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How Cities Deal with Artistic Diversity in Their Public Policies

A Comparative Case Study Between Brussels and Barcelona

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"Culture is never more salient than in unsettled times" (Swidler, 1986)

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1. Introduction

Recently, in many European countries, the already unstable socio-economic and political context has been challenged by unprecedented arrivals of refugees[1] on the one hand, and the concerns on jihadi terrorism and the radicalization of some young Europeans on the other. These three factors have led to a further emphasis on securitization in policies dealing with human mobility and migration. In such a context, issues related to cultural diversity and how to manage it have unfortunately continued to step down on political, policy and media agenda (Martiniello and Rea, 2014). The events of September 2001 and the many terrorist attacks that followed in Europe paved the way of a "*discursive retreat from any form of multiculturalism and the vigorous affirmation of a post-multiculturalist or neo-assimilationist agenda as the safest way to manage migration related cultural and identity diversity*" (Martiniello, 2015, p.1) Nowadays, this anti-multiculturalist trend has become prevalent throughout the continent. Whereas an increasing circulation of capital, goods, persons, information and cultural products characterize the 21st century, the most common response to greater mobility has been the reaffirmation of borders and national sovereignty. Governments try to regain legitimacy by reaffirming their role as defenders of the borders against 'outsiders from poorer countries' (Ambrosini and Boccagni, 2015). Nevertheless, this rhetoric often diverges from the facts because, in many ways, those 'outsiders' (ibid) are necessary for national labor markets and economies.

Notwithstanding this anti-multiculturalist tendency at the national level, we can notice a different trend at the international and local level concerning cultural diversity and how to manage it. Indeed, many signs point out at a slow but general understanding and agreement on the importance of taking into account the concept of diversity in public policies. At the international level, it can be observed with the ratification of several conventions on the promotion and preservation of diversity such as the Convention on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2001) or the Fribourg Declaration (UNESCO, 2007). These conventions recently gave diversity a space in the international political agenda and helped diversity to find a legal framework in

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[1] Since the Second World War

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international law. At the local level, there has also been a change in the approach towards cultural diversity in the last 15-20 years. Artistic and cultural landscapes are in constant evolution and policies are trying to take into account these new realities. The shift from homogeneity to diversity in cities required a rethinking of the ways and means necessary to identify and develop policies relevant to diversifying societies. While some cities focused on building instruments to facilitate exchange and social cohesion among different communities, others tried to safeguard their national or local cultural identity via for example *parcours d'intégration*.

Whereas in many European countries the mainstream political discourse is characterized by a rejection of multiculturalism, I'll argue that it's on the local level that we have to focus on understanding how the social integration of immigrants and the governance of ethno-cultural diversity are negotiated. Especially in the context of this research, taking into account policies at the city level is necessary because, as we shall see later, it is at that level that almost everything is decided in matters of culture both in Brussels and Barcelona. These two cities are facing major challenges regarding diversity and my goal during this research will be to analyze how different answers given by cities to cultural and artistic diversity can be. By focusing on Brussels and Barcelona, I'll also expose the various outcomes of cultural policies depending on the (institutional, historical and socio-economical) context in which they are taken and I'll try to determine if there is a better way to deal with artistic diversity.

Despite the importance of arts and popular culture in ethnicized minorities' incorporation, the topic, as noted by Martiniello (2015), remains a relatively under-explored subject in the sociological and political science literature. There is thus a need to better understand the relevance of the arts in the theoretical and policy debates about immigrant incorporation at the city level. Moreover, I join Ambrosini and Boccagni (2015) who argued that comparing immigrant policies at the city level is an increasingly necessary and relatively underdeveloped exercise, and also Martiniello (2015) who emphasized that whereas subject such as religion and language diversity have been discussed widely, until recently, the diversity of immigrant's artistic expressions has been comparatively neglected.

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By comparing how Barcelona and Brussels manage artistic diversity in their public policies, I aim to fill this gap in the literature. By focusing on artistic diversity, my thesis is significant because it emphasizes the importance of cultural policies to enhance social cohesion in diverse societies. Understanding diversity and correctly taking it into account is crucial for the sustainability of cities and their residents: diversity is a potential source of vitality, creativity and growth but at the same time, it can be a source of conflict under poor management.

1.1 Contextualization - A short history of migration and integration policies in Belgium and Spain

1.1.1 Belgium

Belgium is an historic immigrant-receiving nation and its relation with migration is deeply linked with the country's colonial past and its need for manual workers. The question of integration of immigrants (and later of their descendants) into the Belgian society came up quite late, and that, for two main reasons (Martiniello and Réa, 2012)[2]. The first one is the 'migratory project' (ibid) itself. Indeed, in the 1950's and the 1960's, many immigrants were considering their immigration as temporary unlike migrants leaving for the United States or Canada. During that period, immigrants coming to Europe rarely considered themselves to be leaving their country permanently. Consequently, the imagination of the return to the home country was very present in the immigrant's mind. Secondly, public authorities were also considering immigration as a temporary phenomenon and were seeing the arrivals of immigrants as a way to adjust their need in term of labor force.

On account of these last two points, one can argue that Belgium did not have a long-term vision regarding policies in areas such as education, culture or housing for many years. In the 1980s, various elected representatives of the three main Francophone political parties (Socialist, liberal, social-Christian) started to designate immigrants as the responsible of the employment crisis. Nevertheless, it was evident that, at that time, the presence of immigrants was irreversible and that policies of expulsion like the ones took during the pre-war period were impracticable (Martiniello and Réa, 2012). It's during that period where tensions were at their strongest that the

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[2] Every abstract of this article was translated from the French by myself.

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government began a genuine integration policy, while a new nationality code was introduced in 1984. That legislative change gave the chance to many foreigners to obtain Belgian nationality. Nevertheless, public policies and practical measures to promote integration were still lacking. In the 1990s, the government adopted new social policies covering areas as diverse as land planning, culture and education. Intercultural education experiments were undertaken as well as measures, such as positive discrimination and the creation of priority education areas that were aiming at improving education in certain disadvantaged areas. The year 2000 were marked by "*the elaboration of differentiated regional public policies, thus adapting integration policies to the reforms of the State of 1988 and 1993*" (Martiniello and Réa, 2012, p. 64). On the one hand, Flanders started promoting policies of recognition and support for immigrant associations based on ethnic identity (mainly targeting people of foreign origin with low economic status). That was reflecting their conviction that the maintenance and development of a specific identity among the descendants of immigrants stimulates their emancipation in the settlement society (Martiniello and Réa, 2012). These policies were accompanied, in 2003, by more assimilationist measures, such as the requirement for newly arrived immigrants to learn Dutch, as well as Belgian laws and how Belgian institutions operate. On the other hand, Brussels and Wallonia had a more or less similar view on immigrants and integration, which was different from the Flemish one. Ethnic minorities were recognized neither on paper nor in speeches and thus, policies targeting specific populations were quite marginal. Integration policies have been "*more closely linked to indirect policies (priority action zones, positive discrimination zones, etc.) based on social criteria (percentage of unemployed, tenants, etc.) and demographic factors (percentage of foreigners)*" (Martiniello and Réa, 2012, p.49). In terms of public action, Wallonia and Brussels adopted different measures. In Wallonia, although the decree of 1996 (referring to foreigners and people with a migratory background) states that integration policies are based on positive discrimination to promote equal opportunities, neither the legal provisions nor the funded projects give substance to this notion. Immigrant associations are funded under this policy because they offer social integration activities (literacy, vocational training, etc.) and not because they contribute to the development of a specific ethnic identity.

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In Brussels, Francophone public policy was organized between 1993 and 2003 by a law (*une circulaire)* on the "integration and cohabitation of local communities" and one of the more recent political orientations is contained in the 2004 decree on social cohesion (Martiniello and Réa, 2012). The terms of immigrants and persons of foreign origin are absent from these laws.

The way newcomers are integrated is a particularly sensitive issue. Within the Belgian federal state, federated entities have set up different integration policies and, recently, they have undergone major upheavals and in particular in Brussels, where the results are challenging. Since federated entities and institutions are competent in terms of integration (and are thus potentially competing), there are now two different civic integration paths within Brussels' territory: a Dutch-speaking one and a Francophone one. This institutional puzzle is not without consequences for the actors, be it the authorities or the migrants themselves (Xhardez, 2016).

Belgium never had a long-term and clearly defined vision about the integration of immigrants. Successive governments have, over the years, oscillated between the recognition of ethno-cultural differences and the promotion of more assimilationist measures while often, as will see later, neither the policies nor the projects organized by local associations are following the government's orientation, which is an important paradox. Due to various state reforms alongside economic, cultural and language differences between *Francophones* and *Flamands,* Belgium's institutional context is characterized by complexity and sometimes lack of coherence and efficacy because of the different perspectives that Flemish and Walloon have on common issues.

Similarly to what's happening for integration policies, the Belgian capital's cultural spaces are divided according to a complex structure where Francophone and Flemish communities play the main role and set separate cultural policies and programming for 'their' residents in Brussels. I will address the topic more in details later.

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1.1.2 Spain

Spain really became an immigrant country at the end of the 20th century. This was mainly due to the economic growth Spain experienced between 2000 and 2007 and which resulted in the expansion of the labor market, alongside with an increased demand for manpower (in sectors such as care and construction) that was largely satisfied by the arrival of immigrants (Mahía Casado, 2010, in Fernandez-Suarez, 2017). This substantial arrival of immigrants in the 2000's was preceded, in 1994, by the first state plan for the social integration of immigrants designed by the Ministry of Social Affairs, within the socialist government of that time. The plan established a set of administrative measures and proposals for the care of migrants. Justified by the increase in arrivals, a second plan called GRECO was designed in 2001 under the conservative government of José Maria Aznar. The plan was picturing migration as a border control issue and was linking integration to assimilation. In the years preceding the financial crisis of 2008, at a time when economic prospects were good and the government was in the hands of the social democrats, there was an increase in social policy expenditure, alongside with the development of specific policies for gender equality, youth, and the integration of foreigners (Fernandez-Suarez, 2017). Since then, successive national governments have been oscillating between an assimilationist perspective and a multiculturalist one while interculturality has recently been incorporated as a halfway point for political positions but with little practical development at the national level. Indeed, nowadays Spain is more characterized by a restrictive liberalism perspective, which enforces civic integration programmes aimed at the learning of language and values. We could summarize by saying that Spain never really had an official integration model.

1.2 Problematization

1.2.1 Brussels

Brussels-Capital Region is the home for 1.2 millions of people. The city is characterized by the exceptional diversity of its residents. More than 30% of the population is of non-European origin, which makes Brussels the most cosmopolitan city in Europe, and the second in the world. Around 100 languages are being spoken and almost 150 nationalities are represented across the town. While this diversity makes the richness and specificity of Brussels, it does not prevent the city to be

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characterized by social, economic and spatial dualization. Indeed, 25.9% of Brussels's population has an income below the poverty line[3], whereas the average in Belgium is around 14%. Brussels's central neighborhoods concentrate a population that is victim of socio-economic precariousness and multiple socio-affective vulnerabilities such as isolation; insecurity and lack of recognition, while the communes of the second ring are characterized by a more 'better-off' population.

This economic, social and geographical duality is also reflected in cultural practices. In comparison with the average population in Brussels, the central municipalities of the city are over-represented in what can be called 'culturally disengaged people' (COCOF, 2014), namely people excluded from any form of cultural participation. Among them, the most affected are young people, strongly downgraded from the socio-economic standpoint, often with a migratory background and in difficulty at school (or not *scolarisé* at all). This social, spatial and cultural exclusion that often overlaps entails a strong feeling of unworthiness and inferiority for a large part of the population. Within a complex institutional context where the Flemish and French communities have two different approaches to manage culture and its diversity, the city is subject to cultural inequalities and an increase in the number of 'culturally disengaged people'. This tendency cannot be separated from the social and spatial exclusion experienced by many in Brussels.

Despite this exclusion, migrant and migrant-origin artists play an increasingly visible role in Brussels' cultural scene. Activities organized by or with these artists are successful, and especially in Brussels' working-class that, in some cases, they access to cultural institutions (perceived as reserved for more wealthy neighborhoods) for the first time. Nevertheless, many of these projects don't benefit from public institutional support and financing (Costanzo and Zibouh, 2014).

As I briefly mentioned in the contextualization, in Brussels, cultural policies are not elaborated according to the specificities of the "City-Region" and its territorial reality. Cultural competences, as the competences regarding integration, are segmented. If we refer to the institutional history of the country, we can observe that cultural matters

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[3] With important disparities between the different municipalities of the city

have been communitarized. The most recent cultural plan for Brussels (COCOF, Un plan culturel pour Bruxelles, 2014), which was developed by the COCOF, was elaborated in collaboration with the Flemish community. This trend was driven by the civil society who was demanding for less institutional complexity and more coherence and collaboration between the two communities. These claims, among many other elements, were gathered in the "Cultural Plan for Brussels" (RAB/BKO, 2009) developed by the *Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles / Brussels Kustenoverleg*, a collaborative network of French and Dutch speaking artists in Brussels. This collaborative plan coming from the civil society had a great impact and influence on organizing powers. The most recent plan developed by both communities (Un plan culturel pour Bruxelles, 2014) aims to address the problems identified by the RAB/BKO by adopting a new perspective, requiring more collaboration, that has a new (for Brussels) interculturalist aspect:

> "*Our Cultural Plan for Brussels aims to address all categories of the population of Brussels without distinction and to meet simultaneously all the stakes linked to cultural policies, be they social or economic, By transcending the classical ideological divisions. We start from the idea that it is not necessary to oppose, as is often the case, proximity policies and attractiveness policies. Our plan is to bring together all Brussels residents, without exception, around a common identity*" (COCOF, Plan culturel pour Bruxelles, 2014, p.9)

1.2.2 Barcelona

Barcelona, unlike Spain, was not an immigrant destination until the beginning of the 21st century. Nevertheless, throughout the last century, the history of the city shows various periods in which large population increases have occurred as a result of different migratory movements. However, these increases were mainly due to the immigration of Spanish people (from outside of Catalonia) to Barcelona. Immigrants of foreign nationality only represented a small percentage of the immigrant population at the end of the 20th century. In the year 2000, people of foreign nationality were

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only representing 3,5% of Barcelona's population. In the following years, a big change occurred. Whereas people of foreign origin represented more or less 53.000 persons in 2000, they were almost 300.000 ten years later. Consequently, we can regard the first decade of the 21st century as the reception stage, characterized by the arrival of thousands of people of different origins. Now, due to various factors but especially as a consequence of the economic crisis, the intensity of the flows has slowed down significantly (Barcelona Intercultural Plan, 2009). Contrary to Spain, concerning cultural diversity and integration, Barcelona opted for a clear way of dealing with diversity. Since 1997, the city of Barcelona started to move towards the adoption of an interculturalist strategy in its policies.

The considerable arrival of people during the 21st century resulted in a notable increase in the socio-cultural diversity of a city that was already complex and plural, mainly due to the importance of the Catalan identity and language within the Spanish context. One of the most important characteristic of this outbreak is the great diversity of nationalities and backgrounds that can now be found in Barcelona's population (migrants from Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, China, Morocco, Senegal, and Pakistan being among the most numerous), with most of them being young adults (the average being 33 years old in 2013, with around 22% under 24, and almost 49% between 25 and 49 years old) (Zapata-Barrero, 2014). This phenomenon has posed new complexities for coexistence and social cohesion, but despite the different challenge to overcome, Barcelona takes pride in its way of dealing with diversity (Barcelona intercultural plan, 2009).

Presented like that, the situation seems rather positive in terms of integration and management of diversity in the city. However, we should also acknowledge that the 2008 global economic collapse caused substantial harm to the Spanish economy. For example, between 2008 and 2011, the number of children living below the poverty line in Catalonia increased by more than 10 percent. A number of different neighborhoods with degraded housings can be found in and around the city and people living in these types of infrastructure are likely to have low levels of education and low incomes, while elderly and immigrants are among the most common profiles to live in such structures. Regarding culture and diversity, Barcelona faces problems related to institutional complexity and a lack of cooperation between the different

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structures dealing with integration, culture and interculturality. Articles and researches made by Ricard Zapata-Barrero (2014, 2015, 2016) have helped to show that, on the one hand, cultural and immigration policies are developed within two different departments in the city council (culture and immigration) and that they lack effective communication and cooperation. On the other hand, there is a lack of participation of immigrants into the design of cultural policies. In his researches, Zapata-Barrero inferred that however diversity is recognized, the lack of participation of immigrants in cultural planning and diversity promotion is probably due to the conflict between the two departments in the city and their different approaches toward the promotion of culture and diversity. Regarding cultural matters, in Barcelona, it's the ICUB (Institut de Cultura de Barcelona) that is in charge of designing and implementing cultural policies while the Espai Avinyó, a special place that has been created to be a new source of interculturality in the city is supposed to combine diversity and culture while facilitating intercultural exchange. As Zapata-Barrero (2014, 2015) showed, interculturality is a concern that pertains to culture but that is not accommodated by the ICUB's objectives. Espai Avinyó works without ICUB's engagement or participation according to him. Thus, not only in programmes but also in institutional policy practices, there is evidence of a lack of connection between the department in charge of cultural policy and the one designing intercultural strategy.

In light of the institutional complexity and the cosmopolitan reality of both Brussels and Barcelona, throughout this thesis, I want to answer to my main research question:

- How Brussels and Barcelona deal with artistic diversity in their public policies?

To answer this question, I'll also address sub-questions such as:

- What are the strengths and limitations of each city's way of governing artistic diversity?
- How the institutional complexity of both cities affects the development of their cultural policies?
- Is there a way to measure the effectiveness of these policies?

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1.3 Methodology

I chose to compare Brussels and Barcelona for several reasons. First, these are two cities on which little has been written regarding artistic diversity, but nevertheless, some researches (Costanzo 2011, 2012; Gebhart 2016; Zapata-Barrero 2014) as well as reports, plans and studies from various organizations in both cities have allowed me to start my research with substantial information. Second, Brussels and Barcelona are two cities that are highly independent from the federal government. In terms of cultural policy, they have significant autonomy from the national government and benefit from an almost complete independence. Third, although the two cities have a very different migratory history, the current ethno-cultural diversity of Brussels and Barcelona makes them two similar multi-cultural cities, in terms of places where different cultures, origins and languages cohabit. Fourth, both cities are characterized by institutional complexity, and the area of culture is no exception. The idea of comparing Brussels and Barcelona originated from the assumption that they are representative of two distinct ways of dealing with cultural (and artistic) diversity. In Barcelona, the local municipality explicitly states that they are intercultural and its discourse is very positive on diversity and exchange. They promote on artistic and cultural activities, while interaction and dialogue between different communities seems essential. In Brussels, where the society is as diverse, it's more difficult to describe the city as implementing one type of approach, mainly due its institutional complexity. Some of the policies suggest that they are operating in a multicultural paradigm while new plans developed by communities or cultural associations extol interculturality.

I focused on three main elements to answer to the research question. First, I analyzed the two cities' history with immigration. Then, I looked at the evolution of their approach in relation with integration and cultural diversity to situate both cities regarding the multiculturalist-assimilationist-interculturalist nexus. Finally, I analyzed the implementation of the most recent cultural policies in Barcelona and Brussels' complex institutional and socio-economical context while also trying to assess their outcomes.

My thesis is based on the analysis of the relevant documents coming from various

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social and political actors, as well as on the review of the academic literature on the subject. I also collected data by using qualitative methods, which included in-depth and semi-structured interviews with key informants[4]. After the review of the academic literature, my starting point was to analyze the relevant policies and the different documents dealing with cultural diversity coming from the institutions and the cultural organizations/associations of both cities. After this extensive analysis, I formulated the research question and the sub-questions I wanted to address in this research.

First, I started by analyzing international conventions and declarations on diversity such as the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2001), the UNESCO campaign on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2007), the Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights of 2007 as well as several recommendations of the Council of Europe (such as recommendation 261 on Intercultural Cities). With this, I was able to understand the international context regarding diversity in general, and cultural and artistic diversity in particular.

Second, I summarized Belgium and Spain's plans and policies regarding integration, diversity and cultural diversity to situate Barcelona and Brussels in relation with their national context. Recently, both cities have developed approaches quite different from the national models; nevertheless, I found it relevant to analyze what has been the nations' paradigm throughout the years. In the case of Brussels, Martiniello and Rea's "A short history of immigration in Belgium" (2012) helped me to summarize the history of immigration and integrations policies of the city. For Spain, the recent article of Belen Fernandez-Suarez "The Design of Migrant Integration Policies in Spain: Discourses and Social Actors" (2017) and different policies and national plans such as the Strategic plan for citizenship and integration in Spain (2007-11; 2011-14) as well as the organic law on the rights of foreign nationals to social integration (Organic Law 8/2000 of the 22nd of December) helped me to understand the evolution of the situation.

Third, I focused on local policies developed in both Barcelona and Brussels. For

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[4] The interviews were carried throughout the month of May 2017.

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Barcelona, firstly, I consult the various articles written by Ricard Zapata-Barrero (2014, 2015, 2016) on the evolution of (inter)cultural policies in Barcelona but I also analyzed the different strategic plans that the city took or ratified (the Agenda 21 for culture of 2004, the 2006 strategic plan of the city of Barcelona, the Intercultural dialogue program of 2008, the municipal action plan of 2008-11 and finally, Barcelona's intercultural plan of 2010). For Brussels, I focused on the reports of the RAB/BKO ("De la participation artistique des primo arrivants à Bruxelles) and its cultural plan for Brussels (2009). I also analyzed the most recent plans ("un plan culturel pour Bruxelles", 2014; "Cultuur Beleids Plan, 2014) developed by the COCOF (Commission Communautaire Francophone) and the city or Brussels.

After that, I decided to focus on the most recent plan in each city and to analyze their effect(s) in practice. In that perspective, I decided to conduct fieldwork to collect data through semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders. I carried out interviews both in Barcelona and in Brussels[5] and I decided to select three types of profiles for those interviews: policy makers or representative of the official institutions dealing with culture and its diversity in both Brussels (one member of the COCOF and the COCON/VGC) and Barcelona (one member of the ICUB[6]), specialists of the topic (an academic for Brussels and an academic who is also working as an independent consultant, for Barcelona) and finally, people dealing directly with artistic diversity. In Brussels, I interviewed the artistic director of Belgium's national orchestra, the CEO of Mixity Brussels and the creator of a center for artistic collaboration in Molenbeek. In Barcelona, I interviewed the creator of intercultural events and festivals, as well as an artist (with an immigrant background) very active in Barcelona's artistic scene.

The interviews I conducted followed the main characteristics that qualitative or semi-structured interviewing generally present. Namely, the interactional exchange of dialogue, a relatively informal style, and concrete thematic or topic-centered approach. I also assumed that the whole meaning and understanding of the interview would be the result of the interaction between the interviewees and me (Mason,

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[5] All the interviews for the Brussels' case have been conducted via Skype since I was living in Barcelona during the redaction of this Master Thesis. I have translated the interviews in French.

[6] I contacted the Espai Avinyó to have an interview with them, but they canceled our meeting two times. After that, they asked me to send my questions by e-mail. I did it, but despite my several e-mails, they never answered.

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2002). By conducting qualitative interview, I have gained the possibility to examine and measure something that cannot be easily measured with other methods. In other words, qualitative interviews enabled me to extract information with more details. Few of my questions were yes/no questions. My questionnaire (which evolved after each interview) was composed in the vast majority of open-ended questions that allows the interviewee to take different paths and explain different feelings without being structured by pre-determined answers.

Examples of such questions are:

- "How would assess the way in which different institutions (…) deal with culture in the city?"
- "What could be done to improve the city's cultural policies?"
- "When organizing events, are you targeting a specific audience?"

These questions are more reflective and give the interviewees space to explain themselves by letting them evaluate something of their concern. These interviews were transcribed (and translate from French to English when necessary) in their entirety and were subjected to a discourse analysis, which focused on the relevant topics for this study.

During this whole process I kept in mind that my goal was to answer to my main research question: "How Brussels and Barcelona deal with artistic diversity in their public policies"?

Finally, I want to precise two things before going further. First, I'm aware of the fact that comparative case study may not be generalized, but in this research, I aim to find a pattern between cities' history with immigration, the approach cities have when dealing with integration and cultural diversity and the implementation of policies in a certain context. Thus, I believe that my findings could be translated to cities operating in similar environments. Moreover, it is important to underline the added value of comparative research in the domain I'm working on (Martiniello, 2015). Comparative research helps to understand the specificities of each context and to propose generalizations about the role that art, in this specific case, play in the incorporation process of immigrants and ethnicized minorities.

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Second, I know that very different methodological approaches can be used to assess the outcomes of public policies, but most of them only focus on written policy because the implementation of such policies is often more difficult to evaluate. This means, according to Czaika and de Haas (2011), that quantitative tests inevitably confound implementation and efficacy gaps, and that contextual knowledge and qualitative assessment are essential to understand which of the gaps appear to be most important in explaining policies (in)-effectiveness. We also have to keep in mind that while the various interests and objectives can be discerned through qualitative research, it seems methodologically impossible to identify a unique stated policy objective. That's why, in my work, I decided to focus on the gap that could exist between the stated objective(s) of a policy and its implementation and the gap that could exist between the implementation of the policy and its effect(s) but not on the gap that could exist between the official discourse and the policies. Moreover, I also paid attention to the difference between the effect(s) of a policy and its effectiveness (Eide, 2013).

