



EUROPEAN
COMMISSION

Community research

EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

***Changing City Spaces: New Challenges
to Cultural Policy in Europe***

Changing City Spaces

Interested in European research?

Research*eu is our monthly magazine keeping you in touch with main developments (results, programmes, events, etc.). It is available in English, French, German and Spanish. A free sample copy or free subscription can be obtained from:

European Commission
Directorate-General for Research
Communication Unit
B-1049 Brussels
Fax (32-2) 29-58220
E-mail: research-eu@ec.europa.eu
Internet: <http://ec.europa.eu/research/research-eu>

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Directorate-General for Research
Directorate L — Science, economy and society
B-1049 Brussels
Fax (32-2) 2994462

<http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences>
http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/cooperation/socio-economic_en.html

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Europe

Changing City Spaces

Final report

HPSE-CT-2002-00133

**Funded under the Key Action
'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' of FP5**

**DG Research
European Commission**

Issued in
November 2005

Coordinator of project:
University of Southampton
United Kingdom
Ulrike H Meinhof

Partners:
Goldsmiths, London, UK, Prof. Kevin Robins
University of Vienna, AT, Prof. Ruth Wodak
European University Institute, Florence, IT, Prof. Bo Strath
University of Ljubljana, SI, Dr Rastko Močnik
University of Arts, Belgrade, RS, Prof. Milena Dragičević Šešić
Association Banlieues d'Europe, Strasbourg, FR, Sarah Levin
Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo, consultant

***EUROPE DIRECT is a service to help you find answers
to your questions about the European Union***

Freephone number(*):
00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11

(* Certain mobile telephone operators do not allow access to 00 800 numbers
or these calls may be billed

LEGAL NOTICE

Neither the European Commission nor any person acting on behalf of the Commission is responsible for the use which might be made of the following information.

The views expressed in this publication are the sole responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

A great deal of additional information on the European Union is available on the Internet.
It can be accessed through the Europa server (<http://europa.eu>).

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2007

ISBN 978-92-79-07557-5

© European Communities, 2007

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged.

Printed in Belgium

PRINTED ON WHITE CHLORINE-FREE PAPER

Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Europe', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'Societal and individual well being: social trends, the implications of structural changes and of technological development'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of Changing City Spaces and their policy implications. The research was carried out by seven teams over a period of three years, starting in November, 2002.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

Table of contents

Preface	v
Acknowledgements	11
I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	12
1. Project Rationale and Objectives	12
2. Research Methodology	14
3. Research Results	17
3.1. Artists and Publics	17
3.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries	18
3.3. Media	19
3.4. Policy	20
4. Policy Implications	22
4.1. Artists and Publics	22
4.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries	22
4.3. Media	24
4.4. Policy	24
5. Models of Good Practice	26
6. Future Research	29
II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT	31
1. Project Rationale	31
2. Original Objectives	32
III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY	35
1. Research Methods	35
2. The City Focus	36
3. The Nexus Focus	39
4. Cross-nexus Inter-relationship	41
5. Key Events	43
5.1. Introduction	43
5.2. Related Events	44
6. Results	46
6.1. Artists and Publics	46
6.1.1. Artists and Publics: The African Nexus	46

6.1.2. Artists and Publics: the Balkan Nexus	51
6.1.3. Artists and Publics: The Turkish Nexus	56
6.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries	63
6.2.1. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries: The African Nexus	63
6.2.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries: The Balkan Nexus	65
6.2.3. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries: The Turkish Nexus	73
6.3. Media	79
6.3.1. Media: The African Nexus	80
6.3.2. Media: The Balkan Nexus	84
6.3.3. Media: The Turkish Nexus	92
6.4. Policy	96
6.4.1. Policy: The African Nexus	96
6.4.2. Policy: The Balkan Nexus	98
6.4.3. Policy: The Turkish Nexus	103
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	105
1. How the consortium has contributed to the results	105
1.1. Research management experience of the Steering Group Committee	105
1.2. Composition of team in terms of gender	106
1.3. Dissemination through partnerships outside the academic sector, and links with policy makers	107
1.4. City links and linguistic expertise	107
1.5. The Role of Banlieues d'Europe in the Project	107
2. Overall Research Conclusions	110
2.1. Artists and Publics	110
2.2. Culture Professionals, Cultural Industries	111
2.3. Media	113
2.4. Policy	114
3. Policy Implications: guidelines for good cultural practice in multicultural cities	116
3.1. Artists and Publics	116
3.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries	117
3.3. Media	119
3.4. Policy	120
4. Models of Good Practice	122
4.1. Shifting the focus from national minorities to translocal cultural actors	122
4.2. Transnationalism and the Media	125
4.3. Re-imagining the Urban	126
4.4. A Sincere Diversity Policy	128

4.5. Shared Cultural Policies	130
4.6. Action Research	130
4.7. Recruitment of Culture Professionals and Decision-makers	131
4.8. Overcoming Two-tier Cultural Policy Frameworks	131
5. Future need for research effort	132
V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS	134
VI. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	135
1. References	135
2. Bibliography	135
VII. ANNEXES	142
1. Updated D23, Cross-nexus Inter-relationship	142
1.1. African Nexus Report	144
1.2. Balkan Nexus Report	151
1.3. Turkish Nexus Reports	159
2. Key and Related Events	170
2.1. Key Events	170
2.2. Related Events	182
3. Research Output During Life-time of the Project	192
3.1. Southampton	192
3.2. London	196
3.3. Vienna	199
3.4. Florence	205
3.5. Ljubljana	206
3.6. Belgrade	207

Aknowledgements

Many people in different capacities have helped to realise this research project. Our profoundest gratitude goes to the people who allowed us to interview them and to use the data arising from interviews in our project results and conclusions. All research teams experienced a great deal of invaluable local support from administrations and institutions, political representatives, NGOs, media executives and representatives, artists and members of the public who all generously gave their time and expertise. A full list of those individuals who were interviewed is available in the field diaries (deliverable 15).

Authors: Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, Nadia Kiwan

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Project Rationale and Objectives

The **Project Rationale** has been to focus on multicultural metropolitan spaces for exploring the new challenges and opportunities associated with contemporary social and cultural transformations; especially those associated with migrant and ethnic minority populations. In selecting seven capital cities with complex interconnections, the research has brought out the dynamics and directions of change in European society and culture in the 21st century. All the cities raise a range of issues concerning migration and multiculturalism in the European space: post-imperial migration and its legacy; new patterns of global migration; and the significance of East-West migration (including that between the current EU and ascendant nations).

In order to explore these issues, our research has taken as its central focus urban culture and policy in the European space, in order to address broader questions of sociocultural diversity, interaction and citizenship. The aim of the project was to examine a range of cultural institutions, practices and policies in diverse city environments and to do so with respect to particular cultural industries and forms (media, music, events, cinema), and their multiple audiences in metropolitan settings. The over-arching aim has been to articulate valid and workable principles of multicultural practice and policy, and to oppose xenophobia and racism.

The **Research Aim** has been to identify challenges to European culture in the context of contemporary change, focusing on multicultural European metropolitan spaces; and to identify advice and help realise cultural policies and practices that will further social inclusivity for the diverse populations in Europe.

The **Main Project Objectives** were:

- To consider the European city - with capital cities as the prime focus - as a significant space of multicultural identity in the new and changed context of global and transnational developments across the continent, and to explore the social and cultural possibilities being opened up in metropolitan areas as compared to the tendentially mono-cultural focus of (multi-) national states;
- To map the internal complexities of selected European capital cities, drawing attention to the new kinds of social and cultural interaction and encounter that now exist within these urban arenas, and providing an overview of the new dynamics,

issues and agendas that increasingly characterise urban societies and cultures in Europe;

- To track the development of the new kinds of interaction and networking that are developing between cities, taking the city as an innovative focus for capturing social and cultural flows and nexuses across the European space; and to also consider the growing significance of ties with selected non-European cities, which have generally occurred as a consequence of either post-imperial legacies or new migrant connections;
- To explore policy responses and practices that relate both to the agenda of urban multiculturalism within the selected cities, and to the possibilities that may be inherent in inter-urban networking across the European space, drawing on local, national and European-level approaches and initiatives;
- To explore processes of social inclusion and exclusion through an analysis of particular cultural forms, taking account of the new geographical complexities in this agenda, where questions of inclusion may now relate to urban, national, European, or wider transnational spheres;
- To understand how people construct a sense of belonging through their participation in the collective life of cities, taking account of the ways in which belonging to the city may differ from the sense of belonging to a national society and culture;
- To address the gender dimension in the developments we are studying, with particular respect to cultural citizenship and issues of social inclusion and exclusion;
- To identify examples of good multicultural practice in European cities, with particular reference to strategies for overcoming social exclusion, xenophobia and racism;
- To address new challenges to European culture and identity in the context of contemporary global change - challenges that pertain to such issues as enlargement; the relation between East and West Europe; imperial legacies; new patterns of transnational migration; and the global North-South divide.

2. Research Methodology

Our **Research Methods** were primarily qualitative, and included: Policy Document Research and Semiotic Analysis; In-depth 'Expert' Interviews with cultural and media policy makers, media executives and producers, cultural agents and promoters and cultural practitioners; Semi-Structured Individual Interviews, and Focus Groups, with participants at cultural events, audiences and with consumers of media products and services; Open and Structured Questionnaires to gauge demographic data for audiences; Quantitative Data on media reception and other related survey data were consulted where appropriate; and Participant Ethnographic Observation (including field diaries) was undertaken at specified cultural performances (e.g. concerts, festivals).

The consortium comprised a group of researchers who already had considerable experience in translating specific disciplinary methodologies into larger interdisciplinary frameworks.

The project **Research Design** has been centrally concerned with questions of urban culture and policy in the European space, using a Metropolitan City Focusto address broader questions of socio-cultural diversity, interaction and citizenship. The most significant innovation in our Research Design was The Nexus Focus. This was intended to capture the nature of changes taking place in the European space and the new kinds of cultural flows and connections emerging out of the dynamics of globalisation. We have not only studied our seven cities as complex entities in their own right, but also in the wider context of transnational social and cultural flows, and as parts of new transnational urban networks. Three different nexuses were investigated:

- the Turkish nexus in London, Berlin, Vienna;
- the Balkan nexus in Vienna, Ljubljana, Belgrade;
- the African nexus in Paris, Rome, London.

These social and cultural nexuses were selected because they are all well established, and we believe that the cultural connections and interactions associated with them are particularly significant in the contemporary European context. As our research results show (see Section III 6.), the nexus idea took our research design beyond the more orthodox comparative and cross-national research; and it has captured new social and cultural dynamics that are not apparent to more conventional approaches. For example, the nexus design meant that we were able to identify and understand the transnational networking that exists amongst migrant artists and culture professionals, audience mobility across the European space and translocally driven cultural and political agency.

The nexus design thereby allowed us to conceive of migrants as transnational cultural actors rather than solely national minorities whose concerns and experiences are dually contained within the country of settlement and/or the country of origin.

Our nexus approach required us to maximise the value of the local knowledge and the expertise of researchers working on the project for the research group as a whole. In methodological terms, this translated into a principle of researcher mobility, involving the tracing of nexus linkages. This meant that researchers who were already, or were to become, residents of particular cities during the fieldwork phases, were also involved in doing some research on the particular networks they were studying in other cities. One of the limitations of the nexus design was that by pre-determining the cities where empirical research was to be conducted, we were unable to follow through all the translocal and transnational connections that migrant artists/cultural agents may have had. Indeed, if we had taken the nexus idea 'to its extreme' then our research would have led us out of the capital cities and into smaller towns and in some cases, into rural settings. Similarly, we would have been led to conduct our research beyond Europe's borders.

The **Cross-nexus Inter-relationship** was a key element of our research design (See Section III 4.). The three nexuses on which our project focused connected several of the seven European cities we studied: the African nexus, linking Paris with Rome and London; the Turkish nexus, linking Berlin with London and Vienna, and the Balkan nexus, linking Ljubljana with Vienna and Belgrade. In order to understand the relationship between these three nexuses it was important to take into account the different types of (im)migration that they represented. Whilst it must be stressed that none of the three nexuses are homogeneous in any sense, they do, nevertheless, correspond broadly to three types of migration:

- The African nexus represents a mainly post-colonial migration, with a long history but one which becomes numerically significant from the 1950s onwards, particularly in the cases of Paris and London. Rome is the exception since the African-origin population arriving from Italy's former colonies is numerically less significant than economic migrants who have mainly arrived during the last twenty years.
- The Balkan nexus can be described as initially representing a labour migration and since the early 1990s, a post-conflict migration. Whilst many individuals from the former Yugoslavia emigrated in the wake of the war, some 'stayed put', only to

find that in the post-war order, they had become 'minorities' in the newly independent states.

- The Turkish nexus mainly represents a post-1950s guest-worker migration, particularly in the case of Berlin and to a lesser extent Vienna. With respect to London, the majority of migrants were Turkish Cypriots who also began to arrive in the 1950s. In the 1990s, London has become an increasingly important centre for political asylum and economic migration (which is different to 'guest-worker' migration).

We have studied music and media production throughout the three nexuses but for some nexuses, other forms of cultural production have been particularly relevant. For the African and Balkan nexuses, music has been of particular importance, whereas for the Turkish nexus, cinematic production has also been central to the research. This approach is reflected in the cultural/dissemination events which we have organised. In Berlin, the focus was transcultural cinema, with particular reference to the Turkish cinematic production. The event consisted of an international film festival in conjunction with a workshop for academic and culture professionals. In Paris the focus was very much on music and the event involved a series of live concerts and performances in conjunction with a two-day workshop with academics, artists, culture professionals, media representatives and policymakers. The final event in Ljubljana brought together all strands of research in October 2005.

Key and Related Events, in addition to facilitating the dissemination of our work, provided one of the innovative methods for research used during the project. The events formed part of the research process and were used as a platform for studying, interacting with, and action research for, real live cultural activities and cultural and other relevant stakeholders. The key events were:

- Berlin: Europe in Motion: Moving Images, Shifting Perspectives in Transcultural Cinema, 9-16 December 2004;
- Paris: Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces, 7 – 9 April 2005;
- Ljubljana - Mini-Conference: Mobility and Solidarity in Contemporary Europe. Trans-Local Nexal vs. Nationally Contained Identitary Mechanisms of Social Cohesion, 7-8 October 2005.

The related events were:

- Belgrade: Conference Cultural Policy and Art Production, was held at University of Art in Belgrade, 30 September - 3 October 2004;
- Vienna: SUBTITLE – Cultural Production of Minorities between ethnicization and politics' 29 – 30 October 2004;
- Brighton: Problematizing Music and Migration Workshop, Brighton, 7-8 May 2005;
- London - The Seventh Man – Then and Now: 12 April, 17 May 2005;
- Rome - New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome, 14 May 2005.

Given the synergy created between the various cultural agents at all these events, a more long-term strategy for cooperation and dialogue could have been developed but due to the time-limits of the project, such a long-term strategy could not be pursued.

3. Research Results

3.1. Artists and Publics

Our *scientific research* has revealed that there is an *enormous diversity of cultural production amongst migrant and post-migrant populations across Europe* - whether it concerns music, film, theatre or media (see sections III 6.1. and IV 2.1.). The diversity of cultural production means that it is impossible to classify migrant cultural production along solely ethnic lines. Nor is it advisable to classify their cultural production solely in terms of socio-political or socio-cultural action. Cultural production often carries both ethnic and socio-political elements and attempts by cultural events organisers, the media, the cultural industries and policy makers to 'box in' migrant cultural production in terms of ethnicity or in terms of socio-political action can stifle artistic creativity. Part of this diversity of cultural production is tied to the *growing transnationalisation and innovation* which we see in the spheres of music, film, theatre and media (see sections III 6.1. and IV.2.1.). Migrant and post-migrant artists are becoming increasingly self-confident and are looking beyond their cities of residence in order to professionalise or to further their careers. Artists are seeking to collaborate more with mainstream cultural intermediaries in an attempt to bring their activities to the attention of the host society as is reflected in the case of the Turkish film industry's activities in London (see Section III 6.1.). One of the implications of our research is that we must envisage artists of migrant background as agents of cultural flows across Europe and beyond.

Whilst the artists we studied should be viewed as agents who mobilise transcultural capital, it is nevertheless important to highlight *the difficulties migrant and post-migrant artists have in their attempts to professionalise* (see sections III 6.1. and IV 2.1.). This can relate to implicit or explicit pressures placed on them by the cultural industries and policymakers to 'fit' an ethnic (particularist) model which can subsequently be commodified or a (universalist) 'emancipatory' model of socially-relevant art. Many artists with a migrant background do not enjoy *visibility* outside of the 'migrant community', despite attempts to reach into the 'mainstream'. Clearly linked with the issue of visibility is that of audience make-up at various cultural events (*Mutually Exclusive Audiences*). We found that it is rare to find socially and ethnically diverse audiences at any one event due to factors such as spatial organisation, publicising, audience perceptions of artists. For example, in Belgrade, artists and audiences are regrouped in several cultural models, very rarely crossing from one model to another. These models range from cosmopolitan or nationalist elite audiences to audiences of populist, urban sub-culture or traditional ethno-culture genres. (See sections III 6.1. and IV 2.1.). Civic/associational events are often the most successful in attracting multi-ethnic and socio-economically diverse audiences.

3.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries

Cultural events in the cities often correspond to a *typology of three different* sorts (see sections III 6.2. and IV 2.2.). This is not an absolute typology but it is broadly characterised by the following types of event:

- High-culture organised by public institutions (such as the Municipal or State theatre for example);
- Commercial organised by the private sector;
- Civic/associational organised through associational or civic channels.

On the positive side this shows the diversity of cultural events and products on offer in our cities and the potential for a healthy sense of competition between the sectors. On the negative side the existence of these different types of events contributes to the maintenance of different audience groups who do not meet.

The *existing distribution networks in the cities studied often create barriers to the visibility* of artists of migrant background, which is either directly caused through a lack of distribution into mainstream music stores, or indirectly from inappropriate classification of migrant or post-migrant cultural products. For example, some 'second-generation' Algerian artists in Paris find that their music is classified and distributed as

'world' music simply because its mix of electronic and oriental influences does not 'fit' other categories. (See sections III 6.2. and IV 2.2.).

However, there is an *on-going development of transnational networks* of cultural professionals with a migrant background. These involve both localised and distanced elements, and involve a new kind of mobility that connects urban spaces in a different manner than in the past. Consequently, the networks are becoming more complex and hence complicate the traditional and two-dimensional notion of diaspora as concerning 'homeland' and country of settlement. We found this with the Malagasy artists in Paris who have connections across Europe, and with the North Africans who may have connections elsewhere in Europe beyond the France-Maghreb axis such as the New Bled Vibrations collective. (See sections III 6.2. and IV 2.2.)

3.3. Media

There is a *lack of visibility of migrants in the 'mainstream' national media*, where migrants are seen as national minorities as opposed to transnational cultural actors (a minority/majority population paradigm). Visibility is linked to *minority provision* – programmes which are aimed at migrants but produced by mainstream media with little input from migrants in terms of production, etc. We conclude that migrants are still perceived by leaders of the mainstream media as being national minorities and in some cases, passive consumers of media rather than agents of cultural change in the media. For example, we found this in Italy, where the 2000-2002 mission statement of RAI formulates its programming policy in terms of 'catering' for 'foreign citizens', or in Serbia where Radio Belgrade One has a specific bilingual one-hour programme for the Roma population, each evening at 7 p.m. (a time when the Serbian population usually is watching television). (See sections III 6.3. and IV 2.3.).

The mainstream media in the cities studied does not tend to 'cover' nexus relevant cultural events, so migrant-led media has developed to give visibility to migrant and post-migrant cultural life. For example, we see this in Paris where Internet websites such as Planète DZ or croissance.com come to play a key role in providing visibility for nexus relevant cultural events. We can see a dual process of transnationalisation and professionalisation in migrant-led media outfits where conditions and local infrastructures allow for this to develop. We see this for example in Vienna where EMAP, an Internet radio station, based at the musicology department of the University of Vienna, acts as a transnational media platform for Balkan nexus and African nexus music through its transmission and archival storage of live concerts in Vienna (and elsewhere). So the

perceptions of migrants as bounded national communities needs to be re-assessed, as migrants are active in the media across Europe. (See sections III 6.3. and IV 2.3.).

The growth of satellite television-watching and Internet use across migrant communities has had a major impact on how migrants live and experience their lives as they are no longer bounded in the locality/city where they happen to live because they have synchronisation with everyday life on another continent. This has profound implications for how they relate to their country of settlement. It also suggests that older models which have understood (e)-migration as a process which inevitably ends in immigration must be reassessed if only to highlight the on-going transnational links that migrants maintain through their media consumption. (See sections III 6.3. and IV 2.3.).

3.4. Policy

We have found a *Duality of Cultural Policy* between 'high' culture on the one hand and socio-culture on the other. This duality can also be expressed in terms of spectacular (highly visible) culture vs. 'community' (invisible) cultures (in the plural) or in terms of universal (European) culture versus particularist ('non-European') migrant cultures. The dichotomy is not always so stark and at times is only implicitly expressed. (See sections III 6.4. and IV 2.4. as well as Kiwan and Kosnick, 'The "Whiteness" of Cultural Policy in Paris and Berlin' in Meinhof and Triandafyllidou eds. 2006 in press for further details).

Artists and culture professionals of migrant background can be constrained in their artistic ambitions since their cultural production can be perceived in terms of an expression of identity (so here the anthropological sense of culture is mobilised) or in terms of socio-culture (citizenship/social cohesion). It can be difficult for some artists of migrant background to have their work considered solely in terms of its aesthetic worth. We found this for instance in relation to the hip-hop dance genre which struggles to receive recognition of its own choreographical rules etc., unlike contemporary dance which has received such recognition (for example the Moovn'Aktion dance association based in Paris expressed such concerns regarding expectations placed on them to work towards social goals).

We found that *cultural policies* in our cities tend to be '*representational*' in character, that is they are designed to promote an image of 'international art centre' for the city or country in question. This is the case of festivals held at the Maison des Cultures du Monde in Paris, the Haus der Kulturen Der Welt in Berlin or the Estate Romana festival in Rome. Consequently, issues such as support for creation and participation suffer. For example, metropolitan cultural policy budgets are often 'eaten up' by the financing of established cultural institutions. The net result is that smaller independent arts/cultural

initiatives are sidelined and do not receive effective public support. (See sections III 6.4. and IV 2.4.).

Cultural policy is often imagined nationally. This can have the effect of excluding minority populations (whether these populations are ethnically, politically or socially defined). We found this for example in Belgrade and Ljubljana with regards to certain groups such as the Roma. (See Section III 6.4.). **Migration policy** is also imagined nationally, yet migration is a global phenomenon. (See sections III 6.4. and IV 2.4.).

We have found that the most viable cultural policies for the future can be described as 'shared policies' – i.e. they are based on the synergy of three areas of competence: the public, private and civil sectors or in other words– elected power (government); expert power (public and private cultural institutions and socially responsible movements (associations, the 'third'/civil society sector). This overcomes the opposition between the State and the market sectors of cultural production.

There are multiple interpretations of the **European public policy on diversity**. See sections III 6.4. and IV 2.4.). The European Commission's and the Council of Europe's understanding of cultural diversity appear to be two-fold. On the one hand, cultural diversity is seen as a way of respecting different regional, (autochthonous) and national cultures, whilst highlighting what unites Europe in terms of common heritage (hence the EU slogan 'Unity in Diversity'). On the other hand, and particularly where migrant and post-migrant populations are concerned, we find a more social understanding of diversity- as a mechanism to rethink and rectify racial discrimination at work, in housing and in access to healthcare etc. The multiplicity of national and regional approaches to the issue of cultural diversity policy is due to very different local and historical contexts which exist in the member states (and the City Spaces' countries). The absence of a common European approach means that EU policy objectives in this area do not necessarily meet with success 'on the ground'. (See N. Kiwan and U. Meinhof 'Perspectives on Cultural Diversity: a Discourse Analytical Approach' in Meinhof and Triandafyllidou eds. 2006 in press for further details).

4. Policy Implications

4.1. Artists and Publics

Encouraging Diversity of Cultural Production amongst migrant and post-migrant artists, cultural institutions and culture professionals could be achieved through their programming and their publicising of events, to challenge the separate spheres of world music (which mostly appeals to non-migrant audiences) and the more diasporic music scenes (which tend to mostly attract nexus audiences). Festivals and cultural venues must also be encouraged to rethink their recruitment policy so as to reflect better the cultural, socio-economic and ethnic diversity in our cities.

Cultural policy at metropolitan, national and European levels should better anticipate and facilitate the *transnational* and creative synergies of both artists and culture professionals of migrant background are now pursuing. Greater support for transnational cultural 'cooperation' also needs to be rethought outside of traditional paradigms (such as la Francophonie) to greater reflect the complex aspirations of artists and culture professionals. Greater international cooperation between different cities could be promoted through the creation of mobility grants for young artists for example.

The difficult processes of *Professionalisation, Artist and Event Visibility* and *Mutually Exclusive Audiences* could be tackled by encouraging increased collaboration between mainstream cultural institutions and smaller independent cultural agents. This could impact on public, private and civic/associational sector of cultural activity. As a result of such types of collaboration, opportunities for migrant cultural agents (organisers) to professionalise becomes possible through contacts with established cultural institutions and a wider degree of visibility and audience participation is made possible as well.

4.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries

Facilitating Encounter between the Three Types of Event (public, private and civic/associational), could be achieved through what we have called *shared cultural policies*. These policies could provide the conditions for a sustainable cultural diversity. They are based on the synergy of three areas of competence: the public, private and civil sectors or in other words– elected power (government); expert power (public and private cultural institutions) and socially responsible movements (NGOs, the 'third'/civil society sector). Shared policies are:

- transparent, (publicly debated and agreed);

- pro-active, fostering innovation;
- catalytic, initiating new programs, projects and ideas;
- cross-fertilising, involving different sectors, and ideas from artistic, scientific and other fields;
- coordinated within government and within different levels of public policies;
- inclusive, for all marginal and minority groups.

A shared cultural policy outlook needs also to be adopted by cultural policy makers and their representatives.

Shared policy overcomes the public-private dilemma through the integration of the 'third' or civil sector, which in turn favours democratic cultural policy. It views cultural and artistic practice in terms of a process of creation rather than in terms of an end product or canonic oeuvre. If shared cultural policy is to be successful, it needs to be extended beyond urban and national frameworks to the European and international level (involving bodies such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO).

Distribution Networks for migrant and post-migrant artists (musicians in particular) should be encouraged by giving financial incentives to small independent music labels through a careful weaving of cultural and fiscal policy. Further studies should be carried out into the obstacles that small music labels face as small businesses. The idea of talents des cités in Paris whereby the Plan de Cohésion sociale encourages economically-disadvantaged individuals to set up their own businesses through financial and educational incentives could be adapted and applied to the cultural sector in order to allow for the professionalisation of those musicians, who despite huge 'live' success, find it difficult to secure record deals if their music does not meet certain criteria laid out by the 5 major record labels. Further support in the development of infrastructure for small and micro enterprises is needed.

4.3. Media

In order to ***increase the visibility of migrants in the media***, charters of diversity should be introduced into the recruitment policies of mainstream terrestrial media outfits. This policy recommendation is particularly applicable to television. By increasing the on-screen presence of journalists, analysts, presenters, actors and members of the public of migrant origin, steps can be taken to re-engage with a public which is increasingly 'switching off' and seeking news and entertainment through transnational satellite channels. Such a policy has implications for issues of inclusion and citizenship – that is, how migrant populations engage with the country of adoption, socially, politically and culturally.

In order to tackle the issue of ***the lack of visibility and coverage of 'migrant'/nexus-relevant cultural events*** in the mainstream media, incentives could be created to encourage partnerships between migrant-led and mainstream media. In order to boost migrant-led media, in some countries where this research was carried out, the media licensing laws (e.g. according frequencies in Italy) could be liberalised further to encourage a diverse spectrum of media outfits.

In order to ***encourage greater engagement*** and citizen identification with issues which concern the country of settlement there is a need for a policy outlook which envisages more migrant-led programmes and input into the mainstream broadcast media. This policy implication also applies to the print media and the Internet.

4.4. Policy

In order to tackle the ***duality between high and socio-culture***, cultural policy representatives and project managers should be made more aware of these divisions and unmarked 'hierarchies', and also to take care not to ethnicise initiatives and events. One possibility is to develop a truly integrated social and cultural and policy so that cultural projects do not become instrumentalised. Public funding for artists of migrant or post-migrant background should not require that their cultural project fit with certain social or 'identity-art' objectives. Greater funds should be made available to individuals and smaller cultural organisations so as to actively facilitate the pathway between socio-culture/urban funding and mainstream culture funding. Current public funding levels to established cultural institutions could be re-assessed, greater private-public sponsorship could be pursued so as to 'free up' further funds for smaller more fragile cultural projects/organisations. Greater recruitment of diverse cultural policy personnel would

encourage greater sensitivity to issues of diversity and divisions between culture and cultures.

There needs to be a shift in policy perspective from one based on representation to one based on ***inclusion and support of creative innovation***. Greater support should be given to arts education in less elitist areas of cultural production – e.g. digital art/'non-European' musical forms etc. It is important that more space is given to small projects at the local, national and European levels. For example, the current Culture 2000 programme tends to favour large projects, thus penalising smaller cultural structures. If the European policy orientations shifted their perspective in this domain, then this might encourage national and local cultural policy orientations as well.

Where ***nationally-framed cultural policy*** has the effect of excluding socially and ethnically diverse populations, attempts to shift from these sorts of policies to ones based on the notion of territories and cities will generate greater diversity in cultural production and art forms. Nevertheless, cities should still be seen as nodes within wider networks of mobility rather than as bounded territorial units where migrants settle. Furthermore, the State at the national level should still play an important role and better articulate its activities in the cultural domain with city administrations where possible. More transparent budgetary models need to be established at local and national levels so that the transition from pre-planned funding of institutions to one which favours project funding, can be made. Such a shift would de-centre (and in some cases 'de-nationalise') cultural production and give greater opportunities to independent cultural initiatives.

Migration policies tend to be framed in terms of the nation – a classic example of this is the 'sealing' of the nation's borders in attempts to re-assert national control over a global issue. In terms of migration policies, the EU and its member-states should define their political position not in terms of closing national borders, but rather in terms of global societal development. In order to escape the narrow national paradigm, the EU member-states need to think in terms of the positive transnational nexus connections which already exist between migrant cultural practitioners. The transnational connections which do already exist tend to be small-scale. The notion of citizenship and social capital linked to small transnational cultural projects needs to be given greater weight in the formulation of European migration and cultural policy.

There is a need for a ***sincere European policy of cultural diversity***, whereby diversity is not only imagined in terms of its European member states and their 'historical (autochthonous) minorities', but in terms of the migrant and post-migrant populations within them. When formulating policy which explicitly relates to migrant populations, this

should not only be done, as is predominantly the case, in relation to socio-economic concerns only, but should fully take them into account with regards to cultural, arts and multilingual policies. An effective policy of cultural diversity should also foster the development of agency and citizenship on the part of all members of society.

5. Models of Good Practice

Models of good practice that help *shift the focus from national minorities to translocal cultural actors*, can be found in the European network called Trans Europ Halles. Here, a number of projects have been conducted within the local context but provide an international perspective:

- **Paris:** The cultural venue Mains d'oeuvres combines cultural and artistic excellence with a socially-embedded cultural programme. The emphasis on the creative process and the clear articulation of the venue's cultural ambitions with its surrounding area makes it an example of successful multicultural practice.
- **Ljubljana:** The Metelkova City Autonomous Cultural Centre complex in the centre of the city is now an independent cultural centre involving artists, activists, cultural and workers from Ljubljana and Slovenia. Not only is it locally-embedded, but it also enjoys a transnational reputation.
- **Belgrade:** The Rex Cultural Centre supports the production and presentation of analytical, and critical, culture and art which reflects civil needs and initiatives. It also aims to promote the values of an open and democratic society.

Models of good practice regarding *transnationalisation* were found in many of our cities and represent the multiple and transnational linkages which migrants and post-migrant artists/cultural agents are developing:

- **London:** The Hubble Bubble DJ platform provides a unique synthesis of world music. Oojami: is an electro-oriental musical group that grafts Turkish music onto dance and electronic rhythms, using African and Asian influences as well. The Shrine Collective comprises a group of professional artists involved with African music and dance
- **Paris:** The New Bled Vibrations Collective, which activates professional links well-beyond the France-Francophonie-Maghreb- axis.

- **Berlin:** The Gayhane Club Night is an example of the emerging scenes of gay and lesbian club culture that attracts a diverse crowd (ethnically and in terms of sexual orientation).
- **Rome:** The Orchestra of Piazza Vittorio brings to the stage eighteen musicians from eleven nationalities: Italy, Tunisia, India, Cuba, United States, Morocco, Hungary, Ecuador, Argentina, Romania, and Senegal.

Models of good practice in *Transnationalism and the Media* include:

- **Paris:** Fréquence Paris Plurielle is a radio station that presents a successful case of associational radio which has numerous programme slots for different communities living within the city.
- **Vienna:** EMAP is an Internet radio station, based at the musicology department of the University of Vienna. It acts as a transnational media platform for Balkan nexus music by its transmission and archival storage of live concerts in Vienna (and elsewhere) as well as for music related to the African and other 'nexuses/nexi'.
- **London:** Africa on Your Street is a BBC website is part of the mainstream UK media, but with the objective of making African musicians more visible to Africans living in Europe.

Models of good practice that assist *Re-imagining the Urban* include:

- **Belgrade:** B92 is an urban (alternative and independent) radio station that enjoys a trans-urban reputation and following in London, Amsterdam, Brussels and Paris.
- **Belgrade:** Cross Radio is a network of independent radio stations and programme exchange, non-government and youth organisations from several European cities. A unique radio programme can be heard every week in Ljubljana, Maribor, Zagreb, Mostar, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Skopje, Zurich, Prishtina, Belgrade, Zrenjanin, Sombor, Prijepolje and Novi Sad.

Examples of models of good practice in a *Sincere Diversity Policy* can be found in:

- **Paris:** Rencontres de la Villette is an annual festival that essentially focuses on urban or emerging cultures. It represents a good model because it is held at a national cultural institution of recognised international excellence (le Parc de la Villette) but, through long-term and structured efforts to involve migrant-origin populations (as both audiences and artists), the festival can be seen as successfully

overcoming the dichotomy of locally-embedded and international cultural production.

- **Vienna:** The Gastarbajteri Project (2004) was an extensive collaboration between established cultural institutions: the public libraries; the Vienna museum; some commercial organisations; and the 'third' or NGO sector. The project consisted of two exhibitions: 'Labour migration from Turkey and former Yugoslavia' and 'Media and Migration'. This project is also an example of best practice in Shared Cultural Policies

Action Research was undertaken as a key element of the project. Examples of models of good practice are provided by the project's events:

Changing City Spaces Cities: The three major multicultural events in **Berlin, Paris** and **Ljubljana** and four smaller events in **Vienna, Rome, Belgrade** and **Brighton** served as innovative platforms for discussion and debate amongst academics and culture professionals who normally work in separate worlds and rarely engage with each other directly. Our ethnographic research with cultural policy officials, cultural producers and organisers, artists, the media and audiences laid the ground for the cultural events in various interconnecting ways. For example, in Paris, some of our policy interviewees not only became participants in the workshop but also its sponsors.

Models of good practice in the **Recruitment of Culture Professionals and Decision-makers** are often provided by the 'third' sector of cultural activity (including associations or NGOs). The 'third' sector is often a training ground for marginalized groups to develop the necessary professional skills in order to be able to work and have an impact in the cultural sector.

Models of good practice that **Overcome Two-tier Cultural Policy Frameworks** can be found in the 'third' sector, the commercial sector and to a certain extent, in the public sector. Examples include:

- **Ljubljana:** The Metelkova project (described above)
- **Paris:** Parc de la Villette Rencontres de la Villette Festival (described above). Le Cabaret Sauvage is a concert venue that programmes a range of innovative and international artists of migrant background. These events and other concerts attract a socially and ethnically-diverse audience (from Paris and its suburbs).
- **London:** The Arcola Theatre is a fringe theatre located in the heart of London's Turkish community and led by a Turkish artistic director. Arcola brings quality

productions of international standing and visibility to this theatre. The London Turkish Film Festival has recently led initiatives to get film premières of major Turkish blockbuster movies into London's West End cinemas and reviewed by mainstream English-language magazines.

6. Future Research

Future research needs to *move beyond Europe's borders* in order to be able to take into account the non-European dimension of migration and cultural production. If we had been able through this project to conduct empirical research in non-European countries, then the nexus design aspect of this research would certainly have led us to extra-European destinations. It would also have opened up multiple European networks beyond our pre-designed city nexuses. For example, the movement between Malagasy artists in Paris and third sector cultural sectors in Antananarivo show links right across the European space in different countries such as Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and between different agents such as NGOs or cultural promoters. However, it has not been possible to conduct funded empirical research outside of Europe's borders. In order to fully understand the dynamics of migration and cultural production and hence to be able to formulate effective cultural policies at local, national and European levels, the conditions of emigration in originating countries and continuing, multidirectional extra-European ties must be fully researched and this is the aim of some of the researchers in our consortium.

During the course of the City Spaces project we identified what we have called *shared cultural policies* as models of sustainable practice in the cultural field (partnerships between the public, private and civil society spheres of cultural production). There is need for future research on *viable cultural policies for the future* that addresses those cultural configurations (centres, organisations, institutions, movements) which are engaging in partnerships between the public, private and associational sphere. This is a fairly new phenomenon and one which therefore requires further empirical and theoretical attention, in order to identify some of the future challenges in the development of sustainable and inclusive cultural policies.

Future research (*Tracking Diversity*) needs to track the political and institutional developments arising out of policies of cultural diversity at the metropolitan, national and European levels. For example, how will greater diversity and visibility of people of migrant background in the national media be achieved? How will European-level policy on cultural diversity be implemented in the new EU member states and the ascendant nations? Will the new territories of artistic production (for example in the alternative and

independent cultural centres) successfully foster the emergence of a new generation of professional artists from diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds? These areas of policy and practice are relatively new and hence need to be tracked and studied in order to identify possible pitfalls as well as to valorise good practice.

