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Research for CULT Committee - EU funding for cultural work with refugees: current practice and lessons learned

IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

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Research for CULT Committee - EU funding for cultural work with refugees: current practice and lessons learned

IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

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DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Research for CULT Committee - EU funding for cultural work with refugees: current practice and lessons learned

IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

Abstract

This in-depth analysis is an overview of publically funded cultural projects with refugees as target group. These projects are analysed in the light of two interconnected challenges in contemporary Europe, the challenge of good governance of cultural diversity and refugees' aspiration to a good life in Europe. It asks the fundamental question of what it is to live a good life together in Europe today and how cultural interventions can contribute to this aspiration.

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This essay is an inquiry into publicly funded cultural projects that are intended to address the current refugee crisis. It investigates different approaches to artistic interventions in different Member States (MS), the conditions of cultural projects' successes and failures, and lessons that can be learned from these failures and successes.

Project typology: Based on the methodology applied and the questions asked, I have distinguished five types of projects with distinct perspectives and methods of application. **Pre-packaged projects:** These projects have a predetermined agenda to be applied to refugees without involving the refugees in shaping that agenda. 2. **Co-designed projects**: In these projects, refugees are "invited" to participate in the planning of the projects. The relation of power within the projects may be asymmetrical. 3. **Participatory projects**: These projects are either planned by refugees or planned in a manner in which everyone has a say and no one dominates. 4. **Intersectional projects**: These projects start from the interrelated nature of identity categories such as ethnicity, gender, race, age, class, and ability. 5. **Intersectoral projects**: In their design, these projects include several sectors in addition to the cultural sector to achieve wider outcomes.

Different MS, different approaches: The main concerns of MS are areas of action such as employment and housing. Cultural activities are intended to assist these ends. However, there are differences between frontline MS, MS that refuse to receive refugees, MS that do receive refugees, MS that are new to receiving refugees, and MS that have been receiving states for decades. The concern in frontline states is to supply basic facilities and to fill the waiting and transit times of refugees with meaningful activities. Projects in receiving states deal with empowerment or integration of refugees into the host communities. In new receiving MS, projects focus on highlighting the benefits of cultural diversity. Projects in the old receiving states take the benefits of cultural diversity for granted and aim at intercultural dialogue and refugee empowerment.

Current refugee inflows have strengthened civil society. Projects run by civil society are usually co-designed or participatory and aim mainly to empower refugees. Although cultural projects are supposed to work toward the integration of refugees, an increasing number of them avoid using the term "integration", instead using words like inclusion, intercultural dialogue, and refugee empowerment. They show ingenuity in addressing refugees' everyday concerns in a variety of ways. The same ingenuity is needed to connect refugees' concerns with those of their host populations.

Cultural projects are successful when they are human rights-based, participatory, intersectional, intersectoral, transnational, intercultural, and connected to the daily concerns of refugees and their host populations alike. Only then can they contribute to shared visions and narratives and connect people across boundaries and nationalities. They fail whenever they try to implement a pre-packaged integration agenda, since by so doing they remain within boundaries of nationalities, fixed identities, and limits of conventional canons. No project intends to confine itself within these boundaries. Projects are usually affected by their designers' tacit and historically accumulated knowledge that carries reminiscences of old colonial and racial ideas and works beyond designers' consciousness. Projects must instead provide spaces for critical reflection, not only for their target groups, but also for their owners and designers.

Read more on [migration in Europe](#).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STAKEHOLDERS

The following shifts in stakeholders' approaches are necessary in order for art interventions to deliver the desired results:

1. Project design

- From pre-packaged projects to co-designed and participatory projects; to engage refugees in the very design of the projects is to contribute to their attaining the strength and confidence to take control of their lives and claim their rights as members of their host societies.

- From top-down methods to bottom-up and participatory approaches; this means encouraging refugee participation through co-designed and participatory projects.

- From multiculturalism to interculturalism and transculturalism; multiculturalism describes the coexistence of multiple cultures in a society without reference to the kind of relationships among them; it is to live next to each other. Multiculturalism is often blamed for cultural relativism and is the cause of parallel societies. Interculturalism also starts from cultural differences, but encourages interactions and dialogue to establish mutual understanding. Transculturalism champions comprehensive, hybrid, and diversified cultures beyond cultural distinctions due to people's movements across cultures.

2. Approaches and perspectives

- From focus on ethnicity to intersectionality; ethnicity is only one basis of discrimination that intersects with gender-based discrimination and discrimination based on faith, age, and so on. Identity categories such as ethnicity, gender, race, age, class, and ability are all interrelated.

- From fixed identities and cultures to cultures and identities as works in progress; this a shift from prescribed identities to achieved or mobile identities (hybrid, dynamic, and relational identities).

- From combating individual racists to combating racist structures; individual racism can be explicit and stem from personal prejudice, while structural racism consists of policies and practices implicit in established institutions. No individual intent is necessary for its operation.

- From learning about refugees to learning from them; this is to avoid enacting violence as project designers engage in refugees' stories and narratives in seeking to learn about them; to not neglect learning from refugees.

3. Refugee empowerment

- From charity and good will to human rights-based working approach; a human rights-based approach offers principles for work with refugees that are grounded in human rights standards. It aims at protecting and promoting human rights and challenges asymmetrical relations of power that prevent refugees from becoming active members of their host communities.