2. Literature review and conceptual framework

There is a vast academic literature on immigrant integration and incorporation Europe. Researches have started to emerge since the 1980s to cover a wide range of issues linked to the economic, social, political and cultural incorporation of immigrants. Nevertheless, there has been a clear lack of attention for some topics and issues such as the relationship between the arts and the incorporation of migrants and their descendants. In Europe two special issues of journals dedicated to the links between immigrants, *ethnicized* minorities and the arts appeared in 2008 and 2009 and a third one was published in 2014. In addition to those recent initiatives, Costanzo (2012) highlighted the works of scholars in the social sciences, humanities and urban studies that examine "the role of artistic and cultural initiatives and policies in ever-diversifying cityscape". However, it should be noted that "the importance of arts and popular culture in ethnicized minorities' incorporation remains a relatively under-explored subject in the sociological and political science literature on migration and incorporation" (Martiniello, 2015). Until now, cultural policies have been neglected from the debate on the local management of immigration-related diversity (Zapata-

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Barrero, 2014). In many European countries, immigrants have for a long time been solely considered as workers, as simple means of production. Thus, they were treated neither as participants of political spectrum nor culture and arts.

Nowadays, artistic expressions of migrant-origin populations are starting to draw some attention in the academic field, and this can linked to two different reasons. On the one hand, a large proportion of immigrant workers finally decided to settle in the country in which they were working, and thus today, public policies and the academic world cannot ignore the cultural claims of descendants of these immigrant workers. On the other hand, recent flows to new immigration countries (like Spain or Italy) have led academics from these countries to pay attention to the cultural needs of those newly arrived migrants. Nevertheless, and as outlined by Martiniello (2015), most approaches have developed simplistic views about the relevance of minorities' cultural and artistic expression.

2.1 Clarification and definition of key elements

The words 'diverse' and 'diversity' have multiple meanings and invoke many different connotations and associations. As with numerous other words, the meanings and connotations vary depending on the context:

> "*As a descriptive term, 'diversity' is often used interchangeably with words such as heterogeneity, variety, variegated, multiplicity, multifarious, mixture and difference*" (Boston and Callister, Diversity and public policy, 2005, p.35)

The issues surrounding the nature and impact of diversity such as ethnic, cultural and social diversity have attracted a growing interest in many countries recently while the term itself is used to embrace many things: diversity in values, religious beliefs, life circumstances, lifestyles and other aspects of the human condition. In the academic world, the literature on diversity has grown; particularly the one dealing with the issues of multiculturalism, pluralism, cultural differences, minority and indigenous rights. For their part, governments across the globe have been taking an increasing interest in the broad-ranging policy issues generated by diversity, induced partly by changing migration patterns, changes in family structures, ethnic conflicts, the rise of

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religious fundamentalism and the growing risk of terrorist attacks (Boston and Callister, 2005). In recent decades, diversity has been increasingly used as a shorthand way of referring to social and cultural diversity, and more specifically to ethnic or racial diversity. Wood (2003) has argued that "when people speak of diversity, they tend to think first of racial issues. Race remains the focal meaning of diversity (...)", but of course the word diversity also refers to many other phenomena and is invoked in many other contexts. In this paper, diversity is studied as cultural diversity, and more specifically, artistic diversity.

To define cultural diversity as clearly as possible, I refer here to the Convention on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO) of 2001 according to which cultural diversity is the common heritage of humanity, while this diversity:

> *"Is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations. In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Thus defined, cultural pluralism gives policy expression to the reality of cultural diversity (...)" »* (UNESCO, Convention on Cultural Diversity, 2001, p.67).

Therefore, and following these definitions, this paper looks at cultural diversity as the unique resource of inspiration and imagination for present and future generations to explore the plurality of artistic expressions in our more and more diverse societies.

Unlike cultural diversity, there is no widely accepted or official definition of artistic diversity. With the aim of clarity I defined this term as: the production, thanks to human creative skill and imagination, of various kind of works such as painting, music, literature, dance, sculpture in a space where diverse or different cultures are present and co-existing.

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Finally, it is not this paper's aim to directly engage in the debate on selecting the "best" term to define integration, but I think it is important to precise how it is considered in this research's context. The word integration is very often, and sometimes wrongly, used although it –as a concept- has been exhaustively investigated in the academic literature and conceptualized in many ways. Costanzo (2012) has noted that the word as been used as referring to:

> "*Assimilation, incorporation, cohesion while it was also operationalized as types and rates of political participation, degrees of local language proficiency, residential and occupational proximity to 'native' populations, psycho-social senses of belonging and identity, perceptions of spatial membership, possessing shared attributes, experiences, beliefs and so on*" (Costanzo, "Practicing local culture as a vehicle of integration? Creative collaborations and Brussels' Zinneke Parade", 2012, p.p. 70-71).

In this paper, in order to avoid confusion, I chose, following the example of Joseph Costanzo (2012), to reformulate the debate about integration in terms of 'creative participation' (which Costanzo reformulated as 'creative *collaboration*') to emphasize the collective act of practicing something artistic or cultural. I think that, in the context of my research, this vision of integration "taking into account its potential, via cultural practice and the intersection of integration with artistic expressions, to emphasize the local, and not the ethnically-explicit creation of culture, is the most relevant" (ibid).

2.2 The importance of immigrants' artistic expression: why the arts matter?

Like 'integration,' the concept of 'culture' has been an object of inquiry by generations of scholars in social sciences and other areas. On the contrary, art, and more specifically, its importance, in all its forms, in the lives of immigrants, has not been studied at all, or at least until very recently. Indeed, it's interesting to notice that, as Martiniello (2015) underlined, the first book to specifically examine the importance of art in the lives of immigrants in the USA (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly, *Art in the lives of immigrant communities in the United-States*) was published as late as 2010. A few more books (such as Foner, Rath and Duyvendak, *New-York*

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and Amsterdam. Immigration and the New Urban Landscape, 2014) were written on the subject while journals (such as *the journal of ethnic and migration studies*) in Europe dedicated few special issues on the links between immigrants, ethnicized minorities and the arts. These different contributions have helped to raise awareness on the fact that immigrants, as well as their descendants, do not just assimilate in the local art scene. They contribute to its transformation and evolution, while sometimes "giving birth to new artistic idioms" (Martiniello 2015). Indeed, and in a large number of domains, immigrants have contributed to the expansion and the evolution of cultural practices and styles to which local have access. Immigrants are bringing novelty but they are also changing mainstream tastes. Examples are too numerous to be all quoted here, but one can mention the rai/rap fusion of France's Algerian young people or the older example of the introduction of the accordion in Mexico by German immigrants in the 1860's. As DiMaggio and Fernandez Kelly (2010) have very well summarized:

> "*Art allows for a kind of freedom not found in other forms of communications. And, because the immigrant condition is often restrictive and fraught with danger in receiving areas, art enables immigrants to break across boundaries through the use of their imagination*" (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly, *Art in the lives of immigrant communities in the United-States*, 2010).

Art, and in general culture, have the power to build bridges. They both help as a source of within-group solidarity and as a way to access and initiate common cause with members of other groups (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979 in DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly, 2010). It's Max Weber, later followed by Pierre Bourdieu, who initiated this line of thinking with his seminal work on status groups which he was describing as collectivities that share a common identity and a common sense of honor, often connected to a distinctive status culture (Weber, 1946 in DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly, 2010).

DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly (2010) have also insisted on the fact that arts (in the broad sense of the term- music, dance, cuisine, image…) can play a variety of roles for men and women adapting to a new life. While they were referring to the American context, I think we can transfer their analysis to the European context.

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They noted that first, arts have always been a source of comfort to immigrants trying to build a new life in a novel - and in their eyes sometimes strange – environment. Secondly, immigrant artists create works for public beyond their community. Thus, arts can foster contact and interaction between members of different communities having the same artistic interests. Thirdly, the arts offer the possibility of economic success without requiring years of expensive study while also encouraging mobility. Fourthly, arts can be seen as a mode of political action. Indeed, immigrant artists have often been the voice of their community while contributing to raise awareness about the political claims of their fellows. Finally, arts can be a good way for immigrant artists to represent their own community, as an alternative narrative to the one featured in mainstream media.

Despite the recent academic contributions to the field that I briefly summarized, and as I mentioned before, the importance of arts and popular culture in immigrant and ethnicized minorities' incorporation remains a relatively under-explored subject in the sociological and political science literature. Of course, the economic and social contributions of immigrants are essential, and that have been vastly studied. Here, I argue that it is also crucial to take into account their cultural and artistic contributions. On the social level, artistic expressions can help build bridges to facilitate encounters between populations with different ethnic origins sharing the same city or the same neighborhood (Vertovec, 2009 in Martiniello, 2015). On the other hand, as demonstrated by Costanzo (2012) in his Doctoral Thesis about the Zinneke parade in Brussels, art can become a mean of communication and dialogue between different members of different groups to build "some form of shared local citizenship or co-inclusion" (Martiniello, 2014) in the local community:

> *"Creative participation appears to facilitate integration when those involved collaborate within the context of urbanity, where difference and not sameness is valued, and where tradition is recognized, but where new collective creations reflecting Brussels today allow for all participants to become involved in defining what Bruxellois-ness shall be"* (Costanzo, 2012, p.261).

At a time when some parts of the urban youth are attracted towards identity closure in an imagined ethnic, racial or religious group, other parts experience a post-ethnic,

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post-racial and post-religious condition in their normal daily activities. For the latter, being part of the same artistic project with other youngsters of both genders with different social and ethnic backgrounds or skin colors is just normal (Martiniello, 2015), and once again, whereas identity closure has been (and still is) widely analyzed, artistic incorporation tends to be forgotten.

I assume that arts can gather people. Nevertheless, It would be a mistake to under estimate the importance of socio-economic, political, ethnic and racial aspects that divide people. In many cities, there is "a tension between ethnic fragmentation and separation on the one hand and ethnic mixing and dialogue on the other" (Martiniello, 2014), and that is also a characteristic of the artistic scene. Thus, when we speak of the complexities emerging from an increase in diversity, the global context as well as the different variables that influence the way diversity is lived and perceived in all spheres of urban life should not be forgotten. If we do, we will fall into the error of believing that the origin of these complexities lies exclusively in cultural differences when in fact they are strongly determined by social and economic variables (Ajutament de Barcelona, 2009). But neither must we fall into the contrary trap of minimizing the cultural variable and focusing solely on socio-economic aspects, because history, and particularly the recent tragic events of the last years in Europe have shown us that both factors are relevant and are often interrelated.

2.3 From national rhetoric to urban policies

Recently, many European countries had difficulties to deal with migration management related issues within the framework of national sovereignty. This phenomenon has engendered two main developments. On the one hand, in some EU countries, there has been an increase in demands towards a transfer of powers to the supranational level. On the other hand, local policies have been increasingly set up as autonomous spaces within the framework of immigration policies where new concepts and new ways of dealing with diversity, as well as new practices of citizenship, have been developed. As a result to this double trend, multi-level governance of policy issues such as migrant integration has become a common characteristic of the European political landscape (Ambrosini and Boccagni, 2015). This institutional design has been a source of contradictions and conflicts but also of

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innovations. In any case, it has led to differences between the so-called national models of integration and related local policies. Many examples illustrate the loss of influence of the national level, we can take the one of Germany, where several federal states established services for the integration of immigrants, in contrast to the traditional model of guest workers, whereas in France, many local and regional administrations have introduced multicultural initiatives, despite the republican ideology of neutrality in relation to cultural and ethnic diversity (ibid).

Due to this common trend in Europe to go from a state-centered towards a local-centered approach in diversity policies, cities are increasingly recognized not only as implementers of policies, but also as new players in their building processes (Zapata-Barrero, 2015). Nowadays, possibly even more than in the past, metropolitan areas are emblematic of the tensions and conflicts around the long-term settlement of immigrant minorities. This autonomy of the local policy-making level, as opposed to the national one, makes it much more relevant to analyze how cities, and not countries, deal with cultural and artistic diversity. As for cultural policies, after the Second World War, there was a move from the nation-state model to multilevel management, in which local institutions have acquired a more visible role (Barbieri, 2009, as cited in Barcelona Intercultural Plan, Ajutament de Barcelona).

To underline the importance of taking into account the role of cities in the management of diversity, I will cite the Council of Europe (2008):

> ''*One of the defining factors that will determine, over coming years, which cities flourish and which decline will be the extent to which they allow their diversity to be their asset or their handicap. Whilst national and supra-national bodies will continue to wield an influence, it will increasingly be the choices that cities themselves make which will seal their future*''* (Council of Europe, 2008; as cited in Zapata-Barrero, 2014, p.1)

Policy-makers in cities are now recognized as key players drawing their own questions and answers to challenges related to accommodating diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2014), and consequently cultural and artistic diversity.

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2.3.1   The limitations of local policies

Despite their importance and influence, it should be noted that local policies are generally unable to tackle major structural issues such as labor market discrimination, residential segregation or the educational failure of ethnic minorities. The economical crisis, successive reductions of welfare investments as well as the lack of political consensus on these matters complicate the search for new answers, which in any case would require large-scale reforms at national level (Mahnig, 2004; as cited in Ambrosini and Boccagni, 2015). However, at the local level, some policies and projects help to improve the conditions of disadvantaged minorities and segregated neighborhoods, or participate to highlight the contribution of these minorities to the enrichment and diversification of the city's cultural supply (Ambrosini and Boccagni, 2015).

2.4 Theories within the field of multiculturalism, interculturalism and assimilationism – Beyond the so called « death of multiculturalism »

The rise of diversity in Europe in the second half of the 20th century has, in parts, led to the popularization of the multiculturalist paradigm. Indeed, multicultural policies were the main response that most countries gave to the growing diversity of their populations. While multiculturalism has come to embrace numerous prescriptive claims, it is fair to say that its supporters reject the ideal of the 'melting pot' in which minority groups members are supposed to assimilate into the dominant culture in favor of an ideal wherein members of minority groups wouldn't maintain their distinctive collective identities and practices. What multiculturalists call for is the opposite, that is to say the recognition and positive accommodation of minority group practices through what the leading theorist of multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka (1995), has called "group-differentiated rights". For several reasons, the beginning of the 21st century marked the decline (at least in official discourses) of this paradigm. Be it the terrorists attacks in Madrid, the murder or Théo Van Gogh, London's suicide bombing of 2005 or the outbursts in the *banlieues Françaises,* all were presented as evidence that multiculturalism had failed and/or was dangerous. More precisely, Martiniello (2014) argued that some of these events were presented as the evidence that multiculturalist policies had failed, as had failed all multiculturalist society projects linked to these policies. Multiculturalist discourses and policies were accused

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to have the opposite effect to that expected, meaning that they were denounced as measure contributing to undermine social cohesion and national unity while leading to identity and community closure. It's important to precise here that Ambrosini and Boccagni (2015) recommend to pay attention to this supposed 'death of multiculturalism' – whether at a discursive level or, even more, concerning policy implementation. While multiculturalism has been buried by national political leaders, the two researchers demonstrated that many local urban contexts tend to revisit it a more modest guise. This approach is labeled in many ways (such as 'policies for social cohesion') and typically includes policies valorizing cultural diversity, supporting immigrant associations along with the rejection of any categorization as multiculturalist. A large part of European countries have therefore abandoned multicultural policies, although in reality many of these countries (as well as large European cities) undertake policies that have every aspect of multiculturalism, except from the name. One of the most popular alternatives to multiculturalism has been the return to a more assimilationist political agenda. The assimilationist perspective is at the opposite of multiculturalism, it can be defined as the spontaneous or forced process by which immigrants language and/or culture come to correspond to the one of the host society. Countries, such as the Netherlands, have thus defined it as a priority for immigrants to conform to European values, before being granted any political, economic or social rights. In this perspective, "the question of recognizing a cultural rights becomes at best secondary, since the primary aim to be achieved is cultural conformity" (Martiniello, 2014). Many countries that opted for (one of the versions of) multiculturalism placed great importance in the respect for and recognition of differences. But in comparison, they put less effort in reinforcing the shared elements uniting their citizens, which has facilitated certain tendencies of segregation and social fragmentation that did not contribute to guarantee a positive level of cohesion. In contrast, the assimilationist model, particularly linked to the French case, has placed so much emphasis on the principle of equality through the adoption of the values, identity and culture (Ajutament de Barcelona, 2010) of the host country that it has tended to suffocate signs of diversity. Similarly to what happened in countries carrying out multiculturalist policies, assimilationism has also led to disaffections of identity that have not favored cohesion. This brief description of assimilationism and multiculturalism should not lead us to believe in the existence

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of two different and static models, because considerable distinctions may exist between the different versions of each model, and especially if we consider the differences existing between countries and their local governments.

At the beginning of the 21st century, while many opted for more assimilationist policies, cities like Barcelona and Oslo decided to officially change course and opt for a new perspective: interculturalism. It refers to the support for cross-cultural dialogue while addressing self-segregation tendencies within cultures. Interculturalism suggests moving beyond a simple and passive acceptance of multiple cultures existing in a society; instead it promotes dialogue and real interaction between cultures (Barrett, 2013). This perspective differs from the former two because it is based on the premise that, in order to achieve a balance between respect for and recognition of diversity and the common elements that guarantee cohesion, it is essential to pay attention to the relationships established between the inhabitants of a city. Interculturalism thus emphasizes the need to promote positive interaction, contact, dialogue and mutual familiarity (Ajutament de Barcelona, 2010). Therefore, the interculturalist approach is defined according to three principles: the principle of equality, the principle of recognition of diversity and the principle of positive action.

Not all societies accept their cultural, religious and identity diversity at the same level. Some stress cultural unity while diversity is neglected or denied. Others are more aware of their diversity and of the necessity to value it. Major European cities have developed their own understanding of cultural diversity and have adopted variable rules of recognition of cultural identities, distinguishing in particular those that are legitimate and those that are not. In other words, cities have invented their own way to deal with diversity, their own "philosophy of integration" (Martiniello, 2015).

On this backdrop, the next part will focus on the evolution of cultural policies in Barcelona and Brussels in order to situate them in relation to this assimilationist-multiculturalist-interculturalist nexus.

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2.5 The policy implications of diversity

In the policy-making process, one of the first challenges posed by diversity relates to the greater variety of preferences, needs and aspirations that have to be taken into account in the design and delivery of public services. In practical terms, this raises questions over whether, how and to what extent the goals and parameters of policies should be changed to accommodate a more diverse range of users (Boston and Callister, 2005). Diversity has, potentially, major implications for the policy-making environment. For instance, as social and cultural diversity increases, "*there are likely to be implications for all aspects of the policy process or policy cycle – agenda setting, research, policy formulation, consultation, decision-making, implementation and service delivery, and evaluation*" (Boston and Callister, Diversity and public policy, *policy quarterly* volume 1, number 4 2005, p.p. 35). Thus, diversity is of relevance to policy makers because it is sometimes advocated as a policy principle, particularly in relation to the practices of specific institutions.

A relatively common argument is that diversity is desirable because it enhances the quality of life by enriching our experience and expanding our cultural resources (Kymlicka, 1995). In other words, diversity creates a more varied, vibrant and interesting world. It expands the lifestyle options and choices available to individuals, families and groups. Common examples include the positive impact of a diverse cultural environment on the choice of restaurants, exhibitions, musical performances, sporting fixtures and other leisure activities. Diversity may be valuable (and thus a desirable objective or outcome) in some circumstances, but not in others. A key question, therefore, concerns the circumstances under which diversity is morally relevant and the conditions under which the pursuit of more diversity is an ethical imperative. These are questions that policy makers cannot ignore.

A more diverse society poses questions about how policies should be formulated. How should policy maker respond, in a context where there are very diverse views arising from different religious, philosophical or cultural traditions, to various concerns? While this research focus on artistic diversity, it acknowledges that answers to such questions are very likely to be context-dependent. For example, a particular social, cultural or religious difference may be of little political importance at one

point in time, only to become highly salient at another. Factors that may influence the political salience of social differences will include changes in the distribution or relative size of the respective population subsets and widely-reported and 'critical' events that draw public attention to particular differences (major acts of violence by, or against, members of an ethnic minority) (Boston and Callister, 2005).

The question of how governments ought to respond to increasing diversity raises many issues while some types or levels of diversity are, at least partly, the result of government policies. Thus, to some extent, they are matters over which governments have a degree of control.

Public policies are a complex combination of elements, including goals and objectives, agents and implementation structures, targets, tools, rules, and rationales (Schneider and Ingram 1993; in Boston and Callister, 2005). Cathrine Eide (2013), when discussing how to understand the outcomes of migration policies, explained that one particular policy can be understood in a variety of ways.

In the context of my research, Eide's main argument in her paper ("how to understand the outcomes of migration policies. A study of the return agreement between Norway and Ethiopia") is relevant. To a considerable extent, there is a public and academic controversy about the outcomes the effectiveness of public policies, and cultural policies are no exception. This controversy relies mainly on an unclear conceptualization of the debate about the outcomes of these policies. Eide explained this argument as it is related to the various implicit meanings attached to the term cultural policy but also to the confusion between the effect and the effectiveness of these policies. According to the Oxford Dictionary of English, effectiveness can be explained as "the degree to which something is successful in producing a desired result". When creating and implementing policies, there is often a range of various actors with different interests involved. In order to examine if the desired results of the policy are met, one would have to know all the different stakeholders' different interests and intentions within the policy. This poses a challenge to policy researches since such information is difficult (if not impossible) to obtain. Nevertheless, it implies that we must take into account that meaningful analyses of policy

effectiveness cannot be conducted without knowledge of the objectives and interests of multiple stakeholders and the political debates and processes that have led to certain policies" (Czaika & de Haas, 2011). To summarize, through an analysis of effectiveness, the researcher is restricted to examine the degree to which the produced effects are in accordance with the recognized stakeholders' intensions. Consequently, it might be beneficial to alter the frame of reference and also include analyses of effects that were not included in the policy objectives.

Finally, I should also take into account Ambrosini and Boccagni's (2015) warning about the selective use of public communication that is also part of the gap between rhetoric and practice. They argued that this selective use of public communication typically results in the over-visibility of 'ethnic' arts, food or music, and possibly of interreligious dialogue initiatives, as opposed to more expensive interventions, which may trigger perceptions of competition, allegations of welfare shopping or contrasts between old and new residents (Ambrosini and Boccagni, 2015). At a time of worsening political climate on the topic, in order to grant investments for the benefit of immigrants, it has become even more necessary to present investments as meeting general needs, and if possible as alternatives to the much-disliked multiculturalism. Therefore, it is possible to argue that local policies across these European cities have become more inclined to celebrate diversity, or peaceful urban cohabitation, than to try and achieve higher social integration. (Ambrosini and Boccagni, 2015)

2.6 The evolution of cultural policies in Brussels and Barcelona

2.6.1   Brussels: Planning culture in the absence of a unified cultural policy

As one of the most ethnically diverse European city and one leading European center of visual and performing arts, but also as the capital of both Belgium and Europe, Brussels is an intriguing and complex case to study, and especially when it comes to topic such as culture, integration, and representation of (artistic) diversity. If one wants to understand the trickiness of Brussels' cultural institutions, first, Belgium's own institutional complexity has to be tackled.

Belgium is a federal state composed of three communities and three regions. The country is also subdivided into ten provinces and 589 communes. The decision-

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making power is thus not only in the hand of the federal government and the federal parliament. Different authorities at different levels govern the country and each authority exercise their competences independently in their respective matters. In short, in Belgium, the federal state presides over matters concerning the "general interests of all Belgians", in other words "everything that does not expressly come under the Communities or Regions" (Service Public Fédéral Belge, 2010). It includes foreign matters, justice, finance, social housing, social security, the military, but also responsibility over federal cultural institutions and national bi-cultural institutions such as the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, the Royal Library of Belgium and the National Orchestra. The notion of community refers to the ties (mainly culture and language) that bind the people together. Belgium has three official languages (Dutch, French and German) and thus, the country is composed of three communities: the Flemish community (Vlaamse Gemeenschap), the French community (la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles) and the German-speaking community (Deutschprachige Gemeinschaft Belgiens). The communities are supposed to correspond to three distinct population groups within the country while they are responsible for 'person-related matters' such as culture, education, health, youth or equal opportunity. Each of Belgium's three linguistic communities has its own Ministry of Culture responsible for setting cultural policy within each linguistic territory. Belgium also comprises three regions: the Flemish region, the Brussels-capital region and the Walloon region. They are competent for "territorial matters" such as environment, employment, transport or regional development. In the context of my research, I focused on the Brussels-capital region, which was created in 1989 as an autonomous region comparable to the two already existing ones.