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Project Rationale

This project has been concerned with contemporary social and cultural developments in Europe, set in motion by and responding to new dynamics of global migration into and across Europe, and with particular reference to migration, xenophobia and multiculturalism. To explore these issues, our research has taken as its central focus urban culture and policy in the European space, in order to address broader questions of sociocultural diversity, interaction and citizenship.

Our research was based on the proposition that an innovative way of addressing contemporary change in Europe is through such a metropolitan perspective. Our research has centred on seven cities - London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Vienna, Ljubljana, Belgrade. It has addressed questions of multiculturalism within the urban space, and also the growth of new transnational flows and nexuses between cities. The empirical focus was on culture: new cultural practices, developments in cultural industries, the status of cultural policies.

The data came from in-depth qualitative research, conducted within the selected cities, but also by tracking inter-urban nexuses across the system of European cities. The work has had both 'bottom up' and 'top down' aspects. Thus, we were concerned with how people construct and mobilise their own cultural identities. This involved consumption and reception studies with migrant groups (individual interviews, focus groups), as well as participant observation at cultural events. Through this we aimed to establish what kinds of new identities are being constructed by migrant groups; the nature of contemporary cultural encounter and interaction; the significance of new transnational connections; new dynamics of social integration/social fragmentation. The 'top down' aspect of the work explored the status of policy practices, with respect to the agenda of cultural inclusion and social integration within our cities, and to possibilities that may be inherent in inter-urban networking across Europe. This involved in-depth 'expert' interviews (with media/cultural policymakers, executives, practitioners). Here we were attentive to the correspondence, or lack of it, between cultural practices, industries and policies.

Our findings have had relevance for policies that support social inclusion and integration for all people now living in Europe:

- to address challenges to European culture in the context of contemporary change (enlargement; East/West Europe relations; imperial legacies; new transnational migrations);
- to do so through an analysis of European cities, regarded as spaces of multicultural identity, in the context of global change;
- to map the internal complexities of selected European cities, drawing attention to the new kinds of social and cultural interaction and encounter now existing within these urban arenas;
- to track the development of new kinds of networking between cities, taking the city as an innovative focus for capturing social and cultural flows and nexuses across, and beyond, the European space;
- to understand how people construct a sense of belonging through involvement with particular cultural industries, forms and practices;
- to explore policy responses relating to issues of urban multiculturalism within European cities, with particular respect to strategies for overcoming social exclusion, xenophobia and racism.

Development of an innovative agenda on European cultural dynamics, bringing together usually discrete agendas, and providing insight into new (multi)cultural dynamics in Europe Collaboration with cultural policymakers, and input into the policy process with respect to issues of inclusion and social integration

New approaches to good practice in cultural policy Cultural events promoting the findings of the research, bringing together practitioners, policymakers and researchers from diverse contexts

2. Original Objectives

2.1. Overall Objective

The research aims to identify challenges to European culture in the context of contemporary change, focusing on multicultural European metropolitan spaces; and to identify advice and help realise cultural policies and practices that will further social inclusivity for the diverse populations in Europe.

2.2. Project Objectives

- 1) To consider the European city - with capital cities as the prime focus - as a significant space of multicultural identity in the new and changed context of global and transnational developments across the continent, and to explore the social and cultural possibilities being opened up in metropolitan areas as compared to the tendentially mono-cultural focus of (multi-) national states.
- 2) To map the internal complexities of selected European capital cities, drawing attention to the new kinds of social and cultural interaction and encounter that now exist within these urban arenas, and providing an overview of the new dynamics, issues and agendas that increasingly characterise urban societies and cultures in Europe.
- 3) To track the development of the new kinds of interaction and networking that are developing between cities, taking the city as an innovative focus for capturing social and cultural flows and nexuses across the European space; and to also consider the growing significance of ties with selected non-European cities, which have generally occurred as a consequence of either post-imperial legacies or new migrant connections.
- 4) To explore policy responses and practices that relate both to the agenda of urban multiculturalism within the selected cities, and to the possibilities that may be inherent in inter-urban networking across the European space, drawing on local, national and European-level approaches and initiatives.
- 5) To explore processes of social inclusion and exclusion through an analysis of particular cultural forms, taking account of the new geographical complexities in this agenda, where questions of inclusion may now relate to urban, national, European, or wider transnational spheres.
- 6) To understand how people construct a sense of belonging through their participation in the collective life of cities, taking account of the ways in which belonging to the city may differ from the sense of belonging to a national society and culture.
- 7) To address the gender dimension in the developments we are studying, with particular respect to cultural citizenship and issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

- 8) To identify examples of good multicultural practice in European cities, with particular reference to strategies for overcoming social exclusion, xenophobia and racism.
- 9) To address new challenges to European culture and identity in the context of contemporary global change - challenges that pertain to such issues as enlargement; the relation between East and West Europe; imperial legacies; new patterns of transnational migration; and the global North-South divide.

We followed all these objectives but given the limitation of the samples studied in any one city, it was not possible to undertake systematic research on the gender dimension of citizenship and social inclusion/exclusion. We were attentive to the gender dimension in terms of observation of audiences at cultural events. In relation to performing artists and cultural agents, it was clear that this is a male-dominated sphere but this is echoed more widely in the music industry in general and is not therefore something which is specific to migrant and post-migrant cultural production. A more detailed analysis of the gender dimension regarding cultural citizenship and issues of social inclusion/exclusion would have implied a different research design which would have highlighted gender as the key focus of selecting the samples.

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

1. Research Methods

Our methods were primarily qualitative. More specifically, each work package carried precise reference to the methods employed for the individual tasks. Members of the team have wide-ranging expertise in a variety of qualitative methodologies. These include: ethnographic observation; discourse, text and semiotic analysis; focus group research; open and semi-structured interview techniques.

Below is a more detailed summary of the areas of research which were covered:

- Policy document research - the research group surveyed existing policy documentation, with respect to media and cultural policies. In WP 2 and 3 we explored contemporary policy documents at municipal, regional, national and European levels in the existing archives of our cities. We also explored historical documents in order to provide the context for understanding current policy. In WP 4 these city-based results were brought into a comparative frame.
- In-depth 'expert' interviews - the nature of the research design required a qualitative methodology. The experts to be interviewed were determined on the basis of the particular kinds of governmental and non-governmental institutions in each of the cities to be researched. These included:
 - cultural and media policy makers: e.g. from local, regional authorities; arts institutions; organisations responsible for multi-cultural policies and minority interests;
 - media executives and producers: e.g. from regional and national/transnational TV and radio channels; multicultural radio stations (e.g. Radio Multikulti; Fréquence Paris Plurielle etc.);
 - cultural agents and promoters: e.g. Festival organisers; directors of cultural institutions (e.g. Haus der Kulturen der Welt; Africa Centre), cultural entrepreneurs (e.g. music labels);
 - cultural practitioners (e.g. musicians, film producers, radio and television programme makers and presenters).
- Consumption and reception studies - in particular contexts this involved semi-structured individual interviews with participants at cultural events and with

consumers of media products and services; in others we made use of focus group methodology. We also included open and structured questionnaires to gauge demographic data for audiences. Different methodologies were applied and adjusted to overcome the difficulties of data gathering. Quantitative media reception data and other related survey data were consulted where appropriate.

- Participant observation (including field diaries) was undertaken at specified cultural performances (e.g. concerts, festivals).

2. The City Focus

This project has been centrally concerned with questions of urban culture and policy in the European space, using a metropolitan city focus to address broader questions of socio-cultural diversity, interaction and citizenship. The project has examined a range of cultural institutions, practices, events, strategies and policies in these diverse urban environments, with particular reference to the need to articulate valid and workable principles of multicultural practice and policy, and to oppose xenophobia and racism. The research has considered contemporary developments and issues in seven capital cities - Rome, London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Ljubljana and Belgrade - selected to bring out the complex dynamics and directions of change in European society and culture in the 21st century. Within these urban contexts, the particular cultural forms which were studied in detail were music, media (radio, television) and cinema.

Our research design also put considerable emphasis on an urban or metropolitan perspective as a means to re-focus some of the key questions of European cultural and multicultural policy. The major European cities are spaces with highly diverse populations, and they provide a laboratory in which to explore the complex interactions between plural and diverse populations. Within the urban frame, modern cultural practices range across a spectrum in which 'cultures' are constructed across a range of possibilities - from being ethnically distinct and separate, to being elements within a bigger multicultural fusion. This spectrum of possibilities is repeated across almost all cultural forms - for example, in local and city media (e.g. radio stations and programmes), or in the performance policies of particular venues. We have been interested in exploring how, and to what extent, people use the opportunities of being part of a complex and diverse cultural space by engaging with the broad cultural repertoire available in the urban scene, and in what contexts and circumstances they may elect to retreat into a more monolithic cultural 'ghetto'. The point of our urban focus has been to go beyond the question of merely 'belonging' to a particular cultural identity and space, and to consider the importance and value of cultural encounter, negotiation

and interaction. For example, our research revealed that artists and cultural professionals of migrant background operate transnationally and activate professional links and networks beyond their 'ethnic' community and historical post-colonial links. This is the case of certain North African and Malagasy artists who are based in Paris and who activate links with professionals in cities such as Istanbul, Tokyo, Cologne or London (DJ Awal, Cheb Tati, Régis Gizavo, Justin Vali, Dama).

Our approach, which took as its primary focus the new urban dynamics (intra-urban and inter-urban) within the European space, was intended to provide new insights through its alternative perspective. We think that it has made a distinctive and productive contribution to broader European debates on inclusion/exclusion and multicultural coexistence. Most discussions of European cultures and multicultures have been centrally concerned with the question of 'community': the agenda has come to be framed in terms of a set of different 'imagined communities' to which Europeans may feel that they belong - the national community, the pan-European community, or European regional communities. The difficulty with this formulation is that 'community' - in the case of all these alternative possibilities of community - tends to be imagined as a singular, unitary and homogeneous entity - an entity through which it is actually difficult to think about issues of socio-cultural diversity and complexity. By undertaking in-depth empirical research in the cities studied, such cultural complexity (i.e. the community and non-community links that artists and cultural professionals activate across the city and beyond) became evident. Similarly, gauging the socio-cultural diversity of the cities was made possible through the ethnographic study of a wide range of cultural venues and institutions across the cities. Taking a wide range of cultural venues as an empirical research entry point also meant that the risk of ethnicising migrant groups was attenuated.

Our decision in this project has been to open up an alternative perspective, through a specifically urban approach to understanding European social and cultural change. The point about cities, particularly in the contemporary context of global change, is that they are the places where issues of cultural diversity, complexity and multiculturalism are most insistently posed. It is in cities and metropolises that encounters between cultures are at their most intense: cities are places of socio-cultural interaction, confrontation, negotiation and transformation. Our urban perspective has allowed us to explore these cultural processes in concrete terms, 'on the ground', rather than in the more abstract terms that tend to characterise discourses of community. We found that although lasting cultural encounter does not develop easily, it nevertheless can be fostered in certain contexts such as democratic cultural centres (*Mainsd'oeuvres* in Paris, *Metelkova* in Ljubljana for example - see section IV 4. on Models of Good Practice for further details).

This project has therefore opened up an alternative approach to that new object of study, European society - and one that we believe complements what is being done elsewhere through other theoretical and methodological approaches.

Our research has emphasised the importance of the space of flows, as a too often neglected complement to the space of places. From this perspective, cities of Europe are taking on the character of sites whose very texture is being woven by the interplay of a multitude of heterogeneous and unequal flows that are running through them. What has in the past been recognised as a privilege of metropolises, seems to be in the process of becoming a permanent and defining feature of the contemporary city. We found that the intensification and proliferation of transnational as well as inter-continental flows are an irreversible contemporary trend that needs to be recognised. Our research has been a step in this direction. It seems that many of the tensions and discontents of contemporary urban policies may well be due to a misrecognition of this trend, and to mental habits which still conceive of the city as of a territorial unit, rather than as a knot within a patchwork of superimposed nexuses and flows. We see this territorial mind-set in the case of some French cultural policies which are linked to urban regeneration. Often these policies remain resolutely local in their outlook and can have the effect of 'boxing in' migrant and working class populations at the level of the *quartier* (neighbourhood). Yet these populations may in fact be mobilising a level of transcultural capital, which is invisible to policymakers and policy representatives.

To address these broader issues of European diversity and multiculturalism, we consequently approached our case study cities from three interconnected perspectives.

First we considered each city from within, taking into account the internal complexities *within* particular urban spaces, and also approaches to the management and governance of these complexities.

Second, in terms of the increasing links and networks that have come into existence, at a variety of levels, *between* cities across the European continent - and in some cases between European and some non-European cities - creating new urban nexuses.

Third, through this dual perspective, which combined comparative and network analysis, we have considered cultures in terms of a) situated and localised cultural configurations, and b) patterns of cultural flow and mobility across the European continent, and beyond.

In our approach, we have captured the new and complex geographical frames and dynamics in which questions of cultural diversity and multiculturalism are now embedded.

The project partners have conducted research in seven major cities in Europe: London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Ljubljana and Belgrade, where the project has focused on multicultural metropolitan spaces (See Section II: Background and Objectives of the project). Here, the concern with urban cultures corresponds to our understanding that the urban space can provide a productive frame for exploring the new threats and opportunities associated with contemporary social and cultural transformations, especially those associated with migrant and ethnic minority populations. There are a number of reasons for the choice of these particular cities:

- they all are capital cities, though on different scales and with different degrees of internal complexity;
- they reflect the real diversity of social and cultural life in contemporary Europe, and allow us to bring together themes and issues that are normally dealt with as distinct and separate matters;
- they raise a range of issues concerning migration and multiculturalism in the European space: post-imperial migration and its legacy; new patterns of global migration; and the significance of East-West migration (including that between the current EU and ascendant nations);
- they all function in significant ways as nodes in specific social and cultural nexuses (see below).

Our research agenda invited us to reflect on the consequences of conceiving the European space as a metropolitan space. These seven cities provided excellent microcosms for this re-imagination of European society.

3. The Nexus Focus

The most significant innovation in our research design – intended to capture the nature of changes taking place in the European space and the new kinds of cultural flows and connections emerging out of the dynamics of globalisation – has been our concern with cities as interconnected spaces. We have not only studied our seven cities as complex entities in their own right, but also in the wider context of transnational social and cultural flows, and as parts of new transnational urban networks. This aspect of our research was captured in our **nexus** design, which was intended to track transnational flows and linkages between case study cities. Three different nexuses were investigated. And in the case of each nexus particular case study cities featured as primary focuses for the research:

- Turkish nexus – London, Berlin, Vienna;
- Balkan nexus – Vienna, Ljubljana, Belgrade;
- African nexus – Paris, Rome, London.

These social and cultural nexuses were selected because they are all well established, and we believe that the cultural connections and interactions associated with them are particularly significant in the contemporary European context. The primary case study cities are ones in which nexus activity is especially intense. We believe that this nexus design took our research design beyond the more orthodox comparative and cross-national research; and that it has captured new social and cultural dynamics that are not apparent to more conventional approaches.

Our research is in line with new thinking in the social sciences arguing for a 'mobile sociology' (Urry, 2000). What we identified are key **nexuses** that increasingly interlink what were formerly more discrete European cities in a range of different ways, both real and virtual. What are created through these social and cultural nexuses are new patterns for cultural production, distribution, organisation, performance and consumption. Our research has investigated, *inter alia*, (a) the movements of cultural producers and cultural products such as the organisation of cultural events across Europe and beyond (b) the mobility of consumers such as groups of audiences who come from all over Europe to concerts in Paris; (c) the transnationalisation of cultural production as revealed through the activation of professional links across Europe and beyond – e.g. Berlin-based Turkish-origin artists who produce their CDs in Istanbul; (d) organisations and agencies that manage and co-ordinate cultural flows – for example networks such as *TransEurop'Halles*; (e) new transnational cultural spheres, such as transnational audiovisual spaces, and virtual and interactive communication through the Internet. A key issue here is the nature of relationships between actual and virtual cultural spaces.

The management structure of the project, the organisation of the workplan, the design of the workpackages, and the methodological orientation of the research, all took careful account of the demands made by our innovative research design.

Our nexus approach required us to maximise the value of the local knowledge and the expertise of researchers working on the project for the research group as a whole. In methodological terms, this translated into a principle of researcher mobility, involving the tracing of nexus linkages. This meant that researchers who were already or were to become residents of particular cities during the field work phases, were also involved in doing some research on the particular networks they are studying in other cities.

The consortium consists of a group of researchers who already had considerable experience in translating specific disciplinary methodologies into larger interdisciplinary frameworks. Several members of the consortium have developed and tested innovative integrated designs for data collection and analysis in their previous collaborative research projects.

4. Cross-nexus Inter-relationship

The three nexuses on which our project focused connected several of the seven European cities we studied: the African nexus, linking Paris with Rome and London; the Turkish nexus, linking Berlin with London and Vienna, and the Balkan nexus, linking Ljubljana with Vienna and Belgrade. In order to understand the relationship between these three nexuses it is important to take into account the different types of (im-)migration that they represent. Whilst it must be stressed that none of the three nexuses are homogeneous in any sense, they do, nevertheless, correspond broadly to three types of migration:

- The African nexus represents a mainly post-colonial migration, with a long history but one which becomes numerically significant from the 1950s onwards, particularly in the cases of Paris and London. Rome is the exception since the African-origin population arriving from Italy's former colonies is numerically less significant than economic migrants who have mainly arrived during the last twenty years.
- The Balkan nexus can be described as initially representing a labour migration and then more recently, a post-conflict migration. Whilst many individuals from the former Yugoslavia emigrated in the wake of the war, some 'stayed put', only to find that in the post-war order, they had become 'minorities' in the newly independent states.
- The Turkish nexus mainly represents a post-1950s guest-worker migration, particularly in the case of Berlin and to a lesser extent Vienna. With respect to London, the majority of migrants were Turkish Cypriots who also began to arrive in the 1950s. In the 1990s, London has become an increasingly important centre for political asylum and economic migration (which is different to 'guest-worker' migration).

The types of cultural practices which develop in each nexus are, to a significant extent, linked to the conditions of migration and the length of residence in the city in question. Hence for the post-colonial African nexus, the cultural and political dominance of the

former imperial centre means that Paris remains a central node or hub for nexus flows and activity of francophone Africans who have settled in Europe, with London playing a similar role for Anglophone Africans. The historical nature of the links between the African nexus cities and a number of African countries (dating back in many cases to the nineteenth century) also means that cultural production is diverse, thus representing a vast number of genres, generations and styles. This is particularly the case for Paris and London but less so for Rome where migration is still in the very early stages of first generation settlement.

The Balkan nexus has no evident geographical or cultural 'hub': it is characterised by multidirectional and diasporic connections world-wide, rather than by a movement from the colonial 'periphery' to former imperial 'centre' (as is often the case in the African nexus). In addition, marginal cultural practices (which do not receive state-support) are a key site for cultural production in the Balkan nexus. This can be seen as the reaction of many cultural practitioners against the development of ethnicised nationalism and the recent conflict (an example would be the Centre for Cultural Decontamination in Belgrade).

Similarly, the Turkish nexus, which has predominantly emerged out of economic migration as well as demands for political asylum, is not shaped by one dominant cultural or linguistic colonial past. There is a tendency for greater trans-European cultural production, where Turkey can remain a major centre. Istanbul in particular, remains a continuing reference point for Turkish and Turkish-origin migrants in Europe.

We have studied music and media production throughout the three nexuses but for some nexuses, other forms of cultural production have been particularly relevant. For the African and Balkan nexuses, music has been of particular importance, whereas for the Turkish nexus, cinematic production has also been central to the research. This approach is reflected in the cultural/dissemination events which we have organised. In Berlin, the focus was transcultural cinema, with particular reference to the Turkish cinematic production. The event consisted of an international film festival in conjunction with a workshop for academic and culture professionals. In Paris the focus was very much on music and the event involved a series of live concerts and performances in conjunction with a two-day workshop with academics, artists, culture professionals, media representatives and policymakers. The final event in Ljubljana brought together all strands of research and cultural production in October 2005.

A much more detailed analysis of Cross-nexus Inter-relationships is given in ANNEX 1 (see section VII 1.) which is an updated version of D23: Comparative city nexus reports.

5. Key Events

5.1. Introduction

The staging of events provided one of the **innovative methods for research** used during the project. The events formed part of the research process and were used as a platform for studying, interacting with, and action research for, real live cultural activities and cultural and other relevant stakeholders.

A more detailed account of the events is given in ANNEX 2: EVENTS (see section VII 2.). A summary is given below.

BERLIN

'Europe in Motion: Moving Images, Shifting Perspectives in Transcultural Cinema', 9-16 December 2004

This event brought together film directors, commentators and academics from Britain and Germany, linking them with filmmakers and academics from the Euro-Balkans and Euro-Mediterranean zones, thus creating a platform to provoke discussion and debate on the transcultural moment in Europe. Berlin hosted this meeting of filmmakers, academics and commentators, who, in their different ways, have been thinking about how to imagine a better Europe. The event involved a programme of screenings of feature films, short films and documentaries dealing with migrations, crossing of spaces and of borders, travel, taking to the road, cultural connections, and transnational nexuses. There were question and answer sessions and presentations with film directors, and a two-day workshop bringing together filmmakers, commentators, writers and academics working in the fields of migration studies, film studies, politics and European studies.

PARIS

'Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces', 7 – 9 April 2005

The cultural event which the Changing City Spaces consortium and the Banlieues d'Europe network organised in Paris from the 7th-9th April 2005 was one of three planned dissemination events for the EU 5th Framework Changing City Spaces. Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces arose out the empirical research which we had conducted on the 'African nexus' in Paris, London and Rome. The 'African nexus' research focused on the articulation between cultural policy, African migration and cultural practice amongst musicians, media representatives and audiences. In other words, it represented simultaneously 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to questions of cultural diversity in

three European capital cities with historical and contemporary migratory ties to several African countries.

LJUBLJANA

'Mobility and Solidarity in Contemporary Europe. Trans-Local Nexal vs. Nationally Contained Identitary Mechanisms of Social Cohesion', 7-8 October 2005

This conference was held to close the project that had investigated new social realities emerging from the massive migrations of the past fifty years, participating researchers invited colleagues working in connected areas, activists, artists, and public functionaries, to share their theoretical insights and practical experience. The project was conducted in close co-operation with artistic, cultural and activist practices. It is in many ways symptomatic that the most critical problems of our times are presently approached and articulated within activist practices outside political and administrative establishments, through cultural production and often in contemporary artistic practices and their concomitant discourses. The conference gathered together people engaged in these productions and activities, so as further to assert and develop the basic tenets of the project.

5.2. Related Events

BELGRADE

Conference on 'Cultural Policy and Art Production', University of Arts, Belgrade, 30 September- 3 October 2004.

The conference succeeded in gathering eighteen universities and research centres from the Balkan region specialised in cultural policy research and teaching, as well as institutions and experts from other European countries (twelve). The total number of participants was seventy (28 from Serbia and Montenegro and 42 from abroad). The conference debated the new challenges for cultural policies in the Balkans and in Europe, (research results from the project Changing City Spaces were one of the major information inputs for the event), especially focusing on art production priorities, forms and instruments of policy support, legislation reform to stimulate entrepreneurship.

VIENNA

**'Subtitle – Cultural Production of Minorities: between ethnicization and politics',
29 – 30 October 2004.**

The basic rationale for the event was to discuss questions and concerns to do with the conditions of cultural production by migrants in different cultural fields in Vienna: in the arts, literature, music and film. It consisted of four panels, to which cultural practitioners (artists, writers, musicians, film makers), theorists and cultural intermediaries – partly with, partly without migration backgrounds - were invited. The debates were intersected with different examples of the artists' work (literature readings, film extracts screenings, and music performances).

BRIGHTON

'Problematising Music and Migration' Workshop, Brighton, 7-8 May 2005

The workshop which took place in Brighton on the 7th and 8th May 2005 was a collaboration between the University of Southampton's Centre for Transnational Studies (under the aegis of the EU 5th Framework project Changing City Spaces) and the Sussex Centre for Migration Research at the University of Sussex. In some sense it can be seen as the next step after the Paris event since the Music and Migration workshop was officially associated with the Brighton Festival – thus bringing together academics and cultural practitioners beyond the exchange of ideas to the actual co-organisation of an event.

LONDON

'The Seventh Man – Then and Now', 12 April; 17 May 2005

This was a series of three events that focused on John Berger and Jean Mohr's *The Seventh Man*, first published in 1975. This text was a ground-breaking study of the Gastarbeiter phenomenon in Europe. The three events that were curated by Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (as part of the overall John Berger season of events in London in May 2005), focused particularly on the issue of Turkish migrants in Europe, exploring how the agenda has developed over thirty years. The programme of events included writers, filmmakers and visual artists of Turkish and Kurdish origins.

ROME

'New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome', 14 May 2005

During this event findings of our *City Spaces* study were discussed with other academics, cultural policy makers (including a representative of the Office of Multiethnicity in Rome), journalists, cultural organisers and artists themselves. The event succeeded in bringing together academics and many other figures who work in cultural sector, and to generate feedback from those who are directly involved in practical matters.

6. Results

The following results have emerged from our research. They are based on interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, and discourse and semiotic analysis. For further details on research design see sections III 1., III 2., III 3. and III 4. and for details of individual field diaries see Deliverable D15.

6.1. Artists and Publics

6.1.1. Artists and Publics: The African Nexus

There are a number of key points to be made about artists and publics in the African nexus. Here the focus of the research was on music.

Diversity of Music Production

There are as many different types of cultural activities as there are people's interests. As is the case with any other group, migrants' interests are shaped by such factors as class, lifestyle, income, aspirations, age, gender, political ideology, taste and social networks. Different types of cultural events, therefore, have their own consumer or fan base, their own distinctive style of presentation and use of space. Music production in the African nexus covers a wide range of genres including: chaâbi, raï, electro-oriental, gnawa, rap, folk, roots, salegy, tspapiky, mandingue, pop, classical.

Although Paris and Rome are very different cities, with distinct experiences of immigration, there are nevertheless some similarities in the ways in which African-origin artists and their audiences engage with the city's cultural infrastructures, the issue of transnational cultural flows and with each other. For example, artists in both cities face certain difficulties regarding the classification of their art. In terms of policy or the public sector, artists of African or migrant origin are often expected to fit their work into a policy repertoire which implicitly expects their work to correspond to the construction of a

cultural (or ethnic identity) or to further social integration or cohesion. This has important implications in terms of funding structures and can disadvantage artists whose work does not 'fit' with such criteria but demands merely to be evaluated on the basis of its aesthetic worth. The mis-match between expectations and artistic ambitions is not only confined to the public policy sector. Often they become typecast by organisers, audiences and the media as either 'world' global players or ethnic artists. Universalist versus particularist dichotomies and hierarchies are relevant here and would seem to explain in part the difficulties artists have moving across the world music scene and the more community or nexus-oriented scenes. Of course there are exceptions and some musicians manage to straddle both spheres.

Artists in Paris and Rome are very keen to collaborate and work with other artists yet they can at times be 'restricted' in this by community' audiences who are not keen on 'cross-over' genres which are seen to have been 'adapted' to western audiences. At the same time, the cultural public and commercial sectors (producers, record labels, festival directors and venue managers) can also exert pressure on artists to 'play the ethnic card' in a wider context of the successful commodification of 'difference'.

Audience Make-Up

In both Rome and Paris, researchers found that there is quite a clear 'division' of audiences who attend cultural events. This division manifests itself along a town centre-periphery (immigrant district) divide. This division between audiences is expressed along ethnic and socio-economic lines with and a whole range of factors concur to keep 'white' middle class Parisians and Romans and less well-off city dwellers of migrant/African background fairly separate: choice of venue, area of city, cost of event, advertising and publicising of the event, choice and combination of artist/s. For example, high-profile events such as the *Estate Romana* event attracts mainly non-migrant audiences as does the *Festival de l'Imaginaire in Paris*. This divide is more pronounced in Rome where immigration is a more recent phenomenon, yet nevertheless there are some parallels between the two which need to be highlighted.

Transnationalisation

A further similarity between the artists based in Paris and Rome is that they tend to look beyond the local and wish to establish transnational professional links outside of their immediate environments. Whilst musicians of African origin in Rome tend to see London and Paris as major reference points, often seeing their ability to attract audiences in these cities as a measure of their professional success, artists based in Paris are also looking beyond the city. In the case of Paris-based artists this is all the more significant

since it suggests that Paris may therefore be losing some of its centrality as a former 'post-colonial hub'. A number of post-colonial artists bear witness to this by arguing that Paris is no longer a viable option. It may provide fertile ground for cultural encounter, but in terms of professional development, it is to other European and world cities that artists are looking (notably London, Amsterdam, New York, Tokyo). So it would seem then, that on one level, the taken-for-granted links between artists from the former colonies and Paris is being completely outmoded. Artists are mobilising a new translocal agency and moving beyond the original contours of musical production in Paris which has traditionally been governed by a centre-periphery dynamic. This move to look beyond Paris in terms of tour dates and recording opportunities does not stem from rejection but has been shown to result out of a rational choice made by artists working in certain areas of musical production – notably those more 'marginal' areas of production.

However, as mentioned above Paris and Rome are different in many ways so below are some key themes which have emerged from the research there.

PARIS

Our research shows that the musicians that we have studied in a number of different contexts are dynamic social and cultural actors. Whether they manage to make a living out of their music or not, they are still mobilising a sense of 'transcultural capital' (see Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, in press) or agency. As such the musicians who either live in Paris or who regularly pass through the city can be described as mobilising key economic and cultural resources through their work. Some even understand their own trajectories in terms of a social or cultural movement or political subjectivity (A. Touraine).

Our research also shows that although Paris is a city where 'cultural encounter' between musicians of diverse backgrounds can meet and perform in the city's many live music venues, it is nevertheless difficult to get record deals signed and to 'professionalise'. Indeed, Paris' international reputation for launching the international world music and urban music careers of artists such as Souad Massi, Rokia Traoré, Khaled and Cheb Mami obscures the difficulties that other musicians who are not part of the 'star system', may face. In addition, whereas some would argue that the fact that many African musicians are marketed by the French Music Office as being 'French' artists is an example of old centre-periphery dynamic being overturned, it is nevertheless possible to read this development in terms of a neo-colonial dynamic, whereby the French State (Ministry of Culture and Communication, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and a number of major record companies decide to covet certain African artists in order to boost waning French record sales.

An important follow-up step for this type of research, and in particular that aspect which concerns first generation migrant musicians, would be focus on the conditions surrounding emigration in the countries of origin. It is essential in order to obtain a fuller picture of the transnational dynamics involved in cultural production and social inclusion and exclusion, to be able to carry out empirical research in the originating countries. It is our intention to undertake such a future project with regards to the Maghreb and Madagascar as it is clear that a deeper understanding of the issues surrounding migration needs to take into account emigration as well as immigration (A. Sayad, 2001). At the current time, no funding for extra-European field research exists under the framework programmes and we believe that this poses obstacles to a fuller understanding of international migration and issues of inclusion and exclusion in European cities.

ROME

Lack of Opportunities

Although Rome shares some characteristics with Paris as far as artists and publics are concerned, migrant cultural production and participation in the cultural landscape of the city is at a more 'embryonic' stage, given the more recent nature of international migration to Italy. As such, the opportunity structure offered to immigrant artists, both those resident in Rome and those coming from abroad, is nearly non-existent. The very few opportunities offered to immigrant artists are mediated by Italian organisers and through personal or political contacts with local policy makers, politicians or event organisers. Most of immigrant musicians can only find work in bars and night clubs playing 'ethnic' music.

Since African musicians in Rome have limited mobility and few connections with other European-based artists (e.g., in Paris or London), Rome is usually considered a temporary stopover for most musicians, unlike Berlin, Paris or London. They generally find it difficult to 'live from their art' because they do not manage to generate sufficient funds. Many of them move about on their own (without managers) and complain of the lack of funding and organisational support. Being without managers, it is not surprising that it is not easy for them to find information on events in other European cities, notwithstanding the possibility of performing in these events.

Many immigrant artists also complain about the limited possibilities they have for regularising their residence status in Italy. Some of them have regularised their position thanks to a recent(?) special amnesty (Sanatoria), or by simply registering themselves with the help of friends, under a different employment category (e.g. waiter) – i.e. not as an artist/musician.

Visibility

Whilst there appears to have been some progression in terms of the visibility of African musicians in Rome, (for example the Estate Romana festival organisers have realised that they can capitalise on the cheaper costs of programming 'on-site' artists rather than flying them in), this has a 'downside' in the sense that it reduces the cultural flows and exchange between Rome and other European and African cities. Indeed, although as mentioned above, Rome-based African artists tend to look towards Paris and London as sites of 'success', few of them actually manage to activate transnational professional links with these cities.

Two major themes emerged with respect to the participation of immigrants from three communities (i.e., Maghreb, Malagasy, and Senegalese) in the cultural life of Rome. First, *immigrants were found to predominantly engage in low-cost and unstructured leisure activities* (e.g., spending time with their co-nationals, watching TV, listening to music, and sporadic visits to local 'community' bars and clubs). Second, they themselves explain their *low level of participation* by the following factors: *lack of time, work commitments, not wanting to spend money on such activities, and lack of transportation*. The great majority of those interviewed did not have a car, which partly precluded them from access to cultural activities beyond the confines of their ethnic (or spatial or both?) communities.

In addition, it emerged that *immigrants are not well informed about cultural activities and events in their city*. Information on cultural events are reported in a weekly guide which can be bought in all kiosks, but all representatives of the Maghreb communities reported that most of immigrants originated from rural areas and have a very limited knowledge of Italian.

Specific immigrant groups in Rome seldom mobilise to organise a concert: informants refer to the lack of financial resources available to them as the main obstacle. Embassies do not support these events either – usually, they only organise cultural events to mark important holidays/calendar dates for a specific immigrant community.

Audiences from the three communities selected in this study are aware of actual cultural production and events in their countries of origin and in other European cities (especially Paris) – usually through the transnational mass-media. (mainly satellite television). Few Rome-based radio and television channels and programmes target these communities. The Internet gives an overview of transnational cultural scene and production, but at the present time, few immigrants enjoy regular web access.

The key to improve the level of participation of immigrants in cultural life in Rome could lie in their own mobilisation and self-organisation. Such mobilisation however has two important conditions. One of them is the internal organisation of an ethnic community; some immigrant groups show greater willingness than others to form cultural associations and promote cultural activities. The second condition governing immigrant cultural participation is their socio-economic status, which is still relatively low. A more advantageous socio-economic status would probably allow immigrants to promote cultural activities and to participate in them to a greater extent.

The second generation of immigrants in Italy is still too young to be actively involved in cultural life (most are children or adolescents). We can therefore develop a hypothesis that in a few years, these young people will promote new and diverse cultural initiatives bringing the artistic environment in Rome closer to that of other capital European cities with a longer history in immigration (such as London, Paris or Berlin).

6.1.2. Artists and Publics: the Balkan Nexus

BELGRADE

Mutually-exclusive cultural events and audiences

In Belgrade, artists and audiences are regrouped in several cultural models, very rarely crossing from one model to another. The research identified 7 distinct basic cultural models differing one from another not only according to art form, taste cultures, but primarily according to their values and relations toward 'otherness'.(The belonging to certain social class here is of minor importance – the research has shown that for example, high school professors can be found in each of the numbered cultural models, as well as CEOs of large companies – with the exception of the last one)

- cosmopolitan elite culture (visual arts, design);
- nationalist elite culture (dominant form: literature) – Slavonic world oriented;
- Standard urban (global) mass culture (pop and old city music, literary bestsellers) – European oriented;
- Populist culture – neofolk (folk music) – ethnocentered;
- Populist new rich turbo-folk culture (national megalomania and global market values expressed in turbo folk music);

- urban youth subcultures (diversified models through music from gothic to rap) – West oriented;
- traditional culture of ethnic groups (Roma – community oriented, in multicultural environment it means double influence) – mainly expressive music.

Audience make-up

In cultural events in Belgrade audiences are searching 'supplement' for real life. That is the reason why events do not have to be spectacular or glamorous (it is already offered by TV – or shopping malls at least as exhibits), but has to produce high level of excitement, joy, energy... otherwise non-existent in routine, modest daily life. The venues for cultural events are defined for each cultural model, and overlapping are happening only exceptionally. If one even space is been 'discovered' by another cultural model, the first group of audiences spontaneously go away, leaving venue to the newcomers.

LJUBLJANA

The Balkan 'label' in cultural production

'Balkan' is recognized in Slovenia as a heterogeneous designation within the field of culture that dominates all musical genres from the Balkan area (ex-Yugoslavia). The term Balkan itself labels pop, rock, ethnic and folk music ... which makes it a general designation representing the Balkan production (music, film, theatre) and the Balkan popular scene in general, which is – for Slovenes – diametrically opposed to the current dominant global Western scene dictating the Slovenian media discourse. It is for this reason that the fondness of the (mostly) multicultural and the nexus population for the "Balkan scene", may be acknowledged as the "alternative" answer to the Western global consumer-oriented discourse, in that it is seen to preserve the Balkan "identity" cultural pattern.

Audience make-up

In this sense, viewed from an outer perspective, the Balkan nexus audience consists of a heterogeneous population which (in an ad hoc manner) unites the members of different cultures (Croats, Serbians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Albanians) and non-Balkan groups living in Ljubljana with regard to their cultural "taste" and socio-cultural interest, when a matter of cultural production, without prejudice against nationality, religion, age or other possible adherence.

From an inner perspective, the aforementioned Balkan nexus audience differentiates or breaks up into "theoretical sub-groups ", its characteristics relating to different forms of social and cultural practices depending on the configuration of various indicators (of age, education, symbolism-culture, cultural values etc.). We can highlight three stereotypes of theoretical sub-groups of the Balkan nexus audience that, more or less, correspond to the genre division of the Balkan scene: 1) the audience of the commercial or mainstream pop culture (pop, rock, folk, turbo-folk culture), 2) the audience of the alternative culture (rock, alter, hip-hop, jazz, ethno) and 3) the audience of the high or so called world (ethno) culture (theatre, exhibitions, ethno, jazz music).

Table 1.