- From power over to power with refugees; while power over refugees enhances relationships of domination, shared power with refugees emerges from stakeholder

common engagement, intersectional and intersectoral approaches, and cocreative power relations.

- From integration to social mobility: projects should aim at enabling refugees to get as far as they can in life.

4. Evaluation
- From short-term outreach to long-term social outcomes of projects; instead of striving to increase the number of refugees they reach, projects should ensure that the long-term impacts of their work with refugees and their communities are as significant and sustainable as possible.

- From group-specific interests to the public value of the projects; designing projects with immediate group interests in mind is not always the wisest way of planning projects. A focus on public value can instead lead to a balanced synthesis of group and common interests.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY-MAKERS

- Encourage cultural projects that:
    - Are human rights-based
    - Empower refugees at a structural level
    - Engage refugees and host populations alike
    - Combat racism, sexism, extremism, Eurocentrism, and xenophobia
    - Are intersectional and intersectoral

- Strengthen civil society, especially refugee self-organisation, by easing application procedures
- Build in participation and mechanisms of evaluation in the criteria of funding
- Connect projects to an overarching inclusive narrative of refugees and of the EU as a cultural construct as well as to a shared vision of the future of Europe

1.   INTRODUCTION

"I am not just a refugee, I am Marwan Akrawi." (Osynliga teatern (the invisible theatre), Gävle, Sweden).

This quote from a young Syrian refugee and actor on a theatre stage in the city of Gävle, Sweden, made a profound impression on me. I hope it will do the same for everyone, that it will echo the voices of those about whom this essay is written, and that it will stimulate reflections on what it is to be human in Europe today. More than ever before, we need such voices to make themselves heard in public settings and to remind us of our common destiny, desires and aspirations. Art and culture can bring in diverse voices that may otherwise remain unheard forever, and we can thereby miss unique opportunities to build up our common humanity together in times of hardship and destitution.

1.1   Background

A small fraction of the world's displaced people made their way to Europe in 2015-2016.[1] However, this refugee flow imposed severe challenges on the EU, the receiving Member States (MS) and the refugees. On the EU side, the refugee influx revealed a gap between and within the MS about how best to manage the "refugee crisis" and to share its burden. The refugees were faced with the challenge of orientating anew and settling down in European societies. The influxes of refugees coincided with economic crises and brutal terrorist attacks in Europe committed by Islamist extremists.

The EU was not prepared to handle the record number of refugees. Populists and nationalists are now using this as the failure of the European project. They are presenting their interests as that of all Europeans and are trying to win electoral successes. These groups challenge long-held values of openness, democracy and human rights by making immigration the defining issue of elections and creating a discourse on refugees as a risk. Cultural projects, their resource-efficiency and social outcomes are investigated against this background.

1.2   Project typology

Aims: This essay is an inquiry into publicly funded cultural projects that are intended to address the current refugee crisis. It investigates different approaches to artistic interventions in different MS, the conditions of projects' successes and failures and lessons that can be learned from these failures and successes.

Questions asked: I have asked two kinds of questions about cultural projects: a) questions at the level of general approaches and perspectives; and b) questions about methods applied in each project. The first kind of questions are about principles and practices for designing, organising, conducting, and analysing projects. The main question here is whose perspective and interests dominate the design of a project. Method questions are about the methods that the projects use to implement their guiding perspectives and principles. These methods can be workshops, group discussions, interviews, dialogue meetings, and so on. For instance, if the guiding approach of a project is refugee participation in planning the project details, the main task of the project managers is to find appropriate methods that are already in the design of the project, like dialogue meetings,

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[1]   1.3 million refugees arrived in Europe 2015 (https://www.iom.int/). The total number of refuges in the world in the same year was more than 60 milion (http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html).

brainstorming workshops or interviews, to facilitate refugee participation. Accordingly, participation becomes inherent to the project instead of being imposed on it from outside or being an end product delivered at the conclusion of the project. Regarding perspectives, I have asked questions about whether a specific project has been designed *for* refugees (pre-packaged or predesigned projects), together *with* refugees (co-designed projects) or *by* refugees (participatory projects). Questions about methods have asked whether they are designed for refugees and host communities to learn *from* each other or to learn *about* each other. In the former kind of projects, people enter into dialogue as equals. In the latter kind, one side dominates and reduces the other to objects to be studied.

In addition to ethnicity, refugees may be subjected to discrimination based upon sexual orientation, gender, education and religious faith. In other words, discrimination is intersectional and needs to be addressed from an intersectional perspective. The question here has been whether the projects reduce the identity issue soley to ethnicity/culture or whether they see it in its intersectional complexity. Although the projects are launched within culture as a sector, I have looked at whether they include other sectors, since the refugee crisis needs to be addressed in a wider context than the culture sector. The overarching question has been what it means to live a good life together in a culturally divers Europe today.

