, 'Brokering Migrants Participation in Cultural Activities' (final report for Belgium, MPC Broker, 2015); European Commission, *A Report on Policies and Good Practices in the Public Arts and in Cultural Institutions*.

191 A mapping exercise conducted in 2016 in 12 European countries found that only six of the 96 assessed cultural projects involving migrants and refugees had been subject to evaluation. The study describes this as possibly lower than the actual number as some of these projects may have had evaluations that were not made publicly available. Still, it is likely that only a minority of projects were evaluated. See McGregor and Ragab, *The Role of Culture and the Arts*, 16.

Over the past two decades, several national and some local governments in Europe have invested in helping (especially publicly funded) cultural institutions build the evidence base about their audiences. In Spain, for example, the Permanent Visitor Studies Laboratory has gathered information about the educational, cultural, and recreational needs of museum visitors since 2008.¹⁹² In Denmark, the Danish Agency for Culture, in collaboration with Danish museums and TNS Gallup, has conducted a yearly user survey since 2009 to help museums learn more about their visitors.¹⁹³ And since 2005, the UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport has conducted a yearly survey on adult participation in sports and the arts,

Overall, data on cultural participation remain scarce, particularly on the topic of migrants' participation.

including writing, reading, music, theatre, crafts, design, outdoor arts, film, radio, and libraries.¹⁹⁴ Yet overall, data on cultural participation remain scarce, particularly on the topic of migrants' participation. Challenges include limited in-house expertise and capacity for data collection and analysis within

cultural organisations, as well as hesitation about gathering information on politically sensitive categories such as individuals' migration background, race, or ethnicity. In interviews, cultural professionals also described how common quantitative metrics such as visitor numbers, sociodemographic characteristics, and levels of satisfaction were often inadequate to capture the manifold benefits expected or hoped of a programme, some of which may occur over longer timeframes (e.g., positive psychosocial effects)—and how this information was insufficient to support cultural inclusion strategies.¹⁹⁵

A multisided strategy is needed to address this information gap. There is a need for greater investments in standardised and widespread monitoring systems, which would facilitate comparison and learning between organisations. At the same time, there is also a need for more in-depth evaluations, including qualitative assessments, to understand what works, how, and why. Some observers have suggested that one way to set shared standards, improve data comparability, and address complex methodological questions would be to link existing national observatories on cultural participation in a regular exchange network.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, complementing national observatories with institutes that specialise in bridging research with capacity-building and strategy development—such as the Berlin Institute for Research on Cultural Participation¹⁹⁷ and the nonprofit Audience Agency in the United Kingdom¹⁹⁸—could play a key role in supplying urban cultural venues with data, keeping them up to date with relevant research findings, and advising them on how to develop participation strategies. Such institutes would thus help level the playing field by ensuring that smaller, less well-resourced institutions can also make progress on their diversity aims. In addition, they would be well placed to conduct more sophisticated types of monitoring and evaluation—such as non-visitor studies, which are currently very rare but can help institutions understand why under-represented groups are not participating and how to design targeted interventions.¹⁹⁹

192 Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport, 'Permanent Visitor Studies Laboratory', accessed 28 November 2021.

193 Thyge Moos and Celia Paltved-Kaznelson, *National User Survey at the National and Government-Approved Museums in Denmark – 2009* (Copenhagen: Heritage Agency of Denmark, 2010).

194 UK Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport, 'Annexes - Taking Part Survey 2019/20', accessed 28 November 2021.

195 Author interview with Rebekah Polding; author interview with Monika Sapielak; author interview with Dina Giuseppetti.

196 Luisella Carnelli, 'La conoscenza del pubblico. Gli Osservatori dei Musei nell'esperienza internazionale', updated 15 January 2021.

197 The institute, established in 2020, conducts studies on visitors and non-visitors to cultural offerings; examines the conditions for the success of cultural participation; and studies audience, staff, programming, working conditions, and funding. See Institute for Research on Cultural Participation, 'About Us', accessed 7 December 2021; author interview with Pauline Püschel.

198 The Audience Agency, 'Audience Development', accessed 7 December 2021.

199 Vera Allmanritter, *Nichtbesucher*innen Als Themenfeld für Kultureinrichtungen* (Bochum, Germany: Zukunftsakademie NRW, 2018).