As mentioned in the Belgian constitution, "the area of culture is constitutionally the exclusive domain of the Flemish and French Communities including within the bilingual territory of the Brussels-Capital Region" (Belgian constitution, art 127 §2). Thus, both communities are the primary authority over culture in the city region of Brussels (except for the three national institutions mentioned above that depend on the federal state). They exercise their authority over culture through two separate commissions: La Commission Communautaire Française (French Community Commission, COCOF), and de Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie (Flemish

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Community Commission, VGC). Concretely, the two language-based communities are responsible, through their separate commissions, of the implementation of their own cultural policies. The cultural agendas of the two commissions are connected to other domains such as education and as a result, both commissions offer "various (and separate) visual and fine arts academies in addition to numerous cultural centers and other artistic projects, courses and workshop across the Capital Region" (Centre d'Informatique pour la Région Bruxelloise 2012, in Costanzo 2011). In terms of strategies aimed at migrants' (and people with a migratory background) artistic participation, each commission has also its own vision. To exemplify, Costanzo (2014) mentioned the differences between the 'Espace Magh' (a French Community-sponsored artistic project) and the Vlaams-Marokkaans Culturenhuis (a Flemish-Maroccan cultural center). The relevance of the bipolarity we've just briefly described is more and more questioned in Brussels' post-migration urban setting where foreign and foreign-origin populations make up more than half of the capital region's 1.2 millions residents. Notwithstanding the institutional complexity of Brussels, various socio-cultural actors in Brussels are attempting to shift the public and political vision of culture from being a community-based responsibility to that of a Brussels-based right of all Bruxellois (Costanzo 2011; Costanzo and Zibouh, 2014). Despite the history of non-cooperation between institutional structures in Brussels, socio-cultural networks and individual artists have mobilized to produce "cross-community" (Costanzo, 2011) projects that successfully treat Brussels as a single urban project instead of as a divided territory, separated by language.

In 2009, the civil society, which had been demanding less institutional complexity and more coherence and collaboration between the two communities for a long time, gathered claims and innovative ideas in a collaborative "Cultural Plan for Brussels". This plan was developed by the RAB/BKO, a collaborative network of French and Dutch speaking artists in Brussels and was elaborated with the participation of hundreds of artists, cultural actors, researchers and activists. It promotes the fact that culture is not only useful but is "an essential tool of empowerment and of social cohesion" (Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009, p. 19). Building on Brussels being named a European Capital of Culture in 2000, and after two years of consultation with Brussels's cultural sector, this collaborative plan was built around a 5-point strategy consisting of 34 recommended actions to promote a

more local (territorially-based) approach to cultural planning. Its aim is also to encourage broader public participation towards a more representative "citizen's debate about the city" inviting both public and private actors to join in setting the cultural vision of the Brussels‑Capital Region (BCR) (Costanzo, 2012).

The plan defines culture in a broad anthropological sense, but more as belonging to a historical heritage, which is part of everyone's identity. The plan pictures culture in Brussels as an inclusive and dynamic process, in contradiction to a "*fixed and distinct identity, which one has to belong to or merge to*" (RAB/BKA, Cultural Plan for Brussels, 2009, p.4). They propose the idea that culture belongs to the urban reality. By saying that, they argue that culture facilitate emancipation, and therefore, "*culture should lie in the very heart of the city and in the life of every citizen, no matter where he comes from or what his roots are*" (ibid). This cultural plan for Brussels is built around four main dimensions, where "i*nterculturalism is defined as the key factor*" (p. 12):

- Reception: everyone in Brussels must be able to find a piece of art and culture that "remains with him;
- Ties: the city must facilitate links and encounters between its inhabitants through intercultural dialogue;
- Debate: because a city with a future is a city with room for debate;
- Networks: cross-border ideas and activities are encouraged.

In opposition to an assimilationist or communitarian approach, the different actors in the plan called for an interculturalist approach to be implemented in the cultural sector by developing initiatives taking the diversity of Brussels into account, such as the Zinneke parade. Although they outlined the progress that had been made, they argued that the number of culturally disengaged people (and especially children and young people with a migratory background) was significantly high. In order to resolve this problem, they developed 30 different recommendations including, but not only:

- The creation of a joint cultural coordination cell gathering the two communities, their commissions, the city and the communes to promote collaboration in the cultural sector;
- The representation of diversity in the city's institutions managing culture;

- Giving more funding to not (yet) subsidized cultural actors or to associations that have an intercultural approach;
- The creation of a database bringing together all cultural activities in Brussels;
- Proposing a cultural offer for every inhabitant of Brussels, wherever they live, work or shop.

Few years later, influenced by the Cultural Plan for Brussels developed by the civil society, the COCOF committed itself, through its majority agreement of 2009-2014, to develop a genuine "Plan culturel pour Bruxelles" in collaboration with the Flemish community. In this plan, one of the main objectives is to enhance the cultural diversity and effervescence of Brussels, in order to bring together all the residents of Brussels, without exception. The idea is to bring them around a common and shared identity by building an integrated cultural model based on the recognition of all minorities in Brussels. Among its main objectives are (COCOF, un plan culturel pour Bruxelles, 2014, p.p. 10-12)[7]:

- To support the cultural participation of the greatest number and to promote cultural diversity by tackling the spatial, social and cultural differences dividing Brussels' population;
- To promote an ambitious cultural governance project and encourage consultation and coordination between all the institutional partners concerned around a coherent cultural development project for Brussels, in respect with everyone's competences;
- To encourage partnerships at the local level between cultural, socio-cultural and social cohesion operators, with specific attention to precarious people, newcomers and the single-parent families.

After an analysis of these two plans, we can notice that, in recent years, the situation started to change, both in the discourse and the policies of the two communities. Be it in the Cultural plan for Brussels developed by the RAB/BKO or in the "plan culturel pour Bruxelles" developed by COCOF with the collaboration of their Flemish counterpart, the emphasis is put on interculturality, exchange between people and learning from each others' culture to build a common identities influenced by the

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[7] *Translated from the French by the author*

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many. Nowadays, the official stated goal is to promote encounters between Brussels' diverse populations, through culture. Nevertheless, COCOF itself specified that their plan can not be qualified as a cultural "plan" in the strict sense, insofar as this term implies "a work of forecasting in terms of the allocation of resources, including financial resources, on the basis of directly operational objectives" (COCOF, un plan culturel pour Bruxelles, 2014, p.11). If we add to this that the document addresses a number of issues that are beyond the sole competence of the French Community Commission, it's fair to call it a global vision rather than a cultural plan in the strict sense of the term.

2.6.2   Barcelona: intercultural policy and multi-level governance

As a key player within the multi-level system of Catalan and Spanish governance, Barcelona is a good example of a "double dynamic" (Zapata-Barrero, 2013 in Zapata-Barrero 2015) characterized by a common trend in Europe to go from a state-centered towards a local-centered approach in diversity policies and by the recognition of interculturalism as an efficient policy paradigm to manage diversity in many contexts. According to Ricard Zapata-Barrero (2014), since 1997, Barcelona has been applying diversity recognition in its basic institutional documents and thus, started following an intercultural strategy. Some experts interviewed for this research do not fully agree with this statement, but I will discuss their point later *(see the findings)*

Nowadays, Barcelona is recognized as an intercultural city and is ranked sixth in the Intercultural Cities Index. The focus on interculturality was first entirely managed by the Immigration Department while ICUB (the Institut de Cultura de Barcelona) was focusing on facilitating the emergence and consolidation of numerous private initiative and projects throughout Barcelona. It's in 2004, with the endorsement by the Barcelona city council of the Agenda 21 for culture, that diversity and interculturality were officially introduced as a theoretical principle framing cultural policies (Zapata-Barrero, 2014). Throughout the years, the emphasis on diversity and interculturality has been increasingly important in the different plans and initiatives undertook by the city (the 2006 strategic plan of the city, the establishment of 2008 as the year of intercultural dialogue, the drafting of the Intercultural Dialogue Program (2008), the Municipal Action Plan of 2008-11) and led to the elaboration of the Barcelona Intercultural Plan of 2010. This latter plan is a specific city council plan, which aims

to address the challenges arising from the coexistence in diversity. Barcelona intercultural Plan aims to "*set out a road map in order to apply intercultural policies, following three basic principles: the principle of equality, the principle of recognizing diversity, and the principle of positive interaction.*" (Ajutament de Barcelona, Barcelona Intercultural Plan, 2010, p.12). When designing the plan, Barcelona City Council's concern was to turn cultural diversity into "*creativity, innovation, dialogue, knowledge and artistic language*" (ibid) because the city does not only want to contemplate different cultural expressions but rather wants to take advantage of the opportunities offered by cultural diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2014). In this context, intercultural policies aim at facilitating the possibility for all citizens to participate and interact in cultural events while also promoting and encourage dialogue in the creation, broadcasting, and exhibition of culture in Barcelona. The plan includes recommendations such as the promotion and the support of projects valuing the cultural diversity of the city, with the objective of promoting mutual acknowledgement, interaction and exchange (Ajutament de Barcelona, 2010).

Even if the various plans and initiatives of the city state that facilitating intercultural exchange is a concern that belongs to culture, interculturality is still not accommodated by the ICUB's objectives. The lack of this 'social focus' could be explained by what Zapata-Barrero (2014) has called the elitist attitude that has always characterized the cultural policy department (ICUB). To fill the gap between this 'elitist attitude' and the will of the city to promote cultural activities that foster positive interaction among different communities, a space called Espai Avinyó was created in 2011 to directly promote intercultural activities with the aim of combining diversity and culture. The activities put forward by this space show the diverse range of culture; history and festivities existing in Barcelona while the Espai Avinyó include an array of artists and cultural expressions that would have not been eligible under ICUB's high-quality standards (ibid). Another important element is that almost everything that's done by the Espai Avinyó is conducted without ICUB's engagement or participation. There is a clear lack of cooperation and connection between the department in charge of cultural policies and the one in charge of promoting interculturality. In any case, the human, financial and logistical resources make it difficult for the Espai Avinyó to realize their stated goals.

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3   Study findings

3.1 Institutional challenges in managing artistic diversity

3.1.1 Brussels

After Brussels was designated European capital of culture in 2000, organizing powers started to take into account the various calls of the civil society that were asking for more collaboration between the two communities' commissions. For that, Brussels 2000 was "*an important moment because, for the very first time, different authorities worked together on the same cultural project*" (Cochez, G. Skype interview. May 19, 2017)

The following collaborative effort was found in the Cultural plan for Brussels, a document developed by the RAB/BKO several years after Brussels 2000. This plan, which was developed by the civil society, still has influence nowadays and is described as a "*reference, still today*" by the COCON/VGC (a member of COCON/VGC. Skype interview. 24 May, 2017) This cultural plan has been "*quite important on the mental level*" according to Geert Cochez, CEO of Mixity Brussels.

Collaborations between the different organizing powers are a bit more common nowadays. For example, in 2012, Fadila Laanan, who was then the minister of culture signed a cooperation agreement on cultural matters with her Flemish counterpart. This agreement stipulated the exchange of information, the pooling of resources, and even the co-financing of certain intercultural projects by the COCOF and the COCON/VGC (Vainsel, C. Skype interview. 23 May, 2017).

This tendency to collaborate is also reflected in the most recent cultural plan for Brussels (Plan culturel pour Bruxelles, 2014) which, in its construction, implied the union of all the forces financing culture in Brussels, namely the two communities, the respective commissions and Brussels' region. In the words of Cécile Vainsel (ibid.), one of the plan's main aim was to overcome the fragmentation and the lack of coherence of the cultural policies developed in the past, and to go beyond this historical opposition between *francophones et Flamands*. As pointed out by the

interviewee from the COCON/VGC[8], even if the two commissions have differences in techniques of policy-making and use different instruments, globally, they now share "*the big ideas*" (a member of COCON/VGC. Skype interview. 24 May, 2017).

More recently, COCOF decided to associate itself with other levels of power, namely the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and the Flemish Community, to make the year 2017 the thematic year of diversity. The only institution that decided not to participate is the Flemish community commission (ibid.). Nevertheless, it was the first time that four governments were collaborating on the same project since Brussels was the capital of culture in 2000. This project, which is called *Mixity.Brussels*, consists of several events such as an exhibition on the history of the hip-hop industry and culture in Brussels, an exhibition on the history of Islam in Europe and a pop-up museum that will be settled in the heart of Molenbeek. In the words of its CEO, *Mixity.Brussels* is an interesting project that links two sides of Brussels:

> "*Brussels as a city of immigration in the 60's and some quartiers d'arrivage as Molenbeek or Schaerbeek on the one hand, and a totally different side which is characterized by the international institutions, European institutions, NATO, and the communities working for these institutions on the other hand*" (Cochez, G. Skype interview. May 19, 2017)

Geert Cochez admitted *that Mixity.Brussels* was, "*at its heart, a promotion/marketing project for the city, not a sociocultural one*" (ibid.)

In general, we can say that, through more and more collaboration between communities, there has been a growing desire to work for the valorization of cultural diversity in Brussels. The participation and the representation of Brussels' diverse population in cultural events is one of the top priorities of both the COCOF and the VGC:

> "*We consider that this diversity (...) is something that makes our wealth and a factor that contributes to our radiance on the*

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[8] That person asked to remain anonymous

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international scene. Now, we consider diversity as a real asset"
(Cochez, G. Skype interview. May 19, 2017)

"A lot of cultural program are still mostly populated by white middle class Belgians, autochthones, and less by the culturally diverse population. Our goal is to make sure that what is shown as cultural productions, in theaters, and in festivals reflect the diversity of the people living in our city"
(a member of COCON/VGC. Skype interview. 24 May, 2017)

For the COCON/VGC, interculturalism is seen as an opportunity for Brussels. They believe that culture is "a *really powerful tool to enhance living together in cities*" whereas they state that one of their most important missions is to facilitate encounters between people who have "*different way of life*" (ibid.) At the level of COCOF, the Brussels region and all those ministers who are working on the theme of diversity, the intercultural paradigm is shared according to Cécile Vainsel. Nevertheless, she precised that interculturalism is probably not perceived in the same way for everyone and varies according to the political orientation of the minister in charge.

Despite the different elements pointing out at an increase in collaboration between the various powers organizing culture in Brussels, the institutional division between French and Flemish regarding cultural matters is leading to many issues affecting cultural actors in different ways. Despite the common initiatives, and "*instead of looking together in the same direction and having an ambitious cultural project that allows Brussels to exist on the international scene*", there are "*still some people who prefer to work on their side and who do not share the same priorities*" (Vainsel, C. Skype interview. 23 May, 2017).

For example, recently, the Minister of Culture of the *Fédération Wallonie Bruxelles* set up an interministerial commission on culture, but according to Cécile Vainsel, during the talks, there were only surface exchanges. From her point of view, they couldn't get into the heart of the problems because it is very complicated for each minister to "*delegate some of their power*" to find a shared solution. All the people interviewed deplore this institutional complexity. They also highlighted the paradox

between the fact that both organizational power wants to advocate cultural diversity in the sense of the encounter and the integration of each component of the population while the organizational power themselves are working back to back.

Many also insisted on the fact that the communitarian separation for culture-related matters makes no-sense because it does not reflect the reality: *Francophones go to concerts of Dutch-speaking musicians, and vice versa* (ibid.). Moreover, both the COCOF and the COCON/VGC emphasized on the fact that Brussels has more than 180 different nationalities that are present on the territory, and consequently, they should defend a global cultural project that integrates the whole reality of Brussels going beyond the historical division between *Francophones* and Flemish.

Concretely, the institutional division leads to the difficulty for cultural actors to access to funding. Organizations often give up public financing because of the complexity (each community has its specific type of form to fill, in only one language) and the length of the forms to fill. Both the official institutions and the cultural actors have denounced this problem:

> *"When you apply for funding, whether it is to the Walloon-Brussels Federation or elsewhere, it takes you at least a month to constitute your file. I don't have time to work on a file for one month. I find it so complicated to have access to public funding that I decided to make a cross on it"* (Pevée, P. Skype interview. May 21, 2017)

> *To access to funding, the forms are sometimes long and tedious... And this is particularly true at the COCOF where the subsidy granted is inversely proportional to the tediousness of the form to fill.* (Vainsel, C. Skype interview. 23 May, 2017)

Moreover, the money that the different commissions give to subsidize events always comes after the events took place. It forces small structures to pre-finance their activities and therefore creates impoverishment while sometimes leading people not to develop new projects because of the fear to lose a lot of money. Consequently, it's often the best informed and the best-equipped associations/organizations who can get

the most resources. Conversely, many interesting projects, but with people who are less equipped with administrative knowledge and don't know on whom to turn to are significantly disadvantaged.

As summarized by Costanzo (Skype interview. 24 May, 2017), in Brussels there is "*a tension, a gap between the ideas and the structures that are around the administration to do this job*". They are a lot of people pushing for unity, but "*the structures are difficult to move*".

3.1.2 Barcelona

In Barcelona, the two experts (Daniel De Torres and Jordi Pasqual) I interviewed have argued that the fact that Barcelona didn't really have a lot of migration and diversity (in terms of people coming from outside of Spain) before the end of the 20th century, and thus didn't have any clearly defined integration model, ended up being a good thing for the city. Indeed, it gave Barcelona the opportunity to be aware of what was not working in other countries. Consequently, when the city started to think about the word and the concept that was going to define their way of dealing with diversity, they decided not to join one of the two traditional models of integration (multiculturalism and assimilationism), but rather "*to start something that was reflecting the idea of coexistence and living together in Barcelona, interculturalism*" (de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017). In addition to that, the city has been investing a lot in culture in the last 30 years:

> "*Pascual Maragall, the historical mayor of the city, who was very into culture put it in a very high position in the city. That's why the budget of culture in Barcelona is higher than in most other cities in Spain, and that has been a really important thing for the city. All institutions were well thought, funded and well planned by the city at that time (when Maraguall was mayor)*" (de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017)

Both experts specified that until 2008, Barcelona was working in an approach to integration that had some intercultural principles, which had "*the smell*" or "*the*

attitude" of interculturalism but not in a really deep way, not in a conceptual development of the idea:

> *"The main ideas/principles were there: not segregating, no service specific for migrants, avoiding any situation of multiculturalist policies… All those principles were really in the genes of all the migration policies. In term of taking diversity and interculturalism as the main topic, and not migrants, there was nothing until 2008"* (de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017)

In this transition towards a real interculturalist approach, the Espai Avinyó was created to promote interculturality. As outlined by Dani De Torres:

> *The city needed someone specifically pushing for the intercultural agenda because we knew that the culture department (ICUB) was not going to promote interculturalism at that time. We needed to visualize many of the good things that the city was doing*

Since then, the city and its institutions have argued that a lot has been done to promote the integration of migrants in the local cultural scene. Most of the programs organized by the city council, by the ICUB, are very clearly in the promotion of interculturalism (Pasqual, J. Personal interview. May 22, 2017). Nevertheless, Jordi Pasqual also pointed out that the Espai Avinyó, which is a very small organization, could play larger role.

In Barcelona, according to Daniel De Torres, one good indicator of the success of the intercultural policies is their sustainability. Indeed, a change of government could lead to a change in the perspective, however interculturalism seems to be accepted by the general opinion and by successive governments. One element that first gave legitimacy to the approach has been the intercultural plan of 2009, which was designed with the help of hundreds of citizens and associations:

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> *"More and more people in the city are agreeing to the idea now. And now that a lot of people agrees, are convinced and are involved in it, it's not going to be easy to change that paradigm"*(de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017)

Moreover, Daniel De Torres considers the lack of strong anti-migration discourses as a proof that the city is not doing "*that bad*".

In parallel to what's happening in Brussels, from the point of view of Anna Coromina and Aviv Kruglanski[9], funding are not helpful in Barcelona because of the time, the bureaucracy and the paper work required to gain access to it. It takes "*way too much time compared to the money is represents*". Anna Coromina from the association Poliedre had a very critical view of the way the city in dealing with artistic diversity, she argued that:

> *"There is an important disconnection between what the Adjutament de Barcelona is saying and what they are actually doing. They do like concerts, big things with artists, for example, from Mali, but those people are living in Paris, not in Barcelona. They don't give visibilities to immigrants artists living in Barcelona. The city is trying to create the appearance that they are doing something"* (Coromina, A. & Kruglanski, A. Skype interview. 26 May 2017)

She justified the gap between her perception and the opinion of the other people I interviewed by saying that people "*people from the ICUB or from the Adjutament de Barcelona, who are positive about the way the city is dealing with diversity, are part of the system that needs to defend that Barcelona is a good city*". She also called for a better representation of immigrants in the city hall, the ICUB and all the cultural institutions.

These findings prove that in both cities institutional structure plays a key role and often pose limitations to the implementation of cultural policies. We can see that in

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[9] Both are artists and organize concerts and festival in Barcelona in collaboration with migrants. Anna Coromina is working for an association called Poliedre.

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both cases, although there is funding allocated for such policies; it does not always reach to the most excluded. This results from the barriers of bureaucratic and administrative problems that residents with different ethnic background do not have the financial and social capital to overcome.

Therefore, it is one essential outcome of this research that post-policy action is necessary to reach out different communities and raise awareness about these projects.

However, there is one important difference between these two cities that can be observed from the interviews and that is Barcelona's explicit devotion to intercultural approach and perception of diversity as enriching. This explicit almost unanimous commitment is a progress in itself that Brussels lacks, mostly as a result of the complex identity issues within the native population (i.e. French speaking and Dutch speaking) and its reflection on the institutions.

3.2 The integration of artists with an immigrant background into local culture

3.2.1 Brussels

Notwithstanding the issues described before, artists associations from both communities are trying to promote events including migrants in the local cultural scene. As summarized by Fabio Sinacori, the artistic director or Belgium's national orchestra, "*even if there is an institutional separation, we are creating and carrying projects together*" (Sinacori, F. Skype interview. May 15, 2017).

The Zinneke parade is a good example of this will. The Zinneke Parade is a biennale parade held in the city since 2000. It was established with the aim of connecting the many different cultures, communities and districts of Brussels. As Joseph Costanzo, one of the interviewee who did his Doctoral Thesis on the Zinneke Parade, explained that one of the main goals of the event is to connect the people from the different parts of the city, *faire se recontrer les Bruxellois*. A lot of institutions, schools, cultural centers and organizations are working together to organize this parade while inhabitants of Brussels have the opportunity to work with professional artists to create ideas and prepare projects that will make the parade. All the interviewees about

Brussels' case took the Zinneke parade as an example of what the city can do when everyone works together. Other examples of events promoting the skills of artists with immigrant background are less formalized according to Joseph Costanzo, they could be qualified as "*éphémères*".

When I asked other examples of events involving migrant artists or promoting their integration through culture to the interviewees of the COCOF and the COCON/VGC, they tended to confound cultural events trying to reach and attain people from mixed neighborhoods with cultural events specifically including and involving those people. Indeed, the people from the COCOF and the one from the COCON/VGC cited examples such as 'ABC', an artistic educational house specialized on workshops around art for kids in a difficult neighborhood and 'Circus Zonder Handen', which is an association doing little showcases and workshops about different neighborhoods. These are important initiatives, but they are not directly helping migrant artists to participate in the local cultural scene.

One important issue in Brussels is the problem of the culturally disengaged people. According to the COCOF and the COCON/VGC, cultural policies and initiatives don't reach a certain number of people, around 20% of the population, many of them young. This is partially linked to something that could be qualified as a phenomenon of "*community withdrawal*" (Vainsel, C. Skype interview. 23 May, 2017), but not only in term of nationalities. This is also related to the socio-economic level of those people.

In Brussels, there is a specific problem of differences between the different *communes*. It's like Uccle and Molenbeek, to take an extreme example, are not part of the same city. Young kids in Molenbeek tend not to go out of their neighborhood while the cultural offer of the city often doesn't reach them.

To reach those culturally disengaged people, more contact should be created between cultural actors and key informants who already developed a good relationship with specific neighborhoods. More connections with local organizations that are already doing a good job in the field is necessary to reach people who are, for the moment,

excluded from the local cultural scene, as argued Geert Cochez (Cochez, G. Skype interview. May 19, 2017)

Pierre Pevée, the creator of a project (called "La Vallée") providing workspaces for creative entrepreneurs in Molenbeek insisted on the fact that with such an enormous project (6000m2, in the heart of Molenbeek), they could not have allowed themselves to arrive in the neighborhood and say 'Hello, we are here'. He decided to do two main things to properly develop the project in the neighborhood. On the one hand, he developed activities with the neighborhood, such as facilitating the installation in his space of organizations that were already developing activities in or with the neighborhood. More specifically, he gave a space of 300 m2 (for free) to an ASBL called *nouvelle generation,* that gives French and Arabic classes and help kids from the neighborhood to do their homework. On the other hand, when big events are organized at La Vallée, instead of hiring technicians coming from outside of Molenbeek, he hires people from the neighborhood. He emphasized that at the beginning of the project, he tried to organize events with the locals himself, but it didn't work out because people didn't know him and didn't trust him. He concluded by saying:

> *"I think it's smarter to give the opportunity to people who are used to doing that and who already have contacts with the neighborhood to be a sort of intermediary and to facilitate communication between the neighborhood and us (La Vallée)"* (Pevée, P. Skype interview. May 21, 2017)

Through small exchanges, by the inclusion of some young people in their projects, and mainly by daily exchanges, little by little, they began to find a balance and are starting to have a good relationship with the inhabitants of the neighborhood:

> *"Thanks to all these little things, which take time too, and thanks to the fact that we meet every day, we realize that we have a real relationship with the inhabitants of the neighborhood"* (ibid.).