Project typology: Based on the methodology applied and the questions asked, I have distinguished five types of projects with distinct perspectives and methods of application:

- **Pre-packaged projects:** These projects have a predetermined agenda to be applied to refugees without involving the refugees in shaping that agenda. 2Methods used here are top-down.
- **Co-designed projects**: In these projects, refugees are "invited" to participate in the planning of the projects. The relation of power within the projects may be asymmetrical. Methods used here can be dialogic, but with a perpetual risk of becoming top-down methods.
- **Participatory projects**: These projects are either planned by refugees or planned in a manner in which everyone has a say and no one dominates. They are designed to empower refugees. Methods used in these projects are dialogic, in which people with different backgrounds learn from each other as well as learning about each other.
- **Intersectional projects**: These projects start from the interrelated nature of identity categories such as ethnicity, gender, race, age, class, and ability. Ethnicity is only one basis of discrimination that intersects with gender-based discrimination and discrimination based on faith, age, and so on.
- **Intersectoral projects**: In their design, these projects include several sectors in addition to the cultural sector to achieve wider outcomes. The methods used here can be different. They can apply dialogic methods in the relationships between different sectors and non-dialogic when it comes to refugees, or vice versa.

Seen from the perspective of art itself, projects concern either the development of the arts or a specific genre by creating an aesthetic dialogue between a native-born artist and those with a refugee background. The focus is on the *intrinsic* values of art. Alternatively, they use art as a means to achieve goals outside of the arts, like sustainable development, social cohesion, intercultural dialogue and refugee inclusion. The focus here is on the *instrumental* values of art. The majority of projects belong to this category. There are a few human rights-based projects that appeal to the basic principles of the rule of law, democracy and human rights.

Cultural projects are small and short-term; there are few comprehensive cultural responses to refugee integration at a structural level. The existing projects suffer from an ad hoc character, since they have been prompted by the acute situation of the refugee crisis, a state of emergency. Therefore, they have not always been carefully scrutinised and planned. Thus, it is crucial that an effective overall strategy for planning *and* funding be developed. There is also room for improvement in coordinating the various levels of funding: transnational, national, regional and local agencies and the communities responsible for providing housing, education, healthcare and employment.

There is an increasing tendency toward intersectoral projects. Almost half of the projects compiled by the OMC Group on Intercultural Dialogue were intersectoral.[2] A large majority of these projects overestimate the importance of offering refugees information about host societies and language learning. When it comes to employment, however, research demonstrates that, though language and cultural awareness are necessary preconditions, "family and connections are the primary means for finding jobs".[3] According to these studies, the labour market remains closed to migrants despite their linguistic skills, especially for second generation immigrants who are fluent in host languages and literate in host cultures.

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[2] https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4943e7fc-316e-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1/language-en, p. 39.
[3] https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/12159585.

2. MEMBER STATES AND DIFFERENT APPROCHES

KEY FINDINGS

- National identity is an important factor in MS's approach to cultural work with refugees
- MS with a strong national identity use prepackaged projects to integrate refugees as soon as possible
- MS with balanced national and transnational identity use co-desiged and participatory projects to empower refugees

The projects outlined above engage a large number of public bodies, civil society organisations, individuals and private stakeholders. Although they are a small part of the plenitude of ongoing activities, they cover a wide range of topics and demonstrate a variety of approaches. In this section, these projects are studied along a vertical axis in terms of their funding by local, regional, national or transnational (EU) bodies. Civil society plays a major role in local, regional and EU-funded projects. These projects aim mainly to empower refugees. Cultural institutions like museums are major players on the national level. They operate usually through prepackaged projects, since they are constrained by a body of preexisting cultural heritage, procedures and national programmes.

An example of the regional level is Västra Götlandsregionen (a region located in western Sweden) which has funded more than 100 projects since 2015. In these projects, there is no or very little mention of national identity or of Swedish culture. They aim instead to enable refugees to participate in the cultural life of the region; their approach is participatory or human rights-based. Creative Europe funded 12 projects in 2016. These projects demonstrate a transnational approch, enabling refugees through collaborations among different regions, cities and organisations in different MS.

The main concerns of the countries studied are areas of action, such as employment, education, healthcare and housing. Cultural activities are intended to assist these ends. However, the number of artistic and cultural projects launched to ease integration of refugees is huge, especially in Germany and Sweden.[4]

There are differences between "frontline states" (Greece and Italy), states which refuse to receive refugees (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) and receiving states (Sweden and Germany). My investigations suggest that civil society is engaged in a higher degree in frontline states than in receiving states. In Nordic countries and Germany, governments and the public sector play major roles. Generally, highly globalised Northern and Western European countries are the preferred destinations of refugees, and there is a stronger political will in these countries to accommodate refugees' human rights. This has a strong impact on the number and quality of cultural projects. While projects in receiving states tend to deal with integration of refugees in the host communities, the concern in frontline states is to supply basic facilities and to fill the waiting and transit time of refugees with meaningful activities.[5] This study shows nonetheless that differences go deeper

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[4]   For instance «between 2015 and 2016, some 15,000 refugee projects launched in Germany, with many of them focused on helping newcomers learn the language - things like volunteer instruction, mentoring or casual meet-ups with refugees » (http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/integrating-refugees-in-germany-an-update-a-1147053.html).

[5]   On their way to recieving countries, refugees used the WI-FI facilities of the Museum of Contemporary Arts in Bolzano, Italy. The Museum siezed the opportunity and provided biweekly guided tours for refugees www.voicesofculture.eu.

between different projects than between different countries. All types of projects outlined above can be represented in the same country.