Audience	Actors		
	Commercial Actors	Non-profit (with or without public funds)	Public
Multi-ethnic audiences	Concerts of the Balkan pop, rock, jazz and ethno-folk music (world music),	Metelkova City clubs and places, KUD FP, Balkan and African refugee bands and urban DJ plays at various festivals, parties or socio – cultural events, exhibitions,	
Almost exclusively Balkan audiences	Turbo-folk and folk concerts with artists from various Balkan regions (mostly divided into Serbian, Bosnian, and Serbian from Bosnia), Turbo clubs with live music and/or live DJ performance	Amateurish evenings at various Societies (Serbian, Macedonian, Croatian, Bosniak etc), plays, concerts or theatre plays organized by various communities based in Ljubljana,	Socio-cultural activities at youth centres and in certain schools (for example organised language courses, courses in drawing etc. for refugee children and youth at KUD FP, Vodnikova Domačija)

Recently, the mainstream pop culture has been the most present and publicly exposed, fuelled by the Croatian, Macedonian and Serbian pop as well as by the Serbian and Bosnian turbo-folk music. The Balkan nexus audience in Ljubljana, which identifies with such a music production (fast music production or the entertainment of a million) and the values (folklore populism) it promotes, belongs to the younger generation (the second and third generation of immigrants) that lives in working-class urban settlements and co-creates a part of the trans-Balkan nexus formed around multinational/international commercial media (TV Pink, radio Salomon, Svet, Scandal).

On the contrary, alternative Balkan nexus audience gathers around independent institutions and independent »nexus« cultural areas (Metelkova mesto, Kud France Prešeren) and uses independent (Mladina) and cross-national media (Cross-radio, Radio Študent). In this way, the alternative Balkan nexus audience represents completely different »image and content« of the trans-Balkan population.

It is necessary to say that, along with the forming of the »Balkan Nexus scene«, various civil movements were created, bringing about the sub-cultural status of the Balkan nexus scene.

Innovation

In both cases, it was obvious that there is a lack of music production on Ljubljana's Balkan nexus scene. There is more sense for innovation and action among cultural societies, which strive to produce different forms of cultural activities (performances, concerts, newspapers) and are, despite the lack of financial assets, quite successful in attracting mostly the members of ethnic groups and of the societies themselves.

An unstable cultural scene

The situation is somewhat different when we talk about the artists of the Balkan nexus scene in Ljubljana/Slovenia. The existing number of local artists who can be said to form a part of the Balkan nexus scene (Magnifico, Zaklonišče prepeva, Miro & Ujdi band, etc.) is insufficient to form a stable local artistic Balkan scene. The very beginnings of a scene can be said to exist, but not in a really distinguishable form.

For a number of years, this gap has been successfully filled by artists from other Balkan countries (Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, etc.). In this sense, Ljubljana has been, rather than the creator of artists, a place to which artists from other areas of the Balkan (Đorđe Balašević, Zdravko Čolić, Severina, Bajramović, Darkwood Dub, Seka Aleksić, Orkestar Sejata Fejdića, Toše Proeski, M. Kitić, Dino Merlin, H. Džinović, Partibrejkersi, etc.) frequently return. The reason for that lies in the high level of popularity these artists have all around Slovenia. Lately, there has been a considerable progress in terms of a two-way cooperation (e.g. Anja Rupel and Toše Proeski, Zdravko Čolić and A. Razbornik from Studio Tivoli, etc.).

Ljubljana as East-West Hub

This is the reason that Ljubljana can be considered as a part of the trans-national east-west connection (Skopje-Beograd-Sarajevo- (Zagreb)-Ljubljana-Vienna-Zürich-Munich-Stuttgart-Berlin-Malmö) and of the nexus network of Balkan cultural events (concerts, theatres, film production, festivals, etc.). To be even more exact, Ljubljana is becoming more and more important in the cultural-geographic area around Vienna as the cultural centre, the city of amalgamation of cultural differences, the point of cooperation (cultural mediator) between East and West. The amount of joint organisation of concerts and festivals (Exit), film co-production (No man's land), etc., points to the ever increasing nexus dynamics of creative cooperation.

VIENNA

Diversity of Artists

Artists performing in Vienna under the 'Balkan' label range from musicians who studied in Bulgaria and the US (like Martin Lubenov) before they moved to Vienna, to those with parents from former Yugoslavia who grew up as 'second generation' children in Vienna and/or other cities and who (re) discovered the cultural heritage of the Balkans after a classical music career (like Sandy Lopičić) or after other occupations (such as Slavko Ninić, the founder and manager of the Tschuschenkapelle (this is a popular band, which performs music from different Balkan countries fused with Vienna songs and has found an increasing following over its 15 years of existence. Its name is an ironic reversal of the ethnic slur 'Tschusch'. Its musicians come from various Balkan countries.)

At a trans- nexus level it should be underlined that there are also successful artists who migrated from former Yugoslavia (as well as other countries of origin), who collaborate with migrants from other countries and/or non-migrant artists (like the DJs Dzihan and Kamien) and who understand themselves as part of a cosmopolitan urban dance music scene, in which national or ethnic background 'does not matter'.

For many artists, Vienna as a location stands for the history and demographic heritage of former gastarbajteri- migration and thus long-standing personal connections to places in former Yugoslavia. Production-wise, connections tend to be established rather with other Western countries however, and performance- circuit- wise the demand in former Yugoslavia has to be measured against lower financial offerings.

Audience make-up

Balkan nexus music audiences generally include migrants and non- migrants, their proportions depending on the respective sub-scene. While turbo folk appeals to a younger pop- audience, Balkan jazz attracts a wider, yet on the average older age-range and more intellectual audience. Between these two extremes some Vienna- based Balkan artists attract a very diverse audience, in terms of age and social background.

Non- migrant audiences of music events in Vienna talked in interviews about being attracted by the stereotypical passion and emotionalism of Balkan music. Identification is based also on the Vienna's self-proclaimed mythical status as the 'most Northern capital of the Balkans'. Many non- migrant audience members name Emir Kusturica's movies and its soundtracks by Bregović as their entry point into 'Balkan music', whereby they mean particularly brass music. Some consider the present Balkan hype however as a passing fad, similar to other world musical trends before.

Audiences of the Gastarbajteri exhibition in Vienna were diverse in relation to background, age, educational level, etc. The 're-invented' the concept of the 'gastarbajter' and its use in the exhibition appealed to many audience-members also in terms of its a-national character. Based on its inclusiveness, it highlighted furthermore the trans-nexus dimensions of migration to Vienna, which was particularly visible in the exhibition stand that dealt with different forms of migrants' activism and self-organisation.

6.1.3. Artists and Publics: The Turkish Nexus

There are a number of key points to be made about artists and publics in the Turkish nexus:

MUSIC

Diversity of Music Production

There are as many different types of cultural activities as people's interests. As is the case with any other group, migrants' interests are shaped by such factors as class, lifestyle, income, aspirations, age, gender, political ideology, taste and social networks. Different types of cultural events, therefore, have their own consumer or fan base, their own distinctive style of presentation and use of space. Migrant populations, like anybody else, want to carry on with their cultural activities in the ways they have been doing all along in their countries of origin. Cultural activities serve ordinary purposes, such as

entertainment, socialisation, and the confirmation of one's taste or style. Different types of cultural events, therefore, have their own consumer or fan base, their own distinctive style of presentation and use of space. Turkish music production covers a wide range of genres. For example in Berlin, music production ranges from Ottoman classical music, folk, *Halk Müziği* wedding music, Arabesk, and Turkish pop music. The folk and *Halk Müziği* genres attract rather small and exclusively Turkish audiences. *Halk Müziği* is the most popular genre played among musicians based in Berlin, and one which is relatively rewarding financially. However, most musicians who aim for a professional career in music are to be found in the Turkish pop genre, which also produces the highest financial turnover in Turkey's music industry. Arabesk and Turkish Pop Music enjoy great popularity, attract large Turkish audiences on a regular basis, and have the greatest cross-over potential in terms of attracting non-migrant audiences. It is key to note that audiences for cultural events may be very specific taste groups, but the geographic scale at which they are conceived is now beyond the confines of a particular locality, city or nation. Cultural events are now organised as Europe-wide events, with artists touring many cities. A folk music singer, for instance, may have a small fan base in any one city, but as his concerts and records are being promoted in many European cities at the same time, there is an awareness that people within this particular taste group are living right across Europe.

Visibility and Audience make-up

Most cultural events are organised with a particular social or taste group in mind. These specific audiences already exist, and thus there is no need for big publicity campaigns and audience building activities. Often these events are happening unknown to the mainstream (non-immigrant) or larger audience in the host society. There is often very little attempt to market these events outside the particular taste group. However, unsurprisingly, Turkish-origin youth are likely to develop tastes that are different from their parents. These tastes tend to have more in common with those of their friends and peers (who are generally drawn from many different ethnicities and cultures). Some cultural events geared towards young audiences are, thus, crossover events, such as hip-hop events, bringing together youth from different communities. Unlike the cultural life of their parents, which is largely invisible, theirs has considerable visibility. All of these events take place outside the reach of the cultural institutions, and rarely attract non-immigrant audiences even if these are not explicitly excluded. Many of them rely on artists, institutions and artistic work imported from Turkey.

Attempts to attract multi-ethnic audiences do exist in Berlin, and are the result of efforts made by some cultural institutions such as the Haus der Kulturen and the Werkstatt der

Kulturen, the Heimatklänge Festival and the International Children's Day. Those cultural events aimed (at least to a significant degree) at Turkish immigrant audiences and organised with public funds and city participation have a strongly socio-political character, with 'integration' being a main goal. It is not the artistic quality of cultural performances but rather their beneficial social impact and participatory potential that is given priority. These events thus belong to a range of city- or district-sponsored activities that are connected to youth centres, Volkshochschulen, and other social work institutions. In this context, a Turkish Folk dance group for youngsters is equivalent to a knitting circle for immigrant mothers. Framing cultural policies in the terms of socio-cultural objectives (be it integration, as it is in Vienna or Berlin to some extent, or neighbourhood renewal, as is the case in London) stifles creativity and encourages migrant cultural producers to seek recognition and financial rewards elsewhere. This – what we can call 'creativity drain' – is an unfortunate outcome for city contexts. There are no 'top-down' (i.e. organized and/or funded by public authorities) offerings of cultural events for the Turkish community in London. There are, indeed, some occasions when an internationally renowned Turkish artist is invited to take part in a major international show or event. But there are few occasions when a non-Turkish event organiser puts together an event with Turkish themes. There are exceptions such as events organised by the 'second-generation' for example Gayhane/Çilli Bom in Berlin. These are gay/lesbian 'oriental' music nights which attract a wide ethnic range within the queer community.

Closely linked with the visibility issue is the question of distribution structures. For example, a large disadvantage facing Turkish musicians in Germany is the dual distribution structure which keeps Turkish music out of mainstream German music stores. Turkish music CDs and tapes are available only in Turkish stores, many of them general import-export stores, at about half the price of music CDs sold in mainstream stores. It is questionable whether migrant audiences would pay a higher price, since they can quite easily obtain CDs and tapes directly from Turkey. But the downside of this is that Turkish music almost never manages to register in the German charts, which are based on CD sales in mainstream stores. Several musicians and people involved in the promotion of Turkish music as producers, organisers and distributors pointed out that Turks could make their musical presence felt in Germany only if music sales could enter the mainstream charts, and that they would in fact be highly successful if sales numbers were translated into the German chart system. This would make for a different kind of media presence on music channels such as MTV or the German VIVA, and thus acquaint non-migrant German audiences with music from Turkey. This in turn could open the

doors for locally based Turkish artists, who might find it easier to get media attention and potential recording contracts with German companies.

Efforts have been made recently to switch sales distribution systems for a few of Turkey's major pop stars, who have already a moderate degree of public recognition in Germany by way of tourism and the Eurovision Song Contest. Turkey's main pop diva Sezen Aksu had her last album sold in German mainstream stores, with a huge advertising campaign encouraging Turkish migrant customers to buy it there. Songs not released on the CD in Turkey were added to make this move more attractive. Another pop star well-known among migrants, Mustafa Sandal, released a video that featured a popular Turkish-German music channel presenter with a 'rap' interlude. It promptly was shown on the music channel VIVA and achieved some degree of success by entering the German charts (Bax 1999, 2003; Dallach 2003).

Despite these forays into the German music market, musicians in Berlin have had scant opportunity to reach out to Turkish audiences, not to mention non-migrant audiences. Turkish commercial media venues are reluctant to promote local artists, since they need to attract consumers with famous names. Not even the local 24-hour radio station Metropol FM promotes local artists, with the exception of the occasional remix production being broadcast in late-night dance programmes (11.06.03). The slump in concert events has also negatively affected local musicians, who have sometimes been able to get on stage as support acts for more famous names from Turkey.

In London, our research has also revealed a closed stance of mainstream distribution/exhibition operators and funding bodies with respect to promoting and supporting cultural activities coming from migrant backgrounds. There is now a new climate of suspicion, following the September 11 attacks, regarding the migrant populations and their transnational connections.

Transnationalistion and Commercialisation (Entrepreneurialism)

One of the consequences of a somewhat closed distribution system in Europe, is that Turkish musicians have developed more transnational and entrepreneurial (commercial) modes of cultural production. For example, in Berlin, almost all of them look towards Turkey in planning their careers, and have little hope that their talents will receive recognition and financial rewards in Berlin or Germany. Many of them have made efforts to produce a CD in Turkey, but few of them have anything positive to report on their experiences. Musicians generally state that the music industry in Turkey, with the headquarters in Unkapani, Istanbul, is highly unreliable. Musicians generally have to make a large financial investment in the production of their own work, with little accurate

information on actual sales figures and ways to actually obtain royalties due. Yet, given the lack of visibility of Turkish artists in German music media forums, many musicians nevertheless mobilise private contacts to media professionals and cultural industry professionals in Turkey, often through family links, in order to promote their careers. However, despite these pressures on artists, there is a vibrant cultural scene in Berlin, including concerts given by famous artists brought in from Turkey or Turkish DJ nights organised by Berlin's Turkish radio station Metropol FM. The Turkish embassy also organises a benefit concert for earthquake victims, a large number of orchestras plays at weddings every weekend, concerts by different artists are often part of political and religious gatherings of different kinds.

This transnationalisation often goes hand in hand with professionalisation which is why we see the development of cultural entrepreneurialism within the Turkish nexus. The transnationalisation of Turkish cultural production is not only to do with lack of visibility in 'countries of settlement'. It is also linked with the fact that Turkish-speaking audiences for cultural events are increasingly becoming fragmented, with community- or politics-driven cultural activism no longer able to provide a reason for the whole community to get together. As local markets are too small for capitalisation, cultural entrepreneurs are looking for bigger markets for economies of scale reasons. If one strategy is to go for professionally-organised mega or blockbuster events with openly commercial objectives, the other is to target similar taste-markets across national borders. We could call this process one of cultural commercialisation, where politically- or ideologically-driven and community-led non-commercial enterprises (what we may term niche cultural products: ethnic identity or religious, and kinship identity-driven cultural activities) get weaker. Instead we witness a process whereby major blockbuster-type entertainment forms from Turkey enter into mainstream cultural circulation in London, Berlin and Vienna simultaneously. Here we have in mind blockbuster films, like *Vizontele*, *Vizontele Tuuba* and *GORA*, and dance shows like *Flames of Passion*, drawing in tens of thousands of spectators. These cultural products have been screened and staged in central city locations, with the aim of becoming visible to a wider population and attracting non-Turkish audiences as well. Parallel to this process, we also see an increase in taste-driven commercial artistic activities, such as the music activities of the London based electro-oriental music group Oojami, targeting particular music audiences across Europe, or the fringe theatre - Arcola Theatre - run by a Turkish stage director, targeting London's fringe theatre audience with quality-driven products from around the world. An important aspect of these 'taste-driven' products is that they are run by artists rather than activists or entrepreneurs. We find that in Berlin, London and Vienna, there are such examples of Turkish-origin artists who become confident and known over time, so as to be able to

generate funding and engage in artistic and cultural activities that appeal to wider audiences. However, we find that cultural diversity policies in these three different settings are equally inadequate in addressing the emerging transnationalism of migrant populations.

THEATRE

Turkish-language theatre in Berlin goes back to the 1970s (Karcı 2002, Prinzinger 2004). First established in one of Berlin's Volkshochschulen, adult education institutions which still today provide a wide range of arts and education options, the famous theatre manager and director Peter Stein set up a Turkish-language company at his well-known theatre Schaubühne in the Western part of the city. Unlike other domains of artistic production, Turkish theatre thus started out with a relatively secure budget, even though it was a group of amateurs who provided the initial impulse. As one of the former members stated, it was the combination of literature, arts and poetry coming together in theatre which prompted first-generation immigrants to opt for this cultural form.

In 1984, he and others founded the Turkish theatre Tiyatrom, literally: my theatre. Soon enough, however, some of the founding supporters publicly distanced themselves from the project, accusing Tiyatrom productions of lacking quality and care. Ever since, a continuous conflict has surrounded its work, with a range of independent Turkish theatre groups in the city criticising not only the Tiyatrom's productions, but also the fact that it receives Senate funding (Türkoğlu 2003). It obtains more than half of the budget the Senate allocates for the 'Project Support in the Area of Cultural Activities of Citizens of Foreign Descent' (Projektförderung im Bereich der kulturellen Aktivitäten von Bürgerinnen/Bürgern ausländischer Herkunft, Senatsverwaltung 2003). It has originally been established to offer competitive project grants for which eligible groups and individuals can apply once a year, but it has turned into a kind of institutionalised support for the Tiyatrom. What is more, within German-Turkish circles there is a heated and ongoing debate as to the lack of quality productions at the Tiyatrom, and the exclusive reign of some theatre producers to the disadvantage of other groups and individuals producing Turkish or German-Turkish theatre in the city.

Intended as a kind of affirmative action tool to increase participation of immigrant and postmigrant artists, the fund for 'citizens of foreign descent' has become something of a trap, keeping artists out of other funding circuits which offer considerably more money and/or institutional continuity. A Senate Administration representative for the fund stated that the advisory council which makes funding decisions in the area of non-

institutionalised theatre projects regularly turns away Turkish applicants, advising that they should rather submit an application to the 'foreign descent' fund.

Both the Tiyatrom and other theatre groups in the city have close ties to theatre companies in Turkey. At the *Diyalog* Turkish Theatre Festival that is organised once a year, productions from Turkey are shown together with local productions, panel discussions and the like. Theatre activists agree that Turkish theatre in Berlin, and in Germany as a whole, needs a new, young generation of actors and producers who can make their mark both in Turkish and in German. A commission has been set up to develop perspectives of how to turn the Tiyatrom into an intercultural location for theatre in the city, and secure its financial basis (Interview: 28.08.03). The question is, however, if young qualified actors and producers would be content with dedicating their energies to a theatre institution which receives comparatively little attention from audiences and mainstream German media.

In London, the situation regarding theatre is quite different and those projects that do succeed in securing public funding often do so not as Turkish cultural activities. Arcola Theatre, for instance, which is situated in the heart of London's Turkish community, run by a Turkish theatre director, often struggles to get funding from public resources, and, when it is successful, this is on the basis of other criteria, such as artistic excellence or innovativeness.

FILM

Turkish-German filmmaking can be considered one of the most successful areas of immigrant and postmigrant cultural production in Berlin and in Germany as a whole. With several Turkish- or Kurdish-German filmmakers such as Fatih Akin, Neco Çelik, Buket Alakuş, Yüksel Yavuz, Thomas Arslan, Hussi Kutlucan and Ayşe Polat receiving awards and recognition at national as well as international festivals, their recent role has even been described as re-invigorating German filmmaking as a whole. In terms of content, their films have begun to move beyond circling around Turkish-German issues, and instead describe and narrate intercultural and transcultural realities that characterise Berlin and Germany today (Interview: 08.10.03, 04.04.04). Whereas some years ago, Turkish-German filmmakers reported difficulties with getting funding for film projects that were not migration- or ethnic identity-related, the situation has improved. The media response, however, does not necessarily perceive these shifts in content.

When Fatih Akin's film *Against the Wall* was presented at the 2004 Berlin Film Festival – it eventually won the Golden Bear – journalists at the press conference kept returning to the question of how representative the film was of Turkish-German family dilemmas

today. Not granting the filmmaker to invent her or his own story, the expectation is that Turkish-German films have to ‚speak for‘ migrant populations or generations in Germany. However, the increasing international success of German-Turkish filmmakers suggests that they might be able to transcend this limited interpretative vision, and German media representatives in turn might be prompted by their success to shift their perspectives. Turkish film more broadly seems to be generating wider appeal. Popular cultural products from Turkey, such as a big blockbuster film, are the only forms of cultural events that do manage to bring together different taste groups from within the Turkish population. This was revealed by the London Turkish Film Festival, where recently two Turkish blockbuster films had their British premieres in the West End of London, and were reviewed in the major English-language cinema magazines. This initiative, led by the organiser of the London Turkish Film Festival, connects into, and benefits from, the increasing visibility of Turkish culture all across Europe.

6.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries

6.2.1. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries: The African Nexus

Three Types of Event

In the field of African nexus urban cultural life we have identified the following economic orientated cultural sectors:

- 1) Public cultural institutions and cultural institutions ‘in the public interest’ (Institutions established by the government or local authorities, such as state founded theatres, galleries, museums, national heritage institutions etc.)
- 2) Civic, voluntary non-profit organisations (Cultural associations, cultural centres, societies, amateur arts societies, student radio stations, cultural forums, etc.)
- 3) Commercial (profit oriented) Private market profit-oriented commercial cultural industry (Music, fine arts markets, commercial broadcasters, film, concert producers, CD-producers etc.)

Once again Paris and Rome are fairly different in terms of their private and public culture sectors. Nevertheless there are some parallels between the two cities. First of all, both cities present a complex matrix of public and private culture professionals which leads to a heterogeneous range of cultural events in the cities. These include high-profile initiatives undertaken by public urban and cultural policy institutions (organised by functionaries of non-migrant background) which stage concerts or festivals that have serve a dual agenda: promoting a cosmopolitan and international image for the city and

cultural democratisation to a lesser extent (examples would be the Estate Romana in Rome or perhaps the *Paris Quartier d'été* in Paris). There are also those events organised by established cultural institutions (such as the Auditorium in Rome or the Théâtre de la Ville in Paris). Both of these types of event are publicly funded and tend to target non-migrant audiences through their programming and communication – *Paris Quartier d'été* may go further in attracting mixed audiences due to its location in public parks and gardens around the city). In addition to these more high-profile events, there are those that are organised by NGOs and cultural associations (Alpheus, La Dolce Vita, Etnobar, La Palma Club, Black House, Black Planet, Global Village (Vilaggio globale), la Centrifuga, Bok Khalat, Ex Snia Viscosa in Rome. La Médina, Solimed, Taferka, Eurosud in Paris). Finally there are those events which are organised *commercially* by immigrant communities (for example Harissa Music, New Bled Collective, Kanto/Espace M in Paris).

The commercial cultural event, organised by migrant or post-migrant culture professionals is far more common in Paris than it is in Rome, where the cultural association, NGO sector is more active. In Paris, commercial ventures amongst the Malagasy and North African communities have often grown out of associational activities and in this way it is possible to see the move from NGO/cultural association to commercially-organised cultural events in terms of professionalisation – a process which accelerates as migrants become more established in a city. The greater degree of professionalisation is also reflected in Paris through the existence of the *souk business* and numerous record shops selling wide varieties of North African and Middle Eastern music, particularly in the Barbès area of the city.

Nevertheless, despite the greater degree of self-commercial-organisation amongst culture professionals of North African and Malagasy origin in Paris, distribution networks into the 'mainstream' record stores is not always so straightforward for artists of migrant background – especially for those who do not easily slot into the 'world music' section for well-known artists in the bigger music stores.

Other Key Issues in Rome

Some immigrant communities organise cultural events on their own. These initiatives, still very limited in number, involve famous artists invited mostly from the immigrants' country of origins, and are characterised by very limited participation of Italians in audience. Events of this kind request from the immigrant community a high level of self-organisation, and availability of resources, in terms of funding and venues. Some of artists after having been invited to Italy, organise concerts for immigrant communities in other European cities. Nevertheless, it seems that these very few nexus flows between

European cities when these artists are concerned. More frequently they are hosted by the communities in Paris and London, but without activating ties with their communities living in Italian cities. Although African artists and culture professionals in Rome look towards Paris and London and try to create links there, it is nevertheless difficult to establish meaningful ties due to a lack of infrastructure and funds within Italy. Restrictive immigration and entry visa regulations also pose a considerable obstacle to the development of cultural exchange and the mobility of artists. Different cultural organisers reported the fact that Italian Embassies in the Maghreb countries and Senegal have refused to grant entry visas to Italy for different musicians in recent years, assuming that they would aim at overstaying and finding illegal employment in the country.

Immigrant artists who organise concerts and/or record CDs have difficulties in finding suitable performance venues (theatres or cinemas for instance) and/or production firms that are willing to collaborate with musicians like them, who are not already known in a wider public.

The *Compagnia Nuove Indye* (CNI) is an independent Italian record company which was founded in 1992, and gives an opportunity to immigrant and other not well-known musicians to record and sell their music outside of the usual labels and distribution networks. In the field of promotion and distribution, CNI has endeavoured to create a special rapport with radio stations, music outlets and the general music public, believing in the importance of communicating views and opinions and developing a coherent working relationship. As a result the company has created an efficient distribution network (the promotion and sale of records and the organisation of special events and shows all over Italy) and a network of radio partners and tried and tested music clubs. Another record company was founded in 2000, '*Etichetta indipendente*', following the similar objectives and promoting new musicians, among which also immigrants.

6.2.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries: The Balkan Nexus

BELGRADE

Belgrade artists' work tends to very localised – over three quarters of those studied in the project sell their music and perform in Belgrade, about a quarter of them manage to 'export' themselves to other former Yugoslav states and about a quarter manage to perform and sell their 'products' outside of 'South East Europe'. The private commercial Belgrade based Pink TV serves as a central outlet for turbo folk music. Like the popular yellow press/tabloid magazine Svet plus, Pink TV has an offer designed for audiences from the whole area of former Yugoslavia and can thereby maximise its scope.

Independent and community media, especially the private non-commercial radio stations and a range of mailing lists and other internet platforms provide for the announcement of events and promotion of artists. NGOs (often financed through European programmes as Equal) have an important role in facilitating access of young people (2nd generation) to skills and knowledge needed for cultural professions. They provide training programmes which the formal education system does not provide or which are only available in the private (and hence costly) education sector.

It is also frequently NGOs (as Initiative Minorities in the case study on the Gastarbajteri exhibition, the second generation youth organisation ECHO, the migrant women organisation MAIZ in several collaborative, cultural projects) that facilitate an actual process of negotiation about forms and modes of representation between mainstream cultural locations or institutions and artists/cultural producers and audiences relevant to the nexus.

LJUBLJANA

The rehabilitation of the Balkan scene has undoubtedly meant the opening of a new market niche in the form of mass media, consumer audiences. However, everyday realities are circumscribed and determined by the forces of economy and processes of marginalisation/exclusion and social integration/inclusion. To trace complex relations of this larger type, we tried to 'map' Balkan nexus (multicultural and diasporic) cultural industries and cultural sectors according to various material and ideological co-ordinates of the city. Through this process of geographical and/or virtual mapping of Balkan nexus culture we draw several conclusions concerning the current situation in Ljubljana.

Cultural Actors and Economic sectors

In the field of Balkan nexus urban culture we have identified the following economic orientated cultural sectors: (see below)

- 1) Public cultural institutions and cultural institutions 'in the public interest' (Institutions established by the government or local authorities, such as state founded theatres, galleries, museums, national heritage institutions etc.).
- 2) Civic (for the lack of a better expression) Voluntary non-profit organisations (Cultural associations, cultural centres, societies, amateur arts societies, student radio stations, cultural forums, etc.).

- 3) Commercial (profit oriented) Private market profit-oriented commercial cultural industry (Music, fine arts markets, commercial broadcasters, film, concert producers, CD-producers etc.

Table 2.

Type	Actor	Cultural Institutions and Practices
Public	Public cultural institutions and cultural institutions 'in the public interest'	Institutions established by the government or local authorities, such as state founded theatres, galleries, museums, national heritage institutions etc.
Civic	Voluntary non-profit organisations	Cultural associations, cultural centres, societies, amateur arts societies, student radio stations, cultural forums, etc.
Commercial	Private market profit-oriented commercial cultural industry	Music, fine arts markets, commercial broadcasters, film, concert producers, CD-producers etc.

Cultural actors

The type of economic sector determines the type of actors (cultural institutions) and their practices. The privileged 'places' where Balkan nexus culture are most likely to be found in Ljubljana are the *civic* (non-profit) and *commercial* (profit oriented) sectors.¹ Almost all multicultural and diasporic productions are situated within two opposite sectors (non-profit and profit). As it may be expected, this means that there is quite a gap between them in the sense of finance and ideology. Institutionally, the public sector is dominated by the great traditional institutions of national culture.²

¹ The situation is very similar in the media (see the media report).

² Ideologically, it is under the hegemony of the specific post-1989 'nationalist' ideology, often containing strong elements of what has been analysed as 'post-fascism'. Although the government, especially at the higher levels, officially adheres to the policies of multiculturalism and cultural diversity, it is unable (or perhaps unwilling) to carry them out in practice. For example, the problems of the Roma community; the 30-years old problem of the Muslim religious community with the City of Ljubljana regarding the permission to build a mosque; the unregulated status of the 'immigrants' from other ex-Yugoslav republics; the scandal of the 'erased' (18,305 non-citizens from the republics of former Yugoslavia were unconstitutionally deprived of their right to permanent residence in Slovenia on February 26, 1992. Despite two rulings of the Constitutional Court in 1999 and 2003 and a strong human-rights mobilisation, the government has so far not dealt with the affair).

Cultural orientation

The starting point of our research was to find the line of distinction between art-oriented and socio-politically oriented or committed art/culture. Actually this distinction is better known as polarisation between 'high and low culture'. According to our survey of the preliminary results, multiculturalism, minorities' cultures, syncretisms etc. are to be found in the domain of the socio-politically committed or 'low' cultures. Contribution of the arts-oriented culture to multiculturalism has been, at least during the recent period (approximately from 1991 on), almost negligible. With the exception of some exchanges of the national and established theatres (in the year 2002) and some exhibitions supported by various national embassies (in the years 2002, 2003), there have been no multicultural activities within the established national culture.

Events in Ljubljana

Table 3.

Type	Orientation	
	Arts-oriented ('high')	Socio-political ('low')
Multicultural focus	Classical concerts, theatre, presentation of various cultures from the Balkans based on institutional exchange	Various festivals (Street Explosion (Metelkova)), Trnifest (Trnovo Festival), NGO festival Lupa (Metelkova), Druga Godba (Križanke), Reggae sessions and festivals (Metelkova, Kud FP, Tolmin), (open) Jazz sessions (Sax Pub), organised by diverse actors and sponsors
No such focus	Some literary exhibitions organised by different embassies	DJ Music (clubs) and live music (private gatherings), concerts at the occasion of various manifestations and demonstrations, live music at weddings and in the particular restaurants with specific cultural food etc.

Socio-politically engaged arts/cultures, as distinguished from the arts-oriented culture, have developed quite stable networks among various non-profit organisations (cultural centres). They are politically on the left (at the alternative, non-mainstream) and have 'given' asylum to various genres of the alternative, non-mainstream, a-national, experimental etc. productions and practices. These cultural spaces are related to the ideology of multiculturalism, to mechanisms of positive discrimination, refugee problems, defending and fighting for human rights etc.

Our specification (see table 1) shows difference in the quantity of events provided by non-profit institutions which are involved in these virtual networks and engaged in multicultural flows. All the mentioned festivals and programme-oriented cultural places are representatives of multicultural forms mostly through music and less through other forms of artistic production (film, theatre etc.). For that reason, musical events have imposed themselves as the paradigmatic and relevant models for our research.

Research results indicate that it is necessary to make a distinction between the commercial and the non-profit types of the producers/productions. Commercial actors provide globally and locally known Balkan stars. On one hand, they promote the global Balkan music or the so called 'world music' (Goran Bregović, Boban Marković Orchestra, Mostar Sevdah Reunion, etc.); on the other hand, they promote performers who, although less known across the world and in Europe, are regionally famous (Balkan) stars (singers and players of popular music, turbo-folk oriented music, former Yugoslav pop and rock bands etc.). These 'regional Balkan celebrities' operate across the region comprising Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece, the ex-Yu diaspora across the world, and, *to a certain extent*, Slovenia (the big cities in Slovenia). All bigger commercial events are held at the same places (Križanke, Hala Tivoli, Hala Domžale, Hala Kodeljevo etc.) without exception. The difference between commercial events for multi-ethnic audience or exclusively for the Balkans nexus audiences is defined with the reference to the performer and the musical genre.

The situation at the events organised by non-profit concert organisations is altogether different. Significantly different are, firstly, the (alternative) locations where the events (literary events, theatre, rock, ethno, indie etc. events) are held. We can make a distinction between the 'alternative locations' for the Balkan *alternative* events³, and the locations where concerts and events for minority communities are held (minority cultural societies, minority amateur arts, minority cultural centres). In Ljubljana there are a few alternative spaces such as Metelkova, KUF FP, Bunker, which are homes for 'Balkan godba' (Balkan music). This situation proves that multiculturalism is placed and practiced in the same environment as the alternative cultural practices. This could be used as a proof against government recriminations against (and occasional criminalisation of) the alternative scene. To be more precise, it seems that the Balkan alternative scene is

³ When we mention the 'alternative', we do not exclusively have in mind alternative music, but more largely locations defined as 'alternative' with the reference to a specific ideology and to specific practices (developed mostly during the 1980s) which embrace and nurture a large scale of differences (also in the sense of diverse music).

pushed towards the same position as the alternative scene in general – towards the phantom position of the dangerous, untidy, incomprehensible 'other'.

Popular Balkan music (pop/rock, ethno or folk/turbo folk) plays an important role in the construction of cultural identities of the Balkans minorities in Slovenia. According to cultural taste, it is possible to distinguish three different flows. A) The *folk* flow is popular with the older population and the older 'new immigrant' population. B) *Turbo folk* is the present mainstream in folk production and it is popular among younger population and younger immigrant population.⁴ This population is not oriented only towards the turbo folk, they also enjoy other Balkan music forms, such as pop/rock, or more widely accepted urban forms of music, such as hip-hop, techno, dance music etc. C) The third flow could be understood as the *alternative*. They reject folk and turbo folk music as trash music. But they widely accept Balkan and Roma ethno music.

On the basis of this 'taste' or 'genre' distinctions, it is possible to conclude to the following:

- 1) Popular Balkan music as a part of the cultural industry (regardless of the genre) feeds former Yugoslavian diaspora population with musical products popularised in their home countries. This cultural industry is exporting to former Yugoslav communities throughout Europe and beyond. Cultural industry, especially folk and turbo folk performers, practice touring rituals and bring those particular cultural forms across cultural (state) borders.
- 2) Clubbing and music: Clubs with the Balkan music play an important role in the construction and reproduction of the Balkan cultural identities and music becomes one of the most important carriers of Balkan 'urban culture' and its new identities not only because of the performers' tours organised by records companies, but also through wider mobility, development of media technology, sound conveyors and the Internet.
- 3) Balkan music could be seen as a part of the 'non-official' culture and could be understood as a sort of 'rebel' culture. The rebellion is not contained within the 'idea' (or the concept or the notion) of the Balkan music, but its perception is often rebellious.

⁴ Many of the events organised by local producers of (commercial) turbo-folk and folk music are visited exclusively by the Balkan population. In that sense, we are dealing with (post)modern diaspora Balkan culture.

- 4) There is also a hidden/latent Balkan scene in the city that exists apart from the immigrant-perception and the city/state institutions. Actually, the latent Balkan scene has two different components: there is an 'illegal Balkan scene'; and there are very strong integrated individuals from the Balkans who are not identifying themselves as 'Balkan-immigrants' or have no needs to participate to the 'Balkan-immigrant' socio-cultural institutions.

Cultural practices and effects of our interest seem to be distributed across several 'spheres' which not only have different social meanings and impact, but also have different social implications and institutional construction and social connections. The 'spheres' are heterogeneous and we have not yet developed a theory which would place them into a unified conceptual horizon. Consequently, the following are 'intuitive' categories.

- 1) *Entertainment industry*. This operates across a large area from Bulgaria to Slovenia, and beyond to the post-Yugoslav diasporas across Europe. Has its own institutional networks and 'ideological apparatuses' (from TV programs to CD-producers and distributors to print media and local producers of cultural events). A solid pre-war network of circuits, paradoxically articulated to the newly implanted nationalisms.
- 2) 'Ethnic' culture. Self-organised associations on the 'ethnic' basis, cultivating folkloristic genres, also 'amateur' cultural genres (from choirs to theatre groups). Organisationally under the hat of 'Union of cultural associations of Ljubljana', which traces its tradition back to the 'amateur' culture during socialism, and then back to the pre-Second-World-War workers' cultural clubs of leftist orientation. The 'Union' is presently involved in a low-intensity long-term conflict with the official neo-liberal cultural policy of the City and State authorities. As they put it, they 'fight against the parties'.
- 3) *Gheto-hybridisation*. Paradigmatic example: the marginal mammoth-blocks part of Ljubljana 'Fužine' Ghetoised by the majority population, internally rich in 'ethnic', 'religious' and other syncreties, develops a complex culture of its own. No internal chauvinism or hate. The demarcation-line runs between the majority population and the 'Southerners'. Culturally productive, strong and colourful, but ephemeral and non-documented achievements. Occasionally, though, particular 'products' push out of isolation and into the alternative or marginal pop-scene.
- 4) *Alternative localities*. Metelkova (squat) in the first place. A conglomerate of marginal and alternative cultures. In constant conflict with the city authorities

and the mainstream (national) culture. Now under slow colonisation by the latter. – Highly culturally productive and politically relevant. A gold-mine for our research. The natural focus for any Balkan-influx. – Other similar localities: KUD France Prešeren; Ljudmila... Typically situated on the margins of the city.

- 5) *Radical alternative localities*. The most outstanding: »The Autonomous Zone Molotov«. An anarchistic squat of an abandoned railway station. Culturally productive, politically extremely influential. Confrontations with the police and a private security agency hired by the Railways, at times violent. – Programmatically trans-cultural and Balkan-oriented.

VIENNA

Both recording and distribution channels for Balkan nexus products are largely missing in Vienna. Vienna- based Balkan nexus-artists work mainly with German and other labels outside of Austria. Ljubljana is attributed a mediating role between the 'Balkan' and the 'West' on the Balkan Jazz- concert- circuit, while Belgrade's media institution B92 (TV channel, radio station) has a world music label, too.