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3.2.2 Barcelona

In Barcelona, one of the most famous examples of integration of immigrant artists in the local culture can be found in what the city is doing with the festivities of La Mercè. La Mercè is the annual festival of the city of Barcelona. During the weeklong festival, close to two million people attend cultural and artistic presentations held throughout the city. The most traditional activities of the festival are based on the popular culture of Barcelona and Catalonia. There are about 600 events spread throughout the plazas, streets, museums, and parks and every activity is free. In the last years, one of the challenge was related to "*how the city could make the new residents, 'the new Barcelona', involved these celebrations*, because "*if in the main party of the city, the musicians and the persons involved as well as the audience only represent one part of Barcelona, the festivities are not 'democratic' anymore* (de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017)

At the beginning of the reflection on that subject, most of the people involved in the management of the festivities were saying that their agenda was already really diverse, because they were inviting artists from Japan, England, and Brazil… But they "*were not thinking about who actually lives in Barcelona*" (ibid). In order to explain how La Mercè decided to encourage people who "*actually live in Barcelona*" to participate to the festivities, Daniel de Torres gave the example of what they did for the Chinese community[10]. In order to reach this community, La Mercè decided to invite a Chinese popular rock star to play at Plaça Reial, a symbolic place in the city. Then, of course, one of the challenges was to reach out to the Chinese comminty and encourage participation. That's "*the second level of interculturality, meaning when you have to change your way of organizing things to reach the people who are forgotten of theses types of events*" according to Daniel De Torres. Indeed, this organization could not reach to a wider audience if only advertised in the local newspaper or on the Catalan radio:

> "*When we use the mainstream channels, they are mainstream in our perspective; they are not mainstream for everyone*" (ibid)

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[10] Barcelona has a community of more or less 20.000 people from Chinese origin.

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That's the reason why La Mercè decided to work with Chinese associations and mediators that knew how to make the information circulate and how to reach people of that community. From Daniel De Torres' perspective, the result was rather positive because, for the first time, many residents from a Chinese background went to a cultural/artistic event that was part of the agenda of La Mercè while many other locals also participated to this specific event.

This example could constitute a good strategy for Brussels to transfer into its own policies and projects. Interacting and working with the ethnically diverse communities themselves increases the likelihood of such projects to be successful in terms of promoting artistic diversity. As Pierre Pevée gave another strong argument to support this point from his own experience in Molenbeek, we see one more time that policies on the paper are not sufficient to reach out different communities and are thus prone to fail.

Considering issues that are more directly related to the integration of immigrant artists in the local cultural scene, Daniel De Torres and Jordi Pasqual stressed that local immigrant artists from different backgrounds are increasingly participating in the festivities of La Mercè. Both experts also mentioned the Cavalcada de Reis or the different carnivals that take place in Barcelona as good illustrations of this tendency. According to Jordi Pasqual *"the possibilities for all kind of people to take part, perform, participate in the local cultural scene are quite big" (Pasqual, J. Personal interview. May 22, 2017).*

However, more progress is needed to come up with a citizens' cultural agenda that is a true reflection of the diversity that exists in the city. Encouraging the participation of everyone is a first step but simultaneously promoting opportunities for management, creation, production, consumption and education in culture for all citizens is the objective according to Daniel De Torrès and Jordi Pasqual.

Furthermore, Jordi Pasqual argued that most of the activities organized by the departments of culture in the city tend not to reach a good portion of the society,

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namely the "*20 percent of population that is living in the city, and whose origins are foreign*" (Pasqual, J. Personal interview. May 22, 2017).

3.3 Perspective for the future

3.3.1 Brussels

It's difficult to say how Brussels will evolve institutionally because it's linked to so many different elements: the evolution of the European project, the evolution of the Belgian federal state. This complexity makes the case of Brussels quite unpredictable.

Cultural budgets are always under pressure while a clear emphasis was put (by the interviewees from the COCOF and the COCON/VGC) on the fact that budget are not extensible. Both organisms are considering PPP (public-private partnership) as good alternatives, as complementary solutions to public funding. Both the French and the Flemish commissions think that cultural organizations should look for other possibilities to fund themselves, even if public funding stays capital. Nevertheless, operators benefiting from those partnerships are often big and prestigious partners whereas it's more difficult for those that are smaller to access that kind of support.

On the side of the cultural actors, Pierre Pevée believes that "*public authorities will have less and less money for culture, given the financial and economic problems we are facing*". He is convinced that:

> "*It is better to develop a sustainable project without relying on public funding and counting them, if any, as a bonus, and being able to become self-financeable with the help of the private sector. Relying on public funding to pay for jobs and develop projects is too risky*" (Pevée, P. Skype interview. May 21, 2017)

There is also a common call from the interviewees toward a need for more cross-departmental cooperation and more communication:

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> *It's a shame that this doesn't seem to be enough taken into account by all the ministers concerned by these issues (culture, diversity and integration)... There should be an inter-ministerial conference that would bring together everyone, the federal government, the regions and communities* (Vainsel, C. Skype interview. 23 May, 2017)

About the complexity of the institutional system, all agreed on the fact that more could be done between communities and more could be simplified from an institutional point of view, but at that point, the discussion really becomes purely political. Some argue in favor of the regionalization of culture, while other are attached to the strong ties that culture has with the two language communities (COCON/VGC). Despite the recent movement towards more collaboration and the relative optimism of interviewees representing both communities, cultural actors are rather pessimistic about the future evolution of culture in Brussels:

> *"There are things you cannot change, and especially here in Brussels. At the institutional level nothing is really moving, and that's the story of Belgium. And even more of Brussels"* (Sinacori, F. Skype interview. May 15, 2017)

More precisely on artistic diversity, Costanzo calls for more initiatives doing what the Zinneke parade is doing:

> *"Diversity becomes really interesting when people with different histories and backgrounds meet and mix together through arts in the wide sense of the term. When diversity is about how people are right now and not something related to people's 'pays d'origine' or 'pays d'accueil"* (Costanzo, J. Skype interview.24 May 2017)

3.3.2 Barcelona

Culture has an important space in the public sector and occupies an important place in Barcelona's budget. Not a lot of cultural projects are relying on the private sector

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according to Jordi Pasqual. Cuts happened in the 2009-13 period, but now funding for cultural programs are growing larger.

Similarly to what has been said about Brussels, in Barcelona, the interviewees also consider that migrants' integration and diversity issues should not be the business of only one department. It is the principle that the city is associated with since the very beginning of the arrivals of immigrants in the beginning of the 20th century, and that was even more stressed later, when 2008 was designated the year of cultural diversity:

> *"At the time, our discourse was: dealing with diversity issues is not about social policies, this is absolutely cross-departmental. Everybody should be involved, Culture, education, economic development, urban planning, everything is linked. In any case, migrants' integration must not be the business of only one department."* (de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017)

The topic of cross-departmental cooperation came up many times, whether in the interviews about Brussels or the interviews about Barcelona, as an efficient way for people to start thinking critically about the impact of their work:

> *"When you stop dealing with your daily business and that for one morning you say: 'let's see what the other departments are doing. What are people dealing with culture, or youth, or education doing?' At that point many ideas come out, and people start to think critically about what are the impacts of their work. And they find the gaps themselves"* (ibid.)

The impacts of the policies from each department could thus be improved through more collaboration between the different departments; nevertheless, this process is not an easy thing to put in place. It's a mental process that politicians have to accept to start changing how they usually work. Change takes times, while there is a tendency in the administration to be opposed to such change (ibid).

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In Brussels, there is a call for cross departmental cooperation coming from both communities, while in Barcelona, cross-departmental tables already exist, but these efforts are not sufficient according to Daniel De Torres. Often, only one person goes to the cross-tables while, most of the time, the process is done informally and the information that emerges from those meetings does not circulate in the whole department. Daniel De Torres added that, with the same budget, but with more cross-departmental cooperation, the impact of the policies of each department could become much more significant and meaningful

Finally, there is also a demand coming from both associations and artists, as well as experts, for cultural institutions to be more open to competition and to diverse profile (Pasqual, J. Personal interview. May 22, 2017)

3.4 The assessment of the outcomes of cultural policies

An element that came back in every interview is that evaluation of culture is very complicated to put in place, and for several reasons. First, there is a lack of coherent technical tools and, above all, a difficulty to agree on the parameters of the evaluation. Second, the cultural sector is often suspicious when institutions talk about evaluation. They tend to say that public authorities come up with quantitative assessment tools whereas the evaluation of culture should also be qualitative. The qualitative evaluation of culture is something very complex to put in place, but institutions are aware of its importance:

> *Beyond knowing how many people you touch, you also need to know how you touch those people. Sometimes, no matter how many spectators are touched, there are shows that have the power to touch and arouse an extremely strong emotion and bring out very strong things* (Vainsel, C. Skype interview. 23 May, 2017)

Nevertheless, a qualitative assessment of culture remains something very difficult to measure. As proposed by Costanzo, one thing that could work is what he calls "*participatory lines*". The tool consist in first asking people in what kind of activities do they engage in. The second step is to ask them to place those activities on a time

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line. Then, finally, Costanzo propose to indicate *"the policy changes, the ads, political commitment, investments"* on the time line in order to try to assess the effects of the different initiatives put in place (Costanzo, J. Skype interview.24 May 2017).

There are a lot of indicators that are aiming to assess the outcomes of cultural policies such as: the communication between different department, information about who visits public libraries, statistics about the attendance of various cultural events and so on. However, Jordi Pasqual argued that a city *"cannot only rely on consumption indicators, figures of visitors going to museums or attendance numbers"* and that the assessment of the outcomes of cultural policies is one of the main challenges for the future (Pasqual, J. Personal interview. May 22, 2017). He said that at the moment, cities didn't find the right tool or indicator to properly measure the impact of their cultural policies on the society.

In Barcelona, according to Daniel De Torres, one good indicator of the success of these policies is their sustainability. Indeed, and despite the changes of governmental majority, the intercultural approach is still there after many years. One of the risks was that after 2-3 years, a change of government would put a stop at everything that was done. Moreover, Dani De Torres also considers the lack of strong anti-migration discourses as a proof that the city is not doing *"that bad"* (de Torres, D. Personal Interview. May 17, 2017).

4   Conclusion

This paper provided a qualitative research to contribute to fill the gap in the existing literature on the management of artistic diversity at the city level by conducting a comparative case study between Brussels and Barcelona. Through desk research and 9 semi structured interviews with stakeholders in both cities, I was able to respond to some of the most pressing questions regarding artistic and cultural diversity without ignoring the importance of taking into account the institutional, historical and socio-economical context of both cities analyzed.

Therefore, the findings of this research contribute to the understanding of the decision-making processes in each city, as well as policy implementation at the local

level and its direct impact on residents. Most importantly, it exposed similar administrative and bureaucratic problems, while offering examples of good practice that can be transferred from one context to another.

This pilot study has provided us with some patterns linking cities approach in relation to the assimilationist-multicultural-intercultural nexus and the meaningful implementation of their cultural policies dealing with artistic diversity.

However, I acknowledge that the number of research participants is not sufficient to test and approve certain link. Also, as a general concern, conducting a case study often raise the issue of generalizability. Thus, it is worth emphasizing that the aim of this research is not to generalize the conclusions but to learn from these specific cases. By doing so, I believe that the knowledge produced can be transferred to similar context and policy environments.

Finally, implementing similar research in other cities would be helpful to gain a deeper understanding on how to assess the effectiveness of the different approaches toward integration, and thus allow the literature to create a more complete picture.

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6. Annexes

Interview 1 - Fabio Sinacori

- Name: Fabio Sinacori
- Nationality: Italian
- Residence: Belgium (since 1986)
- Academic Background: *Ingénieur Commercial*, Brussels' Conservatory.
- Professional Background: Brussels Summer Festival, collaborated with Bozar and now artistic director of Belgium's National Orchestra (ONB)
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 15/05/17 *via* Skype

- So now I'm going to start with questions that are more precisely about my topic and my research. So, I decided to contact you because I heard about the initiative of the ONB to organize events involving children of different backgrounds. Could you give me details about this action? How did you organize it? What is the purpose, concretely?

So we propose, here at the ONB, different types of programs for kids. First of all we divide this in 2 major sectors. I'd say concerts for schools and concert for wider audience. We are more focused on school projects. Most of our projects focus on schools and we divide, of course, the projects according to the age of the students in the audience. That is to say: *Maternelle, primaire, secondaire, université.*

Here at the ONB we try to divide the audience, it's easier for us. We are proud, and I think we are the only orchestra here in Belgium, where we produce ourselves our projects. We don't buy something and play it. We kind of have a team, which is one person, whose working on these projects, and she takes the responsibility for the content of these projects, and normally we try to have 1 project per season and per age. One for the *maternelle*, one for the *primaire*, etc.

The particularity of the projects is that they are made in collaboration with the Palais des beaux-arts, meaning that we co-produced the projects with them, which is quite important for us.

Co-producing has a very wide meaning. It can be financially, working together for the communication, at different kind of levels.

The result is called *concerts interactifs*, interactive concerts. Which means in a more practical way, give the chance to the kids to participate. Not just to be passive, not just sit but also, listen and act. We try to do this thing for all different ages. It means that before coming, the kinds have kind of *ateliers*, in classrooms and kids have to follow them. The teacher of the class has to have a preparation before and they come and they have to participate by singing along, singing songs they learnt, they can move, clap hands, stand up, walk around… A lot of different things.

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I must say that it works quite well. For example we just had last week 2 concerts, 2 because every time we have to double the concerts. We are in Belgium, so we have concerts for special for the French classes, and some for the Flemish classes.

- Ah, so they are divided? That's interesting.

Yes, some of these we have to divide. Because in the case I'm talking about, it was aimed for *maternelle* (3 to 6 years old), and we had a story with a worm as a character and there is also a teller, who goes through the story of the worm. And of course, with the very young kids you need someone who talks their language, and that's why we need two different versions. Last year, we had a project for primary schools (6 to 12) and then we had a project without words. Only gesture, songs and it was also very good. So it depends mainly on the age of the kids. I think that for the very young ones, you need to have some words, the language. It helps a lot.

- For that project without words, did it you sometimes had a mixed audience? Dutch speaking and French speaking classes mixed?

Yes! That was mixed. That was the aim actually. But you can be surprised you know. Some time ago, we did a project for secondary and primary "language schools", and Flemish students wanted to attend to the French version of the spectacle and vice-versa. In order to learn, they have to participate, but the language thing stays important. You can be very surprised sometimes you know. Some are more open to other language than other, which is good.

- Who is choosing the schools that can attend to the shows, the concerts and activities?

We are here working on this kind of projects for 8 years, we have a quite good reservoir of schools, of people who follow us and we have different systems and communication tools to communicate with the teachers and the boss of schools. We are more and more aware that people who decide, who take the initiative to say that the class is going to participate to an event is not the chief of the school, it's really the teacher. The teacher is a really important person in the process, a very important person in order to decide who is going come to the events.

So now, after 8 years, we have a good database of teachers, in Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels and this database is linked with BOZAR and most of the teachers come back which means that most of the ones who came were happy they're coming back and back, which is good.

- Yes, ok. So, you are one of the only cultural institutions in Belgium that depends of the federal state and not of the communities, is that right?

We are not the only one. We are three. You have BOZAR, la Monnaie and us. Three of us are under the competency of minister Reynders, Didier Reynders. He is our minister. He has nothing to do with culture (he is minister of finance and vice-prime minister). But as you probably know, culture is a *compétence communautaire* but for the three of us, we are federal. And our budget comes from the federal government.

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- How would you describe your relation with the federal state? With the Minister?

I think it's quite positive. I think… He is trying to do his best to keep us going on. We are sure of the budget until 2019 (election year). It might change after that. I think that it's the first time that we have a minister who freeze things in a way, meaning that he said that he wouldn't do any cuts in the artistic institutions he is responsible of, but we will help you until 2019, which is positive.

- If we focus a bit more on Brussels, how would you assess the way organizational power deals with culture in Brussels? What do you think about the two communities that, through the COCOF and the COCON, do their own project for either French-speaking Bruxellois, or Dutch speaking Bruxellois? Do you have some relation with them, or not?

We don't have any relation with them. We don't work separated because we are living in the same social and artistic landscape but as you know, for example, Brussels philharmonic (the ancient Flemish radio orchestra) works at Flagey, not far from here. I think there is space for everyone; I think the artistic offer is never enough. I'm really against people saying, "There are too many concerts". There are not too many concerts, there are so many people that I would like see attending to a concert, to see a representation. I think culture is the last tool that our society has to make people get better. And if competition can help to propose a various offer, I think that it's for the best offer.

- Ok. But you are not specifically asking for more collaboration or for more meeting with the different communities in Brussels? For you it's working quite well at the moment?

For us it's working well, but nevertheless, for example we have a project with *Brussels philarmonique* and we share this project together.

- Yes, so institutionally, there is a separation, but you can still create and carry out projects together?

Of course. I Think, one thing is the politics, one thing is the artist. We don't play in the same playground, which is good. Now, if at one moment they are saying that we have to stop collaboration, we will stop and evolve in another way. But this kind of problem never happened, never.

- So, I'm also interested by the "migrant topic". So how to include migrants or people with a migratory background into cultural activities in Brussels. Do you have example at your level or other examples you know about initiatives involving migrants while helping them to get integrated and becoming a part of Brussels' culture?

Well I'm a migrant myself. So you have one answer already! I think … We do what we can, it's never enough. I think that we had a few projects in the last years with some Lebanese music; we had a concert with a lot of Lebanese musicians invited in

the Palais des Beaux-arts. It was a huge success. In our pedagogic youth projects, we also have a very strong social and I'd say migrant background: we have, for example, systems to help people coming from difficult suburbs of Brussels and we will keep on doing this. I think it's very important.

One of the most richness of this city and country is the huge diversity and especially here in Brussels but I'm also very much against the thing that "we have to do it because we (ONB) failed at something, we must open to them because we have to…" No! I do it because I want to do it. And something important, I want to do it for everybody. I would do it for migrants coming from Italy, Lebanese, even for people coming from other part of Belgium. I mean I don't want to put a label on people we should help.

- Ok so you don't want to target a specific group, nationality, you just want to be open, accessible for everyone?

Exactly.

- Whether they are Belgians, Italians, Moroccans, you don't want to target specific groups you should help?

No, and I think that sometimes people don't understand this or don't like this. But I feel like it's something that we must do, because if we begin to select "those yes, those no", we play their *(?)* game and we don't want to do it.

- It's quite interesting because I don't know if you heard about the cultural plan of the Flemish and French community but they are saying the same as you. They want to be open to everyone, to make people meet and interact but they don't want to target a specific group of people. Did you hear about those cultural plans? The Flemish one is from 2014 and is giving objectives until 2020, and the French speaking one is giving a perspective for the next 20-30 years.

No I did not hear about it.

- Do you have some future plan or ideas to improve what's happening now in terms of integration?

I'd love to have more money to make more projects. We have 10.000 kids coming every year for our pedagogics projects, which is not bad. And I think that we could have the double if we wanted because the offer is so small and the demand so huge. But with a limited budget, we have to make some choices. We do what we are doing because we believe it's important to do it, and we'd love to do even more, but for that, we need the possibility, financially, to do it. At the moment we don't have the financial support to do it. We do what we can in the frame of our budget.

- Last question, in your opinion, do you think that there is a gap between what the federal state and your minister wants to do (their perspective, vision and objectives) and the means they give you to do it?
You should ask them, you shouldn't ask me.

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- Yes but from your point of view, from the point of view of the orchestra? Is there a gap between their objectives that they translate into policies, and then the means they give you to realize those objectives?

You know, in my position, where I'm standing now before you, I'd say "sky is the limit". If I could, I'd use the double of the money we have in order to buy more symphonic projects, in order to have more pedagogic projects, in order to have rehearsal room… As I said, "sky is the limit". The actual government, they are doing their best, really, to help us out. Because we had so many cuts in the last years, one after the others, it was very bad. Four years ago, if we had had this conversation, I'd have said "God, I cannot see the end of the tunnel", but now, I do, until 2018 at least.

Now, a perfect world doesn't exist. I think that everybody here is doing his best. The boss, the CEO, me, everybody. To make things happen, to push the politicians again and again. But at the end of the day, you also have to consider that the reality is what it is and do with what you have at your disposition.

- So, if I had to summarize what you said earlier, you would agree if I'd say that there is coherence between what the institutional level wants to do and the means they give you and what you re doing concretely?

Yes, it is. But of course it's not perfect.

- Ok, so I finished with my questions. Is there something you want to say, to precise or to add?

No, but I think that the only thing that is important, I don't know for you, but I think here in Belgium, the political climate is very strange. And, culture, arts is, as I said, a very special *compétence communautaire*. We are the only one, with la Monnaie and the BOZAR, who are thinking wider. And that's because we are a federal institution. I think it's a strength to be above the rest, not because we are better than the other, that's not what I mean, we are above the rest means that we can think things in another way. Not close on one community. We try to be as open as possible and this is the huge advantage we have. Now, the financial situation is what it is, the only thing I can hope is that in the future government, we'll have some politician who can extend and put his chin up and see 10, 15, 20 years from now. And not only trying to do his best to be re-elected: "Un vrai home d'état, pas un politicien". There is a huge difference. And we should have this kind of personality who really wants to invest in culture. Not only music but expositions, dance, it can be whatever, plays, whatever.

- What could be this "long term perspective", what would be your plan? What would you do?

Well I'd try things, I'd dare. I'd plan things and give more chances for everyone. For example, when I started, one of my dreams was to have every single kid in Brussels to, at least once, come to the Palais des beaux-arts. Could we make that gift to the kids? And I think, we have the means to realize that kind of things even if I'm not demagogic, not every kind is our audience. But this is not a problem! I want these kids to feel something, they could be astonished, afraid, bored, think that it's too loud,

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whatever, but that is music. It's emotions. Nowadays, kids don't know what emotions are. They are on their Ipod, Facebook whatsoever. I think that if we manage to touch them and give them another vision, that's good. If we could give all of them the possibility to see a show, that'd be my dream. And I fight for these kinds of things.

- One last thing, about the moment when you talked about that communitarian division on culture, and especially in Brussels. About this new (long-term) perspective that you were mentioning, would you try to change the way culture is managed in Brussels (each community works on project made for Dutch/French speaker)? Would you ask for more co-operation and communication between communities, even for a regionalization or federalization of culture, or do you think it's efficient as it is?

It's a very good question; I think we should try to build an organization for cooperation in Brussels and we would need to let them work. And, if the result are good, why not. As you may now, the Flemish community is much richer than the French speaking. They will probably have to give more money to make things happen. I think we need to give them the time, see the results after 1 or 2 years. See if it's good, not good, and decide in accordance to that. But sometimes, you know, there are things you cannot change, and especially here in Brussels.

- Yes, indeed. I read that in several project, organization like RAB/BKO were asking for more collaboration (and it happened on the field), but at the institutional level nothing is really moving, right?

Yes that's the story of Belgium. And even more of Brussels.

Interview 2 - Daniel de Torres

- Name: Daniel de Torres
- Nationality: Spanish
- Residence: Spain - Barcelona
- Academic Background: Economy, International and European studies
- Professional Background: Advisor for the Municipality of Barcelona and then of the Mayor's office (social, educational and cultural policies). Since 2011, independent consultant and advisor for the Council of Europe Intercultural Cities Program
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 17/05/17

- Ok. So my first specific question was that I'd like to come back on the history and the evolution of cultural policies in Barcelona. So, if I understood correctly, the city started to implement intercultural policies in 1997, so it has been almost 20 years that you are in an intercultural paradigm?

No, I mean yes. The 1997 plan was a bit like… I was not there but I know the story. I think that in Spain, because we didn't have any model of integration like multiculturalism or assimilationism, everything was discovered at the time and we had time to chose about what we were gonna do. So depending on the people who were in charge… It's true that at that point, the idea of living together in diversity was more connected to the intercultural idea, but as a natural thing. We were not saying that 'yeah, we want to lead the intercultural approach or whatever'. I think using some words or another doesn't really have an impact in terms of policies. But the principle stays important of course.

In 1997, we didn't really have any migration and diversity in the city. At that's why we didn't really have a vision on the issue. But it was really important that someone already started to think about it before everything. It's also important to say that the intercultural approach is not something that someone invented like that at one point, it's the result of an evolution and I think that in Spain and in Barcelona, the idea of coexistence and living together is linked to something intense. It's not just the acceptance of a kind of segregation. It's not our idea of living together. So when someone started to think about the word and the concept that was going to define our way of dealing with integration, it was normal to choose the one who represent more our way of thinking, the one that connects people. It's true that at that moment, 1997, it was the first step.

We were getting ideas from abroad… But then, the concept was dead for a while. In the next years, there was no concrete evolution of the intercultural concept. There was a plan, it lasted for a while but then, when the migration really arrived (2000-2004), which is really the first wave of arrivals, the city was more focused on the welcome policies and the hosting, and the theoretical concept of interculturality wasn't really taken into account. So I'd say that, really, from the new modern period, until 2008, we were working in an approach to integration that had some intercultural principle that had the smell or the attitude of interculturalism but not in a really deep way, not in a conceptual development of the idea (…) The main ideas/principles were there: not segregating, no service specific for migrants, avoiding any situation of multiculturalists policies… All those principles were really in the genes of all the migration policies. In term of taking the diversity and interculturalism as the main topic, and not migrants, there was nothing until 2008.

- In Spain, you said that before the end of the 20th century, there was not really a clear paradigm regarding their strategy for integration?

No we didn't have any. So we had the freedom of not having a model to stick to. But at the same time, we also had a lack of references and kind of ignorance in that field. Nevertheless, I think it ended up being a nice thing for us.