Receiving refugees is new in countries like Bulgaria, while Germany, Sweden, France and the Netherlands have been receiving states for decades. While in the former category, projects focus on highlighting benefits of cultural diversity, projects in the latter countries take benefits of cultural diversity for granted and aim at intercultural dialogue, empowerment and participation,[6] except for France, where a strong emphasis is put on universal republican values and a strong national identity.

A second axis of inquiry has been horizontal, referring to the geographical spread of the projects in Europe; Western and Northern Europe are project-dense, followed by Southern Europe and the Central and Eastern European countries.

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[6] While German Chancellor Angela Merkel has called « multikulti » a sham (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/12/14/angela-merkel-multiculturalism-is-a-sham/?tid=a_inl&utm_term=.005d2d720f53), an NGO with the same name runs one of Bulgaria best practice projects « Diversity is Tasty » (www.multikulti.bg/tasty).

3. REFUGEE CRISIS AND THE RISE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

KEY FINDINGS

- Civil society's strong engagement in the refugee crisis offers a democratic counterweight to far right populism and extremism
- There are discrepancies between civil society's transnational engagement and Member States' national policies
- To support alliances between civil society organisation across Europe and their cultural work together with refuges economically is a necessary investment in a democracy

The refugee crisis engaged civil society in unprecedented ways.[7] Host populations and civil society engaged in welcoming refugees beyond national and cultural divides and revealed that Europe has huge capacities to include refugees in ways that enhance the rule of law, human rights and democracy. It is difficult to estimate how many projects have been initiated by civil society across Europe. The social outcomes of these projects cannot be overestimated. They demonstrated a more humane and inclusive Europe. This forceful manifestation of humanity and readiness to handle the crisis can indeed be seen as a democratic counterweight to extremism and right populism. Initial studies suggest that the current migration inflows have strengthened civil society. For instance, in Germany "Non-state actors have taken on several tasks in the area of integration that state institutions have not recognized or have even eschewed".[8] In 2015, a study showed that "the number of volunteers in refugee-related work [had] grown by 70 percent in Germany" (ibid). The same trend can be seen in Sweden[9], the other major receiving MS. Through civil society, social media have become engaged in the refugee crisis.

The work of civil society organisations shows how liberal democracies can include immigrants without fear of disintegrating themselves or their culture. The show of solidarity by civil society demonstrates also an awareness of the fact that, although migration is dealt with nationally, it has transnational causes and consequences.[10]

A closer look at projects launched and run by civil society shows that civil society organisations act as transnational players. This role is indeed in line with the transnational role of the EU. These attempts enhance the right of freedom of movement for endangered human beings. Civil society's efforts can be seen as attempts to compensate for failed national policies. To support alliances between civil society organisation across Europe and their cultural work together with refuges economically is a necessary investment in a democracy. One unique dimension of civil society work with refugees is the demonstration of hospitality, which is in line with what Immanuel Kant, at a moral level, called the "universal right of hospitality" (Kant, 1996, pp 328-29). For Kant, this right was a cornerstone for global peace and belonged to every human being cohabiting the globe with others. Accordingly, it is a moral right to seek refuge. From a moral point of view, refugees' right to survival in the current turbulent situation is as important as is the target countries' right to control their borders against refugee influx.

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[7] I am aware of civil society being a generic term which can include any groups engaged in social, cultural, economic, or political activity in a social context. In this way, a racist group is also a component of the civil society when they use their right to freedom of expression and assembly. My reference is however to those organisations that believe in principles such as human equality, human rights and counteract racism and Eurocentrism.

[8] www.bpb.de/apuz/203551/engagement-in-der-fluechtlingshilfe?p=all.

[9] (http://idealistas.se/kurage/2016/05/10/flyktingkrisen-omdefinierar-civilsamhallets-roll/.

[10] https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/29/stone-immigration/?mcubz=1.

Going through civil society's cultural work, civil society seems to be reminding national states not to overlook these two interrelated rights and responsibilities. In this sense, civil society is contributing to good management of diversity across national divides.

4. DO INVESTMENTS IN CULTURAL PROJECTS DELIVER THE DESIRED RESULTS?

KEY FINDINGS

- Quantitative measurements are difficult to apply to art projects
- A balance is needed between the instrumental and intrinsic values of the arts
- Public value is a functional notion when it comes to the assessment of art projects

Do investments in cultural projects deliver the desired results? Undoubtedly yes, although it is not always easy to quantify these results. The evaluation of cultural projects is problematic, since, regardless of the kind of approach they apply, quantitative measurements are hardly applicable to them. For instance, the size of the audience at a concert says hardly anything about the quality of the impression they gain. Further, the social outcomes of art projects are invisible and slow to show themselves over long periods of time rather than being immediately measurable. Besides, it is hard to measure the spill-over effects of cultural activities, i. e. their contribution to other areas, such as education.

However, 62% of projects asked by the OMC Group on Intercultural Dialogue indicated that they have reached their objectives. These objectives were empowerment and self-determination, social inclusion, intercultural dialogue and awareness raising. However, no unitary measurement tools were applied to all of these projects.[11] Consequently, the results could be arbitrary. Mark Moore, director of Harvard's Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, has invented a model appropriate to measure the contribution of art to the public good or its public value. Public value refers to values, such as a functioning democracy, good public health and high-quality public education, values that are necessary for a good life without being able to put an exact price tag on them. Instead of focusing on the size of audiences, this model focuses on the public value that cultural activities produce (More 1997).[12] Improvement in the quality of the lives of refugees and host populations then become defining factors when it comes to cultural projects.