'World Music' (still) works as a bracket for various Balkan nexus musics in the selling and promoting process. One of the principal sales points in Vienna are 'Third World' or 'Fair Trade'- shops and a World Music specialist store that also used to deliver to mainstream vendors such as Virgin Megastore and doubles up as record label. Another market is constituted by shops run by migrants, commonly labelled as 'ethnic business'. They sell CDs and tapes from Balkan countries for bargain prizes with the exception of world music labels, which are only available in the previously named outlets.

The jazz circuit operates as one important facilitator of musical products of the Balkan nexus in Vienna, with two festivals, Balkan Fever (in 2004 and 2005) and the Accordion festival, acting as important one- off outlets.

'Balkan jazz' as a genre label expands beyond music from within the borders of former Yugoslavia. It is used for a wide variety of (South) Eastern European musics, including folk from Bulgaria and Romania. Balkan jazz as well as the segment of music from the Balkans, das seinen Weg in die Weltmusikszene gefunden hat, enter increasingly into mainstream locations and productions as e.g. the Vienna festival (Wiener Festwochen).

6.2.3. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries: The Turkish Nexus

BERLIN

Events

In the Berlin migration context, many Turkish cultural events serve an explicitly representational function. In ‚intercultural’ contexts such as the yearly Carnival of Cultures, Turkish folk culture is put on display to signify a national tradition, in line with a dominant multiculturalist paradigm that sees Berlin as a mosaic of different national groups, all of which possess distinct cultures (Frei 2003). In immigrant-only contexts, events with a high-arts orientation such as Sanat music concerts tend to have an educational political orientation, usually staged by socio-economic immigrant elites sympathetic to Turkish state traditions (e.g. Atatürkçü Derneği, Turkish Conservatory). Organisers stress the importance of familiarising young people in particular with the high-cultural Turkish-Ottoman legacy, as a source of pride and cultural distinction in the migration context. Events with a folk orientation are often organized by immigrants who have a minority status in Turkey due to their ethnic, religious or political orientation. Kurdish, Alevi, or Black Sea festivals stress the distinctiveness of minority cultural traditions within Turkey, most often linked to an explicitly political project of struggling for recognition or tolerance in Turkey, not in Germany.

Cultural events which do not foreground group-representational aspects (the nation, the religious or ethnic group) often involve famous artists brought in from Turkey, particularly singers. Genres such as Turkish pop and Arabesk are popular across generations and diverse groups among the Turkish population, and is consumed in a wide range of contexts. Turkish pop and Arabesk music feature importantly at all kinds of festive activities, at weddings, social gatherings, and dances, which usually have next to no non-immigrant participation. Turkish pop might be seen to signify an alternative Turkish modernity to young people, future-oriented and in line with world-wide youth-cultural developments. Turkish pop is the only audio-visual product which currently seeks to cross the strict divide between non-immigrant ‚mainstream’ cultural industries and Turkish cultural industries.

The following is an attempt to highlight distinctions between different kinds of events with Turkish/multicultural components in the city.

Table 4.

1.	Arts oriented ('high')	Socio-political ('low')
Multicultural focus	In Transit Festival; events taking place at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, some also at the Werkstatt der Kulturen; Heimatklänge Festival	Karneval der Kulturen; district festivals organised by district representatives; Çocuk Bayramı; Hip Hop concerts organised by the city against racism, Gayhane, Çilli Bom, Urban Karma
No such focus	Different concerts presenting Turkish Art Music, events organised by the Turkish Conservatory, concerts presenting famous artists from Turkey	Live music at weddings; concerts at political gatherings, Türk Günü, benefit concerts

Table 5.

2.	Commercial Actors	Non-profit (with and without public funds)	Public (municipal, Land, Bund)
Multi-ethnic audiences		International Children's Day, Gayhane, Urban Karma Club, Tiyatrom Theatre Festival and children's plays	Haus der Kulturen, Werkstatt der Kulturen, Karneval der Kulturen, Heimatklänge Festival, city-organised Hip Hop concerts, district festivals
Almost exclusively Turkish audiences	Turkish DJ nights, concerts presenting artists from Turkey without political context, wedding orchestras	Benefit events, political concerts, Türk Günü, Tiyatrom adult Turkish plays	Socio-cultural activities at youth centres and in certain schools

There is a large gap between events that have a kind of world-music or world-culture orientation, designed to acquaint Berliners with 'the best' of musical and cultural performances from all over the world, and events that are designed to involve 'ethnic' artists and amateurs from the city itself.

In the first table (table 4), the first column of high culture events with a multicultural focus, concentrate on artists from 'outside' and thus have an international character. They also have tended to focus on particular world regions or even states, thereby running the danger of reifying culture as a marker of ethnic or national identity. The

involvement of artists actually living in Berlin is accidental, 'they have to be good enough' is the general position of the Senate Administration for Culture and of organisers.

The second column of events in the first table (table 4) have a kind of 'social work' orientation, and 'quality' standards are not an important factor in selecting the participants for public performances. Other standards play a role, for example in the Karneval der Kulturen, where the criteria are the ability to best represent visually a particular culture or organisation. In the case of carnival groups formed with close links to 'carnival cultures' such as those in the Caribbean or South America, we can of course speak of artistic criteria, as carnival is a public art form as much as socio-cultural engagement there. But for most participants, the Karneval der Kulturen is a parade in which they translate culture into public display without considering it an art form that demands a certain level of artistic skill and talent in itself. Neither is it considered as such by the organisers. What is key is the aim of inclusion and multi-ethnic representation that can both educate and entertain, and to create a sense of multicultural community in the city. Correspondingly, city representatives and organisers emphasise the beneficial effects for participants – performative culture as social activity that has an integrative effect, with integration being the key term around which immigrant cultural policy is centred. As mentioned above, the predominant concept of integration sees it as a kind of 'equal representation' in the cultural domain, importantly not so much in the political domain, thus again employing a concept of culture that sees it primarily as an ethnic marker.

Other events attempt to connect audiences explicitly with cultural traditions from Turkey. Thus, EATA, the European association of Turkish academics, runs one of the yearly Children's festivals in the city. As its Berlin director described, the association aims to introduce a typically Turkish festivity that has a 'global' appeal to Berliners of all cultural backgrounds. Having secured the highly symbolic space around the Brandenburg Gate for the event, at the very political and geographic centre of the city, they compete with a second organising group which organises a similar event at the Volkspark Schöneberg on the very same day. The organisational dispute is another example of the fault lines which divide the Turkish population in Berlin along the lines of political, religious and class affiliation. EATA has both the stronger media partner – support by Metropol FM, whereas Radio MultiKulti supports the Volkspark event – and the more attractive location.

Disputes often divide organisations, and lead to parallel structures which compete for audience attention and recognition/funding from the German establishment. The Turkish Music Conservatory and the Turkish-German Music Academy are another case in point, often seeking a public profile with concert events.

As to concerts organised for commercial reasons, many organisers have made losses with their concerts, and some have dropped out business altogether. Several events I attended were clearly not financially rewarding for their organisers, such as the Tarkan concert at a huge sports arena early in 2004, the Ibrahim Tatlisises concert at Tempodrom concert hall, and the Emre Altuğ concert at Disko Metrom. Audiences, artists and organisers named different factors for the decline in concert audiences: the costs of inviting stars from Turkey have grown, and the economic situation of audiences has worsened. Turkish Berliners are disproportionately affected by unemployment and form one of the poorest groups of the city. Another factor is the presence of satellite television: some informants thought that the availability of television images and televised concerts with stars from Turkey had lessened the appeal of going to see them live in Berlin. However, others argued quite the reverse. The Turkish Popstars' concert is an interesting test case: televised for weeks on Kanal D, the final candidates of the show went on a tour through Germany, and also came to Berlin. The concert venue Huxley's had a capacity of about 2000 people, but only around 400 showed up, most of them young teenagers. Audience members thought that maybe the absence of the actual winner had kept the crowds away. Organisers told me that the same concert a few days before in Cologne had sold out. Lack of advertising and bad PR might have played a role.

The concert situation does not improve the chances for local artists. Given that their names are less-known than those of stars from Turkey, organisers are even less likely to take the risk and put them up on stage, even though their expenses would be much smaller. As organisers stated, Turkish audiences in Berlin want to see famous people, unless the occasion is a wedding, or music as background entertainment, as for example in restaurants.

The Turkish dance club scene in the city is an arena in which a new type of organiser has emerged. Young, male (all of the organisers I met were male), and often DJs themselves, they have discovered a new market which to some extent replaces the concert market of cultural events, especially for young people. Dance nights are much cheaper to finance, as one does not have to provide live music, and audiences find it easier to pay 8 to 10 Euros for a night out dancing, rather than paying up to 40 or 50 Euros (or more) for a concert ticket.

Scenes

The concept of scene as developed by Alan Blum (Blum 2002) was used to refer to a genre of events at which the ‚social formation‘ aspect dominates the performance, rather than the artistic-cultural aspect. It is the Turkish clubbing scene, or rather scenes, which are particularly relevant in this context.

Over the past five years, a Turkish clubbing scene has emerged in Berlin which selectively crosses over into other clubbing scenes in the city, particularly into the gay and lesbian club culture. These club scenes present an important development for the social forms they are invoking – not community in the sense the concept tends to be used in the context of multiculturalist paradigms, but rather scenes as selectively open groupings that are fluid and based on voluntary association.

A wide range of club night events promoted to young Turkish audiences is available every weekend. Sogyete Club, Harem-Club, Sultan of DJs, Orient-De-Luxe, Metropol FM Djays Night, Türk De Luxe and others cater to almost exclusively Turkish audiences, targeting different age groups and social strata. It is remarkable that advertising for these events takes place almost exclusively in Turkish-language media, and through flyers and sms- or email-messaging. Posters in the city are sometimes bilingual, sometimes only in Turkish. While organisers did not see their promotional strategies as exclusionary, some visitors at these club nights did stress the importance of being able to party with people who share a Turkish background. At other occasions, however, informants also stressed that they needed an element of ‚strangeness‘, in the sense of being able to encounter new people, in order for the night to be a success. This is captured in Alan Blum’s observation that scenes are a mix of ‚Gemeinschaft‘ and ‚Gesellschaft‘, with not just anyone gaining access, but with a qualified strangeness being an important element without which a scene could not function.

While the early 1990s saw a host of Turkish discotheques emerging, people now prefer the flexibility of changing club nights, with one and the same party concept moving to different locations in the city. Some organisers take great care to host their parties at ‚high-class‘ locations, often in the fashionable city district of Mitte, as a strategy of distinction that removes young Turkish people from their low-class and ‚uncultured‘ image, such as Gemi de luxe, Sogyete Club, Türk de luxe. A queer-oriental club night, Gayhane, takes place once a month at the Kreuzberg venue SO36, in the heart of a neighbourhood known for its high number of Turkish residents but also for its gay and lesbian population. Playing Turkish and Arabic music mixed with eclectic tunes from

Greece, Israel and elsewhere, Gayhane attracts and aims for a crowd that is very mixed in terms of ethnic backgrounds, sexual orientations and gender expressions.

Intended as a space where lesbians and gays with immigrant backgrounds can feel at home, it achieves a greater degree of 'diversity' than most other Berlin party nights. And even though Berlin's mainstream queer venues and club nights are not known to employ racist door policies, they rarely make an effort to reach out to gays and lesbians with immigrant background.

LONDON

Global cities like London are being transformed and re-configured through the transnational networking of immigrant communities. This is what has been termed 'transnationalism from below', whereby, alongside global linkages and flows of capital, information and professionals, migrants are active agents in connecting localities across urban boundaries. What are the implications of this trans-localism for cities? Research so far has looked at the economic nature of transnational networks (e.g. remittances for instance), at political aspects (e.g. long-distance nationalism), and at communitarian aspects (e.g. religious pan-national networks). What we have been doing in our project has been to look at cultural networks and mobilities brought to action by migrant communities. Our central agenda has been concerned with the implications of cultural networking that migrants are involved in for their engagement in the life and future of the city, and the implication for our common urban lives. We have found that there are different modalities of cultural networking. In the Turkish transnational socio-cultural space, Europe, with its many cities with sizeable Turkish migrant populations, is emerging as an important reference and hub.

The evolving and constantly deepening migrant cultural networks across spaces are partly driven by identity logics, that is to say people's desire to continue connecting in to their familiar cultural references. The consequence of this 'identity logic' at the city level in Europe is that Turkish migrants use their city spaces – the places in which they live – as cultural spaces to perform cultural events that satisfy this 'identity logic'. However, in the context of transnationalisation, through transnational networking, Turkish cultural production in London, for instance, is de-minoritised: Turkish migrants are now able to connect into a much bigger Turkish cultural space.

There is now a new cultural modality emerging, as a result of the mixing of economic and identity logics.

There are now various ways in which migrant cultural activity is being opened up in terms of exchange, participation and consumption, at a much wider scale than before. Cultural products are becoming more mixed, hybrid and syncretised.

Whilst in the past, Turkish migrant cultural practices were generally non-economic in character, now Turkish cultural operators need to be able to sell their products to their audiences. Commerce and logic of the cultural economy force the identity logic to open up. It is not possible to rely on any one particular 'identity group' to sell one's cultural products. Cultural operators need to appeal to broader audiences to recoup the costs of bringing expensive concerts or films to European cities.

Many migrant cultural producers are seeking to collaborate more with mainstream cultural intermediaries. There are increasing attempts at bringing cultural events to the attention of the host society. See Turkish nexus results section on artists and publics (film) for more details on this – notably the London Turkish Film Festival.

Cultural professionals have been compelled to become professionalised. Cultural events within the Turkish community in London are increasingly being linked to local cultural training and production activities. Local talents are discovered and trained at these local venues/organisations. Local talents, however, are not able to realise the aspiration of recording an album in London. There are as yet no music production facilities within the Turkish community, and the high costs involved in using the very sophisticated music production industry in London deter people. Aspiring musicians have found the solution to this by doing production deals in Turkey, and then bringing their products to be sold in Europe.

New strategies are developed in order to appeal to bigger audiences. The development of festivals and of DJ platforms are good examples.

6.3. Media

Our research with regards to the media involved an assessment of the significance of radio and TV in the cultural life in the cities, tracing transnational connections in media with a focus on the nexuses; an analysis of different approaches of media organisations regarding issues of multiculturalism, cultural diversity and social inclusion and an analysis of programme outputs by/aimed at specific groups (nexuses).

6.3.1. Media: The African Nexus

Migrants in the Media

In both France and Italy, there is limited visibility of minorities in the public media (television and radio), although the situation is slowly improving in France where there has been recent acknowledgement by the public media sector (*France Télévisions*) that it needs to work towards greater diversity in all areas of its broadcasting activities. Indeed, the Raffarin government recently commissioned the Haut Conseil à l'Intégration to conduct a study of cultural diversity and common culture in France's media. The outcome of this study was a report entitled *Cultural Diversity and Common Culture in the Media* (2004) and a national conference held at the Institut du monde arabe in April 2004, around this theme (the conference title was 'Pale Screens? Cultural Diversity and Common Culture in the Media').

The Significance of Media and Cultural Life

With regards to the question of how the media reflect the cultural life in our cities, it is interesting to note that in both Paris and Rome, the Internet is becoming increasingly important as a tool of information and in some cases it is superseding the role carried out by more traditional media (such as certain radio programmes). Examples of key websites are Planète DZ or croissance.com (Paris) or ilpassaporto.kataweb.it.

Media Consumption

In relation to the issue of media 'consumption', the growth of satellite channels are very important for North African migrant and post-migrant audiences in particular, with the Senegalese and Malagasies being less concerned. The growth in the number of satellite packages available and the broadcasting of programmes from France to the Maghreb (and not just the other way round) point to the multi-directional nature of media flows and the transnationalisation of media audiences.

However, once again, the mediascape in Rome reflects the more recent settlement of migrants in Italy and contrasts with the self-confidence and variety of a post-migrant media landscape in Paris. Hence the following points below relate more directly to Paris and Rome individually.

PARIS

In Paris, our research focused on three types of media provision more generally. In particular, we focused on radio stations of three types: public, commercial and associative stations. Our choice to focus on radio stations was based on the significance of this media regarding localised urban cultural life.

Public Radio - Our research into public radio and their diversity-relevant programme output reveals that migrant populations tend to be conceptualised above all in terms of integration and social issues (cf. *Planète Métisse*- a radio programme broadcast on RFI (*Radio France Internationale*). Broadcasts about Culture seem detached from post-migrant populations living in European cities and where these do engage with diverse forms artistic production, the focus is very much on the world music international scenes rather than on local city-based perspectives.

Commercial Radio - Our research on commercial thematic radio stations such as *Beur FM* revealed that the 'ethnic minority' model is generally rejected by such stations as is the idea that such stations might be an integration tool for migrant populations. It's programmes about Culture living in Europe. Rather, such stations are resolutely transnational in their remit and multidirectional in the sense that their programming etc. is not purely diasporic (home country-originating country).

Associative ('third sector') Radio - this type of radio station is a more common form of migrant and/or culturally diverse media. These types of radio station reveal a clear citizen dynamic which is clearly of a Parisian or local nature yet simultaneously connected into translocal and transnational connections as well. In other words, there is a broader political project which brings together the different communities active within one radio station - this is configuration is found for example in *Radio Fréquence Paris Plurielle*.

Media and Visibility of Migrant Cultural Production

The media appear to collude in the creation of parallel and 'unequal' music scenes in Paris. Media coverage (radio, television, press and Internet) of concerts and festivals work within the spatial, social and cultural divisions of the city, to the extent that it is generally only the marketable and hybridity-packed 'world music' artists whose work is made visible/audible through media which are readily associated with 'Parisian cultural life' - *Zurban, Libération, Mondomix, Télérama, Lylo, Radio Nova*. Yet, the less 'world music'-oriented musicians are made visible/audible only through the more 'community' channels - *Radio Beur FM, Planète-DZ website, Echoes du Capricorne radio show, Radio Africa No. 1*. Of course, such media serve a specific purpose and respond to specific

demands. However, the fact that certain artists and cultural events organisers relinquish working with more 'mainstream' media because their press releases are ignored due to the perception that their activities are 'ethnic' and therefore marginal events, needs to be highlighted.

There are a number of small associative radio stations (e.g. the *Echos du Capricorne* programme which is hosted by *Radio Fréquence Paris Plurielle*) which are important in the publicising of otherwise less 'visible' cultural events in the city. However, some of these radio stations are coming under increasing pressure due to the competition posed by the development of websites. Websites such as *croissance.com* or *plantete.dz* become key players therefore in the less visible cultural scenes. Indeed, Internet plays a key role in enhancing visibility, locally and at a transnational level. Some websites such as *bledconnexion.com* now list cultural events and concerts which are upcoming in both France, the Maghreb and elsewhere in Europe.

Our research has shown that certain Maghrebian radio and television stations have become key commercial players both in Paris, in the region and abroad. For example, Beur FM was set up as an associative radio station in 1981 and is now a transnational commercial project. It sponsors concerts, supports artists and has developed an innovative satellite channel – Beur TV.

In addition to our study of how media reflected and represented migrant and post-migrant cultural events, our research also focused on three types of media provision more generally. In particular, we focused on radio stations of three types: public, commercial and associative stations.

In a similar manner, our case-study of the associative radio station Radio Fréquence Paris Plurielle, although the various programme slots are 'let out' to different migrant communities.

ROME

The Italian television is characterised by the duopoly of two dominant broadcasters: public RAI (RaiUno, RaiDue, RaiTre) and private Mediaset (Canale 5, Italia 1, Rete 4) controlling for 80 to 90 percent of both audience shares and advertising revenues. Both RAI and Mediaset are currently under control of Italy's Prime Minister and Mediaset's majority owner Silvio Berlusconi.

We have analysed access of immigrants to means of communication and expression, and the significance of radio and television in the cultural life of immigrants (from Maghreb, Senegal and Madagascar) in Rome. The public service/state media are very centralised

institutions, even if regional or local programmes exist within the public service, the space for immigrant journalists is still limited. The laws on public service/state broadcasting institutions contain a request to cater for diversity. In the 2000-2002 mission statement of RAI explicitly mentions the necessity to cater for 'foreign citizens' (possibly with programmes in foreign languages), also it stipulates the duty of 'promoting the integration process and guarantee adequate information about the rights and duties of immigrant citizens'. Under current legislation, not everyone is permitted to practise the journalism profession but only those who are Italian citizens or citizens of the EU Member States. However, it should be emphasised that foreigners are admissible for enrolment in a special register (art. 36 of Law 69/1963) on the condition that they are citizens of a country with which the Italian Government, on the basis of reciprocity, has stipulated a special agreement that allows them to practise the profession in Italy. However, few immigrant journalist manage to register in these register, being the criteria for applying not well defined.

Migrant-Led Media

In terms of production, our study revealed that in Rome, there is hardly any minority media produced by particular ethnic minorities, due to the lack of concessions and regulations, together with the difficulties and the cost of starting a new media. In the radio broadcasting area, the market is heavily regulated under a strict licensing regime. For immigrants finding the funds to establish ad hoc television broadcasting enterprises has been very difficult, hence the orientation towards the existing media, with hope to get some spaces. The private commercial radio give some space to immigrants' journalists and to the programmes aimed at immigrant audience. Commercial radio often sponsor cultural events and promote 'world music' artists. For example, 'Afric'kan' is a musical programme broadcasted in last years on Sunday evening by Radio Città Futura. It is mostly focused on African stars of blues and jazz music in the last 30 years, but some space is given to emerging immigrant musicians living in Rome/Italy to present their new CDs.

Media 'Provision' for Migrants

In Rome several radio stations provide weekly broadcasting space or specific programmes to different immigrant communities (e.g., Radio Citta Aperta, Radio Città Futura, Radio Onda Rossa, Radio Mambo), but very few of them are targeting immigrant groups considered in our study. There are no stations addressing specific audiences with fulltime programmes. Frequently, mass media products are designed in view of the

market, with an explicit purpose of making profit. In the case of television, immigrants are seen as low consumer goods to ensure profit.

The more extensive is the use of print media. In more recent years, different communities managed to print journals in Italy in their language of origin, thanks to sponsorships (for example, Western Union) or through advertisement in 'ethnobusiness' (announcements of food stores, travel agencies, etc.). These provide information on access to social services (e.g. education, health care, labour market) as well as on policy regulation concerning migration. Some newspapers printed in Italy are published rather weekly, fortnightly or monthly. At first, most journals were distributed free of charge, but nowadays it is possible to find them in most of news-stands in almost all Italian cities. There is still no differentiation into special interest and in covering different taste groups, like for example in London (e.g., bilingual magazines covering the areas of beauty, health, music, and so on). Transnationalisation is not very advanced for print media. Very few news-stands sell editions printed in immigrants' countries of origin or in other European countries for these communities.

6.3.2. Media: The Balkan Nexus

BELGRADE

Media and the Cultural Diversity Agenda

Neither radio nor television in Serbia has been transformed into public service, but has inherited from a previous time a certain number of programmes devoted to minority issues (not to cultural diversity). The programmes which promote European issues or European cultural diversity, according to the TV station and production, varied from uncritical representation of Europe as harmonised celebrating diversity (so-called 'donors stations') to classical representations of art forms of different national cultures without commenting mutual acculturation processes, dialogues among cultures etc. Belgrade City TV and Radio Station do not have a specific programme devoted to cultural pluralism issue, but have many different relevant cultural programs (specific shows for each field of arts, place for culture in each information magazine, etc.). However, Radio Belgrade One has a specific bilingual one-hour program for Roma population, each evening at 7 p.m. (time when Serbian population usually is watching TV). This has contributed to a better self-perception and self-understanding of Roma population. With regards to cultural life, Television Serbia follows each major festival event with Chronicles of the event (BITEF, BEMUS, FEST...) during its whole duration (each day one hour from 23 00 to 24 00).

Media Environment - programme models

In the modern world, the media environment becomes unusually complex at first glance: that includes the competing of transnational televisions (satellite channels), radio and TV programs from one environment directed at another (Voice of America, BBC World Service), national (state), regional and local televisions.

It is therefore necessary to establish a context within which the media system is developing at this time. It is indisputable that Serbia is a multi-ethnic society (just 64% of the Serbian population are Serbs). It is also multi-confessional. The latest research of the social structure shows that this is a society with completely unstable social structure in which a differentiation has taken place between the new elite and the lower social layers, at the expense of the disappearing middle class.

In that situation, a media explosion occurred which began as a reflection and response to the pluralization of political life in 1990 and, in 1992.

1. The media as a public service ('state media'): between republican (state) and national (populist) function

a) RTS

b) Local media (communal)⁵ - NTV Studio B, etc.

Every organised media system deals with defining 'communication policies within the system of the public service type and gives importance to a suitable principle of public interest' (McQuail, 1994, 60)

2. Private-commercial media

Entertainment – or escapist media (TV Palma, TV Pink,⁶ probably the Karic brothers Radio and TV, and many women's magazines). Unused freedom and autonomy space (self-censorship regulation of interests). Television without news programs just films, serials and neofolk videos.

⁵In the early 1970s there was an expansion of local radio diffusion organisations and a number of towns in Serbia started printing their own publications once or several times a week. The founders were usually either the local council or culture centers (i.e. the Socialist Alliance), but a small number of radio stations or publications managed to gain reputations as profiled, well-circulated, well-rating, respectable media. These media did not enter into a process of liberalization, being so close to the centres of local power.

⁶ That these media basically have the role of braking the development of civil society is shown by *Pink News*; a comedy show which parodies local news.

The blooming of the commercial media - from local radio and television stations to newspapers, record production - must, but only at first glance, be evaluated positively from the standpoint of civil society. However, the development of new media is dominated by the **new financial elites**⁷, who have founded their own media, publishing houses, etc. in an effort to buy social reputations and status and to demonstrate social and political power that their wealth provides.

3. Alternative media- press, funzines... The civic media sector.

- B 92, Pacific, alternative agencies: AIM, example of independent media projects: *VIN* Video weekly, *Network video weekly 'Mreza'*, *Age of Reason* (broadcast on B 92 and Studio B radio), Bura...

Third Sector Radio, *free radio*, *community radio*, *independent radio* are just a few of the names used across Europe to try to mark the form of radio station and radio program which does not fit into existing divisions of radio stations into the public-state sector with national and local radio stations, and the commercial sector⁸.

One of the main case studies in Belgrade focused on Radio B 92. Radio B92 started out as a youth program (on May 15, 1989, with a license to operate until December 31, 1991). It began via an administrative decision on uniting youth programs on Studio B (*Ritam Srca* show) and Belgrade 202 (*Indeks 202*). The political decision to form it included tendencies of political and program control overall and a council was founded whose members would include numerous representatives of socio-political forums and the Student Alliance organisation and the city Socialist Youth Alliance Committee.

Radio B 92 chose to call itself urban radio in an effort to show its diversity in comparison to commercial radio and local radio stations whose programs with their traditional form, thematic orientation and methods of management and organisation were still turned more to the rural or 'new bourgeois' and least of all to the city population⁹, and all

⁷ The new elites come from the populist cultural model, the former classes of small businessmen and parts of economic and political leaderships. In research done in 1987, the different values of the educated classes and populist layers was reflected in some basic, and from today's perspective, key dimensions. Members of the educated elite valued tolerance highly, and did not conceive ambition, standards and success at work as an essential value. (Dragicevic-Sesic, *Neofolk Culture*, 1994). On the contrary members of the populist cultural model valued these three values as essential and rated tolerance very low.

⁸ In the 'Community Radio Charter' adopted by the Council of Europe and European federation of independent radio media, 10 principles of this radio model are highlighted. Below are a couple of examples of these principles:

- that every group of citizens has the right if they want to broadcast their own programmes
- that community radio is non-profit radio, equally independent from the authorities and commercial groups.

⁹ Interestingly, all the new urban radio stations began as truly 'urban' and were at first popular among city high school pupils and students (Belgrade 202, Studio B and later B 92 and Pingvin in Belgrade, as well as new

models of 'independent' or 'third' radio stations based on social, activist movements and most often socially oriented with no particular cultural/artistic particularities. That is directly reflected through the music programs as the best sign of recognising the direction of a radio station towards a certain cultural model and in all other expressions of radio programming: speech, use of sounds, noise and even the use of silence. Diversity in B 92 programs links various groups to it in various times of the day and even if we don't have the precise figures, some polls show that the listeners were exclusively Belgrade residents who lived in the city for a long time, of different generations, high education or students, nonconformists.

Transnationalisation

Today, Radio B 92 is often talked about as the precursor of our independent, objective journalism that allows the other side, journalism based on the spot reports and the production of events, generation sensibilities of those born in the 60s and 70s.

The compatibility with European ideas - ideas of open society, a society in which human rights are the basic value and the flow of ideas is not limited with ideology, contributed to the fact that fame abroad was exceptionally disproportionate to the range of the station. Fan clubs formed in Belgrade first and then throughout Europe, in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels...People who never heard the program except on tape, respect and support it, basing their judgements primarily on interview transcripts, analytical comments, audience reactions, evaluating the importance of the existence of such a station in Belgrade today.

The setting up of an association of independent media practically is the latest development step of the station. At the same time, B 92 participates in creating a network of independent east European radio stations. This network has a deep meaning because establishes new communication links by: exchange of programs; an exchange of personnel; creation of conditions for better, more professional work in every one of them; joint appearances and solidarity (lobbying) in regard to the authorities and international political and information factors. That would also allow this radio with its programs and ideas, through the network with other east European stations, to join the world information system that is dominated by big commercial or state media (both systems trapped because they are pressured by market obligations or ideology

private radio stations in Cacak, Kragujevac...). Gradually Belgrade 202 and Studio B turned their programming towards the demands of the 'suburban youth' and today have more listeners in Serbia and the area around Belgrade than in Belgrade itself and they have definitely lost the high school and university audiences.

obligations of state policies) and try to contribute to the profession, freedom of information and equality in communication trends.

Media networks

Media networks have also been of crucial effectiveness, not only for bringing democracy and promoting human rights (ANEM), but also by stimulating a greater sense of involvement by the younger generation, like 'Cross radio', which is mainly focused on stimulating cultural cooperation and promoting urban cultures. Many of these media networks had an impact on the interest shown in Europe for the region (as a region of conflicts and isolation), and developed specific 'communication projects'. Many reviews had been created like Balkanmedia (Sofia), Balkan umbrella (Remont, Belgrade), Balkanis (Ljubljana Slovenia), Sarajevske, Biljeznice/Sveske/cahiers etc., which maybe does not reinforce the regional feeling as firm identity, but are contributing toward creation of better flows of information and art content within the region.

LJUBLJANA

Since Slovenia is a small country/Ljubljana is small city, 'Balkan nexus population and other non-Slovenian nexus population (in Ljubljana) has a relatively strong influence upon the social scene in general and, in particular, upon the few media which currently 'deal' with this population (which produce information, entertainment and cultural goods).

We have established that in Ljubljana there exists a specific type of media which provide information and production, trying to operate explicitly on a multicultural professional level. This means a number of established network links on the intermedia level which enable the flow of information, entertaining subjects and cultural varieties.

According to our research results we can say that three types of media in the city of Ljubljana conditionally fits into the so-called 'classical' multicultural scheme:

- 1) *Public media* (Radio and television) with two specific programmes could be related only to two autochtone cultural minorities. Public orientation to multicultural public television seems to be insufficient.
- 2) *Civic media* could be associated with cultural industry and cultural life of the Balkans through specific dimensions and agendas on the issues as trans-Balkan, trans-European, trans-global cultural flows and links.

- 3) *Profit media* do not show any indicators of readiness for close cooperation with the Balkan media and cultural production, except relatively new commercial television station which is not actually promoting multicultural values or engaging issues of cultural diversity or complexity, nevertheless at the same time commercial radio broadcasts music from the Balkans for the wider (multicultural) audience in Ljubljana.

Nexus Media Consumption

Television and radio as main ideological instruments have a central role in Balkan nexus population everyday life. For Balkan nexus community domestic public and commercial television as well as satellite broadcast programmes (from their origin country) are the main (but not the only) source of various kinds of information. Besides information they broadcast various cultural influences (music, video clips, movies, etc.) which are active components of everyday life. According to these cultural influences Balkan nexus population react and identify themselves as particular 'cultures'. These particular programmes are actually the only audio visual media which co-operate in constructing and preserving their 'Balkan identities'.

Broadcast programmes which are oriented towards Balkan nexus communities are also the main sources of new musical styles, genres, new trends etc. which originate in the home country. This means, media which broadcast culture-oriented programmes enable the Balkan nexus audiences to follow particular trends and to regain cultural sense. Similar programmes do not exist in the national or commercial media.

According to our survey, Balkan diaspora in Slovenia does not have any indy media (neither TV nor Radio). For that reason, this population (10 % of all Slovene population) has developed different strategies to fulfil information and cultural lacks. They mostly receive information by satellite television programmes, by paper media or across the family and relatives' networks. So far, the most watched media among Balkan nexus audiences in Slovenia is Slovenian public and commercial programmes and TV Pink, which gained huge popularity also among younger Slovene populations. In this particular case, television (TV Pink) became a status symbol for all these Balkan nexus populations and Balkan-like populations. Therefore we could talk about a 'TV Pink phenomenon' which is advertising specific cultural practices, values and promotes new trends in music and fashion. TV Pink has become the Balkan MTV.

Among diverse activities media have an important role in re-shaping public opinion about common matters, which are also the aim of our research. In this sense, we can say that mass media cooperate in re-construction of (political) domestic minority identities,

foreign identities and un-naturalized foreign individual identities from the Balkan territory, which are different from (sociological) social identities. Effect of mass media activity has a permanent influence on the construction of 'the foreigners' and on the building of the Balkan minority identity. Present Slovene society should come to terms with the fact that Balkan minorities are part of Slovenian reality. Only after the recognition of this fact and after drawing practical consequences from it, Slovene society/culture will be able to become a multi-cultural society.

On the other hand, absence of the Balkan minority mass media production makes better communication and cultural representation impossible. Balkan minorities in Slovenia have a weak media organisation. The question is: Do the Balkan minorities feel a need for some media organisation and institutionalisation – or are they practising alternative forms of organising their communities?

Although there is access to homeland media in Slovenia, it is worrying that there is no Balkan ethnic minorities' media production in their own languages. That being said, we must also talk about the legal acts providing the inalienable right to equality and non-discrimination. The following rights are derived from these acts:

- the right to express oneself freely;
- the right to maintain cultural and linguistic differences.

With that in mind, it is necessary to consider the following subjects:

- implementation of cultural pluralism in media;
- formal relations between the media and the traditional and »new« ethnic minorities (Balkan nexus audience and African nexus audience);
- media activities and media promotion of the society which both the traditional and the new, non-autochthonous minorities can take part in.

VIENNA

Representation of Migrants in the Media

Public television in Austria has an extremely limited significance as outlet of Balkan nexus products; the only 'minority'-broadcast tends to focus firstly, on Austria's acknowledged 'ethnic minorities' (Croats in Burgenland, Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria, Hungarians in Burgenland and Vienna, Czechs and Slovaks in Vienna and Roma in all Austrian provinces) (mention here who those are?) rather than on its migrant communities, and

secondly, on folklore and it tends to frame cultural production in terms of cultural identity.

Complexification of Media Flows

Private non-commercial media (free radio stations, community newspapers, (semi-)public internet communication) as well as private commercial media play a far more important role in terms of scope and standing with their audiences.

Public service media tend to conceive communication flows - typically of Europe - in terms of international exchange and understand programmes for (and not by) migrants therefore as a mediation between the 'here' and 'there', as a bridge between country of origin and host country, while audiences tend to be imagined as ethnic or national or communities. Similarly traditional diaspora media remain close to state policies.

Especially in the private media sector information flows have become more complex and multidirectional – whereas in the past communication flows mainly ran from the so called 'motherland' to the respective diaspora and to a lesser extent vice-versa, flows between different nodes (diaspora centres) have become more current and can in turn have a stronger impact on the 'motherland' respectively establish a community of communication. In private commercial media the strive for maximising audiences can push to the transgression of (discursive) ethnic boundaries.

Transnationalisation

Non-commercial and alternative media stand out due to their transurban and transnational connections, which supersedes the dichotomy of motherland- diaspora.

The Internet radio station EMAP, based at the musicology department of the University of Vienna, does not fit traditional media categories. It acts as a transnational media platform for Balkan nexus music by its transmission and archival storage of live concerts in Vienna (and elsewhere) as well as for music related to the African and other 'nexuses/nexi'. EMAP constitutes an interesting model: it benefits from the infrastructure of the University of Vienna and can therefore act as an intermediary in cultural production which does not depend on market forces. Furthermore it realises an open content- approach – not least through the outsourcing of programmes to interested parties (potentially anywhere in the world), which distinguishes it also from other non-commercial media.

The Emergence of a media diversity policy

The city of Vienna only began to see itself as an actor in the field of media policy when migrants were perceived as part of the electorate. This led e.g. to the publication of the district journal (Bezirksjournal) also in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Turkish and to the active support of the multilingual local free radio station Radio Orange.

Cities may intervene in media policy through indirect measures such as subsidies, taking on a role in licensing procedures, training programmes which facilitate migrants' access to media professions.

6.3.3. Media: The Turkish Nexus

BERLIN

Multicultural Media

Television and Radio

Turkish-speakers in Berlin are particularly well-served by radio and television providers, with a 24-hour radio station and a local Turkish television channel available via cable (Kosnick 2003, 2004a, 2004b, forthcoming). In addition, Berlin has a unique public mediator dedicated to promoting intercultural understanding and servicing immigrants in their respective native languages, the public-service radio station *Radio MultiKulti*. Its listener share among the non-immigrant population is relatively low, but it is hugely important for certain immigrant groups who lack other channels of information about their country of origin, such as the Vietnamese.

For immigrants from Turkey, the Turkish-language programme of the station has lost the dominant status it once had before the arrival of satellite television imports and alternative media offerings in the city. Instead, the commercial radio station *Metropol FM* has become a ubiquitous presence among the Turkish-speaking population of Berlin. Despite the fact that it offers little journalistic word content, it serves as an important platform for announcing and promoting cultural events in the city, as does the Turkish-language commercial television station TD-1. Producing programmes locally with a largely amateur staff, the TV station is not held in high esteem among immigrants from Turkey, but still is watched and serves the function of reporting on Turkish 'community' life in the city.