Promoting collaboration between universities and individual cultural venues could also help generate granular evidence, where public resources to establish cultural institutes are limited or even to supplement the work of such institutes. Doing so would harness the growing academic interest in cultural participation and representation. This approach would be especially useful when conducting in-depth evaluations that are highly tailored to a given project's approach, target group, and objectives. As such, it could help bring much-needed rigour to a field still largely characterised by the circulation of (sometimes self-proclaimed) best practices by identifying what models are really worth replicating and what factors determine their success.

Cultivating links between cultural institutions and migrant communities

By and large, in European cities, there is a considerable distance between mainstream institutional culture and the cultural expression of migrant and minority communities. A few cities, such as Amsterdam, Berlin, and Vienna, have introduced programmes that enable migrant artists to gather professional experience and establish themselves in the city's cultural scene. Vienna's programme *kültür gemma!* (culture, let's go!), for example, offers migrant artists six-month fellowships at major cultural venues in the city, as well as one-year scholarships combined with non-financial support.²⁰⁰ Such efforts to support the professional insertion of international artists into European art scenes and to promote sustained collaboration between them and cultural venues, while important, also tend to have a limited impact on wider cultural participation. They generally have a small number of beneficiaries, many of whom are already established or promising artists, and who do not necessarily have ties to the local community. And as one interviewee suggested, they can run the risk of perpetuating established notions of artistic worthiness and 'high culture'.²⁰¹

If the aim is to boost cultural participation by migrant and minority populations on a larger scale and over a longer term, partnerships between cultural institutions and migrant associations, as well as other civil-society organisations strongly rooted in migrant communities, are a promising model. In interviews, representatives of civil-society groups and public cultural venues stressed how these partnerships can build grassroots initiatives' visibility and legitimacy—while helping cultural organisations identify institutional biases and improve their outreach to migrants and ethnic minorities by tapping into these associations' networks. One important challenge, however, is that migrant cultural initiatives are often small, informal, and changeable, which can make it challenging for cultural institutions and policymakers to keep track of and build relationships with them. In addition, while some museums, theatres, and other cultural venues actively seek opportunities to interact with migrant and minority communities (as described in Section 3), interviews revealed that even established cultural venues may struggle to invest the staff and time needed to build long-term, trust-based relationships. Meanwhile, sporadic forms of collaboration and engagement may further alienate members of migrant and minority communities, who may feel 'used'.

Living tools such as Dublin's Cultural and Audit Map (essentially a crowdsourced map that tracks changes in the city's cultural landscape²⁰²) could help cultural institutions identify potential partners.

200 UNESCO, 'Kültür Gemma! – Promote Migrant Art and Culture Production', accessed 5 December 2021; *kültür gemma!*, 'About Us', accessed 13 February 2022.

201 Author interview with Khaled Barakeh.

202 URBACT, 'The Dublin Cultural Audit and Map Project', updated 8 January 2021; Dublin City Council Culture Company, 'Cultural Audit and Map', accessed 7 December 2021.

Meanwhile, existing city programmes such as Rotterdam's Culture Scouts²⁰³ and Dublin's The National Neighbourhood²⁰⁴—aimed at helping local residents plan and implement their own cultural activities—can offer a blueprint to other cities for one way cultural venues can keep an 'ear to the ground' and reach out to different populations, while giving migrant communities better tools, guidance, and visibility for artistic and cultural production. Another interesting approach that could benefit from further experimentation is to establish a community collective within a theatre, museum, or other cultural venue: an advisory group composed of representatives of the community, including migrant and minority residents, to assist with programming and organisational development.²⁰⁵

More ambitiously, consultative forums and working groups at the city level may help give migrant and minority communities a more vocal and equal role in shaping local artistic and cultural scenes. The Forum della Città Mondo (World City Forum), created in 2011 by the Municipality of Milan, has involved more than 500 migrant associations in a number of working groups.²⁰⁶ While in the initial stages of a city's diversity efforts, establishing dedicated exchange forums for migrant and minority representatives may help create a safe space to discuss sensitive issues and promote partnerships across ethnic/national lines, in the longer run, engaging mainstream cultural venues in these platforms may be essential to bridge the gap between 'institutional' and 'invisible' culture.