The basis of this model is the Strategic Triangle, which consists of public value, operational capacity (budgets, competencies, innovations and skills needed to produce certain public values) and legitimacy and support (legitimacy and resources assigned to a project and managers to produce a specific public value). This model can be used to develop and measure objectives in a way that is sensitive to the interests of the target groups. Accordingly, this model prioritises the demands of the target groups rather than the goods that projects can supply. According to this framework, projects must answer three basic questions before applying for funding: 1) What public value does the project want to produce? 2) What sources of legitimacy and support authorise the project to take action and provide resources to create that value? 3) What competencies and innovations does the project require to deliver that public value?[13]

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[11] https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4943e7fc-316e-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1/language-en.

[12] Moore (1997) *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*.

[13] http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EY_-_Creating_public_value/$FILE/ey-creating-public-value.pdf.

Figue 1: The Strategic Triangle
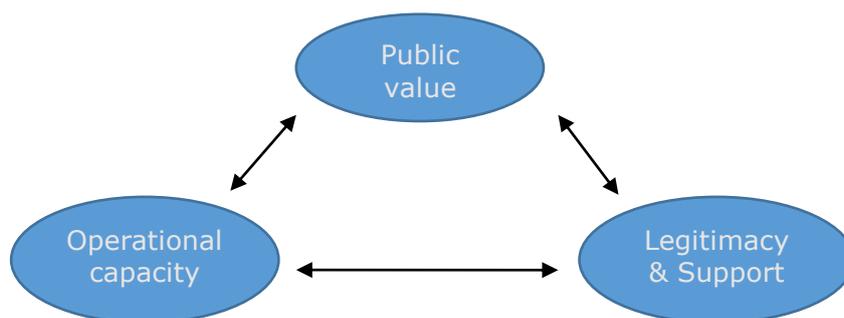
To give an example, participation in society's cultural life is a public good, because the UN Declartion of Human Rights § 27 states: "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." As all EU governments have endorsed this right, they should legitimately allocate public funding to realise this human right. Therefore, publically funded refugee projects should aim to pave the way for refugees to participate in the cultural life of host societies as a human right or a public value. There is of course need for more elaborations before this model can be applied. However, public value is a good yardstick for evaluating a project's contribution to the inclusion of refugees. RAND[14] and Wallace Center[15] have developed models for measuring the public value of art and cultural activities that can be used as measurment models.[16]

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[14] https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG218.readonline.html

[15] http://www.wallacefoundation.org/knowledge-center/Documents/Creating-Public-Value-Through-State-Arts-Agencies.pdf

[16] The BBC has also developed a model for meaurement of public value based on three pilars : "1) individual value: the benefit that people derive as individuals from a BBC service 2) citizen value: the benefit that people derive from a BBC service as citizens 3) net economic value: the net benefit that the wider media economy may derive from the BBC's services"(https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/policies/pdf/bpv.pdf).

5. LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

5.1 Cultural projects should empower refugees

KEY FINDINGS
• Refugee empowerment is a concern of cultural projects
• However, a clear notion is required of what is needed for refugees to be empowered.
• There are also references to friendship between refugees and host populations

Many projects analysed see their mission as empowering refugees. There is, however, no clear notion of what it means to empower refugees and its practical implications. Empowerment means: "The process of becoming stronger and more confident, especially in controlling one's life and claiming one's rights."[17] This point deserves some explications. One of the most profound defenders of liberal democracy, Hanna Arendt, connects political action to human nature. To underpin this claim, she connects back to Aristotle, who defined the human being as a political animal. Basically, in this view, the human being shares a biological life with other animals and a cultural life specific to humanity. As long as human beings are occupied with their biological necessities, they cannot realise themselves or lead a good life. Arendt calls this manner of life *animal laborans* (Arendt, 1998). It is only when humans enable themselves, transcend the level of maintenance of life itself and reach the public realm of political community and act as political beings can they realise their humanity and enjoy a good life. To empower refugees, they must reach such a quality of life and become enabled to act politically. In other words, to become part of a society means, in addition to the economy and regulations, a sense of belonging to a political community as an area for political action in and through friendship.

When it comes to belonging, David Hume once stated: "I am an American in my principles"[18] to defend American independence from British rule. Today, refugees can become Europeans "in their principles", although to be a European demands much more than accepting or rejecting European principles. However, Europe has become an aspiration and a safe haven for refugees due to the principles of the rule of law, human rights and democracy. Loyalty toward one's culture should thus be in line with these principles. Democratic inclusiveness should be a priority if the two come in conflict (Benhabib, 2002). For instance, freedom of faith "should not be abused as a principle to support those who seek to discriminate against gay, lesbian, trans, and gender nonconforming peoples", as Judith Butler puts in an interview with *The Other Journal*.[19] Intercultural dialogue is a means to negotiate and settle this kind of disagreements when they arise.