The small base of advertisers, likely to shrink rather than expand in current times of economic recession, creates problems for both broadcasting ventures. Metropol FM has

considerably reduced its staff over the past two years, offering less journalism and news items. TD-1 has to rely on amateur and voluntary work, with a high turn-over of personnel, and broadcasts that cannot measure up to the professional standards of Turkish and German mainstream commercial television stations. This problem is compounded for commercial television producers who share a cable television channel and broadcast infrequently, or only an hour per day. The Mischkanal (Mixed Channel) is a unique institution in Germany's media landscape, and almost half of the participants address immigrant minorities, offering programmes in Serbian, Persian, Russian, Turkish and Spanish. None of these programmes is commercially viable, and thus programme makers have to sponsor a large part of their activities themselves.

Open-access television is another important context for immigrant broadcasting in Berlin. Maintained and financed by the State Media Institution Berlin-Brandenburg, the Open Channel Berlin provides broadcasting facilities and programming slots via cable to Berlin residents free of charge. Immigrants make use of this offer in disproportionate numbers, with the largest number of foreign-language programs broadcast in Turkish. Programmes tend to be produced in the majority by religious or ethnic groups which are critical of Turkish state politics and which do not find their views represented in other sectors of broadcasting.

Media and Cultural Life in the City

Print Publications

As a general statement, it can be said that Berlin migrants from Turkey make little use of print publications, particularly compared to their intensive consumption of transnational television packages and programmes. However, a range of free monthly Turkish print publications reports on cultural events in the city, available in shops and cafes catering to immigrants. City magazines like *Merhaba*, *Paparazzi*, *Alem*, *Gençlik* serve as sources of information on upcoming events, and feature predominantly visual content of prior events. *Merhaba*, the paper with the highest circulation, usually disappears from the shops within a matter of days after distribution. European editions of daily newspapers from Turkey are also widely available in Berlin, combining content from their respective Turkish editions with articles and advertising from Western Europe. In line with Germany being the most important country of residence for migrants from Turkey, reports on the Turkish 'expatriate community' occupy an important place in their reporting. However, only the largest daily *Hürriyet* features a weekly Berlin section that deals with local affairs. It does advertise concert events and certain mass events such as the *Türk Günü* and *Çocuk Bayramı*, but is not an important source of information when it comes to

finding out what happens when and where in the city. Articles tend to address their readers as Turkish nationals rather than as residents of a city with a diverse population.

A new monthly magazine, *Tellal*, comes out in German and focuses on the young Turkish-German arts and clubbing scene. The makers attempt to make this scene accessible and known also to non-immigrant Germans, and want to expand their publication to cover cultural affairs of other immigrant groups as well (Interviews: 04.03.04b).

Another important form of publicising cultural events in Berlin consists of flyers and posters which organisers of cultural events distribute or post in public places frequented by immigrants. Thus, a walk down the Oranienstraße in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin will elicit more information on upcoming Turkish cultural events than a day of listening to Radio *Metropol FM*. Even though some television channels based in Turkey, such as TRT-Int, Kanal D and ATV occasionally show material focusing on Turkish life in Germany, satellite television imports from Turkey by and large focus on Turkey in their programming.

Visibility

Important for the question of social inclusion/exclusion, there is a notable absence of reporting on Turkish cultural events in German non-immigrant media, particularly in the hugely influential bi-weekly city magazines *tip* and *Zitty*. Conversely, most immigrant media target an immigrant audience only (exceptions: *Merhaba*, *Tellal*), and immigrant organisers of cultural events rarely make an effort to place their announcements in non-immigrant media. This is also the case in London where Turkish communities receive little coverage by the mainstream media.

Turkish media do not really serve as an arena or strong support of public performance and representation for local immigrant cultural expressions. In the realm of music in particular, the local ethnic or multicultural media take what the music industries have to offer: music produced abroad, not in Berlin or Germany.

LONDON

Representations of Migrants in the Media

The media agenda in London/Britain is still centred very much on the majority/minority paradigm. In the everyday coverage of diversity issues in the media in the UK, there is still a very strong tendency to define people with different backgrounds in terms of their ethnic 'communities'. It is commonplace to hear or read expressions like the 'Asian

community in Britain'. There is a sense that the culture of the 'communities' is not in the mainstream; and that the mainstream is occupied by something other than the cultural products these communities produce.

With respect to television, certain groups within the minority category get more exposure in terms of programming than others. These are primarily the ex-colonial populations from the Caribbean and from South Asia. By contrast, there are hardly any programmes relating to the Turkish and Kurdish communities in Europe on these channels. In London, groups with enough financial resources and economic capital in the community can set up their newspaper publications and even Radio stations (provided they manage to get a license). However, in television broadcasting barriers to entry are very high and there are very few broadcasting initiatives coming out of migrant cultural entrepreneurs.

In the case of radio and publishing, most 'minority' groups are able to develop the financial resources and skills to set up their own radio channels and newspapers. But, again, the distinction remains in terms of the high-circulating newspapers or the popular radio channels (in terms of audience figures) addressing the 'mainstream', and the minority radio and newspaper initiatives looking after their own 'minority' affairs.

There are, however, tentative forays in the direction of taking so-called minority cultural interests into the domain of mainstream taste and culture. This is a reflection of the way in which the multiculturalism agenda is making certain inroads into the mainstream.

The key innovation with respect to Turkish-speaking migrants has been the development of satellite television since the late 90s, providing up to 25-30 channels from Turkey. This has been an entirely new phenomenon, a development of the last decade, which has very significant implications for how migrants experience their lives, and for how they think and feel about their experiences. Indeed, we would regard the ability to routinely watch television from Turkey, and to be thereby in synchronised contact with everyday life and events in Turkey, as being an absolutely key innovation in the lives of Turkish migrants.

Through transnational networks and flows of information, there is the potential for minority media initiatives to become increasingly transnational in perspective, in coverage, and in terms of ownership and entrepreneurialism. Thus, in the Turkish press scene, for instance, more and more newspapers are covering Turkish affairs elsewhere in Europe as well as in their own locality. [this issue can also be linked to Paris where we see move from local/associational media outfits to transnational media ventures].

6.4. Policy

6.4.1. Policy: The African Nexus

When we look closely at how cultural and arts policy operates in the urban settings of Paris and Rome, we find different policy spheres characterised by a division between 'high' culture on the one hand, and urban-ethno-socio-culture on the other. Both administrations in Paris and Rome have an explicit policy of cultural democratisation, which is reflected in the high-profile and free of charge events that the cities organise – such as the *Nuit Blanche* in Paris and its equivalent in Rome (the Rome municipality modelled its own version on the Parisian event) and the Paris Quartier d'été or Estate Romana festivals. However, in both Paris and Rome there is a lack of a clear articulation of cultural policy and issues surrounding migration or the cities' migrant populations. This conceptual dislocation is reflected in both cities by the parallel existence of a Direction of Culture (Paris)/Department IV- Cultural politics, sport (Rome) and the Delegation for Integration (Paris) and Office for Multiethnicity (Paris). In both cities, the departments of culture focus on the aesthetic and have no explicit policy orientation regarding cultural diversity and migrant/post-migrant populations, although the Performances Office in Rome does support 'multicultural events'. Similarly, in both cities, the departments dealing with migration, focus on socio-economic questions such as language acquisition (French and Italian), legal and residence issues. Furthermore, in Rome, the Office for Multiethnicity disposes of few resources so can promote few initiatives.

The points below relate to further specific policy issues concerning Paris.

PARIS

Whilst the majority of funding is allocated by high culture institutions, whose productions are evaluated on so-called 'universal' aesthetic grounds, only a relatively small amount of funding is diverted to the cultural projects in inner-city, 'immigrant' areas. The issue of a dual system of cultural funding through the *droit commun* mainstream Culture funds and the socio-culture *politique de la ville* (urban regeneration funds) is a major theme in the Paris research. Migrant and post-migrant artists tend to be encouraged to engage with issues of social cohesion or ethnic identity through their artwork due to the existing policy and funding structures. Non-white' or non-European immigrant and postmigrant artists can find it difficult to obtain recognition of the 'intrinsic' artistic value of their work.

European Policy

In terms of the European public policy on diversity, our research reveals that there are multiple interpretations of this concept. The European Commission's and the Council of Europe's understanding of cultural diversity appears to be two-fold. On the one hand, cultural diversity is seen as a way of respecting different regional and national cultures, whilst highlighting what unites Europe in terms of common heritage (hence the EU slogan 'Unity in Diversity'). On the other hand, we find a more social understanding of diversity - as a mechanism to rethink and rectify racial discrimination at work, in housing and in access to healthcare etc.

The cities and countries studied implement cultural diversity policies which diverge from the EU approach to the question. In French context, cultural diversity has referred essentially to defence of audio-visual cultural industries on the international scene. At the city level, the mayor of Paris, Bertrand Delanoë clearly and publicly speaks of Paris in terms of its diversity and its *population métissée*. Despite the emergence of high-profile public debates about the necessity for greater diversity in the media and in the workplace (*Charte de la diversité dans l'entreprise, Stratégie pour l'égalité des chances, débats autour de l'action positive*), it does not seem that these debates/proposals concern culture (neither in its anthropological nor artistic sense). Rather, these debates seem to be about colour visibility rather than taking into account (or recognising) cultural difference. It is perhaps for this reason that regarding artistic practice, usage of the term 'cultural diversity' continues, publicly in any case, to be about cultural industries on the international scene (for example reference is often made to various international agreements such as the UNESCO Convention for the protection of cultural and artistic expression).

In other cities, we find that cultural diversity is an advance on the increasingly discredited policy of multiculturalism - seen to lock minorities into fixed 'communities'. Cultural diversity therefore symbolises a more nuanced agenda with regards to ethnic minorities in cultural, social and artistic spheres.

The multiplicity of national and regional approaches to the issue of cultural diversity policy is due to very different local and historical contexts which exist in the member states (and the City Spaces countries). The absence of a common European approach beyond means that EU policy objectives in this area do not necessarily meet with success 'on the ground'.

The European Constitution presents some ambiguities since although Article II-82 declares that the Union will respect cultural, linguistic and religious diversity or when Article III280 states that the Union will contribute to the flowering of member-states cultures in all their regional and national diversity, immigrant-origin populations are not clearly conceived as part of this diversity since they are not mentioned. So it would seem that there is a hierarchy of norms which dictates how cultural diversity policy engages with 'historical' or 'contemporary' minorities.

6.4.2. Policy: The Balkan Nexus

BELGRADE

The City Council of Belgrade is the major partner of cultural sector as such in developing cultural policy and participation in cultural life due to the fact that most diversified network of cultural institutions such as: theatres, libraries, museums as well as care about free-lance artists, are in its competence. The most important international festivals (BITEF, FEST, and BEMUS...) and cultural institutions of wider relevance had been created by initiative of the City Council.

On the other hand, *municipalities* (14 local self-governments within Belgrade) do not have either political/administrative, or economical strength to develop cultural policy really targeting different communities, neighbourhoods, etc. Belgrade spatial organisation do not have clear clusters (except for few municipalities like Rakovica – but that also is changing due to housing programs, which had included there residencies for ambassadors and high level apartments for top managers of industrial production)

Cultural policy of the City of Belgrade in present constellation of the political relations has is entangled with the politics of representation. The political tensions among ruling coalition, create a climate of competitiveness towards the state and as a result, facilitate decisions to finance and subsidize high-profile/high-status projects, such as new building of Yugoslav Drama Theatre, lighting and auditorium reconstruction of 10 Belgrade theatres, Capital Publishing Projects, new permanent exhibitions in museums, existing international festivals, the creation of new international events ('October salon' for Visual arts), or participating in important international programmes (hosting IETM General Assembly). In stark contrast, community art projects get support, but at least ten times less funding is awarded to these civil society movements.¹⁰

¹⁰ For example, City theatres for each production are receiving 1 200 000 dinars, while NGO groups –receive 200 000. In the same time, theatres are receiving salaries (in average around 60 employees), administrative costs and costs of the building (heating, electricity, etc.), while NGO do not receive any money for that purposes.

City cultural policy is turned toward representation and visible artistic or cultural achievements. No policy to promote diversity currently exists. Both sides (Ministry and the City) find a good 'get-out' clause by citing the fact that Federal Ministry for Ethnic minorities and Human Rights exists as a separate entity. So in their discourse or practices they do not attempt to consider the cultural diversities of ethnic minorities, or the diversity of needs of both artists and audiences. Furthermore at the city level there is a lack of articulation between cultural, urban and social policy.

With regards to the European dimension and its resonance in Belgrade, there appears to remain a split dynamic whereby leftward-leaning public policy either focuses on EU integration and right-wing policy remains nationalist in outlook.

LJUBLJANA

There are two *types* of cultural policy agents in Ljubljana: the political executive and the administration on the state and on the municipal level, on one side; cultural agents proper on the other. The picture can be summarised as presented below:

1. The state (or the 'governmental') bodies and agencies:

a) Republic of Slovenia:

- i. *Ministry of Culture* finances: public cultural institutions (on a permanent basis; operative and project costs); programs of public interest operated by other institutions (NGOs or private); co-finances parts of program and project costs of other cultural agents (NGOs, non-profit, private). In the most general terms, the Ministry defines its policies as follows:

/to/establish an equilibrium between the conservation of Slovene cultural identity and its development.¹¹

¹¹ *National programme for culture 2004-2007 (draft)*, 2003, document of the Ministry of Culture, p. 2. This is a *reformulation* of the guiding principle of a cultural policy document proposed to the parliament by the first government of the independent Slovenia. The document (which, although it has never been adopted, epitomises the general cultural and political position of the first 'pluralist' government of the Republic of Slovenia) advocated '*the principle of equilibrium between tradition and innovation*'. It considered the establishment of such an equilibrium to be an urgent task, since 'during the last decades, the relation between tradition and innovation has been excessively leaning in the favour of modernist and experimental artistic trends'. This 'principle of equilibrium' was explicitly criticised by the European expert group: '... from the European point of view, this attitude presents an obstacle to the development of a modern country within the community of European states ... such a cultural policy ... may transform Slovenia into a regional cultural museum' (*Kulturna politika v Sloveniji. I. Nacionalno poročilo. II. Poročilo evropske strokovne skupine /Cultural Policy in Slovenia. I. National Report. II. Report of the European Expert Group/*, 1997, Ljubljana: FDV, p. 372). It is remarkable to note this convergence of attitudes between a right-wing and explicitly anti-communist

Since 1992, the ministry has a Department for the cultural activity of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, the Roma community, other minority communities and immigrants.¹² The department supports minority and immigrants' cultural projects and, to a minor degree, operative costs of their institutions.

- ii. Fund of the Republic of Slovenia for amateur cultural activities (founded and supervised by the Ministry of culture, funded mainly by the state budget, independent in concrete decision making): most of the activities of the 'immigrant'¹³ cultural associations are non-professional, and therefore eligible to be supported by this fund.
 - iii. Various other governmental offices and bodies (the office for the youth, for the disabled, etc.) occasionally support cultural projects within the frame of their interest.
- b) The City of Ljubljana supports cultural activities almost exclusively through its *Department for Culture and Research*. Immigrants' cultural associations of the city address the department via the Union of Cultural Associations of Ljubljana. The Union makes a preselection of proposed projects, and presents itself as a strong corporate applicant.

The state and the municipal bodies have their own declared cultural policies. The state cultural policy is detailed in various documents (laws, draft national program for culture). The city does not have policy documents besides the culturally tinted parts of political programs of the parties in the City Council and of the City mayor. The city definitely has an implicit cultural policy which can be deduced from the actions of its various political and administrative bodies.

2. Cultural agents:

- a) *Public* cultural institutions: in Ljubljana, these are mostly the great institutions of national culture (national theatre - drama and opera, philharmonics, national galleries, etc.). They have their own policy agendas, articulated in their year programs, statements by directors, artistic directors etc.

government, and a ministry of a presumably centre-left government led by a minister belonging to a 'reformed communists' social-democrat party.

¹² See *Slovene National Cultural Programme. Draft*, Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2000, p. 43.

¹³In the present official terminology, 'immigrants' are people from other parts of former Yugoslavia.

- b) *Civic* cultural agents: institutionalised to various degrees, from traditional cultural associations to the alternative, sub- and counter-cultural agents. These are the most dynamic and productive cultural actors in the city, and one of the two most relevant to our 'Balkan nexus' concern.
- c) *Commercial* cultural agents: from the Hollywood-oriented cinema multiplex to small organisers of particular cultural events. Extremely important for our research - they provide the channels for the most massive in-flows from the Balkans. Their activities are not concerned with 'cultural policies', but with money-making. Even in pursuing their lucrative interests, they develop an implicit cultural policy that is of utmost relevance to our research since it translates deeper social structural processes and relations.

Governmental policies are mostly implicit, take laws and regulations as guiding principles, and are accordingly deployed in the terms of 'minority protection' and 'identity affirmation'. Three minorities are constitutionally recognised, only the Roma minority being relevant to our research (the other two are Italian and Hungarian minorities). Groups from former Yugoslavia are smuggled into the system in various ways – via amateur cultural associations (some of high quality), alternative cultural producers, sub-cultural practices.

While doing research on the subject, we found out that special care needs to be paid to:

- attitude of national, as well as local institutions and the government cultural policy towards the above mentioned minorities;
- problems that arise in preserving and developing specific cultural identity of the minorities;
- cultural needs and demands of the ethnic minorities;
- creating conditions that are more favourable for the development of cultural pluralism and cooperation.

It is important to know that the aforementioned principles reflect only the basic characteristics necessary for the implementation of the cultural programme for ethnic minorities. Such a programme is vital for realising the principles of equal rights for all – essentially unequal – ethnic minorities, in the same way that it has been done for the Hungarian and Italian minorities.

It is also necessary to say that the Romany minority, which is acknowledged in the Constitution, does not yet have a legally bounding act which would regulate and implement the collective rights of their community.

From the above, the following conclusions can be derived:

- 1) autochthonous ethnic minorities in Slovenia have a high level of cultural autonomy;
- 2) the question of the Romany minority remains unsolved;
- 3) 10-11 % of the new-age minorities (among them the so-called Balkan nexus population and other nexus populations) have a questionable legal and constitutional status and don't have access to rights derived from that status (education, mother tongue, their own media, etc.).

Resolving items 2.) and 3.) must be a priority, since this means providing the basic human rights(derived from international acts and the practice of cultural pluralism) – the rights which guarantee normative conditions and represent a model of good cultural practice.

VIENNA

At the time of this research, Vienna's government announced a paradigm change in its policies related to the city's migrant population, from 'integration' to 'cultural diversity' alongside a change of perspective from supplying services to viewing the citizen as a consumer, with migrants featuring as a *potential* electorate. This shift resulted from several factors: the poor results of the previous multicultural policy, the more general trend in European cities which have made this change several years ago (as e.g. In UK and NL cities), the political constellation (a social democratic and green party cooperation on the city level wanted to emphasise their differences in orientation in relation to the conservative and right wing coalition at federal level).

Previously support was provided through the so-called Integration Fund, an organisation subsidised by the city with the remit of providing targeted support for migrants in a wide range of fields, from German classes to subsidies for research related to migrants. With the abolishment of the Integration Fund in 2003, the provision of support was to be mainstreamed throughout public administration at the city level. Foci of the new outlook are awareness raising among council employees(seminars and courses, mediators), employment policies that valorise migration background (e. g. language competencies in Turkish and Bosniac/Croatian/Serbian) and the marketing of the 'new' policy.

Cooperation with the third sector but also with the private sector are viewed as important in the realisation of cultural diversity policies. The proclaimed 'cultural diversity' policy is still to be implemented, yet was – at the time of our research - already met with suspicion on behalf of many third sector agents who provide different forms of support to migrants. Criticism related to the parallel cutting of previous subsidies for migrants-related projects and to the danger of cooptation.

Where the Balkan nexus is concerned, analysis of cultural policy needs to be couched in a clear understanding of the current dynamics of cultural practice in the cities. For example, over the years in both Vienna and Belgrade, we have witnessed a shift from the state-commercial sector as the dual centre of cultural activity, to a situation where the third sector (characterised by civil society associations of artists and cultural practitioners) became the major player in cultural production, to one today where we see the emergence of the fourth sector in a context of instrumentalisation of the third sector by the State. As a result the third sector has lost something of its subversive quality and the in the wake of it institutionalisation, new fourth sector actors have emerged – remote from both the market and the State. The fourth sector is reliant on personal networks and nodes of information and migration. So a key policy issue which characterises the Balkan nexus to a significant extent is the need for observers and policymakers to look beyond the realm of the State or the market in order to grasp the nature of cultural practices in these cities.

6.4.3. Policy: The Turkish Nexus

In both Berlin and London, we find a dichotomy between high/spectacular arts projects and 'community arts'. This dichotomy also corresponds to a division of high culture and socio-culture. Present funding mechanisms in both cities often conceive cultural practitioners and artists as the representatives of their 'communities' and thus push their work to conform with these expectations, whether these expectations are linked to cultural/ethnic identities or socio-economic in character. For example, in Berlin and London, cultural support mechanisms are often tied to socio-economic objectives, and this can lead migrant cultural practitioners away from their cultural ambitions.

Given a situation in which a multitude of cultural actors compete for scarce funding from public sources and private foundations, lobbying skills and 'professionalism' pay off. There is a danger that it is particularly the established culture-professionals working at high-profile cultural institutions who will be able to secure funds, to the disadvantage of weaker lobbies or unorganised groups, to which immigrants are more likely to belong. Furthermore, cultural policy-makers might be more inclined to channel limited funds into

cultural events with 'high symbolic visibility' to capture public attention, thus further weakening the position of cultural producers that are engaged in less public or high-profile cultural production.

It is now becoming clear that contemporary transnational migrants are very different from earlier waves of migrants. Close observation of recent migrant communities in London shows that these groups inhabit a transnational social space. The social relationships that people develop are not limited to one territory, one culture or one language. These transnational migrants occupy a cultural and social space that is both locally specific but transnational. We may speak of an extension and enrichment of connections.

The addressing of cultural diversity activities at the level of local funding has important implications for the scale and scope of these activities. It becomes very difficult for a culturally diverse activity to be judged on the basis of artistic and cultural contribution alone, and thus to be promoted to the higher echelons of cultural production and exhibition. It is very difficult for migrant cultural practices to persuade public authorities and national funding bodies for an exposure that is traditionally enjoyed by established arts and culture institutions. What ensues is that migrant cultural activities are either encouraged to remain within the confines of the 'fringe', thus only attracting a particular kind of audience, or they are forced to go the commercial route, thus limiting the range of artistic work and again the audience.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. How the consortium has contributed to the results

The consortium consisted principally of researchers from universities (six partner institutions five located within the EU, and one in South Eastern Europe). It also included executive members of the Banlieues d'Europe network and one consultant from an African country, with extensive professional experience in using art (especially music) as a form of social and political engagement. Our research interconnected cultural policies in cities, multicultural and transnational media, artistic production and performances with questions, problems and possibilities arising for people of multiple cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious backgrounds - people who are constructing their identities in the new and complex multicultural environment of major European cities. The consortium was well-qualified to conduct the research, with all its different aspects, having a strong interdisciplinary background in social sciences and humanities, including cultural studies, film and media studies, sociology, history, linguistics, social anthropology, philosophy and social/cultural geography. Each individual in the consortium was a nationally and internationally known researcher in his/her own right.

1.1. Research management experience of the Steering Group Committee

The members of the consortium's Steering Group Committee have a particularly outstanding record in conducting and co-ordinating national and international research projects. Professor Meinhof and Professor Strath are both co-ordinators of EU Framework projects, under previous Fifth Framework calls. Professor Robins has co-ordinated several large-scale projects - most recently for the UK ESRC and for the European Broadcasting Union - across various disciplines. Dr Busch has co-ordinated several projects for the Council of Europe and other organisations, and is also a member of Professor Meinhof's previous Fifth framework project. Sarah Levin and Jean Hurstel from the Banlieues d'Europe network have considerable experience and knowledge of cultural practice and policy across Europe.

Collaborative work

Many members of the team had already collaborated in previous research groupings, which also gave rise to co-edited volumes and other publications. Examples of such collaboration between group members have focused on the following areas, all of which were pertinent for our research proposal:

- European identity research. Meinhof, Strath, Triandafyllidou, Wodak, Busch: clusters were formed after the first call of Fifth Framework. Joint seminars have been held at EUI, in Brussels, and at the Centre for Intercultural Studies in Klagenfurt
- Transnational culture and media research. Robins, Aksoy, Meinhof, Strath, Triandafyllidou: collaborations in various combinations in diverse research groupings, such as the UK ESRC's Transnational Community programme; the European Science Foundation programme on Changing Media - Changing Europe; research symposia of the International Linguistics Association (most recently in South Africa).
- Policy oriented applied research. Busch, Dragičević Šešić, Močnik, Meinhof, Raosolofondraosolo: within the framework of the Council of Europe Programme on Confidence Building Measures programme and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, activities in different combinations, and with a strong policy and action orientation. Regular seminars have been held on media, language and intercultural issues at Klagenfurt, giving rise to an edited volume with contributions from several members of the consortium.

The team as a whole had already established a collaborative culture in the run-up to preparing this proposal. This involved networking between the co-ordinator and all the individual members of the consortium, and the establishment of an e-mail list; and also joint preparatory meetings, including a meeting of all the principle participants in Vienna.

1.2. Composition of team in terms of gender

The consortium's composition also reflected the EU's declared aim of encouraging more women to participate in international research projects. The co-ordinator herself and two of the principal contractors are women, as are several of the other named researchers within the partner institutions. In the Steering Group Committee, the balance was exactly balanced amongst the academic staff, with three women and three men. This gender balance meant that research results were sensitive to the gender dimension of exclusion/inclusion and cultural production.

1.3. Dissemination through partnerships outside the academic sector, and links with policy makers

The consortium took very seriously the problems that can arise from a gap between academic knowledge and its dissemination into the wider community of users across Europe. Whilst high-level dissemination of the findings within and beyond the European research community were achieved through the usual means of conferences and publications in book and journals, the consortium realised the different and more concrete needs arising for dissemination of its findings across the broader spheres of cultural and social policy, which affect the every-day experiences of people who live in European cities.

1.4. City links and linguistic expertise

All research teams had very strong personal and professional links to the cities where they conducted and supervised the research effort, by virtue of living there themselves, and/or by having previously conducted research in these cities. Everyone is fluent in several languages in addition to the national languages spoken in their respective target cities. Each team therefore had mother-tongue or fluent speakers of the languages of the target groups in our cities. This breadth of linguistic knowledge enabled the consortium to engage in good social relations with its interviewees and break down ethno-linguistic barriers. It also allowed a maximum of shared understanding of results and data comparisons across the cities and within and across the nexuses.

1.5. The Role of Banlieues d'Europe in the Project

The *Banlieues d'Europe* network has existed since 1992. It brings together association officials, towns, experts and researchers, cultural workers and artists, who are familiar with questions of neighbourhood artistic performances aimed at people who are usually socially/economically excluded. From the outset, the work of the association has been a true partnership at European level with 300 partners in 20 different countries. The task of *Banlieues d'Europe* is to move forward at European level a reflection shared between researchers, Council officials, artists and cultural workers in the areas of tension and of innovation, which are today more than ever to be found on the outskirts of towns and cities. Through its resource centres, the network brings artists together, considers propositions for exchanges at European level, participates in the evaluation of projects and gives expert opinion on questions of cultural democracy, and remains open to various requests from associations and communities at international level.

As a network of several types of professionals, interested in the question of 'community arts' and cultural development, Banlieues d'Europe is in permanent contact with cultural actors, artists, researchers and public policy representatives.

In that context, Banlieues d'Europe was asked to undertake several activities as part of the *City Spaces* consortium:

- establish contact between the researchers in the different cities and the various actors on the 'ground';
- provide an interface and coordination between European university researchers, cultural projects and cultural institutions in the different cities involved;
- to make the research project well known across Europe;
- dissemination of the project information/results through cultural actors networks;
- to facilitate information, permanent dialogue through the Internet and during consortium meetings;
- to transfer relevant information received by Banlieues d'Europe office to the researchers;
- bibliographical advice;
- to give advice and provide expertise regarding the cultural events; conceptual proposal for the event, financial research, partnerships with cultural actors in Paris;
- to organise the cultural event in Saint Ouen (outskirts of Paris April 2005);
- networking between the researchers involved in the project and other researchers in Europe;
- to regularly provide links to relevant websites and information.

In concrete terms, Banlieues d'Europe (non exhaustive list):

- Established some new links between the research project network and other networks in Europe, specialised in the question of migration, minorities, culture, cultural policies and medias.
- Made available specialised information to the researchers (from our specific contacts databases: responsible for cultural policies in different countries, artists...).

- Organised a consortium research team meeting in Brussels (November 2004).
- Wrote and produced a leaflet in two languages to facilitate communication about the project.
- Participated in the results dissemination by co-organising the cultural event in Saint-Ouen (see Annex 2 Key and Related Events - the Paris Event *Music Matters* for more details on the key role played by Banlieues d'Europe in the organisation of the event). Banlieues d'Europe were also active in the organisation/publicising of the events in Berlin and Ljubljana (see Annex 2 Key and Related Events for further details).
- Presented information about the City Spaces project by presenting papers at conferences.
- Contributed to effective dissemination by providing regular information in our European newsletter.
- Created a specific page on our website.

On line: E-letters B@nlieues d'Europe Regular information about the project.

Website: Construction of a new page 'research' on www.banlieues-europe.com, dedicated to the project (English and French version, with the link to www.citynexus.com - approximately 12000 Internet user hits a year).

The networking experience of Banlieues d'Europe has been used to activate and facilitate contacts, and therefore to participate in a real circulation of ideas in the European space.

2. Overall Research Conclusions

The following conclusions can be made as a result of the research carried out by the consortium. As in Section III above, we have organised them according to the following themes: Artists and Publics; Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries; Media; Policy.

2.1. Artists and Publics

Diversity of Cultural Production

Our research has revealed that there is an enormous diversity of cultural production amongst migrant and post-migrant populations across Europe - whether it concerns music, film, theatre or media. The diversity of cultural production means that it is impossible to classify migrant cultural production along solely ethnic lines. Nor is it advisable to classify their cultural production solely in terms of socio-political or socio-cultural action. It often carries both ethnic and socio-political elements and attempts by cultural events organisers, the media, the cultural industries and policy makers to 'box in' migrant cultural production in terms of ethnicity or in terms of socio-political action can stifle artistic creativity.

Transnationalisation

Part of this diversity of cultural production is tied to the growing transnationalisation and innovation which we see in the spheres of music, film, theatre and media. Migrant and post-migrant artists are becoming increasingly self-confident and are looking beyond their cities of residence in order to professionalise or to further their careers. They are seeking to collaborate more with mainstream cultural intermediaries in an attempt to bring their activities to the attention of the host society. Our observation of the mobilisation of translocal agency amongst artists has advanced the state of the art in so far as the development of a concept which we have called 'transcultural capital' (Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, Palgrave, in press). In other words, one of the implications of our research is that we must envisage artists of migrant background as agents of cultural flows across Europe and beyond.

A Difficult Process of Professionalisation

Whilst the artists we studied should be viewed as agents who mobilise transcultural capital, it is nevertheless important to highlight the difficulties that many migrant and post-migrant artists face and the absence of opportunity which exists in many of the cities studied. The existence of a vibrant 'star system' particularly within the 'world music' sphere often hides the difficulties migrant and post-migrant artists have in their attempts to professionalise. This can relate to implicit or explicit pressures placed on them by the cultural industries and policymakers to 'fit' an ethnic (particularist) model which can subsequently be commodified or a (universalist) 'emancipatory' model of socially-relevant art.

Artist and Event Visibility

Although our research has shown that there is a wealth of diverse cultural production in our cities, we cannot ignore the development of parallel cultural spheres. Many artists with a migrant background do not enjoy visibility outside of the 'migrant community', despite attempts to reach into the 'mainstream'.

Mutually Exclusive Audiences

Clearly linked with the issue of visibility is that of audience make-up at various cultural events. We found that it is rare to find socially and ethnically diverse audiences at any one event. This of course does happen but various factors (spatial organisation, publicising, audience perceptions of artists) contribute to what can often be mutually exclusive audiences. We have concluded that those events which are organised through the civic/associational sphere are often the most successful in attracting multi-ethnic and socio-economically diverse audiences.

2.2. Culture Professionals, Cultural Industries

Three Types of Event – Encounter or Segregation?

Our research showed that very often cultural events in the cities correspond to a typology of three different 'types' of event: those organised by public 'high-culture' institutions (such as the Municipal or State theatre for example), those which are organised by the private commercial sector and those which are organised through associational or civic channels (this last type of event tends to involve socio-political or socio-cultural features as well). The existence of such a typology (although not absolute) can lead to a positive or a negative conclusion. The positive conclusion would highlight

the diversity of cultural events and products on offer in our cities. The existence of different types of event can feed a healthy sense of competition between the sectors or what the civic/associational sector is doing may impact on attitudes and programmes promoted by the public and more established cultural institutions. In addition, the existence of a vibrant associational or civic sector (known in some cities as the 'third' and now the 'fourth sector') should can be seen as a positive way of overcoming the public-private dichotomy and of providing alternative modalities of cultural practice. Indeed the civic/associational sphere often not only promotes an agenda of cultural diversity but also enacts it in terms of personnel, programming and audiences. However, a more negative conclusion would suggest that the existence of these different types of events contributes to the maintenance of different audience groups who do not meet.

Unequal Distribution Networks

Our research has shown that existing distribution networks in the cities studied often create barriers to the visibility of artists of migrant background. Either this is directly caused – i.e. Turkish music having no distribution into mainstream German music stores, or results from inappropriate classification of migrant or post-migrant cultural products (for example, with regards to music, the frequent classification of music produced by artists with a migrant background as 'world' music, regardless of genre).

Transnationalisation

Our research has revealed the existence and on-going development of transnational networks of cultural professionals with a migrant background. The cities we studied are coming to exist as a constellation of practices that increasingly combine both localised and distanced elements. There is a new kind of mobility in play, connecting urban spaces together on a new basis. This is occurring on a different basis than older forms of networking. The transnationalisation of cultural production beyond traditional diasporic or post-colonial dynamics means that we have to re-assess our perceptions of migrants as minorities whose activities will either concern the country of settlement or the country of origin. Their activities are becoming more complex and hence complicate the traditional and two-dimensional notion of diaspora as concerning 'homeland' and country of settlement.

2.3. Media

Visibility of Migrants in the Media

Our research has shown that there is a lack of visibility of migrants in the 'mainstream' national media. Where migrants are given exposure in the media, this tends to relate to a minority/majority population paradigm – that is, migrants are seen as national minorities as opposed to transnational cultural actors. Linked to the issue of migrant visibility is the question of minority provision – programmes which are aimed at migrants but produced by mainstream media with little input from migrants in terms of production etc. This model is present in some of our cities (Rome and Belgrade in particular) and further confirms our conclusion that migrants are still perceived as being national minorities and in some cases, passive consumers of media rather than agents of cultural change in the media.

Significance of Media for Cultural Life in the City

The mainstream media in the cities studied does not tend to 'cover' nexus relevant cultural events. In the absence of such mainstream coverage, migrant-led media has developed to give visibility to migrant and post-migrant cultural life. We see this in the development of migrant-led radio (and to a lesser extent television) stations, print publications and increasingly, migrant-led Internet platforms.

Migrant-Led Media

Where conditions and local infrastructures allow for this to develop, we can see a dual process of transnationalisation and professionalisation in migrant-led media outfits. This transnationalisation means that perceptions of migrants as bounded national communities needs to be re-assessed. Migrants are active in the media across Europe- for example Turkish newspapers printed in London cover 'Turkish affairs' all over Europe and not just in Turkey and Britain.

Migrant Consumption of Media

One of the main conclusions to be drawn in relation to migrant consumption of the media is that the growth of satellite television-watching and Internet use across migrant communities has had a major impact on how migrants live and experience their lives – these are no longer bounded in the locality/city where they happen to live but are synchronised with a wider transnational reservoir of news and events. Their synchronisation with everyday life on another continent has profound implications for

how they relate to their country of settlement. It also suggests that older models which have understood (e)-migration as a process which inevitably ends in immigration (i.e. permanent settlement and integration into the way of life of the new country) must be reassessed if only to highlight the on-going transnational links that migrants maintain through their media consumption.

2.4. Policy

Duality of Cultural Policy

When we look closely at how cultural and arts policy and funding structures operate in the urban settings that we studied, we find a duality between 'high' culture on the one hand and socio-culture on the other. This duality can also be expressed in terms of spectacular (highly visible) culture vs. 'community' (invisible) cultures (in the plural) or in terms of universal (European) culture versus particularist (non-European') migrant cultures. The dichotomy is not always so stark and at times is only implicitly expressed. In addition, socio-culture can be a useful way to frame cultural policy if it introduces a conflictual (in positive agency-driven sense) element into a policy context which can conceive of migrants solely in terms of minority identity. Nevertheless, this dual frame is present in all the cities which we studied, to differing degrees. The dichotomy is strongly expressed in Berlin for example where there is a sharp divide between the international, 'high-profile' and well-funded activities of a cultural institution like the *Haus der Kulturen der Welt* and the less well-funded and locally-embedded programme of the *Werkstatt der Kulturen* (see N.Kiwan and K. Kosnick, 'The "Whiteness" of Cultural Policy in Paris and Berlin' in Meinhof and Triandafyllidou eds. 2006 in press for further details). Yet at *Le Parc de la Villette* in Paris, for example, such high culture vs. socio-culture dichotomies are less relevant since the *Parc* manages to maintain an international reputation for artistic excellence whilst drawing in artists and publics from ethnically and socially-diverse backgrounds, particularly for the annual *Rencontres de la Villette* Festival. We can thus conclude that artists and culture professionals of migrant background can be constrained in their artistic ambitions since their cultural production tends to be perceived in terms of an expression of identity (so here the anthropological sense of culture is mobilised) or in terms of socio-culture (citizenship/social cohesion). It is difficult for artists of migrant background to have their work considered solely in terms of its aesthetic worth.

Representational Cultural Policy

Closely linked with the issue of duality is representational cultural policy. We found that cultural policies in our cities tend to be 'representational' in character, that is they are designed to promote a certain 'image' for the city or country. Consequently, issues such as support for creation and participation suffer. For example, metropolitan cultural policy budgets are often 'eaten up' by the financing of established cultural institutions. The net result is that smaller independent arts/cultural initiatives are sidelined and do not receive effective public support.