Facilitating knowledge exchange between different stakeholders

The large majority of cultural professionals and representatives of migrant organisations interviewed for this research signalled a vivid interest in more EU-level exchanges of knowledge on strengthening migrants' and minorities' inclusion in local cultural scenes. As some highlighted, international forums give cultural professionals more than just new information and ideas about how to address barriers to cultural inclusion; they also provide them with more leverage to raise diversity-related priorities within their institution. 'If I come to my colleagues with an idea, they may find it interesting, but it usually ends there. But if I tell in my organisation that the topic has been discussed among top European cultural institutions, they will pay much greater attention.'²⁰⁷

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203 For the past 15 years, Culture Scouts have supported local residents in planning grassroots cultural activities in their neighbourhoods—including by helping define target groups, promote the initiative, and conduct evaluations. See Puntkomma, 'Cultuurscouts: verbinden en netwerken met een focus op bewoners', accessed 7 December 2021.

204 The initiative aims to build cultural projects by connecting local artists, groups, and communities with museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions across the city. See Dublin City Council Culture Company, 'The National Neighbourhood', accessed 7 December 2021; Dublin City Council Culture Company, 'Open Invitation to Take Part in The National Neighbourhood', updated 8 May 2021.

205 M. Crystal Yingling, 'The Possibility Spectrum: Increasing Diversity & Inclusion in Arts Organizations', *European Journal of Cultural Management & Policy* 10, no. 1 (2020).

206 Author interview with Bianca Maria Aravecchia and Silvia Iannelli. As a result of this experience, the city supported the creation of an association that now promotes policies and actions run by migrants themselves and that, thanks to its legal form, has the right to participate in public calls and apply for national, EU, and international funding. See UCGL Agenda 21 for Culture, 'World City Forum of Milan', accessed 7 December 2021; Tavolo MUDEC del Forum Città Mondo, 'La nostra storia', accessed 7 December 2021.

207 Author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid.

There are some factors that currently limit the potential of such European (and international) forums. There are few established spaces for cross-sectoral exchange between cultural organisations and other stakeholders working on migrant inclusion (e.g., schools, employment agencies, or language training services) to discuss the links between cultural inclusion and migrant integration. In addition, some interviewees lamented the relatively limited opportunities for exchange between cultural stakeholders at different levels—for example, between cultural professionals (such as directors, artists, curators, and educators), policymakers, as well as grassroots organisations.²⁰⁸ The latter gap may make it difficult to identify and address inclusion challenges that cut across multiple levels of the cultural industry, including artistic programming, organisational processes, institutional priorities, and wider cultural policies. To be sure, some networks that include different types of actors exist: both the Europe-wide network Culture Action Europe and the German network Cultural Education and Integration 2.0,²⁰⁹ for instance, bring together representatives of culture institutions, policymakers, artists, activists, migrant associations, and others. But these may be too large in size and wide in scope to allow for granular, in-depth examinations of barriers and solutions within a specific art form or branch of the culture sector.

Creating additional networks specifically dedicated to improving inclusion and representation of migrants and minorities, though it may draw some additional attention to the issue, also risks placing further demands on the already strained resources and time of cultural institutions. In addition, they may end up 'preaching to the converted', reaching only organisations that already value and are pursuing diversity-related objectives.²¹⁰ A more promising avenue may be to anchor questions around inclusion and diversity management within the work plans of existing European networks of cultural venues. These are often field specific (e.g., focusing on architecture, music, theatre, or art museums),²¹¹ and they may therefore achieve a more precise definition of obstacles and actions. Some networks of this kind—such as the Network of European Museum Organisations (NEMO), the European Concert Hall Organisation (ECHO), and Culture Action Europe²¹²—have already taken these priorities on board.²¹³ Such specialised networks may also be well placed to organise individual workshops that bring together different stakeholders within the same artistic field (e.g., organisation directors, curators, artists and performers, visitors/programme beneficiaries, and partner organisations) for a more fine-grained look at mechanisms of exclusion and how to address them through coordinated action. At the same time, to ensure that specialised exchanges do not result

208 Author interview with Manuel Moser; author interview with Jaana Tyrni.

209 The network was created in 2012, in connection with Germany's National Action Plan on Integration. See German Federal Government, '[Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration](#)', updated 3 February 2021; Genshagen Foundation, '[Netzwerk Kulturelle Bildung und Integration](#)', accessed 7 December 2021.