- In Barcelona, do you have one specific example of something that has been put in place in terms of cultural diversity, or artistic diversity, to help migrate to integrate through culture?

Many things! Many things! I think 2008 was the EU year of cultural diversity. And in Barcelona we did some things that were quite important. At that time I was the

mayor's commissionaire. And our discourse was: dealing with diversity issues is not about social policies, this is absolutely cross-departmental.

Everybody should be involved, Culture, education, economic development, urban planning, everything is linked! But it's not easy. It's people; this is a process, a mental process to accept that and to start changing. Migrants' integration must not be the business of only one department.

As long as there is a good cultural level, whatever it is, we are involved, but we need to do something from a social point of view too. It's not our main goal but we can do things because we promote public libraries in the neighborhoods and we promote an intercultural method there. And we know it's important in terms of social cohesion, identities, living together in diversity…

2008 was the moment when the cultural department was in charge of organizing all the activities of the year to celebrate the EU year of intercultural dialogue. That was really important for the people in the department to go deep about the concept and theories about what approach they should really take to be efficient and start thinking about how to promote interculturality through culture and a coherent narrative.

A thing is having new artists, new audiences and another is equality of opportunity for artists. What is equality for artists? To get the same support or whatever? Having equality of opportunities in terms of enjoying some cultural offers that is attractive?

Where do you need to work? Of course you can work more in a social level, in cultural centers where you encounter some kind of diversity, but then you also need to do something about the big cultural centers and city institutions (opera house, big museums). For me, if I had to give an example, just one, I'd say La Mercè.

One of the debates was, when you organize the cultural agenda of the days when we celebrate la Mercè, how can we make the new residents of the city, the new Barcelona, involved in the celebrations of the city. It's free, it's in the street, it's public space, this party is really related to the city's identity - it's basically the party of the city - it's a very democratic experience. But it's not about nationality; it's about the city, where diversity is part of the identity.

But then, if in the main party of the city, the musicians and the persons involved as well as the audience only represent one part of Barcelona, it's not democratic anymore. It's not about building a common identity anymore. It's not about belonging to a specific place all together. So, at the beginning of the reflection about diversity in La Mercè, people said that the agenda was really diverse, like "we bring artist from Japan, England, Brazil… because they have good art, good music and good theatre". But at some point we were like "yeah, but you are not thinking about who actually lives in Barcelona". I don't know, we have a community of 20000 Chinese. People from Morocco, Latin America… So the cultural offer should reflect this reality.

Of course, they shouldn't stop bringing a Brazilian or English artist, that's great; we want to know what's going on in the world, in the art. But at some point, we have the responsibility, in terms of policy, to provide the city with a sense of belonging, and give the new citizens of the city the opportunity to enjoy culture here.

Encourage people to mix is the main goal, and to give people the equality, you need to provide people with spaces, places where you can facilitate this kind of interaction and learning together about cultural elements of the different people living here. So when they decide at la Mercè to invite a chinese popular rock star ("The Boss") to play at plaça reial, a very symbolic place. That was one of the first iconic decision that they took.

- And how was it interculturalist to invite this guy?

I'm going to explain you in details. It's interculturalist in terms that there are residents of the city who will be very interested by that guy coming for la Mercè. But at the same time, you know that it could be interesting for other people in the city. Even if they put this artist in a symbolic place, one of the challenges was to guaranty that Chinese community could come to see this artist. Because maybe they don't even know that he is coming. So how do you inform them, how do you spread information about it? That's the second level of interculturality, meaning when you have to change your way of organizing things to have an impact on people who are sometimes forgotten and not considered for this type of events. If you just put an add in the news paper or on the Catalan radio…

Nothing guarantees that the Chinese community of the city will hear about it. So it's not about proposing something or offering opportunities for people, but it's also being pro-active in the way you inform people. And you need to change the way you usually promote these events.

At that time, mentalities started to change. People realized that most of the time, they were promoting culture through very little communication channels and mainly in Catalan. When we use the mainstream channels, they are mainstream in our perspective; they are not mainstream for everyone.

So for example, for the "Chinese community case", they started to communicate with Chinese mediators, associations that knew how to make the information travel and reach more people. We had to know and collaborate with "their channel". And, for the first time, many residents from a Chinese background went to a cultural/artistic event that was part of the agenda of la mercè.

But, it was not only for the Chinese, it was also for all residents. Many other locals went and enjoyed the concert. All those people mixed in a very symbolic and central square of the city, enjoying a free, good quality of cultural offer. For many Barcelonans of Chinese background, it was the first time, even leaving here for years, that they were going to plaça Reial.

At some point, promoting interculturalism needs different approaches and doing new things. Many people think that "Yeah we're going to offer an interculturalist agenda' and people will mix…" No, you have to go to the heart, the reasons, what prevents people to mix. And that's really important. It's important that cultural offers represent the culture of the city, but It's also important that the mentality of all those who work in organizations dealing with culture know that, If you want to promote real

intercultural events, you need to promote different ways and things that before you didn't know that you had to do.

- How would you assess the results of those different intercultural policies or events? And in general, how is it assessed? Do you have some indicators? How do you measure the effects and the results?

That's the main topic when you try to see the impact of intercultural policies. There are a lot of indicators. And they can take many things into account: the communication between different department for example. Another example is what we did with public library where I.D are asked. So library collect information about the nationality of people coming and with those statistics, we can see if, considering the location of the library, the population going to libraries reflect the diversity of the neighborhood. But we don't have this for everything; we don't have it for sports facilities for example. In sport facilities, most people told us that diversity was well represented and that many immigrants were joining clubs, but that's based on feelings, not on actual statistics.

So, for example, we have statistics on people running marathons (and who are not coming from abroad), for which we have indicators calculating the evolution of the mixity (diversity) in terms of participation of locals from an immigration background. We have thus some events throughout the year for which we have indicators dealing with mixing and participatory numbers, and they are improving every year.

So I'd say that you have, on the one hand, the urban planning policies that aim to tackle obvious segregation, because have to avoid this. On the other hand you have social, cultural and educational policies that try to avoid that in specific neighborhoods certain people become marginalized (in terms of investment or whatever). Combined, they are part of the best intercultural policies you can do.

When you go to Paris, you can notice the obvious lack of services in certain neighborhoods. In Barcelona, I always say that we did a lot of intercultural policies without being aware of the fact that they were intercultural. They were not labeled as intercultural but they were good for intercultural purposes. During 25 years, there was a lot of investment in the city's peripheries and surroundings to promote equality, public space, public libraries, civic centers, youth centers and cultural/sport facilities… Those are the best intercultural policies you can do. You need those structures to after be able to implement other, more specific, intercultural policies.

Then, you have the work at the communitarian level and how you can do a lot of intercultural policies without some structures. But, I think the Barcelona model, when people say it's intercultural…

I always say that we were lucky (compared to other areas) in this case that during 25 years there has been sustainable investments in those (immigrants) neighborhoods that were in risk of becoming ghettos. So, when people say "show me the most complex place in Barcelona", it doesn't work like that.

Of course you can show them the Raval or something comparable, but this is a joke compared to other neighborhoods in Europe where no one goes. But here, diverse

neighborhoods like Raval are cool, it has tourist, students… there is a mix there. You can go to Ciutad Meridiana where it's more segregated but in terms of security or problems of co-existence, it's not a big deal at all. So people see that in those neighborhoods too, you can walk, relax.

There are a lot of different impacts. Without promoting equality polcies, you cannot be intercultural. But then, it's not enough. You need to go further, you need to promote positive interaction, a positive and constructive discourse in terms of immigration and diversity. But you shouldn't be naïve neither: Diversity is not great for everybody. But the responsibility of public discourse is really important. The positive and constructive discourse in the long term is important.

Because of all these elements, people of the city have accepted that the best way we can build the future of the city is by accepting the diversity and the structural reality and that even if there are people not happy with diversity, skeptical, who don't care… There is a common consensus that interculturality is better if we really want to live together. People realized that multiculturalism was not good for that and was leading to segregation.

I think the level of acceptance of this, the generalization of this kind of reality, and the lack of strong anti-migration discourses… This is something that at least, shows that we are not doing that bad.

Then you have more specific examples of evolution of coming from a non model to the intercultural model. I remember for example when we started including the intercultural criteria within the grants (funding) for local organizations, associations (cultural, social, sportive…) I met an organization organizing a soccer championship with immigrants country (Ecuador, Bolivians, Morocco,…) competing against each other. I said that they had all the rights to do that, but our goal, as a public administration who really wants to promote interculturality, our goal is not to support those activities that are not dealing with this complex reality that is positive action and mixing. So, of course you can do this; whenever you want, but we are not going to support you to do it. What we are going to support, is if you organize a sport activity that is really intercultural, facilitating an atmosphere in which mixing and interaction is possible.

After two years, the same people started to accept that and understood it. They came and said that we were right. We need spaces where we are interacting together. So they started to change and came saying that last year they started to bring Spanish in the teams, while they also started to mix the teams. The most interesting is that it's not that they accepted that, it's that they wanted to do it.

One good indicator of the success of these policies is also their sustainability. One of the risks was that after 2-3 years, a change of government put a stop at everything that was done. But what Barcelona has successfully proved is that the heart of the policy and the approach is still there after many years and government. More and more people in the city are agreeing to the idea now. And now that a lot of people agrees, are convinced and are involved in it, it's not going to be easy to change of paradigm. The fact that the Intercultural plan of 2009 was designed with the help of hundreds of citizens and associations also gave legitimacy to our approach.

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- So whether the government is left or right, they accept the fact that interculturalism is a good way to deal with diversity?

There are differences of course but successive government, instead of changing of paradigm, they kept more or less the same approach. Of course, they don't promote diversity with the same energy, but at least they don't want to change everything. And the heart of what we started continues, and increases in the society.

That means that when you do this together with civil society, not being a political thing disconnected from civil society, it's more difficult for other government to change it. I'm not saying that they will never change it, they could, but themselves, they are saying "why would we change something that organizations and people are involved with, something that make sense, and something that has some recognition at the international level, like at the council of Europe?" You think twice before wanting to change something that is praised by many international organizations.

That's why, when I advise cities to launch intercultural strategies, I tell them to think on the ways they need to work to guarantee the sustainability: strategy based on civil society for example.

- Related to that, would you say that interculturalist methods could be applied in many other contexts?

Yes, and I've been working on this in many countries: Mexico, Japan, Morocco…

- Whatever the context, it's a good basis to start working on these diversity-related issues?

I think so. It's a good basis, yeah. At the end it has something that is very natural in terms of …

Segregating, even if it's not a voluntary result of policies, all societies realize that segregation is never good. If you start from this principle and you understand that inequalities, linked to ethnic, cultural, origin, physical, socio-economic… It leads to discrimination, and it's never good. If you understand that exclusion and racism is unfair and expensive… At the end, it's ok… If you have an open mind in terms of what interculturality means, many people may call it differently, but it's quite logic for me that in different context it leads to different approach, but with facing the same issues related to increasing diversity, cities can, in interculturalism, find a way of resolving problems.

You know, in the Intercultural Cities Network, we are now 100 cities (from all around the world), all sharing indicators and a method. Many cities agreed on the efficiency of the indicators on certain fields.

- In Barcelona, there are two main organizations dealing with culture if I understood correctly? ICUB and Espai avinyó?

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(Laughs) Mmmmh, not really. ICUB is the department of culture of the city. It represents all the culture policies of the cities. Espai avinyo is a space that promotes interculturality. Its history is that, in 2008, when at some point some of the reactions of the cultural department is that "we don't want to get into the folklorisation of culture, ok?" But after 2008, we started the process to define the intercultural strategy of the city.

At some point, the opportunity came out to use a space to promote intercultural debate and activities. From the culture department, which has like, lots of cultural centers the city and all the libraries in the city….

That specific place, Espai Avinyo would more deal with interculturalism rather than culture, which is normal in the process of transition I guess. Even if interculturality should be in the mentalities of all the cities plans, you need someone's specifically pushing for the intercultural agenda. So we had the opportunity, and we accepted because we knew the culture department was not going to promote interculturalism at that time. We believed that there was a space to do a good quality of cultural content while at the same time, dealing with intercultural issues. We needed to visualize many of the good things that the city was doing.

That's why we launched this place. The main goal was not to create a center of interculturalism, the main goal would be to have an intercultural approach in everything. But in our case, we needed some visualization of interculturalism to influence and convince people that it was good idea.

- Is there a good collaboration, cooperation between Espai Avinyó and ICUB?

That you should ask them, I'm not there anymore. There is a good… I don't know.

- Is culture the exclusive competence of Barcelona? Or do you still have some influence from Spain and/or Catalonia?

Culture, since a long time ago, was decentralized in regions. But even in regions, Catalunya doesn't have that much influence. They are still responsible of big institutions (opera, big museums) but mainly by funding them. The state too gives money but both of them don't manage culture. The historical mayor of the city (Pascual Maragai), the one who led us to Olympic games, was very into culture and put it in a very high position in the city. That's why the budget of culture in Barcelona is higher than in most other cities in Spain, and that has been a really important thing for the city. All institutions were thought, well planned by the city at that time – a good example is the CCCB, with freedom to act regarding Catalonia and Spain.

- I have one last question; I was wondering if you identify gaps between discourse/policies, policies/implementation or implementation/effects?

I think there are gaps in all those domains. There always are gaps. I mean, it's not easy to, even if there is a discourse; there are so many people with different opinions… and change of government, and different opinions… So are even not really aware of it. Some can change their mind with time… We also need to guarantee the long-term implementation and the innovation that interculturalist needs.

- How do you go from these differences in opinions and interests to the policies and their implementation?

One of the things I remember from when I arrived here is that change takes times. And that in administration there is also a tendency to be opposed to change. I think that the change that you need to bring is related to creativity into politics and policies, be very creative. One of my main goals is to show people that they are much more creative than they think, but they don't see it and don't put it as a positive aspect. When you stop dealing with your daily business and your service and that for one morning you say: ok stop that. Let's stop and let's think about the challenges and impact that we are having. What are other doing. What people dealing with culture, youth, education are doing. What can we do?

At that point many ideas come out, and people start to think critically about what are the impacts of their work. And they find the gaps themselves. "We are doing this, we should stop/change to have a better impact". But if you don't provide those spaces of reflection, and this mentality of keeping this updating and evaluation…

I know it's not easy because people are busy, have important issues to deal with… But this thing of rethinking and re-evaluating is more qualitative for us. General evaluation can kill the whole thing, filling files and indicators, writing reports… That kills some of the aspects of the policies. But at the same time we need more time to actually think about those results and those reports, time to look back and to communicate. But of course, this is not easy to do.

So, I think there are gaps, always, and the most important gap is in terms of the, the most important room for improvement, is in terms of managing, the management of the policies. The lack of a real cross-department cooperation and collaboration. This is not about Barcelona; it's about the whole world. Every city I advised had the same problem.

- Could you give more details about that?

Ok for example, Barcelona has a local development agency for economic development, they have the immigration department, the urban planning department, whatever, culture and education… There are a lot of impacts of the policies from each department that could be improved through more collaboration between the different department.

If you are working to improve the capacity of unemployed to get a job for example. You're working for the economic department to provide these people with support and capacity. But there is the migration department who knows who in the city is providing support, knows more about associations supporting certain citizens. Then, there are people whose talent is linked to some cultural activities and the cultural departments support some projects to support people…

But all those departments are not connected and the guy in charge of the policies for unemployed people doesn't know about everything that's happening.

I'm not saying it doesn't happen at all, it exists, but still, it's quite small compared to the impact that you could get with the same budget. People always complain about budget, and it's true that it's really important, cuttings have been a total disaster in Barcelona, but there is so much room available for improvement to get a higher impact of our policies, to change the way policies are designed true collaborations and the inputs that different department could have…

For me, it's the greatest challenge, not only for interculturality but for many other things. If you're going rehabilitate a neighborhood, from the urban planning department, you work with an interculturalist paradigm to explain the importance that the kind of urban planning that has been implemented in the city has been efficient to avoid segregation. But if you're not aware of the results that other department have had, policies are much more difficult to implement and less efficient. If department work in different paradigms, it has a risk in terms of not providing positive interaction.

- What type of action would you recommend to improve the communication between departments?

Well, there are cross-departmental tables already, but it's not sufficient. Most of the time it's done informally and the information does not circulate in the whole department. Often, only one person goes to the meeting.

It's also about mental change. For that you need to promote cross-departmental dialogue, time, but also political leadership. When there will be a politician that knows that those issues are very important, the projects will be promoted within which discussion and interaction between departments will be put forward. And that point, we'll start going even further

Discussion within all departments, and people starts to reevaluate their own vision. After one roundtable I organized in a city for example, I had one department who told me that they thought that the problem in the city was security, but after the meeting they understood that it was more a social-educational issue.

Of course, it's not easy to do, changing mentalities. People don't want other to people to interact with their competences.

Interview 3 - Geert Cochez

- Name : Geert Cochez
- Nationality : Belgian
- Residence : Brussels
- Academic Background : Marketing
- Professional Background : CEO of Mixity Brussels, professor in art and culture, advisor at Pascal Smet's office (Flemish Government).
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name.
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 19/05/17 *via* Skype

- Ok cool thank you. So I decided to contact you because of the project Mixity.brussels. Can you just basically summarize the goal of the project and how it was developed?

The context of Mixity.brussels is what we call a thematic year, it's a way of working in our touristic marketing that we do every two or three years that we have a focus during one year on a specific team related to the promotion of Brussels.

So, before, in 2012, we had a year of gastronomy which is called "Brusselicious". We had a thematic year around art nouveau, Comic Strip, Image of Brussels, and they brought the idea to set up a thematic year linked to Brussels' diversity, that was decided before the attacks of Paris and Brussels.

The origin of the project is, from a touristic promotion point of view, a marketing approach to have a focus during the whole year on a specific team; but given the fact that this specific team (Brussels diversity, Brussels cosmopolite character) is not a typical touristic team to work on. So, it demands a bit of… Well, let's say that a lot of our partners, even in our own team, people were not immediately… Argh. How to say… It's not easy… A team to approach a marketing strategy, it is far more easy to talk about gastronomy and restaurants we have and to try to define a project to emphasize and to stress Brussels' image as an international city.

- Yes it's much more complex I guess. Who took the initiative at the beginning? Whose idea was it?

Well in general it's the decision of the Brussels' regional government; but for this edition actually the pitch came from the French community government (*Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles*), where Rachid Madrane the Minister in competence for the promotion of Brussels within the French speaking community of Belgium. And he's himself from a North African origin and he's a Brusseler with immigration roots and he wanted to set up a project around this team and he suggested to the Brussels government who had at that time around the end of 2014 to decide on a new team for a new thematic year. He suggested a team on diversity and was going to also provide the budget… So that was then accepted at Brussels' regional level. There were

already three different Ministers involved in the project. But Rachid Madrane and the French speaking Minister had a kind of equivalence with a Minister of the Flemish side who is competent in Brussels in the Flemish government. So he also implied counterparts in the other language communities, and then also the project started to develop the French community commission; so the local French speaking government in Brussels and Fadila Laanan also decided to get involved.

So the only Brussels non-local but Brussels government that did not decide to participate is the Flemish community commission (VGC), they decided to not be part of it, budget wise, but that means that Mixity.brussels initiative is wide and seen and a collaboration between different public authorities and the last collaboration in Brussels, in event-scale with different governments was in 2000 when Brussels was Europe's capital of culture. So it seems that it's the first time that once again four of these governments are collaborating in the same project.

- Ok so I guess that these four governments are financing the project?

Yes four governments.

- About this diversity of institutional level in Brussels, how would you assess the relation between the French-speaking community, the Flemish-speaking community, and you at the head of projects like Mixity.brussels… Do you think this separation of competence is efficient regarding culture in Brussels?

It creates a context of course where you're in a region where the the region itself the local government , the regional Brussels government, is dealing with regional matters, economic matters, so related competences and by means of that it's mainly reflecting on the city, the economic impact of the city, road works and so on. But it's not directly developing the heart of Brussels, because it's like in cultural competence, education or welfare, it's not reflecting enough…

It's not reflecting enough on the software of the city and how it's creating society and what the Brussels culture and Brussels society be like and there you're a bit handicapped compared to another international cities that you have to align your communities for your educational network, for your cultural situation, your cultural offer, and then, by these means, the social project for the city is mainly thought from outside the city by two communitarian governments, the Vlaams one and the Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, who don't have a full implication within the city. And then it's a complex thing but it has been like this for the last thirty years and without really big troubles. It can work. But you see even in the project that we're organizing here with Mixity.brussels that it's also that you have to organize it because this lack of development of social and cultural project for Brussels.

- Would you recommend more cooperation or even in this institutional separation, you, in the field, you can collaborate with organization, without needing anymore institutional clearness?

Given in the current context, I think that there's many good things going on in Brussels that involve collaboration and you, of course, if you're asking me this question, I have to make a distinction between a personal opinion or my professional opinion of course. Because as a personal opinion, I think that Brussels is still

suffering too much from this institutional divide and that within the future, even after the six reforms of the state that still many other topics where Brussels should be more enforced as a third region; in terms of culture and education. So an important step forward and then I reply with more my professional background, it's that with the six reforms of the state, competence of tourism has been regionalized (before it was a communitarian competence) and that has permitted the Brussels region to take this method and this strategy much more in hands. And also in the current situation where my organization here in Brussels is actually a new structure, a new agency, that's the root of three old structures which have been brought together.

So since 2015 we've been able to much more develop a vision on how Brussels is developing in terms of tourism, in terms of cultural offer, in terms of cultural promotion and still without lacking the real leverage for real Brussels cultural policies that's still directed by the communities. But there already has been an important change in different topics, different spheres of policy making, the reinforced role of the Brussels-Capital region makes that there is this kind of coordination role given to this Brussels region, It would be much easier if we had one regional government competence for all matters and of course there's also this articulation with nineteen local municipalities that's still nowadays, well it's a kind a personal opinion, have too much autonomy and makes a the strong regional development of a strong regional project rather difficult.

- Ok. Coming back to Mixity.Brussels I was wondering how did you select the projects that are l presented on your website or part of your agenda?

One setting of the project when the different authorities decided to collaborate on projects like this were the mission to make a first preliminary note on what's the contents and message of such thematic year could be. And then of course we've been reflecting on what are the different ingredients we have to set up a project.

Of course it's logical in such kind of project that it will be setting up on events, that for these events we will try to collaborate with the existing events that are already stand for the values that you try to promote and of course that we set as one of the other ingredients we have in our bag to make a recipe for the habitants of the city, the languages that are spoken in Brussels, that different spheres of the cultural fields that are by nature very explicit in terms of multiculturality. Like, for example, choirs in the city so an ingredient to show Brussels diversity.

On the other hand street art in the city but also hip-hop culture and culture where many influences are coming together in a cultural field that's becoming more and more mainstream as well. So with these alliances, we made initially fourteen different projects that could be set up specifically for thematic year, and we had to narrow that down until let's say 6, 7 to 8 projects and so we've made now a kind of Brussels at the heart of the mixity with six different projects where we set up a choral season (April May, June) with different choirs project which is calles mixity sings. We've been realizing 8 murals (*fresque*) in different communities that will reflect on different aspects of this diversity team, the project is called Mixity Wall. Then we've set up a project around people to be the heart of the project there will be a large exhibition this summer in the Beaux-Arts center on the history of hip-hop industry and culture in Brussels these last 35 years.

And… well, we decided this idea 2 years ago but for some reasons, in the last months or the last year, there's a real rise in the notoriety of Brussels hip-hop scene as well on the French-speaking side as the Dutch-speaking side, so all of a sudden this project comes as a logical feature in such a year and we have a really vibrant hip-hop art scene at the moment.

Then on the other hand we are teaming up with different adjusting projects as *Couleur Café* or the Belgian Pride that are the heart of the diversity in this city and there are some exhibition projects that were already planned to be organized around this year, around this moment, which are really mixity by nature so we have a big Islam exhibition of the history of Islam in European history and on the role Belgium and Brussels have played toward the century for refugees. That's organized by the tourism center of Brussels so the background is of Jewish refugees during the Second World War, but also more in general how Brussels has always been a city very welcoming as a city-refuge.

Two other institutions that are main part in the project are the Royal Museum of Africa in Tervuren, just outside Brussels, it was logic to have a connection with them and then on the other hand also the European aspect of Brussels with the opening a couple of weeks ago of the European House of History, a large new museum project of the European Parliament which set up a new museum that in a critical way it's not just a promotion project, not at all, it's overlooking the history of the European continent and the different elements that influenced it, European culture and European identity.

So with a mix of these different elements, and some smaller side projects (developing of a pop-up museum, a photo project on Brussels 83 nationalities), we have also "small humans of Brussels exposition" that's comparing portrays of Brussels inhabitants. A network of Brussels creators… We show to the inhabitants that their neighborhoods are part of the interests.