Nationally-framed Cultural Policies

Cultural policy is often imagined nationally. This can have the effect of excluding minority populations (whether these populations are ethnically, politically or socially defined).

Nationally-framed Migration Policies

Just as cultural policy is imagined nationally, so is migration policy. Yet migration is a global phenomenon and so a global perspective is needed to deal with it.

Shared Cultural Policy

We have found that the most viable cultural policies for the future can be described as 'shared policies' – i.e. they are **based on the synergy of three areas of competence: the public, private and civil sectors** or in other words– **elected power** (government); **expert power** (public and private cultural institutions and **socially responsible movements** (associations, the 'third'/civil society sector). This overcomes the opposition between the State and the market sectors of cultural production.

Multiple Perspectives on Cultural Diversity at the European Level

In terms of the European public policy on diversity, our research reveals that there are multiple interpretations of this concept. The European Commission's and the Council of Europe's understanding of cultural diversity appears to be two-fold. On the one hand, cultural diversity is seen as a way of respecting different regional, (autochthonous) and national cultures, whilst highlighting what unites Europe in terms of common heritage (hence the EU slogan 'Unity in Diversity'). On the other hand, and particularly where migrant and post-migrant populations are concerned, we find a more social understanding of diversity- as a mechanism to rethink and rectify racial discrimination at work, in housing and in access to healthcare etc. The multiplicity of national and regional approaches to the issue of cultural diversity policy is due to very different local and

historical contexts which exist in the member states (and the City Spaces countries). The absence of a common European approach beyond means that EU policy objectives in this area do not necessarily meet with success 'on the ground'.

3. Policy Implications: guidelines for good cultural practice in multicultural cities

Based on the overall research conclusions above, there are a number of policy implications which we have organised in relation to artists and publics; culture professionals/cultural industries; the media; cultural policy.

3.1. Artists and Publics

Encouraging Diversity of Cultural Production

In order to further encourage diversity of cultural production amongst migrant and post-migrants artists, cultural institutions and culture professionals could be encouraged through their programming and their publicising of events, to challenge the separate spheres of world music (which mostly appeals to non-migrant audiences) and the more diasporic music scenes (which tend to solely attract nexus audiences). Festivals and cultural venues must also be encouraged to rethink their recruitment policy so as to better reflect the cultural, socio-economic and ethnic diversity in our cities.

Engaging with Transnationalisation

Until now, migrant and post-migrant populations have been considered as 'national' minorities with family, economic and social links either in the originating country or in the country of adoption. Our research has shown that migrants have developed sophisticated and complex transnational ties which complicate the dual home country-country of settlement matrix. Migrant populations have developed strong translocal ties across Europe and in relation to cultural practitioners of migrant origin, cultural policy at metropolitan, national and European levels should better anticipate and facilitate the transnational and creative synergies that artists of migrant background are now pursuing. Greater support for transnational cultural 'cooperation' also needs to be rethought outside of traditional paradigms (such as *la Francophonie*) to greater reflect the complex aspirations of artists and culture professionals. Greater international cooperation between different cities could be promoted through the creation of mobility grants for young artists for example. Of course it must also be borne in mind that city administrations find themselves involved in a game that is both fluid and precarious, involving a complex mixture of both competition and collaboration with other cities. In conditions that favour mobility, they must maintain their position in transnational

networks. It takes a vast amount of effort to keep things 'in their place', to hold down assets in any particular city, and also to sustain trans-urban connections.

Tackling Difficult Processes of Professionalisation, Artist and Event Visibility and Mutually Exclusive Audiences

One way of tackling the above issues would be through encouraging increased collaboration between mainstream cultural institutions and smaller independent cultural agents. This could impact on public, private and civic/associational sector of cultural activity. The *Gastarbejteri* exhibition held in Vienna constitutes a good model of practice in this domain (see sections on the Balkan and Turkish nexuses below) since this was one of the rare occasions and the first time in Vienna when an established cultural institution has allowed an NGO to have a significant degree of input into the planning process of a cultural event. As a result of such types of collaboration, opportunities for migrant cultural agents (organisers) to professionalise becomes possible through contacts with established cultural institutions and a wider degree of visibility and audience participation is made possible as well.

3.2. Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries

Three Types of Event – Facilitating Encounter

With respect to the existence of three types of cultural event (public, private and civic/associational), further possibility for encounter and enactment of cultural diversity can be facilitated through what we have called 'shared cultural policies'. These policies could provide the conditions for a sustainable cultural diversity. They are based on the synergy of three areas of competence: the public, private and civil sectors or in other words– elected power (government); expert power (public and private cultural institutions and socially responsible movements (NGOs, the 'third'/civil society sector). The following table below illustrates how the synergy of the different values and modalities which characterise these three sectors can lead to cultural policy which is not simply based on consensus between the three poles, but on participative process.

Table 6.

PUBLIC	PRIVATE	CIVIL
Traditional values	Modern values	Social values
Identity building	Risk orientation	Inclusivity
Appreciations of old elites	Elitism and leadership	Equality
Institution building	Organization building	Movements
Museums and libraries	enterprises	Circles, clubs, NGOs
Past	Future	Present
High standard routine	Innovation	Social experiment
Oeuvre	Product	process

So shared policy is:

- transparent, (publicly debated and agreed);
- pro-active, fostering innovation, stimulating non-existent areas;
- catalytic, initiating new programs, projects and ideas;
- cross-fertilising, involving different sectors, and ideas from artistic, scientific and other fields;
- coordinated within government and within different level of public policies;
- inclusive, for all marginal and minority groups.

Shared policy overcomes the public-private dilemma through the integration of the 'third' or civil sector, which in turn favours democratic cultural policy. It views cultural and artistic practice in terms of a process of creation rather than in terms of an end product or canonic oeuvre. If shared cultural policy is to be successful, it needs to be extended beyond urban and national frameworks to the European and international level (involving bodies such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO).

Tackling Unequal Distribution Networks

In order to tackle this issue and the ensuing invisibility and marginalization of migrant and post-migrant artists (musicians in particular), financial incentives should be given to small independent music labels through a careful weaving of cultural and fiscal policy. Further studies should be carried out into the obstacles that small music labels face as small businesses. The idea of *talents des cités* in Paris whereby the *Plan de Cohésion sociale* encourages economically-disadvantaged individuals to set up their own businesses through financial and educational incentives could be adapted and applied to the cultural sector in order to allow for the professionalisation of those musicians, who despite huge 'live' success, find it difficult to secure record deals if their music does not meet certain criteria laid out by the 5 major record labels. Further support in the development of infrastructure for small and micro enterprises is needed.

Engaging with Transnationalisation

In the same manner as engagement with artist transnationalisation (see above), cultural policy at metropolitan, national and European levels should better anticipate and facilitate the transnational and creative synergies that culture professionals of migrant background are now pursuing. Greater support for transnational cultural 'cooperation' also needs to be rethought outside of traditional paradigms (such as *la Francophonie*) to greater reflect the complex aspirations of these culture professionals.

3.3. Media

Increasing Visibility of Migrants in the Media

In order to increase the visibility of migrants in the media, charters of diversity should be introduced into the recruitment policies of mainstream terrestrial media outfits. Such charters of diversity should not only remain symbolic and voluntary in character but should be subject to annual checks by a media watchdog for instance. This policy recommendation is particularly applicable to television. By increasing the on-screen presence of journalists, analysts, presenters, actors and members of the public of migrant origin, steps can be taken to re-engage with a public which is increasingly 'switching off' and seeking news and entertainment through transnational satellite channels. Such a policy has implications for issues of inclusion and how migrant populations engage with the country of adoption, socially, politically and culturally.

The Significance of Media for Cultural Life and Boosting Migrant-Led Media

In order to tackle the issue of the lack of visibility and coverage of 'migrant'/nexus-relevant cultural events in the mainstream media, incentives could be created to encourage partnerships between migrant-led and mainstream media. In order to boost migrant-led media, in some countries where this research was carried out, the media licensing laws (e.g. according frequencies in Italy) could be liberalised further to encourage a diverse spectrum of media outfits.

Transnationalisation of Media Consumption

As mentioned above, our research reveals the growth transnational media consumption (principally through satellite television-watching) across migrant communities. This type of media consumption suggests that migrants are not bounded in the locality/city where they happen to live but are synchronised with a wider transnational reservoir of news and events. Their synchronisation with everyday life on another continent has profound implications for how they relate to (or perhaps in some cases, disengage from) their country of settlement. In order to encourage greater engagement and identification with issues which concern the country of settlement there is a need for a policy outlook which envisages more migrant-led programmes and input into the mainstream broadcast media. This policy implication also applies to the print media and the Internet.

3.4. Policy

Tackling the Duality of Cultural Policy

In order to tackle the duality between high and socio-culture, cultural policy representatives and project managers should be made more aware of these divisions and unmarked 'hierarchies'. Socio-cultural initiatives within urban regeneration policies are valuable because they are a step forward from 'minority rights' discourses which can freeze certain groups into being seen solely in terms of their 'difference'. Socio-culture can therefore introduce broader emancipatory/agency-driven logics. Nevertheless, policymakers should take care not to ethnicise such initiatives. One way in which this can be done perhaps is to develop a truly integrated social and cultural and policy, so that cultural projects do not become instrumentalised. So when calls for bids are made public through such funding, artists of migrant or post-migrant background should not be encouraged to make their cultural project fit with certain social or 'identity-art' objectives. Greater funds should be made available to individuals and smaller cultural organisations so as to actively facilitate the pathway between socio-culture/urban funding and mainstream culture funding. Current public funding levels to established cultural

institutions could be re-assessed, greater private-public sponsorship could be pursued so as to 'free up' further funds for smaller more fragile cultural projects/organisations. Greater recruitment of diverse cultural policy personnel would encourage greater sensitivity to issues of diversity and divisions between culture and cultures.

Understanding the Limits of Representational Cultural Policy

There needs to be a shift in policy perspective from one based on representation to one based on inclusion and support of creative innovation. Greater support should be given to arts education in less elitist areas of cultural production – e.g. digital art/'non-European' musical forms etc. It is important that more space is given to small projects at the local, national and European levels. For example, the current Culture 2000 programme tends to favour large projects, thus penalising smaller cultural structures. The 50% co-funding requirement also creates problems for smaller players. If the European policy orientations shifted their perspective in this domain, then this might encourage national and local cultural policy orientations as well.

Understanding the Limits of Nationally-Framed Cultural Policy

Where nationally-framed cultural policy has the effect of excluding socially and ethnically diverse populations, attempts to shift from these sorts of policies to ones based on the notion of territories and cities will generate greater diversity in cultural production and art forms. Nevertheless, cities should still be seen as nodes within wider networks of mobility rather than as bounded territorial units where migrants settle. Furthermore, the State at the national level should still play an important role and better articulate its activities in the cultural domain with city administrations where possible. More transparent budgetary models need to be established at local and national levels so that the transition from pre-planned funding of institutions to one which favours project-funding, can be made. Such a shift would de-centre (and in some cases 'de-nationalise') cultural production and give greater opportunities to independent cultural initiatives.

Understanding the Limits of Nationally-Framed Migration Policy

Migration policies tend to be framed in terms of the nation – a classic example of this is the 'sealing' of the nation's borders in attempts to re-assert national control over a global issue. In terms of migration policies, the EU and its member-states should define their political position not in terms of closing national borders, but rather in terms of global societal development. In order to escape the narrow national paradigm, the EU member-states need to think in terms of the positive transnational nexus connections which already exist between migrant cultural practitioners. The transnational connections which

do already exist tend to be small-scale. The notion of social capital linked to small transnational cultural projects needs to be given greater weight in the formulation of European migration and cultural policy.

Developing Shared Cultural Policy

In order to overcome duality in cultural policy and to facilitate diverse and sustainable cultural production, shared cultural policy outlook needs to be adopted by cultural policy makers and their representatives. See above (Culture Professionals/Cultural Industries) for further discussion.

Encouraging Cultural Diversity at the European Level

There is a need for a sincere European policy of cultural diversity, whereby diversity is not only imagined in terms of its European member states and their 'historical (autochthonous) minorities', but in terms of the migrant and post-migrant populations within them. When formulating policy which explicitly relates to migrant populations, this should not only be done, as is predominantly the case, in relation to socio-economic concerns only, but should fully take them into account with regards to cultural, arts and multilingual policies.

4. Models of Good Practice

4.1. Shifting the focus from national minorities to translocal cultural actors

At the moment, best practice is often perceived to promote or facilitate the cultural expression of national 'ethnic minorities'. This is either done explicitly, as has been the case in London in the past, or implicitly, for example in Paris, through the socio-cultural objectives of social cohesion policy in economically depressed districts. Although this model has been seen as enabling and liberal-minded and although it is a useful conceptual tool for those countries with historically-embedded and marginalized minorities (e.g. in Serbia – the Roma, Albanians, Kosovars etc.) it can have negative consequences for artists of migrant background since they can become channelled into seeking these less prestigious sorts of funding and eventually become trapped in the socio-cultural, 'ethnic arts' scene, regardless of their own artistic ambitions. This is not to deny the supportive role which ethnically defined local, national or transnational networks and associations are playing in sustaining the flow of 'their' artists outside of any subsidies from the cultural sectors. It simply means that the national minority or socio-cultural model can hinder the development of transnational links due to the lack of funding and the relatively weak infrastructures for transnational artistic promotion.

Multicultural cities should have open cultural centres for expressions of different cultural models. In the same space the encounter of different groups and interests should be facilitated. 'Identity affirmation' and »minority protection« seem to be the key notes of the official discourse in the field. »Cultural diversity« is a notional new-comer, and performs different heterogeneous functions in cultural struggles. 'Identity' and 'minority' approaches can block rather than develop the 'nexus' effects, since they isolate and folklorise 'communal' cultural practices. Indeed, isolated or 'ghettoised' institutions are leading toward further alienation and marginalization of migrant and post-migrant communities. Much more relevant to an agenda of cultural diversity which shifts policymakers focus from the notion of national minorities to that of translocal cultural agents are some commercial, alternative, sub- and counter-cultural practices.

Instances of models of good practice in this area can be found in a number of our cities. For example, in Paris, the cultural venue *Mains'doeuvres* where we held one of our key cultural events (*Music Matters* April 2005) can be seen as an open cultural centre (its premises are housed on an ex-industrial site or *friche*) which combines cultural and artistic excellence with a socially-embedded cultural programme. Its location in St Ouen – a less well-off and largely 'immigrant' neighbourhood to the north of Paris, means that it is able to attract diverse audiences who are often associated with a cultural project and become involved in the creative process. The emphasis on creative process and the clear articulation of the venue's cultural ambitions with its surrounding area makes *Mains'doeuvres* an example of successful multicultural practice. Along similar lines, in Ljubljana, the *Metelkova City Autonomous Cultural Centre* complex in the centre of the city – an ex-Yugoslav military complex – is now an independent cultural centre involving artists, activists, cultural workers, etc. from Ljubljana and Slovenia. The *Metelkova* complex represents one of the most prominent cultural/artistic landmarks of the city of Ljubljana. Not only is it locally-embedded, but it also enjoys a transnational reputation. In this sense it overcomes dichotomies between high/spectacular and locally-embedded socio-political artistic production. *Metelkova* strives to be a multi-cultural, urban venue open to everybody. It aims to sustain art, culture, social and humanitarian work, to help social integration and to benefit the community. It also promotes an artistic and cultural environment rather than a series of isolated cultural events. A similar independent cultural centre exists in Belgrade – the *Rex Cultural Centre* which supports production and presentation of analytical, critical culture and art which reflects civil needs and initiatives. It also aims to promote values of open and democratic society. It is perhaps not a coincidence that all these examples of open cultural centres are members of a European network called *Trans Europ Halles*. The projects undertaken in the *Trans Europe Halles* network (itself established in 1983) are conducted within the local context but

provide an international perspective. They address artistic and social issues and aim to promote co-operation and understanding between European cultural organisations.

The development of transnational cultural flows and nexuses has significant consequences for national policies of inclusion and exclusion. Transnational migrants are actively involved in multiple linkages, and depend for their livelihoods on such linkages, and therefore they tend to have complex sets of affiliations. Their interests cannot easily be served by any single nation state, and so there is no longer a positive incentive to invest their interests and attachments in any one national community. This is a fundamental challenge to policymakers.

Where migrants do engage in the spheres of cultural production, they are more likely to claim a stake in society in general. The important point here is that, for people's involvement and engagement to take place at every level of activity, all barriers to entry must be removed and all discriminatory practices eliminated. We may say that a great deal has been achieved in certain European contexts in seeking to overcome these barriers. But it is also important to underline that the nature of barriers is likely to change over time. Old barriers are overcome, but new ones present themselves. A new barrier may well be emerging through a suspicion about, and a resistance to, new transnational social and cultural practices. The tendency to see transnational networking as a potential source of threat or disruption to the path of integration for migrants may now constitute a new ideological barrier to cultural equity and inclusion.

Interesting models of practice regarding transnationalisation were found in many of our cities. For example, in London, the *Hubble Bubble* DJ platform, the electro-oriental musical group *Oojami* and *The Shrine Collective* all represent the multiple and transnational linkages which migrants and post-migrant artists/cultural agents are developing. In Paris, we see similar processes particularly amongst the *New Bled Vibrations Collective*, which activates professional links well-beyond the France-Francophonie-Maghreb- axis. In Berlin, the emerging scenes of gay and lesbian club culture (e.g. the *Gayhane* club night) which attract a diverse crowd (ethnically and in terms of sexual orientation) are interesting for our purposes in that they, like the examples in London and Paris above, similarly invite us to question the identification of migrants with the notion of national communities. In Rome, the *Orchestra of Piazza Vittorio* brings to the stage eighteen musicians (and eleven nationalities - Italy, Tunisia, India, Cuba, United States, Morocco, Hungary, Ecuador, Argentina, Romania, Senegal), and is led by the seasoned Italian musician Mario Tronco. Their music combines traditional and contemporary traditional Indian, Latin American or Arab melodies which are re-interpreted by Tronco or other members of the band. Sometimes they are born

out of improvisation. Some are totally original pieces. Despite attempts to secure public funding, no public body has ever offered to support the orchestra, according to Tronco. The orchestra is self-financing through ticket and CD sales, and has proved it has staying power and enduring appeal. It has had engagements in Italy, but also in other European countries (e.g., Austria, Germany). In 2004, the Orchestra competed for the German Record Critics' Award.

4.2. Transnationalism and the Media

With respect to media policy, developments in transnational media are raising important cultural issues concerning 'cultural rights' and multiculturalism. What are the cultural implications when sizeable migrant communities cease to watch the national channels of their 'host' country for cultural diversity strategies and policies? Does the concept of 'minority' programming cease to be adequate for addressing audiences that have until now been categorised in this way? How should multiculturalist policies in broadcasting be re-invented in the age of transnational broadcasting?

There are also significant political questions to be raised concerning the public sphere and the future of public service philosophy. How can these new transnational services be incorporated into models of the public broadcasting sphere? What is the significance of these new media for public-service ideals, nationally but also increasingly at the European scale? How should the public broadcasters be responding to the increasing penetration of transnational broadcasters into the mainstream audiences? What are the scales of intervention for media policy agencies given the transnationalisation process?

Good models of media practice which associate migrants in the programming and production of quality programmes were identified in several of our cities. In Paris, the radio station *Fréquence Paris Plurielle* presents a successful case of associational radio which has numerous programme slots for different communities living within the city. The quality of broadcasts is not sacrificed despite the radio having an associational character and there is a wider citizenship dynamic in the radio as a whole which means that it has not become a mosaic of different communities who are juxtaposed but who do not interact with one another. The *EMAP* radio project in Vienna constitutes a further model of good practice. The Internet radio station *EMAP*, based at the musicology department of the University of Vienna, does not fit traditional media categories. It acts as a transnational media platform for Balkan nexus music by its transmission and archival storage of live concerts in Vienna (and elsewhere) as well as for music related to the African and other 'nexuses/nexi'. *EMAP* constitutes an interesting model: it benefits from the infrastructure of the University of Vienna and can therefore act as an

intermediary in cultural production which does not depend on market forces. Furthermore it realizes an open content- approach – not least through the outsourcing of programmes to interested parties (potentially anywhere in the world), which distinguishes it also from other non-commercial media. In terms of giving visibility to artists of migrant background, the BBC website *Africa on Your Street* constitutes a model of good practice. It is a website which is part of the mainstream UK media, with the objective of giving visibility to African musicians. The aim is to promote this visibility in an alternative manner to the more habitual 'world music' information sources, in order to reach African communities, as well as the middle-class white fans of 'world music' in the UK. Another key aim of the website is also to celebrate the music happening every week in UK-based African communities, not just at concerts, but at weddings, parties, clubs, and celebrations of all kinds, from Ethiopian new year to Ghanaian Independence Day.

4.3. Re-imagining the Urban

We need a turn of imagination of the urban that takes into account the transnational and transcultural processes that are fragmenting and reconnecting the city on new terms. Among the developing trends that shape the urban phenomena today, Sassen identifies 'globalisation and the rise of the new information technologies, the intensifying of transnational and translocal dynamics, and the strengthening presence and voice of socio-cultural diversity' (Sassen, 2000:144). She is pointing to the significance of new mobilities and flows (through both information/media networks and human migrations), and of the new kinds of relationship between places and cultures that ensue as a consequence of these mobilities and flows. In other words, the urban phenomenon in the twenty-first century is a very different one, so much so that, as Marcus Doel and Phil Hubbard put it, 'our understanding of the city needs to be radically rescaled, with notions that a world city is a bounded place plugged into a global space of flows rejected in favour of a perspective that sees world-cityness as an achievement of performances and encounters that are globally distributed with varying degrees of clustering and dispersion' (Doel and Hubbard, 2002: 352). The city, they suggest, is something 'that is produced rather than [...] something given' (*ibid.*). The crucial point to clarify is that the inhabitants of the city, the social subjects, in producing the city are doing so transnationally, as their social field of experience now extends well beyond their immediate local and national boundaries, incorporating interdependencies that are built across spaces. The immigrant, the tourist, the citizen of the world city today, their sociality is one of 'mobility', as John Urry points out (Urry, 2001). This has clear implications for cultural practices and for our conception of citizenship. Global cities, as Engin Isin remarks, are indeed, 'spaces where the very meaning, content and extent of citizenship are being made and transformed' (Isin, 2000: 6).

The challenge for social scientists is to find ways to conceptually grasp the nature of this new kind of urbanism. This must involve the recognition that many of our already existing conceptualisations of cities are no longer adequate to understand the changes taking place, since they continue to regard them in terms of discreet and bounded entities - in terms of socio-cultural containers (a metaphor - invoking rootedness and community - that is very much grounded in the imaginative repertoire of methodological nationalism). Recent social theory has sought to find a language that can move our thinking beyond this kind of bounded container imagination of the city. This has involved the recognition that cities must increasingly be seen in terms of flows, networks and connections.

Let us here formulate some important aspects of what - as we see it - is happening in the new urban and trans-urban developments:

- There is a new kind of mobility in play, connecting urban spaces together on a new basis. This is occurring on a different basis than older forms of networking.
- The city is coming to exist as a constellation of practices that increasingly combine both localised and distanced elements.
- City spaces acquire new meanings in the emerging transnational social and cultural field brought into being by migrant populations in Europe. Capital cities, with their conglomeration of migrant populations, are being pulled in different directions, with their different parts going along disparate networks, connecting across spaces to other cultural spaces in other metropolitan areas.
- In order for the interconnectivity of cities to be possible, a transnational institutional infrastructure must be brought into existence.
- City governments and urban policy makers must actively seek to respond to these new urban dynamics. In the new context, cities find themselves having to mediate and translate the global flows that they are part of in order to keep themselves well positioned in the transnational order. City administrations find themselves involved in a game that is both fluid and precarious, involving a complex mixture of both competition and collaboration with other cities. In conditions that favour mobility, they must maintain their position in transnational networks. It takes a vast amount of effort to keep things 'in their place', to hold down assets in any particular city, and also to sustain trans-urban connections, to be performed at a multiplicity of sites.

An example of good practice, in the sense that it illustrates the interconnectivity between urban spaces, can be found in Belgrade's independent radio station *B92*. *Radio B92* is an alternative urban radio station which enjoys a trans-urban reputation and following in London, Amsterdam, Brussels and Paris. It grew out of the local context but its mission is relevant and thereby connected into other urban contexts. A further example of this urban interconnectivity can also be found in the Belgrade-based *Cross Radio* (set up in 2001) – a network of independent radio stations and programme exchange, non-government and youth organisations from several European cities. A unique radio programme can be heard every week in Ljubljana, Maribor, Zagreb, Mostar, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Skopje, Zurich, Prishtina, Belgrade, Zrenjanin, Sombor, Prijepolje and Novi Sad. Twelve different radio stations and six countries are involved in the radio programme exchange - five stations from Serbia, two from Bosnia and Herzegovina, two from Slovenia, one from Kosovo, one from Macedonia and one from Switzerland (produced by members of the Bosnian community in Zurich).

4.4. A Sincere Diversity Policy

The artists and culture professionals we have been studying throughout this project have demonstrated increasing professionalisation and a desire to include but also to go beyond their communities and national borders in order to work with other professionals across Europe. Sometimes, these are European and world wide-ethnically defined networks; at other times they go beyond ethnically-defined collaborations. However, where the two types of transnational activity meet is in the shared interest for trans-European creative cooperation. In this sense then, a model of best practice implies a true European policy of cultural diversity, whereby diversity is not only imagined in terms of its European member states but in terms of the migrant and post-migrant populations within them. When formulating policy which explicitly relates to migrant populations, this should not only be done, as is usually the case, in relation to socio-economic concerns only, but should fully take them into account with regards to arts policy. Public policy should give greater visibility to 'invisible' groups such as the Roma in Serbia for example, without over-ethnicising them. Only when migrants are no longer solely boxed into the social policy and border controls policies, can an effective and sincere policy of cultural diversity develop. For this to happen, perceptions of migrant and post-migrant populations need to be updated in order to fully conceive of them as transnational European cultural actors, rather than minority actors in the mosaic of Europe's member states. Artists with a migrant background living in the cities which we studied should also be given greater opportunities to present their work in events which have an international dimension (i.e. those 'spectacular' events which are staged to demonstrate the global city credentials of cities such as Paris, Berlin and London). In Paris a good model of practice which works in

this direction can be located in the annual Rencontres de la Villette festival. This festival essentially focuses on urban or emerging cultures. It is held at a national cultural institution of recognised international excellence (*le Parc de la Villette*) but, rather unusually, this national cultural institution is located in the north-east of Paris (19th *arrondissement* – a working class district with a high proportion of non-European immigrant-origin inhabitants) and through long-term and structured efforts to involve migrant-origin populations (as both audiences and artists), the festival can be seen as successfully overcoming the dichotomy of locally-embedded and international cultural production. The future cultural centre *le 104 rue d'Aubervilliers* (due to open in 2006), also located in the 19th *arrondissement* will be a test-case for the successfully articulating local cultural production involving migrant populations and international artistic resonance.

In institutional terms, an effective policy of diversity might work to promote diversity in a number of ways. The work of cultural institutions should be evaluated annually not only upon their major achievements and results, but also according to the level of implementation of diversity policy. For example, a public library's diversity policy could be evaluated in terms of the following criteria:

- proportion of children and youth from different cultural and social backgrounds integrated within the membership;
- proportion of books bought in various migrant or minority languages;
- proportion of books in these languages which are lent out (read);
- number of promotional programmes (literary evenings) relevant to migrant/post-migrant or minority literature ... etc.

Specific cultural policy instruments should be created for the support of intercultural dialogue and joint projects (co-productions etc.). This can be done through public competition of the projects. The *Gastarbajteri* project which was held in Vienna in 2004, in this sense constitutes a model of good practice in that it represented an extensive collaboration between established cultural institutions, in this case, the public libraries and the Vienna museum, some commercial organisations and the 'third' or NGO sector. The exposure of marginalized and transnationally-based migrant cultural production in public cultural institutions facilitated the negotiation of power relations between established the culture sector and civil society organisations. The *Gastarbajteri*-project consisted of two exhibitions in prominent cultural locations in Vienna: one on labour migration from Turkey and former Yugoslavia in the Vienna museum and the other on

'Media and Migration' in the main site of Vienna's public libraries. Associated with these two exhibitions was a special screening of films related to the topic of migration, as well as a series of events in the exhibition spaces, including panel discussions, literature readings and DJ events.

4.5. Shared Cultural Policies

Partnerships between NGOs and mainstream cultural Institutions (need to be encouraged, as do partnerships between 'immigrant' and 'non-immigrant' media. By developing such partnerships, migrant cultural production will benefit from greater visibility and in the 'mainstream' and migrant cultural practitioners will be able to access and lobby key cultural funders. Non-migrant cultural practitioners also stand to benefit – for example many media organisations need immigrant expertise within their personnel in order to reflect on some of the major changes which globalisation and migration are bringing to the cities which we studied. In addition, we argue that the most viable cultural policies for the future will be 'shared policies', based on the synergy of three areas of competence: the public, private and civil sectors or in other words– elected power (government); expert power (public and private cultural institutions and socially responsible movements (NGOs, the 'third'/civil society sector). An example of shared cultural practice can be found in the *Gastabajteri* exhibition project in Vienna – see above)

4.6. Action Research

One of the key original aspects of the Changing City Spaces project was action research. During the course of the project, we organised three major multicultural events in Berlin, Paris and Ljubljana and three smaller events in Vienna, Rome, Belgrade and Brighton. These events served as innovative platforms for discussion and debate amongst academics and culture professionals who normally work in separate worlds and rarely engage with each other directly. Our ethnographic research with cultural policy officials, cultural producers and organisers, artists, the media and audiences laid the ground for the cultural events in various interconnecting ways. For example, in Paris, some of our policy interviewees not only became participants in the workshop but also its sponsors. These events generated dialogue amongst very different constituencies and for this reason can be seen as contributing to the development of a model of good practice in the field of cultural policy. In some of the cities studies (e.g. Belgrade), research in the field of cultural development is the weakest point as it is rarely used as a base for policy making. It has to be further stimulated and supported in order to provide all relevant

information about employment, financing of culture, participation trends etc. that are necessary for further development of cultural policy instruments.

4.7. Recruitment of Culture Professionals and Decision-makers

The issue of personnel is key and measures should be taken to recruit policy representatives, consultants and decision-makers from a diverse range of social and cultural backgrounds if a sound diversity policy is to be sustainable. As far as this issue is concerned, the 'third' sector of cultural activity (including associations or NGOs) presents an effective model of good practice since it is often a training ground for marginalized groups to develop the necessary professional skills in order to be able to work and have an impact in the cultural sector. Some obstacles to creating events are being created because of existing funding models, which either favour academically-led events, NGO-driven events or cultural industry events rather than favouring jointly conceived projects.

4.8. Overcoming Two-tier Cultural Policy Frameworks

Best practice must be developed at both the local (city and national) level and the European level. Locally, best practice should aim to overcome the current duality in funding mechanisms which lead to a duality of cultural practice: with poorly-funded migrant community art on one side and well-funded spectacular art on the other. For example, cultural institutions whose brief is to promote immigrant cultural production should be granted the same administrative or contractual status as 'mainstream' cultural institutions. This division in cultural policy can only be dealt with if the modalities of migrant and post-migrant cultural production are reconceived by policymakers as being not simply embedded within the national or city frame, but as being part of a much wider European phenomenon. So in addition to the necessity to rethink local (national and metropolitan) policy, European-level policy also needs to be rethought. Models of good practice which manage to overcome this duality can be found in the 'third' sector, the commercial sector and to a certain extent, in the public sector. These models can be located in the examples of the *Metelkova* project (Ljubljana) and the *Parc de la Villette Rencontres de la Villette Festival* (Paris) – see above for further details. The Paris concert venue *Le Cabaret Sauvage* programmes a range of innovative and international artists of migrant background. It often hosts highly-visible and open themed festivals during Ramadan (Muslim month of fasting). These events and other concerts attract a socially and ethnically-diverse audience (from Paris and its suburbs). Other instances of good practice which overcome the duality of cultural policy can be found in London's *Arcola Theatre* – a fringe theatre located in the heart of London's Turkish community and led by a Turkish artistic director. *Arcola* brings quality productions of international standing and

visibility to this theatre. Also relevant is London's Turkish film circuit where the organiser of the *London Turkish Film Festival* has recently led initiatives to get film premières of major Turkish blockbuster movies into London's West End cinemas and reviewed by mainstream English-language magazines.

In particular, European cultural diversity policy needs to explicitly include migrant-origin populations in its conception of diversity, thereby, going beyond the habitual conceptualisation of diversity in terms of European member states national or regional cultures. In addition, migrant populations need to be explicitly included in European cultural diversity policy in so far as it relates to the arts. Hitherto, they have been confined to the discussion of diversity in relation to social and economic themes such as employment etc. Whilst not denying the importance of a cultural diversity policy which takes into account vitally important issues such as diversity in the workplace, it is nevertheless dangerous if migrants cannot be seen as an intrinsic part of European culture. By bringing into focus the fact that many migrant cultural practitioners actually work transnationally *and* the fact that many more would like to do so, a transversal policy of European cultural diversity and mobility can perhaps be brought about.

5. Future need for research effort

Moving Beyond Europe's Borders

Future research needs to be able to take into account the non-European dimension of migration and cultural production. If we had been able through this project to conduct empirical research in non-European countries, then the nexus design aspect of this research would certainly have led us to extra-European destinations. However, it has not been possible to conduct funded empirical research outside of Europe's borders. In order to fully understand the dynamics of migration and cultural production and hence to be able to formulate effective cultural policies at local, national and European levels, the conditions of emigration in originating countries and continuing, multidirectional extra-European ties must be fully researched and this is the aim of some the researchers in our consortium.

Viable Cultural Policies for the Future

During the course of the *City Spaces* project we identified what we have called shared cultural policies as models of sustainable practice in the cultural field (partnerships between the public, private and civil society spheres of cultural production). There is need for future research on those cultural configurations (centres, organisations, institutions, movements) which are engaging in partnerships between the public, private

and associational sphere. This is a fairly new phenomenon and one which therefore requires further empirical and theoretical attention, in order to identify some of the future challenges in the development of sustainable and inclusive cultural policies.

Tracking Diversity

Future research needs to track the political and institutional developments arising out of policies of cultural diversity at the metropolitan, national and European levels. For example, how will greater diversity and visibility of people of migrant background in the national media be achieved? How will European-level policy on cultural diversity be implemented in the new EU member states and the ascendant nations? Will the new territories of artistic production (for example in the alternative and independent cultural centres) successfully foster the emergence of a new generation of professional artists from diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds? These areas of policy and practice are relatively new and hence need to be tracked and studied in order to identify possible pitfalls as well as to valorise good practice.

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

Strategy for Dissemination During the Project

A number of strategies were adopted in order to effectively disseminate the research of the *Changing City Spaces* consortium. These included:

- The presentation of research papers and results and national and international conferences, symposia and workshops (see annex 3 in section VII for a full list of conference papers arising out of the research project).
- Organising innovative cultural events (three key events and four related events) in order to bring together different constituencies which rarely have the occasion to debate and exchange ideas (cultural policy makers and representatives, media representatives, artists, audiences). The cultural events which the consortium organised were key and original aspects of the research dissemination strategy. For further details see section III and annex 2.
- Teaching at undergraduate and post-graduate level.
- The publication of scientific research papers in peer-reviewed journals and a co-edited volume (ed. *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* edited by U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou, Palgrave Macmillan, in press).
- Future dissemination of the *Changing City Spaces* Consortium. See annex 3 in section VII for a full list of publications arising out of the research project.

VI. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. References

Official Reports/Documents Consulted

Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (2004). *Diversité culturelle et culture commune dans l'audiovisuel*, Paris.

Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (December 16, 2004 O.J. C310).

Charte de la diversité dans l'entreprise, <http://www.social.gouv.fr>.

Une Stratégie nationale pour l'égalité des chances, Communiqué du premier Ministre, France 28-05-2004.

Kulturna politika v Sloveniji. I. Nacionalno poročilo. II. Poročilo evropske strokovne skupine/Cultural Policy in Slovenia. I. National Report. II. Report of the European Expert Group/, 1997, Ljubljana: FDV.

Slovene National Cultural Programme. Draft, Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2000.

National programme for culture 2004-2007, Ministry of Culture, Slovenia.

2. Bibliography

Below is a list of publications which have arisen from the research project. For a more extensive bibliography please consult the State of the Art Report and the Changing City Spaces website (www.citynexus.com).

Aksoy, Asu (2004). 'Some Muslims Within: Watching Television after September 11', in *Media, War and Terrorism: Responses from the Middle East*, Peter Van Der Veer and Shoma Munshi (eds.), Routledge Curzon, pp. 224-250.

Aksoy, Asu (2005), 'Transnational Virtues/Cool Loyalties: 'Small-scale Research' with Turkish Speakers in London', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, forthcoming.

Aksoy, Asu (2006 in press) 'Migrants and the Re-invention of Europe' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Aksoy, Asu (2006 in press) 'London and the Project of Urban Cosmopolitanism' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2003), 'The Enlargement of Meaning: Social Demand in a Transnational Context', *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4-5, pp. 365-388.

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2003), 'Banal Transnationalism: The Difference that Television Makes', in *The Media of Diaspora*, Karim H. Karim (ed.), Routledge, London,, pp.89-105.

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2004). 'Parting from Phantoms: What is at Issue in the Development of Transnational Television from Turkey', in J.Friedman and S.Randeria (Eds.), *Worlds on the Move: Globalisation, Migration and Cultural Security*, London, I B Tauris.

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2004). 'Whoever Looks always Finds: Transnational Viewing and Knowledge-Experience', in J. Chalaby (Ed.), *Transnational Television Worldwide*, I B Tauris.

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins, (2005). 'Thinking Across Spaces: Transnational Television from Turkey', in T. Morris-Suzuki and S. Yoshimi (eds), *The Cultural Politics of Globalisation*, Tokyo, Heibonsha (in Japanese).