Many projects strongly emphasize storytelling as a method of enabling refugees to attain a voice, empower them and establish an inclusive European narrative. They express an ambition to reshape the European narrative and its tale on the refugee crisis. These projects see participation, democracy, human rights and openness as main parts of this new narrative. These projects are indeed in tune with the current political landscape that tends to redefine the role of culture and see it in the wider perspective of the future of the EU. Since the end of the WWII, the European narrative has been focused on peace through

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[17] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/empowerment.
[18] See https://thepointmag.com/2017/politics/a-country-is-a-country.
[19] https://theotherjournal.com/2017/06/26/worldless-without-one-another-interview-judith-butler/.

economic prosperity. The metaphor of "never again!" enabled Europeans to opt for democracy, peace and human rights. However, electoral successes of far right populism show that the critical dialogue with the past has come to an end by parts of generations who do not have direct experience with the atrocities of war; they do not value peace, human rights and democracy as the generations before them did. The refugee crisis has opened new windows for remembrance of the atrocities of wars and the enhancement of democracy. The plentitude of cultural projects demonstrates the will of the European public to bring a cultural dimension to the narrative of the EU. Indeed, the challenges that the EU is now facing demand the addition of a cultural dimension to its founding narrative with a view to engage MS and citizens in common projects in terms of shared goals.

5.2   A shift in language use is needed

> **KEY FINDINGS**
>
> - Cultural projects by and large see refugee issues from a perspective of charity rather than from a perspective of human rights
> - They unintendedly put the burden of integration on refugees rather than seeing it as a common challenge of refugees and host communities
> - Cultural differences are often the starting point for projects; what separates rather than what unites refugees and host population
> - Projects put a one-sided focus on ethnicity, though this is a waning tendency

Although cultural projects are supposed to work with the integration of refugees, an increasing number of projects avoid using the term "integration". They use instead words like inclusion, intercultural dialogue and refugee empowerment. This tendency can be explained by the widespread critique of integration as an authoritarian, top-down and stigmatising approach. Projects that focus on integration are pre-packaged projects with a predetermined agenda. They demonstrate two interconnected approaches to the question of diversity: 1) diversity as an interim stage of contemporary societies and 2) charity as the basic feature of the approach to the refugee issue. In the first respect, diversity is considered as an interim state toward a homogeneous society, as if it is a state of emergency that should be ended as soon as possible. Proper understanding means a shift from diversity as an interim stage to diversity as the basic condition of life in contemporary societies. Thus, instead of rapidly integrating diversity into homogeneity, as it is entrenched in the discourse of integration, a core task of art projects and contemporary politics should be good governance of diversity as the human conditions as such.

A deeper analysis reveals that these projects are based on their designers' tacit knowledge, a historically accumulated and unarticulated knowledge that may carry reminiscences of colonial and racial ideas, while tending to operate beyond people's awareness. It results among other things in putting the burden of integration on refugees. It takes for granted that they should be integrated in host communities' developed cultures. The very notion of "refugee crisis" refers to a crisis of governance of the flow of refugees, while for refugees the very same crisis can be conceived as reaching a safe haven away from wars, persecution, poverty or natural catastrophes, a good life. There is therefore a need for alternative notions that do not suffer from shortcomings of "integration".

One way of finding an alternative notion is to build on the consistently declared objective of cultural projects: to pave the way for refugees to move forward with their lives in host societies. This objective can be expressed in terms of social mobility or "the ability to move

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between different levels in society or employment".[20] Social mobility is an alternative to domination, where people are locked in an inferior position without being able to improve their life conditions. The problem is then dominant power structures and the obstacles they put in the way of refugees to enable themselves and to improve their life conditions. Accordingly, the challenge is how and by what means we can remove these obstacles. The burden of responsibility is then placed on the right target; those who through domination cause these obstacles also have the power to remove them. As these obstacles may be multiple, we need multidimensional or intersectional approaches.

By focusing narrowly on ethnicity, "integration" moves away from intersectionality. Social mobility, by contrast, is not about ethnicity, but about equal opportunity for any and all to move forward with their lives. While the former is focused on differences, the latter focuses on what we all have in common.

There will be no future without diversity. Societies have always been diverse and are going to live in diversity. The true state of emergency then is the refugees' lack of access to their basic human rights. The best way to go will then be one of refugees' civic and political entitlements and their access to opportunities for a good life through social mobility: participation in the cultural life of society in accordance with § 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. This brings us to the second feature of integration projects, charity. Here, the shift should be from charity to a human rights based approach, where the concern is to accommodate refugees' human rights.

5.3 Cultural projects should address everyday concerns in Europe

KEY FINDINGS

- The main focus of projects is the daily concerns of refugees
- They are less sensitive to the common concerns of refugees and the host populations

Cultural projects show tremendous ingenuity in addressing refugees' everyday concerns in a variety of ways. The same ingenuity is needed to connect refugees' concerns with those of host populations. Devices should be found to establish that refugees are not a threat to host populations' welfare, culture and identity. They introduce new sources of vitality. However, the fears of host populations may have substantial causes that can be misplaced on refugees. Recent studies by Harvard scholar Peter Hall suggest that globalisation and technological progress have left behind low-skilled working classes in Western societies and caused "the cleavage structures of electoral politics".[21] As they feel excluded from the benefits of new developments, they direct their resentment toward refugees as being perceived as a lower status than themselves. Martin Wolf talks of "populist anger" directed toward the "elite", who endanger these groups' "asset" of citizenship by offering it to forigners.[22] Accordingly, their votes along ethnical-cultural divides become a basis for populism's electoral successes.[23]