So trying to take different ingredients of our cosmopolitan city into account and putting it together into a project and to give a more general reflection, I think it's one of the first time that there's on a large scale two completely different notions of Brussels as multicultural city are being connected. On the one hand the notion of Brussels as a city of immigration since 1960 and 1970 with some *quartiers d'arrivage* as Molenbeek or Schaerbeek, this side of Brussels multiculturalism; and then on the other hand totally different spheres of international institutions, European institutions, NATO, the communities working for these institutions, which creates a kind of divide within the city. But these two aspects are part of what constitutes the DNA of Brussels as a cosmopolitan city.
I think they haven't been in the past any attempt to take these different elements as a whole. It's also a way for the Brussels region and it's supported also by different other authorities to assume its DNA as an international city, a city where these last 15 years, the end of the 1990's, certainly since 2003-2004, with the large *agrandissement* we had of the European Union towards Balkan countries, the city demographically completely changed. So we were a city of immigration, we were a city of international institutions, but it's really since 2000 that that has completely shifted, but also demographic statistics have completely changed; nowadays more than 2/3 of

Brussels inhabitants have their roots outside of the region and you feel it on daily basis when crossing the city, that Brussels is not a Belgian city anymore, that within politics, within marketing, within certain fields of social life of the city like for instance the art scene…

That the DNA of Brussels hadn't been reflected or assumed enough, we need to focus a whole year on this aspect of brussels that also constitutes an important value for Brussels, we also consider that we will affect what will be going through in 2018, 2019, 2020. That in the hands of the inhabitants, in the plans different institutions of the city make and that the policy makes, in the image we portray of Brussels outside the city, that this notion of cosmopolitan character will be part of the feature.

- In terms of audience, is there a specific and targeted audience or your goal is to democratize culture and to involve the most population as possible?

Well given the nature of the project, it's a bit different than previous thematic years as we did in 2012 the Brusselicious gastronomy year, then the main focus were visitors and people for abroad to let them discover Brussels gastronomic culture. Now with this topic we have a double vocation, it's on the one hand sending a message outside, developing Brussels promotion by embedding this DNA within the different topics we are working on; but on the other hand, assuming Brussels as a cosmopolitan city is still also something that has to be done toward the difference, toward the inhabitants of Brussels, the people working in Brussels, people regularly using Brussels for shopping and so on. So we have kind a double strategy where on the one hand some of the features of the thematic year are rather addressed toward the local audience; and on the other hand, some collaborations and some projects we try to a message at the international level.

- Ok. And concretely how do you do to reach or to involve people with a migratory background, the people that live in more difficult neighborhoods with socioeconomic problems?

There's of course… Well at the heart it's a promotion project, it's not a sociocultural project that you ought to compare to Mons 2015 or Brussels 2000, it's a marketing project but within the project, within the program, and the difference choices we make of course we try to link the different dualities of Brussels diversity. Also we have on the website a general page that automatically list all the projects within the city tagging them in our database. For example we have the pop up museum that we will travel around during summer. Well two first weeks we will install this museum in the heart of Molenbeek. Then it will travel in the center of the city, the Royal Park to catch the events going on during the summer time and then it will after, in September, it will travel to Ixelles, Flagey and to the heart of the European Quarter.

So given the ingredients, and our work with choirs, hip hop, working on for instance the hip hop exhibition, there's also a specific part that we'll be organizing around 35 stages for children in the summer time, link to two different aspects of hip hop culture. So that was specifically to be able to involve young Brussels kids from different neighborhoods in the months of July or August that gives the possibility to get out of town, to travel around, to also imply them within the project we're setting on.

- Ok. And from a communication point of view, how do you reach like for example kids of Molenbeek who would be interested in the stage? How do you from a communication point of view reach those people?

With the example of the stage, the city of Brussels is dealing with the logistical part of the project and the communication part of the project, but we have also a partner at the heart of the organization called the CBAI (*Centre Bruxellois d'Action Interculturelle*) that they as a network of diversity link organizations in Brussels, appealing for different operators. For example for the stage, a member of their staff has been contacting and consulting different cultural centers, youth club and so on. They organized stages to see well if they were interested and we could offer them a teacher for the whole week, with breakdancers or graffiti artists, or expecting people to set up a stages with the children. So it's always by teaming up with different organizations in the city.

Also taking example, we've organized mixity awards, it was at the occasion on the thematic year on the Brussels initiative that was really working on diversity on a daily basis for this context. And so we launched a call for project for this award and we've had an award ceremony last Tuesday: we had 200 different projects that introduced their candidatures, we selected 40 of them, within these one we organized 12 nominees, and then you see that in the selection we made, different aspects of Brussels are really taken into account. One of the laureate of the award was a voluntary project where Brussels inhabitants were organizing breakfast for asylum seekers who arrived in Brussels. There was also a project called Medex (*Le Musée Ephémère de l'Exil*) which is an exhibition project of some artists that work together with asylum seekers on finding means, finding way forms to tell about their journeys, to let other people experience and be able to witness and understand what it means to be a refugee and what it takes to take the decision to leave a country and so on.

So I think we really tried to find the different crossroads between different aspects of diversity, local sociocultural projects and so on. So it's also about connecting organizations in the field which all in their own sphere are doing a great job.

- Ok perfect. I have one last question, a more general question. I want to ask you if you heard about the different cultural plans that the French and the Flemish communities took for the future of culture in Brussels?

[…] I think you are making a mistake. There has been a cultural plan drafted by the cultural sector itself [Yeah] French-speaking and Dutch-speaking in 2009, and then they have been a political initiative in 2014, a cultural plan for Brussels by the COCOF.
- Ah the COCOF and there is one from the Flemish commission too?

Specifically on Brussels? A cultural plan?
- Yeah. It's called… let me check… Cultuur Beleids plan *for Brussels*. it's from 2014 to 2020.

Ok ok. But then you're mixing some different things. The Cultuur Beleids plan voor Brussels, that's only the local, the city of Brussels. One of the local authorities. Of course they have a cultural policy too, they have a bilingual local authority, so there's the French-speaking government for culture (l'échevin de la culture) and the Flemish-

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speaking one. So they draft every political periods, at the beginning they draft a new plan for the cultural policy of this local government. The document you talked me about is the political plan of the Dutch-speaking part for Brussels. The other one you're referring about is I imagine a cultural plan for Brussels (*Un plan culturel pour Bruxelles)* which has been drafted in 2014 by the Minister Rachid Madranne within the COCOF, But that was done also on the background of the initiative that has been taking by the cultural field itself, cultural actors that are… eehhh… we have them…

-   The RAB/BKO?

Yeah, and they drafted themselves a plan because an integrate cultural policy making was lacking for Brussels and we still have more than forty politicians responsible for cultural policy making in Brussels. So in 2009, the cultural field itself, design their culture plan for Brussels with 34 proposals all improving policy making in Brussels. All political powers were not formally link to each other or in contact, so the sector decided to make a statement by designing a collaborative agreement. So yeah this cultural plan for 2009 is actually still quite *valable*… How you say this in English…

-   Valable, it's ok. And about this cultural plan for 2009 that was trying to fill the gap that was lacking in Brussels for a common vision, how would you assess the outcomes? How would you assess what happened after the plan?

After the plan there were 34 proposals but of course assessing 34 proposals in the same time is quite difficult but the strategy they chose was three main topics to address on how artists in Brussels are welcomed and what policy we have for artists in the city, and on making all cultural infrastructures in Brussels and on cultural communication on improving the quality, and efficiency of cultural promotion in the city.

And on this thing they have been progressing let's say rather slowly, but cultural plan has been quite important on a mental level. Since 2009 it's been a point of reference for different public authorities. It's often referred to by the different partners and so on. So there have been some important moments in the evolution of Brussels as a cultural city, Brussels as a multicultural city. The year of 2000 was an important moment as well because for the very first time different authorities worked together on a cultural project.

In the years after the year 2000, there was a great sense of urgency that more collaboration was needed within the city between cultural collaborators themselves or that also a more intercultural approach was necessary and that this kind of collaboration with this cultural agreement signed in 2007 and the publication of the cultural plan of 2009 where these notions of collaboration, of interaction, of interculturalism are quite prominent and that says that if now 2014, 2015, 2016 has been prepared a year of Brussels diversity, the mixcity year, which took place in 2017, then there is in a way the fruit of cultural fields asking Brussels policy makers to deal more with these cultural issues to deal with the diversity of the city. So it means that these things have an impact and that things are repeatedly changed. Now, also, within the background, a large demographic group and shift on how the Brussels population is represented…

And I remember from 2009 when we were working on that plan in 2008, published in 2009, at that moment, the notion of collaboration between the two language communities was still the difficult element. Flemish-speaking cultural institutions and the French-speaking cultural institutions had to find each other and that they had to make sense about the divided policy making and work together for Brussels. That was the *fil rouge*. I remember that we had also the reflection about ok what we would do after this cultural plan?

In the years after, what would be then the logical approach? I remember from the discussion we had already a deadline but the logic would then be to no longer talk about collaboration between French and Dutch-speaking authorities and cultural institutions but that should be transcended to more a reflection on how the diversity of Brussels is brought together in one urban project? And I think that gradually it's a slow process but you feel that Brussels is making that and that you cannot reflect even anymore about Brussels as being a French-speaking city within a Dutch-speaking language minority. The use of language has been much more complex. English becomes more and more like the second language within the city. There's many different communities that are present with more than 2000 inhabitants in Brussels. So that makes thinking Brussels more and more as a real cosmopolitan and the city is not over Belgo-belgian in its way of organizing or in its DNA. And that would be an important project for the coming years. I think that mixcity Brussels is, should be the motor of that evolution, its role in the city and the evolution in the city.

- How do you think the institutional context will evolve in Brussels?

How Brussels will evolve on an institutional scale? It's difficult to assess… Because it's linked to so many different elements: the evolution of the European project, the evolution of the Belgium federal state, it's quite unpredictable in a way. But if, let's say, in general, the Belgium federal state is evolving to a logic of federalization, giving more autonomy to its regions, then I think that given the demographical evolution of Brussels, this institutional… this federal logic will become more and more a logic of four regions within the country: Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels as *une région à part entière* and then with German-speaking community as a fourth entity, a really small one then.

That's Belgium as a federal state of four regions will gain a terrority and that also cope well with the way Brussels is evolving. What institutional structure will that be? What the attachement will be with the Belgium project? It's hard to predict. There's so many different ideas and in the past already, on Brussels as a European district, European DC, one point would be quite difficult given the current political situation in Belgium is to enlarge the Brussels capital region because it's a handicap we have now that an important international city is still a small-scale city and that's really limited by boundaries, not in terms of demography because demography goes its way and people make their own life choices, but in terms of institutional borders. It would be much more logical to think the whole of Brussels in a dynamic that transcends the borders of the current capital region and that reach out until Leuven, even Aals/Hasselt or in the South. It's a larger community that is making the real economic and social characteristics of the city, of a city like Brussels.

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Interview 4 - Pierre Pevée

- Name: Pierre Pevée
- Nationality: Belgian
- Residence: Belgium - Brussels
- Academic Background: Law and Political Science at ULB
- Professional Background: Project Director, Musician and Manager of La Vallée (Molenbeek)
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name
- Interviewed carried out in French (and translated after) on the 21/05/17 *via* Skype

- For the LaVallée project, what kind of artists are you targeting? Who decides which artist or project will be accepted?

So first, I developed various artistic projects and I made space to share available for different artists. These projects were funded by SMART or *mécènes*. Today I manage La Vallée, on behalf of SMART, so I am their full-time employee. The project La Vallée in Molenbeek that is a project of 6000m2 aims to provide workspaces for creative entrepreneurs. We represent a space that is a facilitator of activity development[11].

One thing I realized was that my previous projects were dedicated to "pure and hard" artists: 90% of the people who occupied space in my previous project were people who could show the results of their projects during an exhibition or a concert. The remaining 10% were creators but not artists in this "pure and hard" sense : I think of graphic designers, people who work for advertising agencies and so on.

With La Vallée, because we have a huge industrial building, we have space and we chose not to have an exclusively artistic audience. Our audience is composed of what I call creative entrepreneurs, who belong to the world of creation in the general sense of the term. We made this choice because we realized that the artistic milieu is an environment in which the networks are very closed and that from a moment on, we turned very quickly in circles.

We now have 135 people who are permanent residents in La Vallée. So every day, we have these 135 people who come to work and have a contract with us over the long term. It is really a large space of creation. We have plastic artists, graphic designers, a jazz group booking agency... Some are not artists but help artists to develop their careers. For me, one can summarize this by saying that we regroup people belonging to the creative world and who can have three different visions: an artistic vision (creators), visual (actors, theater), and a social vision.

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[11] Project La Vallée: project developed with the help of SMART, cost of the building: 17.000 euros a month. Project entirely private without any public sector support.

Why did we do that? Well, when you physically put people in the same building, automatically, there are exchanges, ideas and skills that come together. The fact of putting together artists with ideas and skills totally different – and with creation as a common point - favors the work of everyone, ideas circulate and the work of each one emerges positively impacted.

- Did the fact that it was in Molenbeek encouraged you to take into account the diversity of the population and to represent it in any way whatsoever? Or it was not the purpose of the project?

It's an interesting question. You must realize that out of the 130 people who frequent La Vallée every day, there may be 5 who come from Molenbeek. On the other hand, since we really represent an enormous project in Molenbeek, we could not afford to arrive and say, "we are here". We had to be very careful. We developed activities with the neighborhood, by ourselves, but facilitating the installation in our spaces of person who already developed activities in or with the neighborhood.

We are doing two main actions:

First, we left a space of 300 m2 to an ASBL called *nouvelle génération* and for 6 months they were not paying rent, during the next 6 months they paid only half of the rent, and now they still get a lower rent than normal. In reality, we do not make money with them. They develop Arabic courses in a "laic" environment. There are about a hundred children who come here to take Arabic classes. This is very important because the majority of Arabic classes are given in mosques or at the university. In both cases, it is a problem. We know the problems of radicalization that we had in Brussels and which were often related to certain mosques, and as far as the university is concerned, the people of Molenbeek do not represent a population that can easily access it. The association has also developed a school of homework that helps children in the neighborhood, and they also teach French to young people. They also make accompaniments to improve women's work in Molenbeek. Many women in the neighborhood are working underground, and the association tries to help them formalize their work.

Secondly, there is also a non-profit organization that gives boxing classes to children in the neighborhood. So every day we have around 50 children from the neighborhood who come to take boxing classes. So we cannot say that my project is frequented by the people of the neighborhood, but we welcome projects that develop activities so that the people of the neighborhood come and to be integrated into the project.

- How is the cohabitation between the artists and the people from the neighborhood who come to participate in the different activities you just mentioned?

There are times when it's a bit complicated. Because many different cultures come together. Most of the young people from the neighborhood who come to La Vallée are people of Muslim faith. On Fridays, we often organize drinks (*aperitifs)* and when parents come to pick up their children and they see beers, they wonder what is going

on. So we have to find an adaptation plan because we really had periods of conflict, but little by little, we are beginning to find a balance.

These are not simple things to solve, there have really been hard times but it really gets better and better. One of the recent things that has been done is that when we organize big events, when we need a helping hand, we hire people from the neighborhood who are paid to do small jobs (building a scene, carrying objects...)

So it took us 2 or 3 years to start having a relationship, but I think it's normal, and it's going in the right direction right now.

(...)

If I can just add one thing, at the beginning of the project, I tried to organize events with the locals myself, but it did not work. People did not trust me, at the same time it's not my job. I got it wrong. So I think it's smarter to give the opportunity to people who are used to doing that and who already have contacts with the neighborhood to be a sort of intermediary and to facilitate communication between the neighborhood and us. I think that that, plus the fact that we have severely lowered the rent for people and non-profit organizations dealing with business in connection with the neighborhood, it has helped a lot. For example, this ASBL that gives boxing classes, before they were giving classes in a park in Molenbeek. Now they have their space in La vallée, and I think it suits them much better.

- Has the financing and development of the project been done completely without the help of public authorities?

Yes, and that's very important to me.

- But do you have contacts or relations with the various powers that organize culture in Brussels?

We have contacts. I know you interviewed Geert Cochez from Visit.Brussels.
Two weeks ago, I organized an event on the town square of Molenbeek as part of the Iris festival, organized by the Brussels region. I personally wrote to Visit.Brussels to have a 2000 euro funding to organize this event and this funding was refused.

My aim is not to seek funding at local level (at the level of Belgium or Brussels) but rather to seek European funding. And therefore, we are more interested in developing work with the European institutions than with local institutions. I definitely think that the public authorities will have less and less money for culture, given the financial and economic problems we are facing. The financing of pensions, etc., all this will require a lot of money and I think that culture will become the *pauvre parent*. So I am convinced that it is better to develop a sustainable project without relying on public funding and counting them, if any, as a bonus, and being able to become self-financeable.

Relying on public funding to pay for jobs and develop projects is too risky. We saw it lately with what happened with Dutch-speaking projects in Brussels. The Flemish community is withdrawing its funding in Brussels to invest more in Flanders. One can

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speak of the VK case, which has lost its funds from the Flemish community for the financing of its jobs. For me, we are in a situation where cultural projects will have to find activities to develop themselves and be self-financeable, with the help of the private sector.

- Well, it's interesting to hear that, because you have a point of view quite different than the other people I interviewed for the case of Brussels for now.

That's cool. But Geert Cochez from Visit.Brussels he does a very good job… but his project is *politisé à mort*. He is the great friend of Pascal Smet (Flemish Minister for Culture). He was put at the head of Visit.Brussels by Pascal Smet. The problem is that he can put 100,000 euros on the table to organize a concert with Quentin Mosimann, but he does not have 2000 euros to finance a project that favors mixing in Molenbeek. So I wonder what their reasoning is. He also donated 400,000 for a sound project and light on the *grand place*. So, I do not quite understand the reasoning between his project "Mixity Brussels" and the funding he gives (or not) to certain projects.

We, as a private actor, have developed an event at the Iris Festival on the Molenbeek Town Hall, where artists were paid to perform workshops, Djs came to play music, and there were a hundred children who came to attend the workshops. It cost us 1500 euros, and we did not receive any funding from the Brussels region. So I think there's a small problem here.

- Is that something that happens often, that kind of inconsistency, if I can call it that?

Yes, it is very common; I would say that it is generalized. And that's why I think that cultural projects for me must achieve a diversification of activity.

For example, there is a showroom in La Vallée that is 1000m2 big. I already had the opportunity to rent it to the European commission and when they came, they paid the high price to rent it. On the other hand, if you are contacted by an artistically interesting project but without any financial resources, well we will rent the room for free. I think that more and more activities or private actors have to be put in to make money to contribute to the development of artistic projects, and therefore to get money wherever there is, in the private sector. Banks, big companies, have an interest in the project or an interest in using the services of the project. So, to concentrate exclusively on the artistic milieu, I absolutely do not believe in it anymore.

(…)

In our website, we do not have a posted price. To charge the same price to a big company that comes to make a meeting and a lunch and to a collective of artists who will organize its first exhibition, it would be derisory.

- What is your view of how culture is managed in Brussels?

It's so complicated ... I think there are so many different levels of power in Belgium ... It's absolutely crazy.

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Also, one thing to be aware of is that often when you apply for funding, whether it is to the Walloon-Brussels Federation or elsewhere, the time to constitute your file, the time to constitute everything that's asked to have your subsidy of 10000 euros, it takes you a month. In La Vallée, we are two to manage everything. I cannot afford to spend a month working on a file. In the end, it would take me so much time, and for an uncertain decision, it would make me lose money, not win.

If you get your 10,000 euros, you realize that it cost you almost as much in working hours. In projects with few human resources like mine, this is just not possible. If you're lucky enough to be able to ask one or two people to focus on developing a file, that's fine, but I'm not. Over the last three weeks, I worked 21 days straight, and an average of 14 hours a day. I do not have time to put together these huge files. So I, as a private actor, i find it so complicated to have access to public funding that I decided to make a cross on it. The levels of power are so complicated that I feel completely lost in relation to that. So I think it's time for the public administration to clarify a little bit of this. Belgium is too complicated.

- Do you have a proposal or idea to make the functioning of culture in Brussels simpler / more effective?

One of the solutions would be to depoliticize cultural positions. From the moment we put on, I do not say that everyone is incompetent, but from the moment when all the big cultural posts are politicized and that it is because you have your card in a party that you are going to have a position in the cultural milieu, for me the system is completely ridiculous. I do not understand how we can still decide who is the director of a theater or the manager of such institutions because of his membership to a party. I do not understand that. Of course we choose people based on their skills, but also because they have their party card. When we get to depoliticize it and realize that cultural institutions are not something that absolutely has to be managed by politicians, then we will perhaps arrive at a result.

- Despite the absence of a common institutional framework in Brussels, are collaborations between artists from Francophone and Flemish backgrounds possible?

Yes, and there are a lot of them. I do not look at the language of the person coming in. Brussels is an international city. For me, the division between *Francophones* and Dutch-speakers, it does not exist. In La Vallée, we have 40% of *Francophones*, 15% of Dutch-speakers, and the rest are people who come from elsewhere than Belgium. There are, among others, a lot of French people. In Brussels' population, it is the same thing. Personally, I collaborate a lot with Flemish artists and organizations.

I do not feel any barrier between the two communities. The only barrier there is that we, *Francophones*, do not speak much Flemish. So when I have contact with them, it's in English. Otherwise, I really never felt a brake in artistic collaboration between communities because I was francophone. Never.

- While there is a separation at the institutional level, on the ground you do not feel this distance?

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No, absolutely not, for me it is only a political brawl. On the ground you really do not feel tat. I never had any remarks about the fact that I was a *francophone* and that I speak bad Dutch.

- Ok. I have one final question, how do you, at your level, evaluate the effectiveness of the activities and services that you offer in La Vallée? Do you have any tools to help you evaluate that?

Absolutely not. The only thing that SMART has asked me is to get the project profitable within 5 years. And I think we're going to get to that balance. In terms of evaluation tools, I do not know. What must be interesting is to see the growth in productivity of the people who work here. If their turnover increases, if artists sell or create more because they work in one of our spaces?

It's super interesting but super hard to evaluate, and partly because many artists work *au noir*. Even if, with SMART, we try to push more people to work and to declare everything, we must not veil our faces, there is always 'black money'. So in the figures we have, we see that the declared part increases but we should know about the 'black money' too. It is very difficult to be able to assess all that.

As for the social level in the neighborhood, that is a personal statement, but I think we created a little more of *mixité* in the neighborhood. Yes there is a little more *micité*, but it is very low, really.

The only tool I have at my disposition is the turnover and the profitability.

- Yes, in relation to that, I was going to ask you what your view was on the integration of the project in the neighborhood and your perspective on the evolution of the relationship with the inhabitants...

The evolution ... Well I have a funny anecdote. In the neighborhood, there are many 18-19 year olds selling weed around the corner. One thing to know is that these kids are on the street all the time because they are often 10 or 15 in a small apartment. So for them, the street is their place of leisure. It should also be known that through social studies, one realized that a young person from Uccle visites almost all the 19 municipalities of Brussels during the year while a young person from Molenbeek will visit only two or three communes. These young people are thus locked up in their neighborhood. And their neighborhood is their territory. So, the other day, children of a Rom family came to one of our event to steal orange juice. They left with the bottles and around the corner, some young people of neighborhood intercepted them and took them the 2-3 bottles they had stolen to come and return them to us.

So in the end, after 2-3 years, I think that we managed to develop a certain relationship with these young people in the neighborhood who are often subject to petty delinquency. We are getting better and better. Through small exchanges, by the inclusion of some young people in our projects but mainy by daily exchanges, we can improve things.
A simple example: the artists who frequent La Vallee, they buy their food and drinks from the shops in the neighborhood, and therefore the merchants are happy because their turnover increases, they participate in the development of the local economy.

Thanks to all these little things, which take time too, and thanks to the fact that we meet every day, we realize that we have a real relationship with the inhabitants of the neighborhood.

Interview 5 - Jordi Pasqual

- Name : Jordi Pascual
- Nationality : Spanish
- Residence : Barcleona
- Academic Background : Geography and demography, PhD in international cultural cooperation
- Professional Background : Worked in the third sector, at the Barcelona City Council, teacher and researcher at UCLG.
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name.
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 22/05/17

- Academic Background?

I am an geographer. I studied in Barcelona University, then I studied in Autonoma de Barcelona, also demography. I have a post-graduate course on international cultural cooperation.
- Professional background?

I have worked in several places. I have worked in third sector, in a foundation for international cultural cooperation, I worked in Barcelona City Counsel and I am now working in the University, another university, the open university of Cataluña, Universitat Oberta, and I am working here in UCLG which is also an association, non-profit, but an international organization.

- OK. So, first, I wanted to come back on the history of integration policies in Spain and Barcelona. It started to be an important issue at the end of the 20th century, am I right? When immigrants flow started to be really important?

I agree, but partially. Spain has never thought about integration, but speaking here, it is a country of emigration, and certainly in Cataluña and Barcelona we have thought a lot about that.

- So, you would not situate Spain in any of the classical paradigm, such as assimilationism or multiculturalism?

That is really difficult to answer. You are going very fast. First, it's difficult to say what you have within multiculturalism and within assimilation. If a single answer should be given, Spain as a Catholic country and also because of the intellectuals, the people who have developed social policies and cultural policies also. It is certainly a country belongs to the assimilation; it is not in the Anglo-Saxon multicultural… that believes that communities living very close to the other have nothing to share; this is

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not the case of the Mediterranean. I would question also the fact that in some places in the Iberian Peninsula, and certainly in Cataluña there is a long tradition of analyzing the place of the new comers in the future of our societies. In the 20th Century, the history of Cataluña, is the history of analyzing how the new comers are welcomed and are participating as citizens in the future to be built together. So, all this issue is not new in Cataluña, it very old.