Böse, Martina (2004) Creative industries training – domestication versus empowerment,. In: FOKUS/WIWIPOL (eds) *Creative Industries – A measure for urban development?*, an online reader, Vienna. www.fokus.or.at/reader.pdf

Böse Martina, Cornelia Kogoj (2004) Transnationale Medien und Migration. In: Hakan Gürses, Cornelia Kogoj, Sylvia Mattl (eds) *Gastarbeiter. 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*, Vienna: Mandelbaum.

Böse, Martina (2005) "Ich entscheide mich dafür, MigrantInnen zu sagen." Zur Vermittlung von 'Gegenerzählungen' und Repräsentationspolitik in der Ausstellung gastarbeiter - 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration. In: Nora Sternfeld, Beatrice Jaschke, Charlotte Martinz-Turek (eds.) *Wer spricht? Reflexionen zur Vermittlung*, Vienna: Turia & Kant.

Böse, Martina (forthcoming) Difference and exclusion at work in the club culture economy. In *International Journal of Cultural Studies*.

Böse, Martina, Brigitta Busch, Milena Dragicevic-Sesic (in press 2006) 'Despite and beyond cultural policy: third and fourth sector practices and strategies', in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Busch, Brigitta (in print) Interactions between politics, media and discourse. In: Keith Brown (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* - 2nd Edition. Oxford:Elsevier Publishers.

Busch, Brigitta (in print) Local media between multiculturalism and diversity. In: Clare Mar- Molinero; Patrick Stevenson *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices: Language and the Future of Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Busch, Brigitta (in print) Homogeneity vs. heteroglossia. In: Alastair Pennycook; Sinfrey Makoni (eds.) *Disinventing and reinventing language*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters.

Busch, Brigitta (2004) *Sprachen im Disput. Medien und Öffentlichkeit in multilingualen Gesellschaften*. Klagenfurt: Drava.

Busch, Brigitta (2004) Sprachenpolitik, Sprachen der Minderheiten und die Rolle des Staates. In: Daniela Graf; Karl Kaser (Hg.) *Vision Europa. Vom Nationalstaat zum Europäischen Gemeinwesen*. Wien: Czernin Verlag, 42-55.

Busch, Brigitta; Helen Kelly-Holmes (2004) Language boundaries as social, political and discursive constructs. In: *Language, discourse and borders. Current Issues in Language and Society*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters, 1-13.

Busch, Brigitta; Helen Kelly-Holmes (2004) *Language, discourse and borders. Current Issues in Language and Society*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters.

Busch, Brigitta; Martina Böse (2005) Stil als Ressource, Stil als Ware: 'Gastarbajteri' oder Die Ironisierung nationaler Identitäten. In: Dieter Wolff (Hg.) *Forum angewandte Linguistik*. Publikationsreihe der Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik (GAL) Bd. 47, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 33-46.

Busch, Brigitta; Krzyzanowski Michał (in preparation) Inside or outside of Europe. Discursive strategies of inclusion/exclusion in the enlargement debate (Prov. title). In: James Anderson; Warwick Armstrong (eds.) *Europe's borders and geopolitics: Expansion,*

Exclusion and Integration in the European Union. London: Routledge Transnationalism Series.

de Cillia, Rudolf; Brigitta Busch (in print) Language policy. In: Keith Brown (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* - 2nd Edition. Oxford:Elsevier Publishers.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena (1994) *Neofolk kultura*, Sremski Karlovci, Izdavacka knjizarnica Zorana Stojanovica.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena, 'Mapping cultural cooperation in Southeastern Europe', with Corina Suteu, in: *Reader Crossing perspectives: cultural cooperation with South Eastern Europ'*, European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, June 2003. pp. 71-83.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena, 'EU enlargement processes and its impact on culture'(interviews with actors in Serbia) + Synthesis report published in: *Reader Crossing perspectives: cultural cooperation with South Eastern Europe*, European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, June 2003. pp. 57-58.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena, *Internationalizarea politicilor culturale*, (with Corina Suteu), *Observator Cultural*, Bucharest, n. 178. 22-28.07. 2003, pp. 11-15.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena, *Ethics within the alternative poetics (Etika u okviru poetike)*, in: *Led Art – dokumenti vremena 1993 – 2003 (ICE ART – documents of time)*, pp.23-28, *Multimedijalni centar LED ART*, Novi Sad, 2004. ISBN 86-905375-0-3.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena, *Belef, poliphonies of cultures: challenges for the new cultural policies*, august 2004, www.belef.org

Dragičević Šešić, Milena, *Mreza – metafora ili instrument (Network – metaphore or instrument)*, *Zarez*, Zagreb (special number), autumn 2004.

Dragičević Šešić, Milena and Sanjin Dragojević (in press 2006), 'Imagined or Real Divides' in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Janović, Nikola (2003) 'Balkan v podobi. Reprezentacija balkanske popularne folklore v slovenskih medijih'/Balkans in the image. Representation of the Balkan popular folklore in Slovene media/*Medijska preža/Mediawatch Journal*. No. 17-18, Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute, pp. 10 – 12.

Janović, Nikola (May 2004) 'Euphoric Phantasm and Political Rear-View Mirror: European Ascertainment of Multiculturalism', *Euphoria Magazine*.

Janović, Nikola and Rastko Močnik (in press 2006), 'Three Nexal Registers: Identity-Peripheral Cultural Industries and Alternative Cultures' in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Kiwan, Nadia, (2005). 'Managing Marginalization: Young French-North Africans and Local Associations', *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 14, no.4, pp. 465 – 481.

Kiwan, Dina and Nadia Kiwan (2005), 'Citizenship Education: the French and English Experience', in *Young People in Transition: Becoming Citizens?*, edited by Christopher Pole, Jane Pilcher and John Williams, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 136-158.

Kiwan, Nadia(in press). 'Maghrebi Music in and Beyond the Post-Colonial City' (conference volume of International Conference organised by Mohamed V University, Rabat, Morocco and Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, Open University, UK, Rabat: '*Urban Generations: Post-colonial Cities*').

Kiwan, Nadia (in press), 'The Citizen and the Subject', in *Redefining the French Republic* ed. G. Raymond and A. Cole (Manchester University Press).

Kiwan, Nadia and Ulrike Meinhof (2006 in press). 'Perspectives of Cultural Diversity: A Discourse Analytical Approach' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Kiwan, Nadia and Kira Kosnick (2006 in press). 'The 'Whiteness' of Cultural Policy in Paris and Berlin', in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Kosic, A. 2005. 'Le sfide della politica culturale a Roma. I risultati di una ricerca' [Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome: Results of a Piece of Research]. *Input*, 91/92/93, pp. 36-38.

Kosic, A. and A. Triandafyllidou. (in press 2006), 'Urban Cultural Policy and Immigrants in Rome: Multiculturalism or Simply Paternalism?' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Kosnick, Kira, (2003) 'Ethnicizing the Media: Multicultural Imperatives, Homebound Politics, and Turkish Media Production in Germany. *New Perspectives on Turkey*. (28/29), pp.107-132.

Kosnik, Kira (forthcoming) "Extreme by Definition": Turkish Migrant Broadcasting on Berlin's Open Channel'. *New German Critique*.

Kosnik, Kira (forthcoming) The Gap between Culture and Cultures: Cultural Policy in Berlin and its Implications for Immigrant Cultural Production. EU Working Papers, European University Institute. (RSC).

Kosnik, Kira, Good Guys and Bad Guys: Turkish Migrant Broadcasting in Berlin. in: Faist, Thomas and Özveren, Eyüp, eds. *Transnational Social Spaces. Agents, Networks and Institutions*. Avebury: Ashgate; 2004

Kosnik, Kira (2004) "Speaking in One's Own Voice": Representational Strategies of

Alevi Turkish Migrants on Open-Access Television in Berlin', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 30, no.5, pp. 979-994

Meinhof, Ulrike (2005). 'Initiating a Public: Malagasy Music and live audiences in differentiated cultural contexts'. In S. Livingstone (ed.) *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere*. Intellect.

Meinhof, Ulrike H. and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds.) (in press 2006). *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*. Palgrave.

Meinhof, Ulrike and Z. Rasolofondraosolo (in press 2006). 'Malagasy Musicians in Transnational Settings'. In conference volume of *Urban Generations: Postcolonial Cities*. (Rabat 2004) ed. by D. Richards, to appear in *Moving Worlds*.

Meinhof, Ulrike and Z. Rasolofondraosolo (in press 2006). 'African Music and national identification in transnational networks'. In conference volume *International Conference on Language, Literature and Identity (Yaounde 2005)*, ed. by Kizitus Mpoche et al.

Rasolofondraosolo, Zafimahaleo and Ulrike H. Meinhof (2003). 'Popular Malagasy music and the construction of cultural identities' *AILA Review* Volume 16: pp.127-148.

Robins, Kevin (2003). 'Beyond Imagined Community? Transnational Media and Turkish Migrants in Europe', in S. Hjarvard (ed), *Media in a Globalized Society* (Northern Lights Film and Media Studies Yearbook), Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003, pp. 187-205. Translated into German as "Beyond Imagined Community? Transnationale Medien und türkische Migrantinnen in Europa", pp. 114-132 in B. Hipfl, E. Klaus and U. Scheer (eds), *Identitätsräume: Nation, Körper und Geschlecht in den Medien*, Bielefeld, transcript Verlag.

Robins, Kevin (2003). 'Les dangers du concept de 'communauté imaginée' pour l'espace européen', in E. Dacheux (ed), *L'Europe qui se construit: réflexions sur l'espace public européen*, Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, pp. 199-217.

Robins, Kevin (2006 in press) 'Towards a Cultural Policy for European Cosmopolitanism', *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

VII. ANNEXES

1. Updated D23, Cross-nexus Inter-relationship

Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof

Our project focused on three nexuses which connected several of the seven European cities we studied: the African nexus, linking Paris with Rome and London; the Turkish nexus, linking Berlin with London and Vienna, and the Balkan nexus, linking Ljubljana with Vienna and Belgrade. In order to understand the relationship between these three nexuses it is important to take into account the different types of (im-)migration that they represent. Whilst it must be stressed that none of the three nexuses are homogeneous in any sense, they do, nevertheless, correspond broadly to three types of migration:

The African nexus represents a mainly post-colonial migration, with a long history but one which becomes numerically significant from the 1950s onwards, particularly in the cases of Paris and London. Rome is the exception since the African-origin population arriving from Italy's former colonies is numerically less significant than economic migrants who have mainly arrived during the last twenty years.

The Balkan nexus can be described as representing a post-conflict migration. Whilst many individuals from the former Yugoslavia emigrated in the wake of the war, some 'stayed put', only to find that in the post-war order, they had become 'minorities' in the newly independent states.

The Turkish nexus mainly represents a post-1950s guest-worker migration, particularly in the case of Berlin and to a lesser extent Vienna. With respect to London, the majority of migrants were Turkish Cypriots who also began to arrive in the 1950s. In the 1990s, London has become an increasingly important centre for political asylum and economic migration (which is different to 'guest-worker' migration).

The types of cultural practices which develop in each nexus are, to a significant extent, linked to the conditions of migration and the length of residence in the city in question. Hence for the post-colonial African nexus, the cultural and political dominance of the former imperial centre means that Paris remains a central node or hub for nexus flows and activity of francophone Africans who have settled in Europe, with London playing a similar role for Anglophone Africans. The historical nature of the links between the African nexus cities and a number of African countries (dating back in many cases to the nineteenth century) also means that cultural production is diverse, thus representing a

vast number of genres, generations and styles. This is particularly the case for Paris and London but less so for Rome where migration is still in the very early stages of first generation settlement.

The Balkan nexus has no evident geographical or cultural 'hub': it is characterised by multidirectional and diasporic connections world-wide, rather than by a movement from the colonial 'periphery' to former imperial 'centre' (as is often the case in the African nexus). In addition, marginal cultural practices (which do not receive state-support) are a key site for cultural production in the Balkan nexus. This can be seen as the reaction of many cultural practitioners against the development of ethnicized nationalism and the recent conflict (an example would be the Centre for Cultural Decontamination in Belgrade).

Similarly, the Turkish nexus, which has predominantly emerged out of economic migration as well as demands for political asylum, is not shaped by one dominant cultural or linguistic colonial past. There is a tendency for greater trans-European cultural production, where Turkey can remain a major centre. Istanbul in particular, remains a continuing reference point for Turkish and Turkish-origin migrants in Europe.

We have studied music and media production throughout the three nexuses but for some nexuses, other forms of cultural production have been particularly relevant. For the African and Balkan nexuses, music has been of particular importance, whereas for the Turkish nexus, cinematic production has also been central to the research. This approach is reflected in the cultural/dissemination events which we have organised. In Berlin, the focus was transcultural cinema, with particular reference to the Turkish cinematic production. The event consisted of an international film festival in conjunction with a workshop for academic and culture professionals. In Paris the focus was very much on music and the event involved a series of live concerts and performances in conjunction with a two-day workshop with academics, artists, culture professionals, media representatives and policymakers. The final event in Ljubljana will bring together all strands of research and cultural production in October 2005.

To allow for a more detailed account of nexus activities, we now turn to each of the three nexuses in turn:

- the African nexus;
- the Turkish nexus;
- the Balkan nexus.

1.1. African Nexus Report

(London/Paris/Rome)

Types of Nexus Activity Researched

The African populations we are looking at in Paris, Rome and London are extremely diverse. Each city has a distinct African population. In Paris, we have been focusing on populations from North Africa or of North African origin (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) as well as on populations from Madagascar or of Malagasy origin. North Africans began to arrive in large numbers in the post-war reconstruction period (1950s onwards). They initially arrived as temporary workers and then from the mid-1970s onwards a process of family unification began. In many cases, Paris is now home, therefore, to the third and sometimes fourth generation of descendents. Migration from Madagascar has in general been a more elite migration, consisting to a large part of university students who, until the 1980s, came temporarily to France to study. As economic and political conditions worsened in Madagascar, many students who left Madagascar to study in France have settled permanently there. In London, African migration is largely post-colonial in nature and in more recent years has also been linked to conflict, asylum and economic migration. Research for the project has been linked to Ghanaian, Nigerian and Somali communities. Rome is the exception of the African nexus cities since migration from Africa is a very recent and essentially an economic phenomenon (concerning the last ten to fifteen years). The populations studied in Rome have included North Africans, Senegalese and Malagasy migrants.

In the three African nexus cities, our research has focused mainly on music production and the media. However, we have also looked at film and visual arts (film festivals and distribution in Rome, the *Africa Remix* exhibition and *Africa at the Pictures* Festival in London). In all three cities, we focused on music of various genres (raï, chaâbi, arab-andalou, electro-oriental, folk, salegy, tsapiky, hip-hop) and we adopted a multi-layered approach by interviewing musicians, cultural producers, organisations and audiences. Our

research has adopted a case-study approach, with numerous venues, festivals, musicians and organisations being studied. Our theoretical interest in cultural production has included the following themes:

- Visibility of cultural production both in the city in question and across the three cities;
- To what extent the cities in question are enabling to artists and culture professionals of African origin;
- Audience make-up at cultural events;
- The 'thickness' of transnational connections between culture professionals across the three cities (to what extent cultural actors were drawing on a 'shared cultural reservoir' – Beck, 2000);
- Growing professionalisation;
- Achieving balance between public subsidy and private enterprise;
- Constructions of cultural identity through cultural production.

In terms of media, our research focused on radio, television, the Internet and print media. We have studied associative or community forms of media such as *Radio Fréquence Paris Plurielle* and the *Echos du Capricorne* programme (Paris) or socially committed stations such as Radio Città Aperta, Radio Città Futura and Radio Onda Rossa (Rome) and Spectrum Radio (*Talking Africa* slot in London). We have also studied private initiatives such as Radio Beur FM (Paris), and public service provision through television and radio stations such as Rai Due (Rome), BBC Radio 3 (London) and RFI (Paris). We have paid special attention to transnational media and the process of transnationalisation (satellite and cable television such as Beur TV or BRTV in Paris, RaiMed in Rome and the Middle East Broadcasting Centre, until recently based in London). Print media and patterns of distribution have also been studied, such as the *Nur* newspaper in Rome. The Internet has also been a key element of African nexus research and our interest stems from our hypothesis that this medium allows for widening audiences and the development of new public spheres. This process is quite evident in the *Africa on your street* programme which is a web platform hosted by Radio BB3 in London. This Internet tool reaches a more diverse audience than the radio programmes broadcast by Radio 3. Other key Internet platforms studied were the *Planète DZ* website (Paris) and *AfricaWeb* (Rome).

Methods of Research

Our research has involved a variety of methods:

- Interviews with policy representatives, artists, cultural producers, audiences and media professionals. These have generally been semi-structured interviews.
- Ethnographic conversations have been used, particularly in relation to artists and audiences.
- Participant observation has also been a key research method. We have observed cultural events and followed artists and audiences in a variety of contexts.
- Focus group research, for example in Paris, with cultural association members.
- Action research – this has been an important element of our research methodology. As researchers, we have been involved in the curation and organisation of six cultural events (*Subtitle*, Vienna 29-30 October 2004; *Europe in Motion*, Berlin 9-16 December 2004; *Music Matters*, Paris 7-9 April 2005; *Music and Migration Workshop*, Brighton 7 –8 May 2005; *New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome*, Rome 14 May 2005; *Mobility and Solidarity in Contemporary Europe*, Ljubljana, 7-8 October 2005). In Paris, our ethnographic research with cultural policy officials, cultural producers and organisers, artists, the media and audiences laid the ground for the cultural event itself in various interconnecting ways. For example, some of our policy interviewees not only became participants in the workshop but also its sponsors (DRAC Ile-de-France, Fasild, Fondation Evens, Délégation interministérielle à la Ville, Ville de Paris). In this sense, we can see our research as having been pro-active since issues and challenges which recurred in our interviews with cultural policy representatives became a frame for the workshop itself. A similar dynamic was set up through our research with the media: the workshop participants reflected the wide range of media which engage with issues of cultural diversity and music in urban contexts and the different ways in which they operate. Finally, the artists who both performed and took part in the workshop as panellists were key informants about the transnational cultural life in and beyond the cities which we studied.
- Documentary analysis (of policy documents).
- Musicological analysis (texts, genres).

- Analysis of various image and text material (e.g. flyers and advertising for of concerts, festivals etc.).
- Content analysis of media programmes; analysis of distribution and consumption patterns.

Analysis of Nexus and Nexus Flows

The African nexus has multiple reference points or hubs in the flow of cultural products and ideas. Unlike the Turkish nexus, the African nexus is so diverse that there can be no one reference point. However, Paris has played an important role for Francophone African musicians or those on the world music circuit. In addition, audiences who live in 'non-typical' migration destinations, such as Malagasies in London or Rome, are often very aware of the Malagasy cultural scene in Paris and quite often make trips to participate in the scene there. Furthermore, although migration from Africa to Rome is recent, this does not necessarily mean that the main reference point for artists and culture professionals is solely their countries of origin. Indeed, for many artists in Rome, both Paris and London are crucially important cities. Many Rome-based African artists consider that it is key to be able to attract audiences in London and Paris and this often becomes a self-imposed measure of their success.

Although linguistic barriers have posed certain obstacles to the development of cross-nexus ties between Francophone and Anglophone Africans in Paris and London, this seems to be changing. This suggests that artists and culture professionals are challenging to a certain extent the old colonial tropes of cultural production. For example, in Paris, we are currently witnessing the development an electro-oriental scene which is looking towards London rather than other Francophone countries as a space of legitimisation. This is the case of the New Bled Vibrations Collective, which collaborates regularly with London-based DJ U-Cef and which would like to develop cooperation with the London-based Afro-beat collective, The Shrine. This type of development would seem to echo what may be happening in the Turkish nexus, i.e. that locally-embedded cultural organisations become nodes in a wider transnational cultural nexus.

Another key feature of the African nexus, which merits our attention, is the growing professionalisation of culture professionals. Whilst these organisations may be locally embedded, they are increasingly developing a transnational awareness and *modus operandi*. For example Paris-based outfit, Harissa Music, is developing business links with number of cities across Europe (in the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium and Germany). However, this growing Europeanisation of cultural production does not signal a

rejection of cultural influences from the Maghreb. On the contrary, what brings in huge crowds are those artists who are stars in the Maghreb.

The media plays an important role in the development of transnational cultural production, as artists and organisers increasingly share information and expertise through key Internet platforms for example (this is to some extent, the case of *Mondomix*, based in Paris but which is rapidly becoming a reference point for culture professionals world-wide, and particularly in London, e.g. for Serious Music?).

The action research element of the project has allowed for the further development of the African nexus. For example, the fact that the consultant of the project, 'Dama' is also one of Madagascar's most famous musicians and a former parliamentarian, has led to the activation of some new cross-nexus links and synergies (in Rome in particular).

The African nexus seems to be characterised by two parallel phenomena. One relates to a process of de-ethnicization in cultural production. For example, North African and Malagasy artists are no longer necessarily collaborating with other North Africans or Malagasies. On the other hand, and often simultaneously, we are witnessing the maintenance of more traditional 'ethnic networks'. We should note, however, that these ethnic networks are also undergoing a process of professionalisation and are enabling artists to pursue careers as musicians (e.g. Harissa Music, Espace M, Planète DZ, Beur FM, Beur TV).

Limitations to Nexus Activities (obstacles faced in/exclusion) Implications for cultural diversity policies

Despite the development of transnational cultural production across the African nexus, there are a number of limitations to nexus activities, which reflect current contexts of exclusion in the cities which we researched. Although African artists and culture professionals in Rome look towards Paris and London and try to create links there, it is nevertheless difficult to establish meaningful ties due to a lack of infrastructure and funds within Italy. Restrictive immigration and entry visa regulations also pose a considerable obstacle to the development of cultural exchange and the mobility of artists. The difficulty involved in moving from transnational awareness to transnational mobility is, for many Africans, quite acute whether they are artists, cultural producers or audiences.

The issue of infrastructure is an important one since it is something which can be overcome through policy reorientation. For example, in London and Paris, migrant artists and cultural producers often find that current funding mechanisms channel them into socio-culture or push them into representing their 'ethnic communities'. There is

generally less money available in socio-cultural or 'community art' funds. The result is that artists in the African nexus can become 'bogged down' in the local politics of culture subsidies. As such, possibilities for transnational cultural activities are circumscribed. Furthermore, European cultural funding such as the Culture 2000 programme, which requires the development of European-wide partnerships is often very difficult for small-scale cultural organisations to access, since they get caught up in local battles concerning the classification of their activities and their exclusion from mainstream 'high culture' sectors. In terms of cultural industries, whilst there may be a wealth of transnational cultural production (particularly in the so-called world music sector), it should be recognised that for many artists whose work does not fit a certain 'product specification' (normally the pop genre), such transnational opportunities exist to a much lesser extent.

These limitations have several implications for cultural diversity policies. One of the major challenges involves the need to break with a dual system of culture funding whereby migrants are encouraged to apply for socio-cultural/'ethno'-cultural funds rather than Culture funds 'proper'. By breaking with this duality, greater funds can be made accessible to artists and culture professionals, who in turn can realise their desire for greater transnational synergies. The limitations to nexus activities amongst Africans do not only relate to cultural policy. Indeed, there is greater need for transversality in policy frameworks so that immigration and entry visa policy does not continue to pose serious obstacles to culture exchange and so that the promotion of cultural diversity can take into account not only European member states and nationals' needs but those of Europe's migrant and immigrant populations as well.

Models of Good Practice

At the moment, best practice is often perceived to promote or facilitate the cultural expression of national 'ethnic minorities'. This is either done explicitly, as has been the case in London in the past, or implicitly, for example in Paris, through the socio-cultural objectives of social cohesion policy in economically depressed districts. Although this model has been seen as enabling and liberal-minded, it can have negative consequences for artists of migrant background since they can become channelled into seeking these less prestigious sorts of funding and eventually become trapped in the socio-cultural, 'ethnic arts' scene, regardless of their own artistic ambitions. This is not to deny the supportive role which ethnically defined local, national or transnational networks and associations are playing in sustaining the flow of 'their' artists outside of any subsidies from the cultural sectors. It simply means that the national minority or socio-cultural model can hinder the development of transnational links due to the lack of funding and the relatively weak infrastructures for transnational artistic promotion. The artists and

culture professionals we have been studying throughout this project have demonstrated increasing professionalisation and a desire to include but also to go beyond their communities and national borders in order to work with other professionals across Europe. Sometimes, these are European and world wide-ethnically defined networks; at other times they go beyond ethnically-defined collaborations. However, where the two types of transnational activity meet is in the shared interest for trans-European creative cooperation. In this sense then, a model of best practice implies a true European policy of cultural diversity, whereby diversity is not only imagined in terms of its European member states but in terms of the migrant and post-migrant populations within them. When formulating policy which explicitly relates to migrant populations, this should not only be done, as is usually the case, in relation to socio-economic concerns only, but should fully take them into account with regards to arts policy. Only when migrants are no longer solely boxed into the social policy and border controls policies, can an effective and sincere policy of cultural diversity develop. For this to happen, perceptions of migrant and post-migrant populations need to be updated in order to fully conceive of them as transnational European cultural actors, rather than minority actors in the mosaic of Europe's member states.

Summary

Best practice must be developed at both the local (city and national) level and the European level. Locally, best practice should aim to overcome the current duality in funding mechanisms which lead to a duality of cultural practice: with poorly-funded migrant community art on one side and well-funded spectacular art on the other. This division in cultural policy can only be dealt with if the modalities of migrant and post-migrant cultural production are reconceived by policymakers as being not simply embedded within the national or city frame, but as being part of a much wider European phenomenon. So in addition to the necessity to rethink local (national and metropolitan) policy, European policy also needs to be rethought. In particular, European cultural diversity policy needs to explicitly include migrant-origin populations in its conception of diversity, thereby, going beyond the habitual conceptualisation of diversity in terms of European member states national or regional cultures. In addition, migrant populations need to be explicitly included in European cultural diversity policy in so far as it relates to the arts. Hitherto, they have been confined to the discussion of diversity in relation to social and economic themes such as employment etc. Whilst not denying the importance of a cultural diversity policy which takes into account vitally important issues such as diversity in the workplace, it is nevertheless dangerous if migrants cannot be seen as an intrinsic part of European culture. By bringing into focus the fact that many migrant cultural practitioners actually work transnationally *and* the fact that many more would

like to do so, a transversal policy of European cultural diversity and mobility can perhaps be brought about.

1.2. Balkan Nexus Report

(Belgrade/Ljubljana/Vienna)

Type of nexus activity researched

The activities studied in the three Balkan nexus cities belong mainly to the fields of music and media, and to a lesser extent, to film and the arts.

In Belgrade, the music-related research concentrated on festivals such as Gucha, a festival of trumpet orchestras performing folk music on the Lido (in Zemun, a suburb of Belgrade), or the Balkan music on World Music Festival (Ring Ring). In Ljubljana the focus was on the 'turbo folk' genre, and more extensively, on the popular former Yugoslav music scene: it includes contemporary resistance rituals and alternative cultural-social practices, all music genres, spaces of difference as clubs, live music places, 'Balkan' districts etc.), and in Vienna, main attention was given to the rapidly spreading Balkan theme in different genres, such as live jazz and club nights.

Other cultural activities relevant to the Balkan nexus and in particular to the interface of culture and politics, were e.g. the Belef festival or Balkankult foundation conferences in Belgrade, or the exhibition 'gastarbajteri' in Vienna, a temporary exhibition on former labour migration to Austria from Yugoslavia and Turkey.

As for the area of media, research related to local as well as to translocal and transnational media. In Belgrade, two broadcasts on B 92 were analysed: firstly, a new feature serial with one actor playing the role of 'average' Serb as Balkaner (called 'Mile against transition') and secondly, DERT, a programme on Balkan world music on Balkans. Furthermore, the TV station Pink was analyzed in terms of its role as cultural business and 'creator of turbo-folk culture, as well as prominent propagator of left wing egalitarian anti free market policy'. Research in Ljubljana pertained to internet and transnational radio stations such as Kiss FM (A), Radio Grand (F) and Cross Radio (Independent Former Yugoslav Radio network) – at Radio Student, but also to former Yugoslavia satellite and print magazines (Svet, Imperijal, Extra and Skandal). In Vienna, data was gathered on diaspora issues of Balkan print media, and on free radio stations as well as an Internet radio station, that specializes in ethnic and world music.

The foci in terms of theoretical interests encompassed the following with variations:

- Visibility of cultural production of the Balkan nexus in the City and in the State public sphere (in Belgrade).
- Embeddedness of the Balkan nexus in a trans-national/trans-European connection and its local-City visibility (in Ljubljana).
- Constructions of Balkan identity through various cultural forms and practices (in all three cities:).
- The relationship between commercial culture as managed in mainstream or peripheral cultural industries, and non-commercial, private or socio-economic cultural practices (all three cities).
- The role of cultural agencies and intermediaries such as concert promoters, media people, etc (in all three cities).
- Consumer identification with various Balkan nexus events or practices (all three cities).

Methods of research: interviews, event attendance, document analysis...

A guiding principle of the methodology used was multimodality. Overall, a variety of methods were employed, with a focus on qualitative research methods.

Overall the methods encompassed the following:

- Participant observation in events, restaurants, etc. (B, L, V).
- Informal interviews, face-to-face conversation (B, L, V).
- Action research (V).
- Audience survey (during events) (B, L).
- Interviews with 'key' members of audience – active participants (performing, dancing for others in audience – 'table dancers') (B).
- Semi-structured interviews with cultural practitioners (L, V).
- Focus group research (in Belgrade: with media music programmers; with cultural study scientists from Balkan countries; with music producers, managers, etc.; in Vienna: with young users of the public library where a part of 'gastarbajteri' took

place; in Ljubljana: with culture jamming participants; cultural activists; researchers and scientist; cultural policy professionals and producers).

- Action research – curation of cultural event *Subtitle* (see annex 2).
- Film analysis (iconological analysis and narrative analysis) (B, L: Nikogršnja zemlja/No man's land/, Kajmak in marmelada and Rezervni deli/Spare parts/).
- Media content analysis (in B: also comparative analysis of program for domestic and program for satellite viewers of TV Pink; in V: of diaspora print media and free radio stations; in L: of specialised satellite TV programmes, radio programmes, webzines and web radio programmes).
- Musicological analysis (text analysis and ethno-musical analysis) (B, L).
- Policy documents analysis (in all three cities).
- Analysis of the names of the restaurants and names of their orchestras (with live Balkan music) (B).
- Analysis of various image and text material, promotion material, posters, information (bills) postcards, handbills, broadsheets on Balkan events (V, L).

Analysis of nexus and nexus flows

The Balkan nexus appears to be a rather open concept, a network that is neither defined by a single common language or linguistic family (as e.g. the South-Slavic languages) nor by having a central region of reference/'core land' or a cultural and/or political centre. Analysing cultural and discursive practices linked to the Balkans, the stratification of the nexus seems to be rather according to styles, scenes and weltanschauungen than to (ethnic or national) communities. The old images of Balkan migration, gastarbajter mobility or diaspora community do not correspond to the actual picture which is primarily determined by manifold and multidirectional connections on different levels: a social level, a business level, by new communication technologies allowing an increased connectivity on the individual and on the mass communication level, by an easier access to mobility and modern means of transport etc.

In the cultural field the sector of peripheral cultural industries and the sector of alternative culture (socio-culture) appears to be the most productive whereas the nation-state-determined cultural sector (in Vienna, Ljubljana and Belgrade), with its tendency to adopt ethnicising policies, has only very little impact. We have highlighted this

characteristic at the policy-level, as it constitutes a serious impediment to migrant cultural producers. Whilst self-ethnicisation is often used strategically by some migrant activists and policy makers with migrant backgrounds, this form of strategic (self-)ethnicisation has to be distinguished from *ascribed* ethnicisation, especially by policy-makers. Furthermore, globalised cultural industries have only adapted some Balkan elements and accepted some cultural actors in the so-called World music or world culture scene. Given the nearly world-wide Balkan networks, peripheral cultural industries find sufficiently large markets as they usually address a general Balkan audience and not nationally-defined audiences. Within the cities specific cultural scenes have developed which in turn can act beyond the local (e. g. Vienna Balkan Jazz has developed in the city due to the initiative of music students or out of the circle of street musicians and now tours through Serbia, Slovenia etc. as well as other Western European countries). The alternative sector can either function in an informal, largely uncontrolled zone as a grass roots initiative (such as Cross Radio) or benefit from national or European support for their social commitment. It is within this segment that cultural activities can have a social and political dimension, countering politics of exclusion and mainstream discourses in the media and in politics.

Although artists and art groups of some of the Balkan countries are using the word 'Balkan' in their promotional and other materials (usually for Western market), Balkan culture does not exist as such – and real 'Balkan stars' are still very rare – language barriers between nations as well as historical divisions and borders contributed a lot to the destruction of a once (under Turkish rule) common cultural space. Political divisions have especially divided elites while life-styles of ordinary people and everyday practices bear many similarities. The research has shown that although majority of the music producers and the audiences like idea of being 'Balkan' – it was obvious that it was usually used in connection with Roma music, and concept of 'joy' (not present within elite culture – but extremely important within different forms of urban youth subcultures). In order to be labelled Balkan, besides being part of entertainment, joy, extreme feelings etc., an event has to have a traditional character (the term 'contemporary'- if used in a regional project to show the character of an event - would immediately require the use of the 'euphemism'¹⁴ Southeast Europe). It would seem odd to have 'Balkan techno music festival', but Balkan jazz is possible (in spite of its western origin), due to high level of energy, emotions, improvisations embedded in the practice of jazz... The majority of

¹⁴ South East Europe is considered to be a euphemism because it was usually used to avoid negative connotations which the word Balkan implies – mostly in political discourses and later within elite publicly funded culture. The region was never before, except in German literature during the fascist period, called South East Europe. It is interesting to see how today the notion of 'Western Balkan' has entered political and cultural discourse.

Balkan named events are characterised by the relatively high participation of Roma artists, and audiences, usually invisible in other cultural events and media products. Internationally the Balkan nexus has frequently been interpreted as a trans-European connection. In the field of popular culture production and mass media production, the Balkan nexus provides a unique example Europe- and worldwide. The spread of Balkan pop culture has been enhanced by the role that different media and various formal and non-formal Balkan and diasporic networks play in the reproduction of a Balkan identity. Balkan pop culture and media have remained a form of reproduction of cultural identity not only for former Yugoslavian people, who live in the diaspora but also for other people in and from the Balkan area (Bulgarians, Romanians etc.). Important factors for the Balkan nexus today are therefore:

- the role of mass media;
- the flow of cultural goods, people and information in shaping cultural identity;
- domestic traditional and global trends and cultural forms in reshaping the Balkan official culture identity; and
- established social networks and ethnic business networks all over Europe.

Mapping the contemporary Balkan nexus cultural scene allowed us to see the changes that take place in this 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983). In order to understand the complexity of the Balkan nexus cultural scene, 'culture' itself needs to be imagined cross-nationally. In other words, in order to understand the complexity of the Balkan nexus cultural scene, culture and cultural practices connected to the particular ethnic 'culture' should be imagined trans-nationally and captured in the formulation: from roots to routes (Gilroy 1993; Clifford 1997). This means that the search and understanding of a particular cultural formation or artefact is meaningful only when this cultural formation is understood as the product of a historical formation process, which has taken place at a geographical cross-roads.

It is striking, that regardless of the differences between the three cities, they all show nexus activities occurring mainly outside of the sphere of state-supported culture. To a certain extent, they share the problematic that public support for minority cultures has exerted essentialising and ethnicising pressure. An example from Vienna is the 'Volksgruppengesetz' (Ethnic Groups Act) at federal level which foresees support for cultural activities of the 'autochthonous' Roma minority and theoretically excludes Roma from migrant background from the benefit of such projects. In the beginning this led to a certain emphasis on ethnic difference between different Roma projects and organisations.

In the meantime NGO projects in the field of culture have received support either through EU programmes or through local programmes which are not necessarily granted under a specific 'Roma' title/agenda, yet reach both Austrian Roma and Roma from former Yugoslavia as well as youths with other migration backgrounds. The actors of marginal cultural nexus production tend to struggle therefore against economic marginalization on the one hand and the imposing of identity-politics on the other hand. At the policy level, what is needed therefore is the support of marginal cultural production whether non-commercial or commercial, without pushing cultural producers to self-ethnicisation or to mainstream commercial production. A crucial first step is the recognition of social and cultural diversity beyond a tight ethnic framework.

In Ljubljana the Slovenian government and City administration policy appears to have shifted in order to exercise EU-suggestions related to ensuring basic conditions for the cultural production of minority communities. These encompass the provision of funds and amendments of the Constitution, and seem to aim at assuring material conditions for the participation of the minority's cultural production at the public level. This support implies an attempt to preserve cultural identities and difference (culturalisation). Within the framework of State and City cultural politics, the officially recognised minority communities (Italians, Hungarians) are actually treated as one of the Slovenian cultural actors on the cultural market. No distinction is made between domestic and minority cultural actors, in terms of resources of cultural (re)production, which suggests consistent cultural pluralism. Overall, research in Ljubljana suggested that the Balkan nexus (community) is sufficiently integrated in Slovenian society and culturally recognised at the same time. Heterogeneous and rich cultural production acts as cultural generator of the Balkan nexus in Ljubljana.

In Belgrade, in spite of the fact that throughout the 90's public cultural policies had stimulated the development of Serbian ethnically based culture, the term 'Balkan' has been seen as way of moving away from ethnically-based cultural production (enabling itself with more freedom) – whilst avoiding the accusation of being 'westernised', meaning de-nationalized or part of cosmopolitan intelligentsia (since beginning of XIX century this issue has divided pro-Europeans and nationalist Serbian intelligentsia, culminating in 1930's, and then re-emerging again in 90's).

**Limitations to nexus activities in the cities (obstacles faced, in/exclusion)?
Implications for cultural (diversity) policies? Models of good practice?'**

Regardless of the differences between the three cities, they all show nexus activities occurring mainly outside of the sphere of state-supported culture and outside of public interest. To a certain extent, they share the problematic that public support for minority cultures has exerted essentializing and ethnicizing pressure. The actors of marginal cultural nexus production tend to struggle therefore against economic marginalisation on the one hand and the imposing of identity-politics on the other hand.

In Belgrade, cultural policies at city level neglect both social issues and the interlinking of cultural policy with urban policy, including traffic and communication policy, urban planning, tourism development etc. The lacking investment of cultural policies into 'Balkan' cultural production poses a principal obstacle. Rather than supporting 'Balkan' events, media, artists, etc, public policy focuses either on issues around European integration, if oriented towards the left, or on nationalism, if oriented towards the right. Based on the strict division between profit- and non profit-sector, commercial Balkan folk music is not at all taken into consideration by cultural policy makers.