Lakof & Johnson (1980) have developed a theory on the significant role of metaphors in daily life. Among other things, metaphors strongly impact how people vote; they vote for their dreams expressed in strong metaphors rather than rationally selected candidates,

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[20]   https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/mobility.
[21]   https://www.sss.ias.edu/files/pdfs/Rodrik/workshop%2014-15/GrowthRegimes6.pdf.
[22]   https://www.ft.com/video/ed740c11-2a08-4938-ad2a-ee50024c5c5c.
[23]   https://gem.cid.harvard.edu/files/gem2016/files/hall_blyth_berglof_gem17.pdf).
       https://drodrik.scholar.harvard.edu/files/dani-rodrik/files/populism_and_the_economics_of_globalization.pdf.

according to this theory. The success of Donald Trump can be explained by his having a strong metaphor (Make America Great Again) that was simple, clear and strong enough to convince people with a feeling of decline in their subjective social status to vote for him. Immanuel Macron also succeeded in mobilising the majority of French people around the metaphor of En Marche and gain political success. A strong metaphor embraces a common vision that brings people together and commits them to strive toward the same goals.

Art projects aimed at intercultural dialogue can contribute to a uniting metaphor/vision, provided that they address concerns of host population and refugees as a complex whole. By so doing, they can offer spaces for reflection, in which refugees and host populations can communicate across cultures and together form new narratives and metaphors that unite them rather than separate them. Properly conducted, these narratives will remind people of the care they owe to one another in their capacities as co-inhabitants of democratic societies. Instead of narratives focused on sectarian interests, they can form narratives that balance between me and we (Mark Lilla 2017) and make common well-being a matter of public concern.

A serious daily concern in Europe is the "liquid fear" due to terrorism and economic insecurity (Bauman, 2006).[24] Demagogues project this defuse fear on refugees. Projects who concern themselves with intercultural dialogue can address this fear as well. For this to be achieved, projects need to do more than showcase cultural diversity. Intercultural dialogue demands refugees' equal participation in the political and cultural life of society. Only then they will be able to negotiate the terms of dialogue anew. The goal is to transform established patterns of domination as a precondition of intercultural understanding. As a result, it becomes clear that liquid fear is wrongly projected on refugees. In such a situation, people can expose themselves to intercultural encounters and let themselves be transformed as result of these encounters. This is a move away from populism and racism. By so doing, refugees and host populations join hands and move forward together for a better world.

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[24] According to Bauman liquid fear "is diffuse, dispersed, not very clear » ... « it floats freely elsewhere, without bonds, anchors, home or a clear cause"(Bauman, 2006, 10).

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

Cultural projects are successful when they are participatory, intersectional, intersectoral, transnational, intercultural, human rights-based and connected to daily concerns of refugees and host populations alike. Only then can they contribute to shared visions and narratives and connect people across boundaries and nationalities. They fail whenever they try to implement a pre-packaged integration agenda. By so doing they remain within boundaries of nationalities, fixed identities and limits of conventional canons. No project intends to confine itself within these boundaries. Projects are usually affected by their designers' tacit knowledge, a historically accumulated knowledge that carries reminiscences of old colonial and racial ideas and works beyond designers consciousness. Projects must instead provide spaces for critical reflection not only for their target groups but also for their owners and designers.

6.2 Recommendations for stakeholders

The following shifts in stakeholders' approaches are necessary in order for art interventions to deliver the desired results:

1. Project design
- From pre-packaged projects to co-designed and participatory projects; to engage refugees in the very design of the projects is to contribute to their attaining the strength and confidence to take control of their lives and claim their rights as members of their host societies.

- From top-down methods to bottom-up and participatory approaches; this means encouraging refugee participation through co-designed and participatory projects.

- From multiculturalism to interculturalism and transculturalism; multiculturalism describes the coexistence of multiple cultures in a society without reference to the kind of relationships among them; it is to live next to each other. Multiculturalism is often blamed for cultural relativism and is the cause of parallel societies. Interculturalism also starts from cultural differences, but encourages interactions and dialogue to establish mutual understanding. Transculturalism champions comprehensive, hybrid, and diversified cultures beyond cultural distinctions due to people's movements across cultures.

2. Approaches and perspectives
- From focus on ethnicity to intersectionality; ethnicity is only one basis of discrimination that intersects with gender-based discrimination and discrimination based on faith, age, and so on. Identity categories such as ethnicity, gender, race, age, class, and ability are all interrelated.

- From fixed identities and cultures to cultures and identities as works in progress; this a shift from prescribed identities to achieved or mobile identities (hybrid, dynamic, and relational identities).

- From combating individual racists to combating racist structures; individual racism can be explicit and stem from personal prejudice, while structural

racism consists of policies and practices implicit in established institutions. No individual intent is necessary for its operation.

- From learning about refugees to learning from them; this is to avoid enacting violence as project designers engage in refugees' stories and narratives in seeking to learn about them; to not neglect learning from refugees.

3. Refugee empowerment
- From charity and good will to human rights-based working approach; a human rights-based approach offers principles for work with refugees that are grounded in human rights standards. It aims at protecting and promoting human rights and challenges asymmetrical relations of power that prevent refugees from becoming active members of their host communities.