There has been research analyzed very well by several disciplines demography, literature, geography, and economics so this is not a new debate in Barcelona. We have a long on history with that, and the history of Cataluña is the history of how immigration has contributed to the progress of the society and here again accepting there are many minority voices that have sent the message immigration is negative, the mass majority of analysists have welcomed to very positive role in immigration uncertainly the strategy of assimilation not using this but strategy of interculturality has been the one implemented. There are books in the 1960s, 1950s, 1930s because in Cataluña we have had several waves of immigration not coming from Pakistan, Ecuador, Senegal; which are the countries of origin of the many people who have arrived in Barcelona in the last 15-20 years but coming from context which were different to the realities cultural, social, economic realities of this city. So we have vast tradition about this.

So, your question… Yes, I agree that policies for the new immigration that more or less began in the last decade of the 20th century. You have to be aware that the analyses of Barcelona which is a city that belongs to the Kingdom of Spain, is not the same history, tradition and tools that the one of Sevilla, Malaga, Madrid or La Coruña. You have to aware of it.

- Would you agree on the fact that the policies of the last 20 years in Barcelona can be qualified as interculturalist, as Ricard Zapata as argued?

Yes, I agree perfectly with him.

- And polcies, since then, always try to apply this concept?

I think so. It has not been researched in detail. Somebody has to do it. Because even though the narrative is intercultural, the local government and the national government, I mean the government of Cataluña, they are supporting sometimes, because of political reasons, various reasons, multicultural projects even if they do not really want to support that but sometimes they are right… for example to celebration of national days of Colombia, the national day of Ecuador the national day of Peru, they are not the best examples of intercultural policies. I would say that the multiculturalism oriented or the projects that are more in the multiculturalist paradigms are the few, not the majority.

- Why, in the area of integration and cultural policies, researches at the city level are increasingly important?

Integration has always been a local issue. The social demographic composition of European cities does not necessarily correspond to the national averages. I am not sure but I could say that in Hamburg, in Munich, in Berlin even though they have immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, and Spain, Portugal… The local issues are

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different because of the history of the city, because of the history of the immigrants, because of the balance of power, because of the role, the decisions taken at the local level, in the negotiations for say interculturality so this is same here in Barcelona, it is a bit…What nations can do, what states can do in interculturalism or national policies for interculturality is not that much. The game is played at the local of level. The legitimization of what are the actors, what they do, what can do, what they are supposed to do. Some aspects are national, the media they can play a role, it also depends on the size of the countries, in federal country the media are state level.

The big issues, which are the possibilities for the migrants or refugees to be welcomed; these are national issues, national and European. They are not really policies for interculturalism; they are policies for step before, once people are here… This is local. At some points national policies can be the platform for cities or for civil societies to share practice, knowledge, learning, and training but I think most of them they are not doing that it is mostly at the local level that it's happening.

-   How would you assess the way artistic and cultural diversity is managed, here in Barcelona?

 I could say it is not very explicit, it could be more explicit, but most of the programs organized by the city council by the ICUB, they are very clearly in the promotion of interculturalism. Espai Avinyó is a very small organization, it is more training, capacity building, a platform to connect, probably the role they can play is larger, they could play larger role. Also with a limitation which is the fact that you have a place it's also a stenght, but it is also a handicap because here in ciutat vella, the street is non necessarily placed were the game of interculturalism is played, I mean it is in that the interculturalism game is played, public spaces also.

-   So you would not agree with people saying that ICUB has an elitist way of dealing with culture? And that Espai Avinyo was needed in Barcelona to better promote interculturalism?

That statement is not impossible, you can say that, but it is very incomplete. You cannot compare an ant and an elephant. Espai Avinyó is very small and ICUB is a very complex organization with an engine elaborating cultural policies but with satellites like the museum of history of the city or the summer festival or the Mercat de las flors, the CCCB… The problem of the cultural policies of the Barcelona, as in many European cities, is that they do not take the right to participate in cultural life of all citizens as the priority of the cultural policies. The main drive of the cultural policies is the cultural sector not the citizens, and this is happening in everywhere, everywhere in Europe. Therefore when you have 20 percent of population that are living the city, whose origins are foreign, and you just supply of very interesting activities, most of them organized by big organization that are not seemed as owned by all the citizen, then you have a problem, you have to worry. If you really think culture is not a right you have to right, then you have to re-engineer the programs so that the all people have opportunities to participate in cultural life. This is not happening in Barcelona, this is not happening in anywhere in Europe and in fact we push for that in our agenda 21 for culture. It means changing the paradigm and it takes time this is what we try to support.

So, again, to come back to your question, passive participation, consumption of culture in almost all European cities is something middle class, middle-upper class and a good portion of the society is not called to participate in the activities organized by the departments of culture in the city.

- What is done in Barcelona to tackle this issue? I heard about the integration of foreign cultures in la Mercè, do you have other example?

I don't feel very comfortable with the integration because it is something that it is difficult to define, but I understand your point. It's just that a Catalan family living in a difficult neighborhood of Barcelona, they also feel the same difficulties in being seduced or being able to feel that activities in MACBA or museum of local history belong to him.

I prefer to use more the capacities of the citizens to participate in projects related to culture.

I don't know there are many examples. You mentioned the parades, and I agree, in La Merce and also the parades for the king, the epiphany, on the eve of the king's day. Carnival is obvious area but the fact that Barcelona has its local civil society channeling the efforts through other festivities, make the carnival a secondary to the vitality of Barcelona as culture.

I could say that at a district level, at the neighborhood level, the Festivies of Gracia, Sants… At this neighborhood level, the possibilities for all kind of people to take part, perform, participate are quite bug. I think that also most of the activities of the … Most of education and public programs of the mercat de las flors are by nature intercultural. The Mercat de las flors, they have done excellent work with that arts and music school in L'Hospitalet, it's not Barcelona but they have worked a lot with that school which is full of gypsy people, immigrant people and they have done work between the school and the mercat during the year, the season and then with big festivity with boys and girls performing in the Mercar and then at on open festivity, at the open air… So it's difficult for me to select them, but there are many.

- Do you have an idea of the relation between associations dealing with artistic diversity and cultural institutions in Barcelona?

I don't know. I do not read in the newspaper or in the media that they are complaining. I do not read that, so I'd thus assume that they are satisfied with policies of the city council.

- How is it possible to measure the effects or the efficiency of those cultural policies?

It is very difficult; I've just arrived from the university. And I just gave a lecture between mid-day and one on what we do as the Agenda 21 for culture, at the end of the lecture the professor who had invited me, he was the first president of the local council for culture. He was in office I think five or six years and he was saying look we don't have indicators to measure freedoms, to measure the capacity of people to live better with innovation, we don't have that.

I was saying yes but we have to find the good indicators, we cannot rely only on consumption indicators, figures of visitors to museums or attend this music festival, we cannot rely on that to measure the cultural policies. The cultural policies are really difficult to measure but we have to make the effort to create a new range of indicators that relate culture to human rights and participation of people. So I would like to say that this is one of the challenges of cultural policies. We are not measuring well the impact of culture on society, not yet well, we have tried have a look at this document that we produce, culture 21 actions it has 9 commitments and 100 actions. So of them are like proxys of cultural impacts in the society. We are beginning here. We believe that if you take this seriously, in the long term you can have some good indicator but we are not there yet, it's very very difficult to answer.

- Are some cities inspiring you on that question?

Well, we are developing an association of cities for culture so our committees something like a global network cities for culture. So what we suggest here it is coming from Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Barcelona. This is something like that the condensation, the summary of ongoing work on culture and development of the impact of culture on society.

It is not easy, not easy to measure cultural policies in, say… Formulated in wide terms. Then you can of course measure the impact of culture in each one of specific programs. If the city has a cultural education program, you can measure. You can know, you should know to what people this program is reaching. What is the value that you are giving to them? If you are organizing summer festivals you should be able to provide some measures, where the festival is taking place and where is not taking place, and what media you are, are you involving the small media.

In a wide picture, cultural policies are difficult to measure, if you narrow the focus to analyze programs, you could come to conclusions.

- I have two last questions related to interviews I had with cultural actor from Brussels. They told me that a problem in Brussels was the politization of culture and the fact that people with a membership to a specific political party can access to high positions in cultural institutions, despite a lack of competences. Do you have the same problem here?

It has happened. It happened with the old government, It has happened with social democrats, It has happened with eco-socialist, It has happened with liberals, It has happened with left citizens' party. Yes, this is a disease, a problem. I think we never had totally incompetent people, so we had people politically appointed but with good competency in the area. I cannot think of any really incompetent people. But certainly I would prefer that not only direction but also 2nd levels 3rd level would be more open to competition and more open to diverse profile, that'd be much better.

- Second, people in Brussels told me that they were more and more relying on private support because they don't think that the public sector will fund culture enough in the future, what about Barcelona? Is there a same risk in Barcelona?

No, I don't think so.

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- Culture has a more important place?

Yes, I think so.

- Daniel De Torres told me about this historic Mayor of Barcelona who invested a lot in culture, but Dani was also worried of the recent cuts in Barcelona…

No, the cuts happened in the 2009-13 period, but now programs about cultural are growing and I don't think the cuts were that severe. I quite agree with what Dani said about he Mayor, Pascual Maragai. Culture is also about a balance between institutionalization and non-institutionalization and culture cannot be very institutionalized because Pascual Maragai, his vision or results of his cultural policies are a range of very strong cultural institutions: MACBA, the auditorium and the national theater. When the production of culture goes very much through this big cultural ships, then you have problem. It is really difficult, nobody knows where the balance is, but a city has to have a very strong independent sector funded by public policies but non-necessarily with big projects or not necessarily with a big building.

One of the problems of the city in the late first decade of the century 2008-2009, is when they created this program of art factories all around the city, public policies, public buildings and at that point perhaps it would have been more efficient to recognize the non-official initiatives that were already art factories so instead of investing a lot money in fabricoas or in other art factories, official art factories, this money could have gone to independent, small ateliers and organization that are already working in public spaces, in social cohesion, in immigration programs so… Sometimes it is much better to keep an area non-institutionalized and to fund that area. Public policies they need sometimes to "cut the belt of a venue" and they need to invest in buildings and it's much easier for policy makers to capitalize public action, but this balance is a bit difficult, it is really difficult.

To come to your reference about Pascual Maragai, in that time especially in the 1990s, the city did not read properly that it was becoming too institutional. That the way of cultural policies was too much on building new infrastructure and designing the programs of those cultural infrastructure and not giving enough attention to the initiatives, bottom up neighborhood level and I think that this problem is a still bit existing today.

- One more thing, I read a lot of articles saying that Barcelona was quite an exception… Because despite the arrivals of immigrants in the last years, no big conflicts happened… How do you explain that?

That's again very difficult. Barcelona is not the capital of post-colonial empire. Barcelona has never broadcasted narratives that miss consider or insult the dignity of citizens coming from other places around the world. We are not capital of empire, Paris is the capital of an empire, Brussels is the capital of an empire, and London is the capital of an empire. This fact is not often visible in global conversations on cultural, I mean you cannot ignore that you have thousands of objects coming from places that today are asking to be recognized as places with culture dignity and it is difficult. I mean not saying this is easy, but this has to be brought to the equation of

course, there are probably more important issues like the power of some religious leaders. The place of school and how the school is welcoming, I don't know, the tradition of public spaces, here we have the tradition of the public space that belongs and is shared by everybody, so at least the new comers own the public space. This contributes to the lack of conflicts.

- Daniel was also saying that the long-term and sustainable investments of the 90's in difficult neighborhoods also participated in the "luck of Barcelona".

I think so, that's quite true. But you can never be sure, we had also a gang of guys trying to create a bomb in Barcelona but the police cope them but the police could have not cope them… We are not that far.

Interview 6 - Cécile Vainsel

- Name: Cécile Vainsel
- Nationality: Belgian
- Residence: Brussels
- Academic Background: Law at ULB
- Professional Background: Legal advisor in Brussels, Member of various ministerial cabinet, always in connection with social matters. Now, she is a cultural advisor at COCOF.
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under her own name.
- Interviewed carried out in French (and translated after) on the 23/05/17 *via* Skype

- First, I wanted to come back on the history and evolution of cultural policies in Brussels and how institutions manage cultural diversity in the city. Could you describe that to me?

That's a very good question. I think that diversity has always been integrated in the development of Brussels cultural policies and especially in the institution for which I work, COCOF. Because it is true that what distinguishes us from the Wallonia-Brussels federation is that we are very focused on the issue of the public, and therefore on the issue of the participation of the greatest number. You know that Brussels is a city like Liège, hyper cosmopolitan. We have more than 180 nationalities that are present on the territory.

But at COCOF, we also have an intergenerational dynamic, a respect for different sexual orientations, a concern to ensure the integration of people with disabilities ... In Brussels, we have always been a land of asylum in general, for all people in exile for philosophical or religious questions, and in fact, cultural policies reflect that. But I think that in recent years there has been a growing desire to work not only for the valorization of this diversity but also a more innovative will, which is to make it a brand image, *une image de marque,* for the region.

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That is why we decided to associate ourselves with other levels of power, in this case the Wallonia-Brussels federation, the Flemish Community and the COCOF, to make the year 2017 the thematic year of 'diversity'. So we do not only carry out policies in our local actions that value diversity and allow everyone to take his/her place in the cultural project, but in addition we consider that this diversity which is not only a diversity based on ethnic origin, and we consider it as something that makes our wealth and a factor that contributes to our radiance on the international scene. We think that this diversity can attract tourists, because we are proud of this diversity and we consider that it is a wealth. So, I think that there is an evolution at the level of public policies; it's that now, we consider diversity as a real asset.

-   Ok. Compared to what you have just said about this year of mixing in Brussels, I wanted to have your vision of how culture is managed in Brussels? This division between communities that organize events each for "their inhabitants", what do you think?

Well ... that's a very good question. With the cultural plan for the city of Brussels that I myself elaborated, we tried to address the complexity of the implementation of cultural policies in Brussels. And indeed, in the cultural sphere, we can find the community cleavage. It is true that it is rather paradoxical that, on the one hand, one wants to advocate cultural diversity in the sense of an integration of each component of the population, and on the other hand, we work back to back between *Francophones* and Dutch-speakers. This is an aberration. Now culture is a community policy and it has been decided to divide this policy according to the linguistic affiliation and it is a little complicated to change that, but it is clear that at the level of the cultural plan for Brussels, we wanted to embrace the reality, and diversity, of the field. But above all, not starting from the institutional divisions. For example, if you decide to support a music, film or dance festival, it does not matter if the audience speaks French, Dutch or Spanish. The cultural offer is directed to a public that is completely mixed, hybrid anyway. And so it makes no sense. Apart from, obviously, the cultural offer labeled Francophone or Flemish, like literature or some plays, but this is marginal compared to the rest of the offer.

This communitarian separation does not reflect the reality because the *francophones* go to concerts of Dutch-speaking musicians, and vice versa. So what we are trying to do is to defend a global cultural project that integrates the whole reality of Brussels. But it is true that the difficulty with our perspective is that when you have this approach, you are accused of wanting to regionalize culture. And that, of course, is a very sensitive point because, as I said, culture is a community matter. But if we have this territorial approach, based on a territory, this territory being Brussels, but Brussels is also a region. So when we have this approach, we are accused of wanting to regionalize culture. So it is very complicated, but at the same time, the opposite approach which is separating Dutch and French-speaking culture in Brussels, it is not consistent with this inclusive policy based on respect and diversity that makes Brussels.

Well, I do not know if I'm clear…

-   It's pretty clear! In relation to the cultural plan that you mentioned, is it the COCOF cultural plan for Brussels, or is it the Brussels city plan for Brussels?

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This is the plan launched by COCOF. What happened was that it was in the COCOF majority agreement to draw up this cultural plan for Brussels, even if it was complicated to get accepted by the other powers, and particularly the *Federation Wallonie-Brussels*, because we, in fact, are under *la tutelle* of this Federation. So all our decisions are subjected to a decision *de tutelle*, and therefore it is true that this reflection that we had, it caused some tensions because the project we defend, we were not able to support it alone, because COCOF is a very small subsidized power, we are really a small institutional frog. We have a 2% share in the financing of cultural policies, while the *Fédération Wallonie Bruxelles* has a 36% share and the municipalities together account for 22%. Basically, we are really the smallest subsidizing power.

A comprehensive and integrated plan has therefore been proposed, which of course implies the union of all the forces giving fundings in term of culture in Brussels, namely the two communities, communities' commissions (COCOF and VGC), the Brussels region, ... So it was really a project with a "wide angle missions".

In any case, on our own (COCOF), it would not have been possible to guarantee the coherence of this plan. And consistency has always been one of our problems. Not only in terms of diversity, it is not consistent to oppose Dutch and Francophone when the diversity of Brussels is much broader than that. But also regarding cultural decisions, since they are often fragmented, they tend to lack coherence.

There is a fragmentation of the decision and, as a result, there is no common and shared vision, whereas for us it is clear that culture should be a strong point and that we really have a cultural identity in Brussels. But instead of looking together in the same direction and having an ambitious cultural project that allows us to exist on the international scene ... Some people prefer to work on their side and do not share the same priorities. If we were able to sit together around the same table, we would have a much stronger cultural label. This is the case for other policies too ... It is linked to the Belgian institutional division and ... Unfortunately, it is a handicap.

- Another two questions in relation to this plan: was it written with a collaboration between the COCON / VGC or the Flemish Community, or was it just developed by you and the COCON?

Uh ... So how did we do ... I remember ... Yes, we had bilateral meetings, and that's explained in the plan. You will see that it is quite simple.

There was a lot of positive energy around the plan and moreover, the majority in the parliament adopted it and therefore the Flemish also really adhered to our idea. It must be realized that the Flemish of Brussels, they are from Brussels before being Flemish, which is not necessarily shared by the other Flemish outside Brussels. At least in Brussels, this plan was very unifying, very unifying.

- Is there a Flemish equivalent to your plan and therefore developed by the Flemish Community or the COCON / VGC?

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Uh… Not that I know of. If it exists, I do not know it. But on the other hand, the notion of cultural plan, it exists for the big cities. All over the world, there are cultural plans in the big cities. And it is at this level that the cultural plans are forged. In Brussels, there is this particularity that it is also a region, but it is rather at the level of the city that the plans are forged.

- On the ground, how would you describe the relationship between the two communities? Are there exchanges, contacts? Or is there a kind of rivalry between communities to impose its vision of culture in the city?

So ... Frankly the rivalries, it depends on the people. It may work well. For example, at the moment there is a very good understanding between Rachid Madrane who works at the Wallonia Brussels Federation and Sven Gath, the Minister of Culture of the Flemish community.

They both work very well together and get along extremely well. Basically, it depends a lot on each other's affinities. And it is true that, for example, if we take what happened at the community level in 2012, F. Laanan, who was Minister of Culture, signed a cooperation agreement with his Flemish counterpart for the subjects cultural. And therefore, this agreement stipulated an exchange of information, the pooling of resources, and even the co-financing of certain intercultural projects, and this is how, for example, Flagey could be financed by both communities. While co-financing is contrary to the constitution. It was true that I had the envy when I landed here, I wanted to extend this agreement to the two community commissions, but I have not arrived at the moment.

We are going to say that it is cyclical, and that it could perhaps be resolved. For now it's a bit complicated. But I think if there are people who want to do it, then it will be able to co-finance projects sometimes by both institutions, which I think is in line with the interests of the sector. Because, what is happening concretely? We francophones have very few means, we are poor parents, we have a very strong cultural offer and our rooms are always full, and then there are the Dutch speakers who have 3 times our budget and The rooms are often empty, and have a public which has nothing to have, because there are only 6 or 7% of Dutch-speakers in Brussels. So it is a bit of a shame somewhere that there is such a dysfunction in terms of resources. So I think it would be logical, and that everyone would be a winner if we could pool these resources for the benefit of the cultural offer that is in any case hybrid and mixed. I think that in terms of cultural governance, we really should try to try to do that. It seems to be complicated, but I want to go further than the 2012 agreement that already exists.

- In relation to the future of culture in Brussels, many field actors are saying that more and more, they are trying to rely on private investment because they believe that culture will suffer from even stronger budget cuts than in the past, what is your opinion on the subject?

I think it's true for every type of policies, not only cultural policies. At the level of social security, we are within budget limits for everything ... We have to be realistic

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and realize that the budget is not extensible. I think that we must think about the future by thinking more and more of the PPP (public-private partnership) like what Prométhéa does. We were never opposed to that. Prométhéa, they are looking for *mécénat* formulas by private actors for cultural operators. But those operators are often big prestigious operators...

It is more difficult for smaller operators. We also met recently to reflect on the level of tax relief, to see how to better encourage donations from some companies to the cultural sector other than sponsorship. Clarify this system of tax deduction and therefore precisely make sure to favor this private financing taking into account that the means of the public authorities are not extensible. These PPPs seem to me to be a good formula, and indeed, in fact, I know a lot of people in the field who often seek private support. This is already quite a reality today.

- So, I am also working on the question of integrating immigrants or people with a migrant background into culture, and I would like to know if you could give me a concrete example of public policy that has been made in the cultural sector, which favors the incorporation of these people into the *Bruxellois* cultural milieu?

There are a lot of initiatives that go in that direction, and it's difficult for me to cite one from memory. As I said, we are completely obsessed with the public issue (*la question des publiques*), and we really support a lot of projects that come to us in that direction.

What we did for example, you know Article 27 I suppose?

So they have been given specific means to accentuate the work they already do , to further strengthen the support for culture. There has also been a call for projects, more recently, in order to promote social cohesion and interculturality. It was decided after Brussels' attacks, but I think that in this call for proposals, which is fairly substantial in terms of resources, we had 2 million to distribute, several projects including people with a migratory background were retained.

I could try to remember a more precise project, but that's quite complicated. Ah yes, we obviously granted the "public utility" label to an extraordinary spectacle and called "Those whom I met may not have seen me". The show has been broadcasted widely, as in the national theater for example. This show included migrant people. There were professional actors, but also migrants who spoke about their personal history. With the label they were given, we tried to promote this magnificent show and they received a support of 30,000 euros.

- In relation to this, do you have contacts with the associations that manage the cultural and artistic diversity of Brussels on a day-to-day basis?

We have permanent contacts. I can give you the example of CinemaMed, which puts in value all the production of the Mediterranean basin in terms of movies... There are plenty others, all the houses of cultures in the various municipalities of Brussels…

If we did a screening of all the operators we support, I think we have one out of two working on this Brussels diversity, and we are in constant contact with these operators.

- Do you have tools or indicators to evaluate the effects and effectiveness of the different plans and cultural policies that you put in place?

It's a good question. It is true that I find that the evaluation of culture is complicated to put in place, for several reasons. First, there is a lack of coherent technical tools and, above all, a need to agree on the parameters of evaluations. And the cultural sector is always suspicious when we talk about evaluation. They tend to say that public authorities come up with quantitative assessment tools whereas evaluation should also be qualitative.

Therefore, we are often aware of the number of people affected, for example. But of course, beyond knowing how many people you touch, you also need to know how you touch those people. Sometimes, no matter how many spectators are touched, there are shows that have the power to touch and arouse an extremely strong emotion and bring out very strong things. But it is very complicated to measure and quantify it because it is quite intimate. It is true that very honestly, it is not easy to implement, and no, I will tell you very honestly, it cannot be said that there is a rigorous, systematic evaluation of what is put in place. No.

- In relation to that, is there not sometimes a gap between the objectives on paper and what happens in the field?

A big gap... In fact, we sometimes ask ourselves what Brussels would be like if we were not implementing all those policies, and it is very complicated to know and we must be humble in a certain way. If we look at what happened with the attacks in Brussels ... it hit us hard. There is much talk about intercultural dialogue, diversity, and social cohesion ... But we realize that, in fact, this dialogue is far from proven (*avéré*). There is still a long way to go in relation to the type of society we want in Brussels for the future generation.

So yes, it is true that there is a form of community withdrawal, but not only in term of nationalities, it is also related to the socio-economic level. There is also the problem of differences between certain municipalities in Brussels. Uccle and Molenbeek, it's like they are not part of the same city. Young people in these two neighborhoods do not frequent each other. Everyone tends to live in his own space, neighborhood. Everyone in *his* neighborhood, with its socio cultural offer.

There is a clear separation between people, and a withdrawal in a way. And when there is a withdrawal, there is ignorance, ignorance lead to fear, and fear of the "other". It is clear that there is a part of the population with which we are not at all in contact for example. Our policies are supposed to include everyone, but in fact, we know very well that there are about 20% of the population, many of them young, that our cultural policies do not touch at all.

These young people have a lot of things to tell us, and it is very important to give them a space, because they were born here, but they feel strangers, and always

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pointed at as strangers. And it feeds frustrations, anger and sometimes hatred... And we saw where it leads. Sincerely, it is a top priority to review the policies we are pursuing to get these young people or that part of the population that we do not touch, even if we have to invent new forms to succeed in doing this, to get in touch with them and to include them in the cultural project. Otherwise, we are going to a society that will be increasingly cleaved, in spite of all our efforts, and I think that this is really a very important issue.