210 The need to reach beyond the usual interlocutors and partners was also mentioned by an interviewee in Germany, who stated: 'What is missing is a platform to meet new partners. We know a lot of people, but it is very difficult to reach someone new.' Author interview with Manuel Moser.

211 Cultural Relations Platform, '[Creative Europe Networks](#)', updated 15 September 2020; Creative Europe Desk UK, '[European Networks](#)', accessed 7 December 2021.

212 Culture Action Europe, '[About Us](#)', accessed 7 December 2021.

213 On the Network of European Museum Organisations (NEMO), see NEMO, '[Good Practice Examples of Museums Strengthening Social Fabric and Promoting Social Inclusion](#)', updated 17 March 2018. On Culture Action Europe, see Culture Action Europe, '[Amplify, Diversify, Include](#)', updated 3 September 2021. Information on the European Concert Hall Organisation (ECHO) comes from an author interview with Miguel Sobral Cid.

in fragmentation and duplication, representatives of these different networks could come together on a regular basis, in a thematic 'network of networks' on promoting diversity in the cultural sector.²¹⁴

5 Conclusion

Over the past five years, European cities and communities have increasingly acknowledged and welcomed diversity as part of their DNA, and identified successful inclusion of all members of society as important for their future. However, the growing cultural and ethnic diversity in neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces is rarely reflected in what is offered and celebrated in museums, galleries, theatres, and city festivals. Explaining this in terms of 'poor cultural participation' by migrants and ethnic minorities is inaccurate as it tends to neglect structural barriers to participation, as well as the lively—if often small-scale and informal—forms of artistic and cultural expression within migrant and minority communities. It is fairer to say that in most European cities, a persistent gap remains between mainstream and minority, or institutional and invisible, art and culture. In this gap, some city residents may miss out on exposure to and knowledge of their neighbours' stories, habits, and customs—delaying their acceptance within society and missing a chance to strengthen social cohesion.

As this report has highlighted, some European museums, libraries, theatres, concert halls, and other institutions that form the backbone of urban cultural ecosystems have in recent years taken steps to more actively engage with migrants, refugees, and minorities. These efforts have aimed to build a relationship with these communities as potential visitors and audiences, and also to support them as producers of art and shapers of the cultural landscape. These practices undoubtedly offer a rich pool of knowledge and inspiration, but they are fragmented, unevenly distributed, poorly evaluated, and only occasionally transferred from one context to another. Moreover, they still largely depend on the choices and commitment of individual leaders within organisations, rather than on institutionally anchored, multi-layered diversity strategies. In the absence of a structural analysis of barriers and power imbalances within the cultural sector, even well-intentioned inclusion initiatives risk being counterproductive: for example, by stressing the distance and difference between mainstream and 'other' cultures (folklorisation), or by making migrant and minority artists, programme participants, or volunteers feel used. In part to free themselves from constraining labels (such as 'immigrant artist'), migrants and refugees have sometimes created effective initiatives to strengthen, expand, and showcase the artistic contributions of their own communities. A certain distance from the cultural establishment defines these initiatives' strength and originality, but it also risks limiting their reach and sustainability.

Strategies to increase the representation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the cultural life of a city should therefore look beyond token inclusion projects and consider the complex web of policies, programmes, and other factors that determine who has access to artistic spaces, resources, decision-making, and prestige. While the path ahead will be long, the combination of anti-racism movements and the pandemic has been as a major wake-up call for cultural venues in Europe and elsewhere. Many have begun to realise that their future depends on their capacity to transform and stay relevant as society changes around them.

²¹⁴ A few interviewees lamented the current proliferation, duplication, and lack of coordination between existing networks and initiatives in the area of cultural inclusion, describing this as making it harder for institutions with limited capacity to keep up with debates. Author interview with with Natalie Giorgadze; author interview with Pauline Püschel.

Whether this window of opportunity will lead to durable progress depends not only on the actions of cultural institutions, but also on the engagement of a broad group of stakeholders—from policymakers at the local, national, and European levels to civil society and schools. It will also require acknowledgment of and support for the cultural sector's strategic value as an engine of social cohesion, service innovation, and urban regeneration, putting culture at the centre of European cities' future rather than viewing it as the proverbial cherry on top.

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