- From power over to power with refugees; while power over refugees enhances relationships of domination, shared power with refugees emerges from stakeholder common engagement, intersectional and intersectoral approaches, and cocreative power relations.

- From integration to social mobility: projects should aim at enabling refugees to get as far as they can in life.

4. Evaluation
- From short-term outreach to long-term social outcomes of projects; instead of striving to increase the number of refugees they reach, projects should ensure that the long-term impacts of their work with refugees and their communities are as significant and sustainable as possible.

- From group-specific interests to the public value of the projects; designing projects with immediate group interests in mind is not always the wisest way of planning projects. A focus on public value can instead lead to a balanced synthesis of group and common interests.

6.3 Recommendations for policy-makers

- Encourage cultural projects that:
    - Are human rights-based
    - Empower refugees at a structural level
    - Engage refugees and host populations alike
    - Combat racism, sexism, extremism, Eurocentrism, and xenophobia
    - Are intersectional and intersectoral

- Strengthen civil society, especially refugee self-organisation, by easing application procedures
- Build in participation and mechanisms of evaluation in the criteria of funding
- Connect projects to an overarching inclusive narrative of refugees and of the EU as a cultural construct as well as to a shared vision of the future of Europe

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ANNEX 1: EMPIRICAL BASIS OF THIS ESSAY

I have used insights from the Open Method Coordination Group on Intercultural Dialogue, 2016-2017, who analysed more than 200 projects from all over Europe[25] and Voices of Culture who also listed a large number of project (115 projects). The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC)[26] has listed a number of projects in areas other than culture, five of which have been awarded by EESC for their best practice. Special focus has been put on 12 projects that were funded by Creative Europe 2016. Västra Götalandsregionen in Sweden has funded more than 100 projects and initiatives taken by civil society since 2015, and the Goethe Institute in Germany functions as a hub for a large number of projects. I have analysed a selection of these projects, as Germany and Sweden are the largest receiving countries in Europe. I have examined at least two projects in each MS. I also studied some projects in other areas of intervention close to culture, such as education and employment.[27]

ANNEX 2: PERSONAL STORIES

2.1. Participatory projets- restad gårds support grOup in sweden's largeSt refugee camp

A group of empowered people –refugees- came together and formed a Support Group to support anyone who come with an idea or initiative and to start organising activities coming from refugees themselves, encouraging self-empowerment and inspiring them to create their own activities… and reminding them of their being strong persons, reminding them that they have survived wars and smugglers and death rods to arrive in Sweden … so don't waste all of what you've been through, so don't surrender to depression and do something about your situation… In less than foru months, the Support Group had 13 clubs and initiatives, arranging more than three activities per day (sport, culture, social) besides working in various big integration projects.

2.2. Becoming an artist activist- Rajae-almuohandiz- maroccan-dutch artist

As a woman and an artist, I don't care what the Western world says with their boxes or the Muslim world with their patriarchal labels. In the arts, it's still not done for a woman to be a performing artist and be in dialogue with the whole world. That's the biggest lesson I have learned: don't be sad you were born in all these weird boxes, maybe that's your blessing, maybe that's the story you're going to tell. I respect my own heritage, while still I try to find freedom outside all doctrines.

2.3. Co-designed art activities, social mobility thrOugh the film, Morteza Khaleghi- afghan unaCcompanied minor

When I was born in Iran, my parents were already refugees. Due to oppression against Afghan refugees, I had to leave Iran for Europe… in Greece I was beaten by racists several times. I crossed Macedonia and Serbia by foot and arrived in Hungary, from there I went to Austria. Austria deported me back to Hungary, where I was imprisoned for eight months. When I was free, I went to Italy. 17 years old when I arrived in Rome. I fell in love with the city, whom I knew though Italian films. In Italy, I had the chance to go to school for the first time. I started to study film. I have now made several short documentaries and

[25] https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4943e7fc-316e-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1/language-en.

[26] http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/qe-02-17-304-en-n.pdf.

[27] https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/sites/eacea-site/files/selected_lot1_-_education_and_training.pdf (18 projects),

received several prizes. In Italy, I work with MAXXI Museum to make Afghan refugee artists known. I also work with Civico Zero, a civil society organisation which offers services to unaccompanied minors...

ANNEX 3: PRACTICAL EXAMPLES

3.1.   How funding criteria can lead to disempowering

Projects that can:

- help refugees and migrants socialise and express themselves without necessarily speaking immediately the host country language (http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/node/1464_fr).

There is no bad intention behind this sentence, rather the contrary. However, starting with "help…", it can be conceived as top-down and charity-based. If we replace "help…" with "enable…", then we have a discourse about empowerment and participation from the very beginning.

3.2.   A co-designed project

A mixed group of musicians made up of refugees and European artists will be selected to produce a recorded work of music...

3.3.   A prepackaGed project

Refugee artists based in different partner countries will be invited to collaborative forum events

3.4.   Attempt to transform narratives on refuGee crisis

The project's activities stemmed from one underlying principle: re-mixing of media as a method to review, reinvestigate and reconsider prevailing imagery of (im)migrants in European societies and ultimately to 're-map' Europe visually, geographically and mentally…

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