Related to that… It's a shame that this doesn't seem to be enough taken into account by all the ministers concerned by these issues, and even beyond the cultural policy ... There should be an inter-ministerial conference that would bring together everyone, the federal government, the regions and communities, to see how to do more inclusive policies, to prevent the catastrophic scenario that is not that far from happening. If we are not more lucid in relation to all these problems, it's gonna be bad. But yes, contrary to what's written on paper, in relation to what we say and what we wants to do, there is incantation… and in reality, we are not living in an intercultural society, of dialogue and sharing at the moment.

- I was going to ask you what can we do with these 20% of "culturally disengaged people"? But I think you just partly answered

In an ideal world, there would be a dialogue between the various authorities concerned, but in reality it is a little illusory ... Even if now, the Minister of Culture of the *Fédération Wallonie Bruxelles* has set up an interministerial commission on Culture ... Honestly we are left with surface exchanges, we do not get into the heart of the matter, not to upset anyone ... Because it is very complicated for each minister to delegate some of his powers or to share the decision, and thus not being able to put *his* personal contribution.

Faire s'asseoir two ministers around the same table is quite complicated. So for me, at the moment, interministerial conferences, it seems complicated. Now, at the level of the policies that we carry out at our level, there are still efforts that are made, even if it could be more constructive, more coherent and more ambitious, but if I take the example of our plan to promote projects including culturally disengaged people... Now, it is not with 2 million euros that we are gonna solve problems, certainly not ... 2 million euro, it's a drop in the ocean compared to everything we should do. Ideally, we would have to reorient policies very strongly for ... I speak a little in my name saying this, but the stakes are enormous...

But there are things that are being done. Us, with the little means that COCOF has, we try systematically with all the projects we receive, each time we ask ourselves the question "is this project could be of interest for the public that we do not touch? And how do we get in touch with them?
This is called cultural mediation ... What is being done to give the floor, to seek out these new audiences?

Given the fact that we have drawn up the cultural plan for Brussels, it is part of our reading grid, and therefore it is always part of our analysis. After that, it is not enough, but it is still a permanent worry.

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- A clarification about what you told me. You are talking about intercultural politics, is that the paradigm in which you are acting? Interculturality?

Yes, we completely. As part of the thematic year of diversity, the Mixity Awards were presented in collaboration with Visit.Brussels, and it is clear that at the level of the COCOF, the Brussels region and all those ministers who working on the theme of diversity, Sven Gath, Rachid Madrane and Fadila Laanan, it is clear that this paradigm is shared. Now, interculturalism is probably not perceived in the same way for everyone. We are going to speak frankly; we take the right-wing, the liberals. They tend to consider that Brussels is a European capital and that what is important is that the different European cultures are valued. And they are right; there is much to be done so that all these intra-European communities meet one another. But there is not only that in Brussels ... We are also at the crossroads of the world! Since we have almost all the nationalities gathered in our small territory. And therefore the place one wants to give to all these extra-European communities, it varies according to the political orientation. We are defending a strong intercultural project, but if there is a change in the majority, I cannot guarantee that the same policies will be carried out, that the Molenbeek cultural center will receive funding, that there will be calls for projects for intercultural events. These are ideological choices too.

- I have two more questions that are related to previous interviews I carried out. First, is politicization of culture, and giving important positions in culture to party members, a problem in Brussels?

I think it's absolutely not a problem anymore. It is possible that this was more true when Fadila Laanan was Minister of Culture. And that indeed, when you have a PS minister who has the culture in his competence ... But now, culture is not the competence of the socialist party in the Fédération Wallonie Bruxelles… It is Alda Greoli (CDH) the current minister. And us, it is not with COCOF that we will influence the major cultural positions.

Now, there is a reality, but it's linked to all the politicians. Necessarily, the positions of power depend on the ministers in place, and that's true. And people in whom ministers trust are people who are close to them. But it's valid for everyone; it's not only valid for the PS. It all depends on who is in business. This is absolutely not limited to the PS. I do not think I will reveal any secrets. It is a political reality. Thinking that the PS trusts the cultural directorates, it would be worthwhile to make a more general overview.

- Secondly, I was also told a lot about the difficulty of accessing subsidies for smaller organizations because of the time it takes to put files together. What is your opinion on this issue?

They are right to say that in the sense that in cultural management, there are always two parts, the artistic part, that is to say the elaboration of the purely artistic project, and on the other hand, you have all the administrative management. And it is true that it is part of the load ... And that it is true that the forms are sometimes long and tedious ... And this is particularly true at COCOF where the subsidy granted is inversely proportional to the tediousness of the form to fill. And so we are already, already ... It is a way of speaking because it could go much faster, but therefore we, in

the framework of administrative simplification, we think about the simplification of these forms for the smallest associations. So, I hope it will be done in the legislature.

What would be nice, too, is to harmonize the forms, that is to say that those required by the Brussels region, *la Fédération Wallonie Bruxelles* and the Flemish community are the same ...

- Ah, because they are all different?

Yes they are, and it can be difficult ... Many ASBLs are not always equipped to do so. And at COCOF, there is a reflection on this and it is true that there are other stakes than this one. The complexity of the forms, the time within which associations are paid, which obliges ASBL to pre-finance their activities, which creates impoverishment on this side. And it is not easy to carry out cultural projects.

And that 's why, for me, at my small level and my team, when someone comes to see me with a project, I spend a lot of time to do guidance, Orientation, and often, besides the support to the project, we try in any case to give advice to accompany these people and help them to find themselves in the institutional meanders, knowing on which door to strike, how to present their files...

We try to do that, but it is true that we could think about the need to create services to accompany even more. There are some, but it is a service that is expensive. There are ways to accompany more, and especially smaller ones, in more crosscutting ways. One day we'll have to get it right. Even if I imagine that it is a project that requires means ... But yes, it would be worth it. Because it is always the best informed and best equipped people who can get the most resources, and conversely, there are projects that are magnificent, but with people who are less equipped with administrative knowledge and who don't know on who to turn to and who are therefore even more disadvantaged.

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Interview 7 – COCON/VGC

- Name : /
- Nationality : Belgium
- Residence : /
- Academic Background : Master in internation politics
- Professional Background : Internships in several internation institutions and now he is working in Pascal Smet's cabinet
- Agreed to be recorded but did not agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name. Information discussed can be used
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 24/05/17 *via* Skype

- How would you describe the evolution of policies dealing with cultural diversity in Brussels?

It's a broad question but I think its clear now what the policies are now, the top priorities for every Minister or administration that is involved in culture. First we think as how do we make sure that what is shown as cultural production in theaters in festivals or in books reflect the diverse people that live in our country and in our city. Second is about inclusion; more attendance of cultural diverse population to different festivals, theaters and libraries. Not only Western white and middle aged people So, I think those are two main parts that policy makers try to promote cultural diversity in public policy.

In the 90's, when Vlaams Belang was important, we had the question of how to manage cultural diversity in reaction to the rise of this party. So, I think in 90s that become a hot topic and cultural policies and participation became preeminent. There is always the question of how to deal or how to include minorities that became more prominent at the end of the 90s and years 2000s, at the same time there is the understanding that its not as easy as thought. Writing policy papers or demanding from organization is not an easy task. There is a lot of good examples but it's not easy to translate/transfer it in cultural policy. A lot of cultural program are still mostly populated by white middle class Belgians, autochthones, and less by the culturally diverse population.

- What is the actual vision of VGC regarding cultural diversity?

It is clear for us that we really see it as an opportunity for Brussels, especially in an international city where a lot of people from different backgrounds from migration and from international context. Of course it brings challenges but at the same time enormous opportunities for the dynamics of the city and for living together in the city. What we try to promote is to have cultural offer that reflects what's happening in different communities and cultures in Brussels.

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For example, in our laws/rules, working with cultural diversity and cultural minorities are a plus for receiving subsidies. We have also some advisory committees on culture and on the one hand they advise us on whom to give public funds for cultural productions, and on the other hand, on more general committees that reflect cultural policies in Brussels. In these committees, we try to have a reflection of the Brussels population. So there are people from different backgrounds.

Thus, in your policy making organs you already have diversity. Not to only work with our organizations but also have diversity in your own administration and that kind of advisory committees to start with gives the right knowledge on diversity and different cultures.

- In a More theoretical vocabulary: would you consider your perspective as intercultural?

On the theoretical level, like I said for us it's an opportunity and it's clear that its not easy to live together with all these different communities. But one keys to make it work in Brussels is via cultural production and cultural understanding and people meeting each other and each other's ways of life through culture. We believe that culture is really powerful tool to enhance living together in cities.

- Is your vision similar to the francophone one?

There are differences in techniques of policy-making, we have different instruments, but I think the global sense, big ideas are shared. We have to look at diversity not as a problem but also as an opportunity in our work in Brussels. We see the same attitude in our French speaking colleagues and there are projects where different language groups work together on those kind of policies. For example Zinneke Parade. That's of course one of the good example. Both francophone and Flemish speaking communities and governments are working together to create something together in different neighborhoods in Brussels by great coproduction and cooperation from different cultures. I think the way we develop our policies can be different but the idea behind it is shared.

- Is cooperation with French speaking community is common?

Brussels has a long and complicated history but I am not so experienced I just started few years ago. I feel its important to do things together as its logical for a city like Brussels. The mentalities are changing and it's continuing to evolve.

- Does the Flemish community has a similar plan to the one developed by the COCOF?

Probably I've seen it passed, I haven't read it, or I haven't used it as a reference document. But I think it's a good thing that there are a lot of plans being made. Everyone has their own visions and plans Brussels.

- Do you have something available from the Flemish part?

I think our reference is the cultural plan developed by the BKO/RAB. Our policy plans are made every 5 years when we have new governments. One is being developed at the moment.

- But you'd say that you still relate to the one developed by the RAB/BKO?

Yes, but those recommendations are also evolving. For example every year there is the new year reception at BKO/RAB, and all ministers that are competent for culture are invited to talk about their cultural plans for Brussels related to those common recommendations made in the regional plan. The BKO/RAB is an evolving plan.

- What is your perspective about future of culture in Brussels regarding the budget and institutional complexity?

Cultural budgets are always under pressure depending on which majority is in place but I think its important that there is also alternative ways of financing, it shouldn't be only the government. Cultural organizations should also generate other budgets even if the public financement is also capital. On the other hand, there are big programs that have significant share for culture that we always defend in our context. But it's not easy to make more budget for culture. Second thing about structure I think again from our perspective, in Brussels it evolves more as one city that is more logically governed, because now it's really complex, and sometimes, it hinders policy making processes. In our vision, more could be done together and more could be simplified from an institutional stand point but it is really political discussion, we have different visions of where the competences and the decision making power should be relocated.

- Do you think about regionalization to simplify things?

For culture, I don't think that is the good solution because they have the strong ties between the two language communities and I don't know if its smart to cut that bound and I think for us it is important as Flanders which has much larger budget than the VGC, that also they need keep on investing in Brussels and all the theaters and organizations that work here. So, and it's not an official standpoint, we have to think carefully if we want to cut that tie. At the same time there are a lot of ways to make it more efficient, what we are doing now.

- You mentioned Zinneke Parade. Do you have another example of incorporation of people with a migratory background through culture?

Yes, Zinneke is the best example but there are a lot more. For example, we have, in the north station in Brussels which is very diverse and cut off, you have ABC artistic educational house, they specialize on workshop around art for young kids connected to school. You see there, there is a large influx of people from different backgrounds coming together. There are a lot of organizations like ABC that really try to include culturally diverse population. Another example would be Circus Zonder Handen which we also support and do workshops with. They have really active policy to attract culturally diverse organizations and populations in their workshops.

- Concretely how do they do this?

They go into the neighborhoods to do little showcases on what it is to be in circus and make people curious and bring it to cultural diverse neighborhood to stimulate parents to see it as a good thing. Another example is the one we have from cultural community centers in the different *communes* of Brussels, and in different communes they are really active and try to involve culturally diverse population, for example in Molembeek, they organize these festivals in the main square and in their big concert hall. They try to use cultural movements and communities by using their own building and connect with their own cultural agenda.

- How do you measure the efficiency of cultural policies? Do you have some tools or indicators?

We try to monitor it in different levels in the agreements we make, when we give funding,, we ask for something in return and in most of the evaluation sheets they have to hand in and explain how "how did your project participated in the enrichment of culturally diverse population"? In the community centers I was mentioning, they had an elaborate system of registering on who attend the activities, they can se the numbers without being too detailed: its not on origin but you have an idea of how diverse was the attendance

There is whole range of instruments we try to use to evaluate it but it's not possible to… There is no exact science. You cannot really rely on numbers, its also about the vision of the organization but also tracking who joins and participate.

It's quantitative instruments to be able to look at who participates, and also in policy plans and administration of culture, there are goals to stimulate participation. There are qualitative discussion, what kind of organizations are we supporting, social, cultural, smaller organizations that more and more from diverse societies. Are we supporting enough? Are we including their voice in the policy making? Those are qualitative and continuously measure next to the numbers.

We also support lasso which is part the BKO/RAB, but now independent that is an organization that really focuses on cultural participation mainly from diverse groups. We support them and their main focus is to do research on that more to develop answers and possible solutions.

- Is there a gap between the objectives on paper and means given to associations to achieve those objectives?

I think personally there could be more budgets for culture also for sure those kinds of objectives… Anyway, we have rich cultural sector that receives a lot of public funds. There can be more but there is already a good financial basis. I think that more can be done but its also part of priorities. Government funding subsidies but also cultural organizations when they elaborate their artistic plans, it is also their responsibility to reflect the cultural diversity. More can be done but time is necessary…

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Interview 8 - Joe Costanzo

- Name : Joe Costanzo
- Nationality : /
- Residence : England
- Academic Background : PhD in political science and urban planning
- Professional Background : Teacher, researcher who has always worked in relation to migration issues
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name.
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 24/05/17 *via* Skype

- So, I'd like to come back on the way Brussels has been dealing with artistic and cultural diversity. How would you describe the evolution of the city in that specific matter?

Certainly from the work I did, was very much a period in the time, I was really looking at, for my doctorate, Brussels at the time of the European capital of culture program. So in that period from 2000 until 2010-2012 is really what I saw, there was a massive shift; not just specific to diversity but really in coming up with a uniform identity for the city or for metropolitan region, which was before$ very much divided. So the period during which at did my thesis it was a period of transformation and period of unification. Looking in Brussels as a unified place in cultural policy, there was this plan culturel that was just being launched.

- Nowadays, both communities define themselves as Interculturalist in their recent plans, what do you make of that?

I think its certainly… I talk about that at the beginning of my thesis, going to a launch meeting in january 2010, and even to access the meeting you have to define yourself as Flemish or francophone/ That for me was really interesting as I am neither of them. And this restriction and separation was fascinating for a , especially in a meeting about interculturalism. For me it was a great way to look at the tension, there was a *décalage* between what were the ideas and the structures that were around the administration to do this job. Of course there were a lot of people also pushing for unity, but the structures back then were difficult to move.

- What would be your perspective on institutional complexity of Brussels regarding cultural related matters?

I mean for me it's part of the bigger structural issues around Brussels which has so many different layers and competencies whether its looking at urban planning or immigration or culture: all overlapping and sometimes conflicting in kind of authorities they have and then the responsibilities that actually plays out in reality. In culture,you have the attempt of long traditions in Brussels capital region since 1980 trying to have a management of Brussels as a place with the language community

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putting forward linguistically defined cultural programming. with the funding given accordingly.

As 2010, we had really important barrier to do that. I think you have to have such a massive and profound shift in the broader thinking on how Brussels as a place really embrace all currently different elements of structure meaning *la politique culture, la politique du territoire* and how that fits into that basically. By my confusing answer (it reflects the situation in Brussels) is that there is really lack of clarity. For me, at least.

Part of it can be linked to what doest It mean to be *Bruxellois* which is kind of gets into the role of immigration, in European institution there is so many layers to that as well shifting faces of immigration for the country and for the city. I don't see how you could have a very clear, I don't see how you could have *une seule politique* for *la region, la capitale, la ville.* It's much more challenging.

- Anyway, did you notice collaboration between the communities back then? Because now it's the actual trend…

Yes absolutely. That doesn't surprise me that they collaborate more and more. That also not surprised me as. What I learnt and what I saw in the evolution of the city between 200 and 2012 was a lot about transformation… The Zinneke parade in the context of Brussels being EU capital in 2000 was a transnational period and opportunity for Brussels to say how we really have a unified Brussels in cultural policy which sound quite evident for people studying Brussels. The creator of the Zinneke parade, a lovely man, said to me he brought this idea of notion of Zinneke to the Flemish community regarding cultural policy and to French part and neither of them liked the idea. That was something they both formally disagreed to, which was for him a proof that the idea was good… But even now, 16 or 17 years after it was introduced, there is progress being made.

- I know you studies the Zinneke parade, but do you have other example of events in Brussels that participate in the trend toward the incorporation of people with a migratory background in Brussels' cultural scene?

I think Globa Aroma would be another one. That's really interesting. It's mentioned in my thesis as well, I will send you their email.

It is primarily for asylum seekers and for their families but also neighborhood program as well. It's driven by visual performing art and it's tapping to public support and also expands arts and culture within that community (asylum seekers) and also connect them to spaces in Brussels for people happen to be (French). It is really interesting program it was funded through the Flemish cultural funding body but that would be another one. And of course some came out ongoing in part of the Zinneke but not necessarily organized by the Zinneke people. Just some musical groups quite small and commune based but, they certainly exist.

You do see in other parts of arts and cultural seen in Brussels was the emphasis on the lack of centrality and a high sense of informality. Zinneke was quite formalized for

what they were trying to do. But most of the initiatives could be qualified as *éphèmères.*

- Global Aroma and *le petit palais,* are they targeting specifically migrants and asylum seekers? Are they also promoting contact with local artists?

Both. I think the ideas years ago back then, was really both. Lets promote the skills of those people while and also thinking about how we can connect them to artists in the broader, kind of *Bruxellois place*, in terms of training and also more opportunities for children and youth and anyone else within *le petit palais* community who interested in art but doesn't maybe have the back ground. "If you are interested in art, let us know, if you are an artist let us know but they also have a very small budget.

- How would you assess the relation associations like that have with the institutional powers dealing with culture in Brussels?

I think there was a real mix. For some people, they consider themselves to be really proud of being independent infrastructures and some other who really saw the formalization or the division of the *espace culturelle* of the cultural sector as negative. There are different ranges of perspectives on the subject.

- Do you think it's possible to assess the efficiency of cultural policies?

Mmmmh… Yeah, it's tough, I think that in the annexes of my thesis, you have some different ideas for doing that. Through direct interventions, asking people what they think… those are the simple ones. How much do people participate, how much do you participate, and then that's a launching pad for more intimate question related to well being in the neighborhood, how much you feel represented…

Which makes sense sometimes. But I think the challenge is there are certain communities who are just not participating. Some communities such as Polish or Turkish people in neighborhoods like Saint Gilles or Schaerbeek, they are just not participating because culture does not talk to them.

So there are two sides to that, one is getting them to participate, and that's something that comes before your question.

But about this evaluation, tools exist but they are so different, they can be interpreted in different ways, different people use them in different ways. My only advice is to be as concrete as possible. If you talk about the policy impacts of something like 'culture', it can be very problematic. Because 99% of the people, they are not aware of policy change, but what they are aware of is the programs, things that their community participate in.

One of the things that could work is what I call 'participatory line', s o I'd rather ask them, in what kind of activities do you engage in, what do you do? And then, kinda formulate around that… "Can I put this to a time line where I'd indicate the policy changes, the ads, political commitment, investments…" That's the tool that would best work in many contexts.

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- If one thing could be improved in how Brussels deal with artistic diversity, what would it be, in your own opinion?

Pfff… Heu… I think, there are a lot of things. Diversity doesn't necessary mean going to an event, looking around, and seeing people with different skin colors, different accents or languages…

It would be the trap of multiculturalism. What I would like to see more, it's actually what Zinneke does. It's about people with different history and backgrounds meeting and mixing together through various things, music and culture, but what's interesting and where diversity becomes really interesting is where those things comes together, but they are not the front.

All those things come together, but the front is the diversity that comes from the different ways we can define what it means to be *Bruxellois*. And the identity is not something related to the *pays d'origine* or *pays d'accueil,* it's about what diversity looks like now, in this contemporary context of Brussels. For me, that's what I'd like to see, I'd like to see something that takes multiculturalism and diversity and flips it, and doesn't completely reject them as realities but does not consider them as something reflecting the past , the *origins,* but rather becomes something connected to present, something that reflects l'*aujourd'hui.* Artists reflecting what does it mean to live in Brussels today, that's what I want to see.

Interview 9 –Anna Coromina & Aviv Kruglanski

- Name : Anna Coromina / Aviv Kruglanski
- Nationality : Spain/ Israel
- Residence : England
- Academic Background : Philosophy & cultural management /
- Professional Background : Worked with several associations (like Poliedre) in Barcelona dealing with artistic diversity.
- Agreed to be recorded and agreed to be quoted in the Master Thesis under his own name.
- Interviewed carried out in English on the 26/05/17 *via* Skype

- Could you tell me what are the associations you've been working with and what was its purpose?

Poliedre, the main part of the event is not the festival itself, it's more about the construction of a platform of people, and the relation between the people is the most important. That helps us to work with artists during the whole year. More than one festival, we created a platform of migrant artists living in Barcelona. Artist is in the wide sense.

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Getting in contact with them is not something institutionalized, it's very organic. There wasn't calls or anything. The first year, we met people accidently, through friends, by chance… By meeting people. The way to know people was more about having a coffee, talk… Not like a meeting in an office and things like this.

- What is your relation with ICUB or espai Avinyó ?

The most part of the work we did without money, and then we had some help from the Ajutament de Barcelona, but finally, this kind of help is not the best way to do…

- Why ?

You spend a lot of time asking for the funding, bureaucracy, and paperwork… And finally you don't have the time to do the project… It's just about questionnaire and forms. It took us too much time compared to the many.

Also, the way you have to explain the project is very technical and not very useful.

- What do you think about the way Barcelona has been dealing with cultural/artistic diversity, in general?

Well… It's not like in Belgium or France. They don't do a lot of things with diversity in Barcelona.

- Oh really, because from what i read and discussed with people, most of people are saying it's the opposite…

Well, you need to talk with people, migrants in Barcelona, with immigrants. Listen their voices because it's the most important. It's the main part of diversity. It's not in the Adjutament de Barcelona. They try to do… They are trying to create the appearance that they are doing something, but they are not doing anything. Most of the people that I've been working with… Nobody from the Adjutament De Barcelona knows them. There is an important disconnection.

They do like concerts, big things with artists, for example, from Mali, but those people are living in Paris, not in Barcelona. They don't give visibilities to immigrant artists libing in Barcelona.

- That's interesting, because it's not what the ICUB or experts are saying…

That's the problem, because those people are part of the system that defend that Barcelona is a good city to deal with diversity. But if you're working alone, not with the help of the public institutions… It's not true what they say. They have the money, they have relations, they do things to prove they're doing something.

- Aviv, is from Israel, he was living in Barcelona as an artist for a long time, he can tell you…

Yeah, I never got any… Ok maybe once or twice I received a bit of money from them, but for people who are not from Barcelona, the whole process and the paper

work is just too much, it's too complicated, very bureaucratic… In Spanish or Catalan… So many details.

Everyone can apply, but most of the people just find it too difficult to apply. Of course, if you ask them, they'll say that it's open, but it's just too difficult for the majority of people. Generally, I don't think they have migrants in mind.

I had a space in Barcelona, and I had to manage everything, without collaboration or contact from the city. I was not expecting them to … but …

(…)

During la Mercè for example, they don't have a lot of concerts with people from India or Pakistan… Even if those nationalities are among the most represented in the city.

- On that subject, Zapata wrote on the fact that minorities are included in La Mercè, you don't agree?

No. I was working with musicians for 3 years in La Mercè. We had a stage in the middle of Raval, And they canceled that stage. So in this neighborhood, if you want to see concerts, you have to go to MacBa… To listen to English bands. It's not connected to the life of people from Raval. If you go the the MacBa on that day, you won't see anyone from Raval, anyone with immigrant background.

- What ould you do to reach people from Raval, people from diverse neighborhood?

Maybe I'd change the emplacement of the concerts because it has a big influence on the people attending. I'd chose the spaces, more in the middle of the neighborhood. You also have to talk to people, otherwise they don't know what's happening.

Even the leftist city hall in Barcelonan the most progressist we had, they tried to communicate in Arabic but everything was in reverse… So they don't have anyone to do that? That is their level of detachment from the population.

At the city level, there is also this separation between culture, art and immigration. It's also always the same people talking about culture, the same middle age white people, intellectual, university people… The same people that you always see. That's why I was saying that they are trying to build an image.

Just try to see how diverse is the team, the people who work in the city hall, in ICUB, in these institutions… That are not white middle class Europeans. That's the thing about privilege. It's makes you bling to your own privilege. You cannot see further, if you don't have a more diverse team. So I believe that they really think that they are doing a good job about diversity in Barcelona, but that's not the case.

- Do you collaborate with other associations?

One thing is that I don't agree with the politization of culture. But other associations? Yes, we've been doing everything in collaboration with other associations, like the

San Pau gym that accept people like undocumented migrant. They are always in dialogue with people from Raval, work with refugee women associations; they let unemployed people enter for free… They were in danger of getting evicted and closed… It's an interesting place. We did one of the events of the festival at this gym. We also had project with associations from other countries.