At the level of actual Balkan activity and cultural flows, especially the synthesis of Serbian and 'gypsy' music works as a nexus catalyst and contributes to the social integration of 'gypsies'. The example of good practices can be found in radical art and media networks, such as program DERT of B92, or theatre performances of Centre for cultural decontamination (joint Roma and Serbian actors).

In Ljubljana within the framework of the State and the City cultural politics, minority communities are actually treated as one of the Slovenian cultural actors, no particular distinction is made between domestic and minority cultural actors, in the terms of resources of – subsidies to cultural (re) production, which suggests consistent cultural pluralism. In the last three years Slovene government and City administration show some shifts towards the exercise EU-suggestions related to ensuring basic conditions for the cultural production of minority communities. These include provision of funds, and aim at assuring the very basic material conditions for the participation of the minorities' cultural production at the public level. However, there are relatively strong political tensions within the political establishment, continuously fomented by the political right (presently on power). There is strong opposition against legal recognition of 'non-autochthonous' minorities (i.e., all the 'Balkan-nexus' groups). Ethnic organisations have recently organised a common co-ordination to fight for legal recognition. The plan to

build an Islamic cultural and religious centre in Ljubljana, although supported by the City government (centre-left), is obstructed by political and civil-society resistance.

Overall, research in Ljubljana suggested that the Balkan nexus (community) is sufficiently integrated into Slovene society and at the same time culturally recognised. Heterogeneous and rich cultural production acts as cultural generator of the Balkan nexus in Ljubljana. On the other side, established political actors seem unable to provide an adequate framework for the 'nexal' social processes and cultural practices.

In Vienna one obvious limitation to nexus activities is posed by the legal framework, more precisely by the lacking EU-status of all but one successor state of Yugoslavia. Cultural practitioners from these countries are therefore hindered in their performance circuit in the EU. At the level of cultural policies, the city has pursued an integration agenda until recently and is only now turning to the paradigm of cultural diversity, without fully abandoning the objective of integration and without having as yet developed any concrete measures. So far state support of minority cultural production and consumption focused on provisions for Austria's constitutionally recognised minority groups, while ignoring migration- related nexus communities and their activities.

Examples of good practice could be found in the realm of third sector activities that aim at a better representation of migrant artists and cultural practitioners in the cultural field in Vienna (as e.g. the exhibition on labour migration 'gastarbajteri'. These belong partly to the area of migrant NGO, partly to the higher education sector.

Summary

Internationally the Balkan nexus has frequently been interpreted as trans-European connection. In the field of popular culture production and mass media production, the Balkan nexus provides a unique example Europe- and worldwide. The spread of Balkan pop culture has been enhanced by the role that different media and various formal and non-formal Balkan and diasporic networks play in the reproduction of a Balkan identity. Balkan pop culture and media have remained a reproduction of cultural identity not only for former Yugoslavian people, who live in the diaspora but also for other people in and from the Balkan (Bulgarian, Romanian etc.)

Important factors for the Balkan nexus today are therefore:

- the role of mass media;
- the flow of cultural goods, people and information in shaping cultural identity;

- domestic traditional and global trends and cultural forms in reshaping the Balkan official culture identity; and
- established social networks and ethnic business networks all over Europe.

Mapping the contemporary Balkan nexus cultural scene allows us to see the changes that take place in this 'imagined community'. In order to understand the complexity of the Balkan nexus cultural scene, 'culture' itself needs to be imagined cross-nationally. In other words, in order to understand the complexity of the Balkan nexus cultural scene, culture and cultural practices connected to the particular ethnic 'the culture' should be imagined trans-nationally and captured in the formulation: from roots to routes. This means: the search and understanding of a particular cultural formation or artefacts is meaningful only when this cultural formation is understood as product of historical process of formation which has taken place in the geographical cross - roads.

At the policy level, what is needed is the support of marginal cultural production whether non-commercial or commercial, without pushing cultural producers to self-ethnicization or to mainstream commercial production. A crucial first step would be the recognition of social and cultural diversity beyond a tight ethnic framework.

1.3. Turkish Nexus Reports

(London/Berlin/Vienna)

Type of nexus activity researched

The Turkish population we are looking at in three capital cities, London, Berlin, and Vienna, is in the order of 400-450.000 (out of a total population of around 4. 000.000 in Europe as a whole).

Each city has its distinctiveness in terms of the character of the Turkish migrations. In Berlin, Turkish migrants arrived as guest workers, from the 1960s onwards. Berlin has been one of the main centres for Turkish migration in Europe, where a considerable number of Turkish migrants (around 250.000) have lived and worked for over forty years now. Berlin is regarded as the capital city of Turks in Germany (the second Istanbul). Similarly, in Vienna Turkish migrants arrived as part of state-commissioned labour recruitment policies. Vienna, however, has not been a major destination for Turkish workers and their families because of the lack of industrial plants and work opportunities. With respect to London, Turkish Cypriots were the first to arrive, from the 1950s, and they now have their third and fourth generations. Migrants from Turkey began to arrive in the 1980s, with a new flux of migrations in the early 1990s, mainly as political

refugees and economic migrants (not in the modality of 'guest worker'). London has the highest number of Turkish-origin migrants, with around 200-250,000 people, nearly two thirds of whom are Turkish Cypriots, and the majority of the rest Kurdish. Each city has its specificity in terms of the character of the Turkish migrations.

Given the diversity in the reasons for migration, and in migration trajectories and patterns, it is very difficult to talk about a Turkish-speaking community in Europe as a cohesive community with a singular identity across these cities. In each of the cities, we find that different political and religious groups, different ethnic groups (including Kurds and Turkish Cypriots), as well as groups from different parts of Turkey (*hemseri* associations) have their own organisations. The Turkish community is far from being homogeneous. Even within the various subgroups, we find deep cultural and political divisions.

One important consequence of this diversity is the variety and richness of cultural activities within this 'community'. There are vibrant scenes of musical performance, entertainment, theatre production, film distribution and exhibition in these three cities. Each group, community, political orientation, and so forth, is engaged in cultural activities at various scales and with various ambitions. We have researched almost all areas of cultural production in the three cities, and when it came to focusing our research enterprise, we concentrated on those cultural activities that seemed particularly relevant to each of the city contexts. Thus, in Berlin, we find there is more activity in the film production scene and also the media scene. Turkish-language media in Berlin have strong transnational dimensions linking them to Turkey, and this holds true even for programming that is locally produced. We therefore concentrated there more on these two areas of cultural production. In Vienna, we focused on the organisation of the 'Gastarbajteri' exhibition – a significant public event in Vienna, documenting forty years of guestworker migration to Vienna. In London, we looked at the music production and film exhibition scenes. These have been our central foci in each city - however, we should emphasize that we studied all aspects of cultural production among the Turkish migrant populations in these cities.

Methods of research

Our research has involved interviews, attendance at events, participatory observation, document analysis, and also action research. On the event organisation side, we interviewed event organisers, associations and institutions that are behind some of the cultural events, as well as some of the funders and sponsors of events. On the audience side, we did on-the-spot interviews at a variety of cultural events, and we also held a

number of group discussions with community members. In Vienna, extensive interviews were carried out with visitors to the 'gastarbajteri' exhibition. We also did interviews with journalists and managers of main Turkish-language local newspapers (both on print and online). We undertook a series of interviews with people who are behind some of the cultural production activities, such as the manager of music bands, theatre production companies, exhibition curators, music hall owners, music publishers, event organisers.

Our research has also had a very strong action research component. What we mean by this is that we as researchers have also been actively involved in the curation and organisation of some of the cultural events. This active involvement has brought with it a different kind of insight and understanding into the dynamics of cultural production and consumption. In London, researchers collaborated with a Turkish investment group wanting to start up a cultural centre in the North of London, where high numbers of Turks live. The London team carried out meetings with the Haringey Local Authority, their regeneration department, and their cultural policy department, with a view to seeing if the Haringey local authority would be able to support this cultural initiative.

In relation to media, the ownership structures, distribution paths and locations of production were analysed, with regard to their local, national and transnational implications. Media programmes and print publications were analysed to investigate the connections between content and structures of production/circulation, particularly with regard to representations of Turkish life in Berlin, Germany and Europe. Locally-produced print publications were compared in the three cities. Media professionals were interviewed, and were asked to describe the motives and constraints associated with publishing in the Turkish language.

Nexus and nexus flows in the context of London, Berlin and Vienna

One important common feature of the cultural activities within the Turkish populations in London, Berlin and Vienna is that Turkish cultural products from Turkey serve as the main reference point. Cultural producers and organisers, cultural industries, organisations, and consumers alike, all tend to have strong links with, and an orientation towards, Turkey and its cultural life.

Turkish consumers can now have widely expanded and differentiated cultural products from a variety of sources. The arrival of Turkish satellite television in the early 1990s made a huge difference in this shift towards the proliferation of sources and kinds of cultural entertainment. This is an important change compared with the past, when Turkish consumers had access mainly to packaged cultural products, such as music tapes and videocassettes from Turkey. At the same time, there has been a development in the

entrepreneurial capacities in the cultural sector, with the consolidation of expertise and infrastructures in cultural activities (e.g. event organisation, music production, film distribution and exhibition). Turkish migrants have been actively generating the means and infrastructures for the fulfilment of their own particular cultural needs. They have been organising film festivals, they have been putting together bigger and more professional live entertainment shows packaged in such a way as to suit the demands of different groups of consumers. Some of these live events are locally-driven, using local talents, and some are led by artists from Turkey, tending to be transnational affairs, with artists touring major European locations with major Turkish populations. We see this happening in all the three cities we researched. Thus, there are now popular DJ-driven disco night events targeting young Turks in Berlin, Vienna and London. There are women's matinee entertainment events with local musicians and singers. And there are more and more live concerts and cultural events organised by local Turkish entrepreneurs, featuring famous singers, films, or cultural acts from Turkey.

At the moment, we should note, these cultural entrepreneurial infrastructures are still locally circumscribed, their business visions and activities not going beyond the concerns of their immediate localities (in our case the cities in question). But we are now beginning to see new developments taking place, whereby these local cultural initiatives are being reconfigured as nodes within a trans-European Turkish cultural nexus. Presently, this nexus is driven by cultural industries in Turkey (principally in Istanbul). Our research is, therefore, identifying emergent configurations. Our hypothesis is that local nodes will become more significant in developing their own creative initiatives within this trans-European cultural network. We argue, therefore, that the Turkish case is particularly resonant – and instructive – with respect to the important matter of addressing the reality, and significance, of contemporary migrant cultural dynamics in the European cultural space.

We find that the degree and the nature of cultural activism (or entrepreneurialism) differs in each city, due to different dynamics of migratory history, and also due to crucial differences in the regimes of incorporation in each of the respective host societies. However, there are certain commonalities across these cities. There is a split that is seen in these cities between, on the one hand, Turkish artists-driven cultural activities, which do not target specifically Turkish audiences, but, rather, more arts oriented cosmopolitan audiences, and, on the other hand, social worker-driven 'cultural' or community work that cannot go beyond the confines of the narrow remit of what has been called 'socio-cultural' work (cultural work that has been indexed to the attainment of social objectives). This we see clearly in Vienna, where there is a strong history of Turkish migrants working in the area of youth work or social work, engaged in media and

cultural projects within the remit of the funding bodies that often are explicitly concerned with the integration of migrants. We do not see this as strongly in London or Berlin. In Berlin, on the other hand, we see many cases of artist-driven work (among filmmakers, video artists), and the reason for this is the availability of public funding for these cultural activities at federal or city levels.

What is also common in the consumption of Turkish-origin cultural products across these three different cities is that, in most cases, the audiences for these events tend to be mainly from within the Turkish-speaking communities. Unless cultural producers specifically target host society audiences, the events tend to be community focused. This situation can, and sometimes does, lead to marginalisation or disregard for the cultural outputs of Turkish migrant populations, whether these products are locally produced or brought from the 'homeland'. Thus, in Berlin (or in Germany as a whole for that matter) none of the mainstream host society music distribution companies distribute Turkish music, even though the Turkish market is a fast expanding one. This leads to segmentation of markets, and feelings of marginalisation.

What is significant, and what needs to be highlighted, however, is the fact that in their locally specific crystallisations of cultural participation and activism, these three cities are part of a common cultural field. This cultural field transcends national borders, encompassing a huge area, from London to Berlin and Vienna, across to Istanbul, and then to the south-eastern cities and towns of Anatolia. Even though the transactions within this field seem at the moment to be mainly emanating from Istanbul, we see that there are now new centres of cultural industries emerging also on the European soil. Frankfurt is one of them, becoming the capital of Turkish-language media production in Europe. The Berlin-Istanbul nexus is also important, becoming very important for film production activities. In the area of Frankfurt-am-Main, for instance, there is now a whole infrastructure (printing houses, distribution facilities, etc.) for media in Turkish. Major and high-circulating Turkish daily newspapers, such as *Hurriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Turkiye*, *Zaman*, are doing their European editions in Frankfurt, with weekly supplements entirely printed for Turkish readers in Europe. These newspapers are often part of large media conglomerates, and content is likely to feed into the TV news programming that these conglomerates produce targeting the Turks in Europe. These papers try to negotiate between addressing Turks as minorities, Turks as Turkish nationals, and Turks as Europeans. Some television stations also do European programming, with news, current affairs and magazine coverage of cultural and recreational activities in the community. They all have slots for 'European' advertising. Media connect Turks into the communicative space of Turkey, but, at the same time, address them as either the 'arms of Turkey' abroad (witness this in the recent discussions about how the Turks in Europe

are seen as messengers of Turkey for Turkey's acceptance into Europe), but also as 'European Turks'.

We draw the following conclusions from our study of the Turkish nexus in Europe:

- 1) The Turkish population in Europe provides a very good case study for addressing the nature of the contemporary phenomenon of global migrations. Turks have not come to Europe as a result of a post-colonial dynamic, and they do not constitute a diaspora. Turks have spread across Europe in search of jobs, money and better life conditions. Whilst the post-colonial population movements were characterised by privileged access to the 'mother country', with the intention of taking up citizenship, Turks have followed the path of money (and survival, in the case of political asylum seekers). What this means is that they have not started their life in Europe with the mentality of being a minority within a nation state. They did not de-link themselves from where they came from, and, instead, they always tried to use the resources available from 'home', as well as from where they happened to find themselves, so that they could achieve maximum benefit. So, for instance, many *Gastarbeiter* left their wives or their children behind in Turkey, in order to achieve flexibility and income savings. What this meant - which is very crucial for understanding the nature of global migrations - is that Turks have always remained connected, in some way or another, to the places they have come from. Over the years, Turkish people have developed a nexus of connections, networks, mobility, and travel between the places where they have resided and worked, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other. Turks have constructed a physical and human infrastructure for networking across Europe, and between Europe and Turkey. This infrastructure now supports the constant mobility that is taking place between Europe and Turkey.
- 2) A further important feature of Turkish population in Europe is that they have changed over time from being regarded as the 'lowest of the low' to being regarded as cosmopolitans 'from below'. The figure of the peasant Ali, covered in dirt and grime and with a black moustache, as depicted in Günter Walraff's *Lowest of the Low*, has given way to that of slick globe trotters like Vural Oger - the owner and chairman of Germany's top travel company, Oger Tours. This development is very much to do with the fact that Turks have been networking constantly across different national spaces. What networking has meant is that they have been able to keep abreast of changes taking place in Turkey, and consequently to find entrepreneurial opportunities. What networking has also

meant is that Turkish migrants have been able to **become fluent 'translators' between cultures**. They have developed new kinds of **transcultural cultural competences**, with up-to-date knowledge of both Turkish and European societies and cultures, allowing them to constantly extend their networks, and to function as access nodes for others to use these networks.

- 3) Turkish people in Europe have been travelling to and fro between where they live and Turkey extensively. The closeness of Turkey has, of course, contributed to this mobility. And there are various sorts of mobile lives among Turkish populations. Thus, there are those people who are increasingly dividing their time between their holiday or retirement locations in Turkey and their family locations in different European countries; those travelling for business, educational or recreational purposes; those moving around to find work. Mobility is now not restricted to movement between countries, but it involves mobility within their country of residence and also within Europe. An important aspect of this mobility is that Turkish people are able to use different places for different purposes. So, mobility, in this sense means a juggling act between places, with the intention of maximizing the benefits that one is seeking. A musician goes to Istanbul to record her album and use the Turkish market to launch her career, meanwhile she lives in Berlin, and stays for some time in Munich to do the PR for her album. An important implication of this kind of mobility is de-territorialisation, whereby migrants cease to derive their sense of themselves from being fixed in particular territories. What people do and what people produce is increasingly a result of their ability to move in between places and to be able to make use of different spaces for different purposes.
- 4) There is an important shift in the nature of the networking that Turks in Europe have become involved in. With respect to the 70s and 80s, one may say that networking had a more communitarian dynamic to it, that people networked to keep their sense of self and their sense of community intact. From the 90s onwards, however, with changes in the employment situation of most Turkish migrants in Europe (and also the increasing numbers of arrivals in terms of asylum seekers), we may say that networking has achieved a new meaning beyond the confines of one's own community. As more and more people moved into setting up small businesses, channelling their investments into running service industries (catering, tourism, etc.), business networks developed, often involving nodes in Turkey and across Europe. We can now talk about new and emergent networking practices that go beyond the 'ethnic' or the 'community' categories. We can also talk about a new kind of sociality, a sociality that goes

beyond the confines of community discourse. It is a sociality that has as its constitutive element the everyday practices of living and thinking transnationally and transculturally. Turks are both embedded in the cities in which they live, and, at the same time, engaged in a transnational space of televisual flows, networking, mobility and communications. This double position of being embedded and transnational brings with it this new kind of sociality.

- 5) One of the interesting developments within the Turkish population in Europe is the development of sophisticated Europe-wide businesses, linking Europe and Turkey in many ways. Here we can take the example of Oger Tours based in Germany. This is a tour company which set out to provide tours between Germany and Turkey. In a short period of time, it became one of the biggest tour operators in Germany, taking tours to everywhere in the world. The biggest tourism operator in terms of bringing tourists into Turkey, it acquired an airliner fleet, and undertook huge advertising and promotion campaigns of Turkey in Germany. Its founder, Vural Oger, was nominated for inclusion in the SDP's election party list for the European Parliament elections in June 2004. Vural Oger has recently brought journalists and three hundred tour agents from Germany to Istanbul, with the intention of promoting Turkey as a holiday destination. Another example of the new business practices is the Turkish Food Centre, based in London. Again, this started as a shop selling Turkish food items to mainly Turkish customers, very much within the ethnic business domain. However, TFC has subsequently expanded the number of its shops to eighteen, building on the expanding base of its customers. TFC now attracts more than just Turkish customers, and the widening range of its consumer base has meant a diversification in terms of the labels sold in the shops. There are now food items from the Middle East, from Africa, from Russia, Cyprus, and from Europe. TFC has recently branched into the food packaging business, supplying big supermarkets in the UK. These new business ventures became successful on the basis of exploiting the social and cultural capital that is common to Turkish people in Europe and in Turkey, as well as through the more standard business strategies of diversification, networking, and flexibility.
- 6) Trans-European networks within the Turkish-speaking communities involve also artistic and cultural practices. Filmmakers, for instance, especially from Turkish-German backgrounds, have been developing pan-European networking practices, incorporating their links with Turkish film producers and distributors into the European cultural space. Pan-European artistic networks are now at a state of development that enables local Turkish artists from within Europe to

benefit in terms of exhibiting their cultural products to wider audiences. This is especially the case in the area of film, and to some extent music, where pan-European Turkish cultural networks provide alternative distribution, and even production, resources for Turkish artists.

**Limitations to nexus activities in the three cities (obstacles faced in/exclusion).
Implications for cultural diversity policies.**

The relative lack of nexus activities between Western European cities such as London, Berlin and Vienna seems to be owed mainly to the particular history of labour migration from Turkey to Western Europe, which has seen little movement of migrants between receiving countries, but an increasing volume of traffic between Turkey and Western European locations such as Berlin. The situation is thus quite different for the Turkish nexus, compared to the African and the Balkan nexus.

Turkish cultural entrepreneurialism - active engagement in cultural production - faces a number of constraints, thus stopping it from becoming a fully fledged cultural force. One of the barriers to entrepreneurialism is the trend towards the diversification of Turkish-speaking audiences for cultural events. Diversification, in the context of cultural consumption, easily translates into cultural fragmentation. Thus, the London Turkish Film Festival, which used to attract audiences across the ethnic divide, has now lost this status. Over the last three years, we have seen the arrival of a new film Kurdish Film Festival, taking place at the same location as the London Turkish Film Festival. This separation had significant implications for the audience profile of these events. The Turkish Film Festival is no longer well attended by Kurdish members of the community, as it used to be. The main implication of this process of fragmentation has been the weakening of the community- or politics-driven cultural infrastructures for sustaining cultural activities. When every group is trying to hold its own events, the economics of running these becomes harder, and therefore the range of cultural activities and events gets narrower. However, we cannot conclude from this trend that the Turkish migrant cultural scene is on wane. Even though this particular mode of provision of cultural activities is beginning to lose its significance, what we now see emerging as an entirely new phenomenon is the arrival of professionally-organised mega- or blockbuster events, with openly commercial objectives.

Thus, we can call this process a process of cultural normalisation, where politically- or ideologically-driven and community-led non-commercial enterprises (what we may term niche cultural products – ethnic-identity-, religious- and kinship identity-driven cultural activities) get weaker, or are having to transform themselves into viable operations. We

now witness the entrance of major blockbuster-type entertainment forms from Turkey into the mainstream cultural circulation in London, Berlin and Vienna simultaneously. Here we have in mind blockbuster films, like *Vizontele*, *Vizontele Tuuba*, and *GORA*, and dance shows like *Flames of Passion*, drawing in tens of thousands of spectators. These cultural products have been screened and staged in central city locations, with the aim of becoming visible to a wider population, and of attracting non-Turkish audiences as well. Parallel to this process, we also see an increase in taste-driven commercial artistic activities, such as the music activities of the London-based electro-oriental music group *Oojami*, targeting a particular music audience, or of fringe theatre - Arcola Theatre in London - run by a Turkish stage director, targeting London's fringe theatre audience with quality-driven products from around the world. An important aspect of these 'taste-driven' products is that they are run by artists rather than activists or entrepreneurs. We find that in Berlin, London and Vienna, there are such examples of Turkish-origin artists who become confident and known in time, so as to be able to generate funding and to engage in artistic and cultural activities that appeal to wider audiences.

If the fragmentation of the audience is one major issue, another key issue is to do with the closed nature of mainstream distribution/exhibition operators and funding bodies with respect to promoting and supporting cultural activities coming from migrant backgrounds. There is now a new climate of suspicion, following, the September 11 attacks, regarding the transnationalism of migrant populations. The tendency to see transnational networking as a potential source of threat or disruption to the path of integration for migrants may now constitute a new ideological barrier to cultural equity and inclusion.

We find that cultural diversity policies in these three different settings are equally inadequate in addressing the emerging transnationalism of migrant populations. Framing cultural policies in terms of socio-cultural objectives (be it integration, as it is in Vienna or Berlin, to some extent, or neighbourhood renewal, as is the case in London) stifles creativity and encourages migrant cultural producers to seek recognition and financial rewards elsewhere. This - what we can call a 'creativity drain' - is an unfortunate outcome for city contexts.

Models of good practice

The issue of best practice raises the question of context. Hitherto best practice, in the context of migrant cultures, has been considered in the context of national minority politics. How, it has been asked, can we stimulate minority initiatives? And, it has also been asked, can minority initiatives be contextualised within the majority culture of the

host community. There are problematical issues, however, in this nation-centered framing of the question of best practice. First, there are issues to do with the local and provincial nature of such initiatives. Second, such initiatives have tended to centre around a dependency culture – for economic reasons they have tended to be dependent on public funding and subsidies, and have, therefore have never been able to gain critical mass in commercial terms (and they have consequently been easily able to be incorporated into local socio-cultural – as opposed to cultural, aesthetic and artistic - objectives). The argument of this project is that best practice now has to be reconceptualised within a wider European frame. Our key argument is that best practice in migrant cultural initiatives can only be conceived now from a transnational perspective. In the particular Turkish migrant case that we are concerned with here, we have to recognise that this community is rapidly developing a Europe-wide presence and self-awareness (as opposed to the sense of being a series of small and insignificant national minorities). We should note that Turkish cultural institutions and agencies are beginning to address Turks in Europe as a transnational, i.e. Pan-European, constituency. And, perhaps most significantly, Turkish cultural initiatives coming from within Europe now require pan-European Turkish audiences in order to gain critical mass and, thereby, commercial sustainability. Best practice, should therefore, not be conceived in terms of national integrationist objectives, as it has been in the past, but in terms of enhancing a trans-European Turkish cultural project that will contribute to the public culture of Europe as a whole. In this respect, we believe that Turkish cultural industries (and not only Turkish cultural industries, of course, but also other migrant cultural industries in Europe) can contribute significantly towards the rethinking of European cultural identity.

Summary

Best practice must be both local and trans-European, involving a range of initiatives at different geographical scales. On the one hand, it must involve lending local support to local initiatives, such as the organisation of the 'gastarbajteri exhibition' in Vienna, which repositioned the image of the Turkish presence in the city. And, on the other hand, it should be taking into account the initiatives that are presently in embryonic development to promote trans-European media in the Turkish language. Over time, subsidy culture needs to be suspended, in favour of supporting measures to encourage audience building across spaces, supporting commercial initiatives, and encouraging the recognition that cultural developments can only take place at a transnational scale (i.e. in terms of a move away from narrow – national – economic perspectives).

2. Key and Related Events

2.1. Key Events

BERLIN

Europe in Motion: Moving Images, Shifting Perspectives in Transcultural Cinema.

9-16 December 2004

Description of the Event

This event brought together film directors, commentators and academics from Great Britain and Germany, linking them with filmmakers and academics from the Euro-Balkans and Euro-Mediterranean zones, thus creating a platform to provoke discussion and debate on the transcultural moment in Europe. Berlin hosted this meeting of filmmakers, academics and commentators, who, in their different ways, have been thinking about how to imagine a better Europe. The event involved a programme of screenings of feature films, short films and documentaries dealing with migrations, crossing of spaces and of borders, travel, taking to the road, cultural connections, and transnational nexuses. There were question and answer sessions and presentations with film directors, and a two-day workshop bringing together filmmakers, commentators, writers and academics working in the fields of migration studies, film studies, politics and European studies.

This event in Berlin was intended as a contribution toward reflecting on the meaning of new mobilities and complex diversity in European space(s). It focused on films that provide insights into the changing social and cultural geographies of the continent. Over the last decade or so, we have indeed seen interesting and significant developments in film culture, as a consequence of the transnationalisation of the filmmaking (notably through the Eurimages programme), and in response to the new complexity and diversity of the continent. European filmmakers have provided valuable insights into the changing social and cultural geography of the continent. This is particularly the case in the works of those artists whose personal life histories are part of this new reality. They have been dealing with questions of migration and new cultural diversities. They have made road movies, transecting Europe and connecting once dislocated places together. They have been concerned with the growing significance of cities, for cities are where diversity and cultural encounter are at their most intense. Through their cinematic journeys, they have given visibility to the new inter-urban nexus criss-crossing the European space (from Berlin to Istanbul, from London to Mumbai, from Vienna to Belgrade). In their different

ways, these films challenge us to think about the cosmopolitan possibilities that might be inherent in the new mobilities and cultural encounters in and across Europe. They also reveal and explore the great pain and suffering inflicted on many of those travelling in and through the European space. We have to be aware of the differential mobilities of people living in the continent. - the differential mobilities of citizens and those who are non-persons. The central concern of this event was with how these developments - both the cosmopolitan ones and the tragic ones - may be used to extend the mental horizons of the European imagination. What they are making clear is how much Europe has become linked into other places, languages, stories and imaginations. And that Europe can no longer be the Europe it thought it was.

A central aim of this event concerned artistically and discursively widening the mental horizons of the European imagination and to open up a new perspective on urban spaces, such as Berlin. The films are to demonstrate the degree to which cities in Europe are by now connected with other places, languages, histories and modes of perception that point beyond territorial identities. These films challenge us to imagine Europe from the prism of the city space, a space where complexity is unavoidable and a reality to be reckoned with. These films bring to the fore the transcultural moment that is being so acutely experienced and lived through in the metropolises of Europe today.

This festival was therefore a forum for the display of a new, transnational kind of filmmaking:

- Films on urban topographies: films that reveal the transformation of urban spaces and of locality through transnational influences, as well as the new kinds of boundaries now separating life worlds from one another within cities;
- Films on migrations: films that address what is really going on at everyday basis with the movement of people across frontiers in Europe, transmigrations, relocations, and the social and cultural challenges they throw up;
- Films on mobility/road movies: films that cross Europe and link formerly distant or marginalized places to each other, that widen the imaginary geography and topography of Europe;
- Films of de-familiarisation: films that render strange what is taken for granted, that undermine stereotypes and thus open up a new, critical perspective on naturalized concepts such as national belonging and frontiers.

For further information see www.europeinmotion.net

The Role of Banlieues d'Europe

BE made available all the network's contacts in the city, specialised in these questions: those responsible for cultural policies, artists, cultural actors. (Kulturamt Neukölln, Werkstatt der Kulturen, Ufa Fabrik...) They circulated information about this event throughout the network.

One of BE's steering committee members, Schlesische 27 CulturCentrum, sustained on the ground communication about the Turkish film festival.

PARIS

Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces, Paris

7 – 9 April 2005

Description of the Event

The cultural event which the Changing City Spaces consortium and the Banlieues d'Europe network organised in Paris from the 7th-9th April 2005 was one of three planned dissemination events for the EU 5th Framework *Changing City Spaces*. *Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces* arose out the empirical research which we had conducted on the 'African nexus' in Paris, London and Rome. The 'African nexus' research focused on the articulation between cultural policy, African migration and cultural practice amongst musicians, media representatives and audiences. In other words, it represented simultaneously 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to questions of cultural diversity in three European capital cities with historical and contemporary migratory ties to several African countries.

Our ethnographic research with cultural policy officials, cultural producers and organisers, artists, the media and audiences laid the ground for the cultural event itself in various interconnecting ways. For example, some of our policy interviewees not only became participants in the workshop but also its sponsors (DRAC Ile-de-France, Fasild, Fondation Evens, Délégation interministérielle à la Ville, Ville de Paris). Other funders of the event included the Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France and the British Council. In this sense, we can see our research as having been pro-active since issues and challenges which recurred in our interviews with cultural policy representatives became a frame for the workshop itself. A similar dynamic was set up through our research with the media: the workshop participants reflected the wide range of media which engage with issues of cultural diversity and music in urban contexts and the different ways in which they operate. Finally, the artists who both performed and

took part in the workshop as panellists were key informants about the transnational cultural life in and beyond the cities which we studied.

The evening reception held at the British Council on 7 April was very successful. The presence of Lady Sue Woodford-Hollick (Chair of the London Regional Council of Arts Council England), the British Ambassador to France, the Director of the British Council and a cross-section of policy makers, media professionals, artists, film-makers, academics and other workshop participants gave our event a high international profile. The opening address by Lady Hollick in particular contributed fully to a cross-national perspective on issues of cultural diversity, the city and the arts.

The multiply-layered nature of our research thus shaped the *Music Matters* event in Paris, structuring the different panels which were organised. In the first panel, members of the European consortium discussed the role which musicians of African origin play in the cultural life of selected capital cities of Europe. We presented research results obtained through fieldwork in Paris, London and Rome (the 'African nexus' cities), focusing on local and translocal networks which exist within/between these cities and beyond. We took as a frame, the idea of national culture and how perceptions of this are necessarily being called into question by the increasingly transnational nature of cultural production.

The second panel and theme for discussion considered the possibilities that media in the cities creates a platform for the diffusion of diverse cultural production. We also focused on the different ways in which key professionals from print, audio-visual and electronic media, as well as the promoters of musical events, can act as gatekeepers or mediators between the musical industries, the artists and audiences and what effect this has. This panel was split into two one and half hour panels: panel 2A covered issues relating to radio, television and the Internet. Panel 2B covered print media. Media representatives were asked to think about the different roles which their stations/programmes/websites played, how they engaged both with one other and with an agenda of cultural diversity: what this meant in practice, how this was articulated in view of their audiences and related issues. Other questions raised related to the Internet – whether it presented the possibility of reaching wider and more diverse audiences as well as contributing to the development of a new type of public sphere. The debate also dealt with institutional and commercial challenges, including the question of the ways in which certain programmes/platforms are marginalised within mainstream media outfits. This also raised issues about the implication of shifts from a public service approach to diversity, to one increasingly dominated by commercial logics.

At the end of the first day of the workshop, there were two concerts and two DJ sets. These performances were very much part of the workshop and were programmed to demonstrate the diversity and musical synergies which exist in and across the cities studied. The artists who we programmed had been our research informants and one of them was the project's consultant (the Malagasy musician 'Dama'). This is another example of how our research shaped this event. In the first two sessions we listened to a Franco-Maghrebi group – *Gaâda Diwane de Béchar* and then to a formation of five solo musicians of Malagasy origin, specially brought together by the Malagasy musician and consultant to the project, Dama (Régis Gizavo, Fenomaby, Erick Manana, Justin Vali and Dama). These groups represent the range, versatility and complexity of contemporary Maghrebi and Malagasy music as performed in and beyond Paris. After the concerts by each group there was an opportunity for 'fusion', an experiment in shared improvisation by both groups of musicians. This idea of fusion had been written into the programme by ourselves in consultation with the musician Dama. However, we were unsure as to how it would work in practice. In fact the fusion process was extremely successful – the artists met on several occasions in the weeks leading up to the event and were able to perform three tracks together. This encounter between the two groups of artists has created a new forum which is already continuing and feeding into further events (such as the concert cum workshop in collaboration with the Brighton festival in May 2005). The second part of the evening was dedicated to a more DJ-oriented form of music. DJ Rita Ray and Your Mum Visual artist Kelly Budge from the Shrine

Synchro System, London played a set inspired by Afro-beat, funk and blues. They were then followed by DJ Awal, MC Hicham and VJ Mohand Haddar from the Paris-based New Bled Vibrations Collective and their 'electro-oriental' sound. This musical part of the event was well-attended: about half of the audience was made up of workshop participants and the other half was made up of the general public (this was a public/ticket-selling event).

The third theme and panel centred on the experiences of artists and cultural producers (of festivals/concerts/labels etc.). The artists who took part in this panel had performed in a series of concerts the night before. They were asked to introduce themselves and talk about their musical career and the challenges they face as 'practitioners' of cultural diversity in an increasingly transnational context. In particular, they were asked to think about to what extent they considered their cities as a space of opportunity. The cultural producers were then asked to respond to the artists' remarks. This panel discussion highlighted the common challenge facing artists in their pursuit of institutional support and/or commercial backing. It showed that there is some confusion between 'world music' or 'diaspora' artists who are either based outside of Europe or those first generation migrant artists whose musical style is more influenced by their country of

origin, than their country of adoption, and those musicians, the so-called 'second generation' who can be described as 'made in France'/'made in London' artists. Whilst the 'second generation made in France/London' artists reject any false dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'urban/fusion' music they nevertheless do not fit the 'diaspora' or 'francophonie' funding models which exist within institutions such as the Afaa (*Association française pour l'action artistique*). One artist made the important point that urban music should not be assimilated to western genres alone but that urban and fusal styles already exist within originating or developing countries. Alternative funding models are also limited, given that these 'second' generation musicians who see themselves as representatives of *French* music (and not *world music produced in France*) can find themselves in a situation where they have to present their music as a project which fosters social integration and cohesion rather than one of primarily artistic merits.

The last panel dealt specifically with policy and how the issues and challenges raised over the two days' discussion could be addressed by policy. Once the policy representatives had introduced their institution and how its work engaged with cultural diversity, the moderator of the session, Jean Hurstel opened the discussion by referring to the limits of both the public sector and commercial approaches and the possibility that a way out of the *impasse* or a way to reconcile public policy and the market, could be sought through the development of networks (both national and transnational in nature). A fruitful discussion developed which went beyond the familiar opposition of the 'Anglo-Saxon' market-based approach to culture and cultural industries and the French-inspired statist approach to a public policy of culture. ASMCF delegate Professor David Looseley played a key role in nuancing the Anglo-Saxon-French dichotomy which so often dominates in comparative cultural policy discussions. Our analyses of culture should not be reduced purely to production or diffusion/consumption processes. Furthermore, City Spaces consortium researcher Rastko Močnik raised the point that instead of simply oscillating between an aesthetic 'fetishism' or a commodity 'fetishism' in the area of cultural production, a more pertinent approach should focus on the types of social relations that are implicit in cultural practices today. The issue of selection criteria for cultural projects and the limits of aesthetic judgement as a method of evaluation was also a topic for discussion.

In conclusion, the *Music Matters* conference succeeded in bringing together different constituencies who do not normally engage with each other despite working on similar issues. A real exchange took place between culture professionals, musicians, journalists, researchers and policy officials. Many of the French-based researchers and culture professionals expressed a keen interest in coming to the final project event in Ljubljana in October 2005. Several participants have since taken part in an associated event

(workshop, concert, film screening) on Music and Migration co-ordinated by the Southampton team in conjunction with the Southampton Centre for Transnational Studies, the University of Sussex' Centre for Migration Studies and the Brighton Festival (May 7-8, 2005). This desire on the part of the workshop participants for a continuing dialogue is an extremely encouraging sign that our research is feeding into changing perspectives at an academic, policy and artistic level.

For more detailed information about the programme see www.citynexus.com and go to **activities and events** menu.

The Role of Banlieues d'Europe (BE)

Banlieues d'Europe was particularly active in the preparation and organisation of the cultural event in Paris, which focused on music and was entitled: ***Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces***. Frédérique Ehrmann was the person in charge of the mission from the beginning of the project, and all the team of Banlieues d'Europe was involved in the organisation of this event. In collaboration with Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, BE looked into the possibility of local and national funding sources. We were successful in locating several sources of public funding:

- City council of Paris (Christophe Girard, adjoint à la Culture);
- Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles Ile de France (Pierre Oudart);
- FASILD;
- French Ministry of culture (international relations);
- and one private source of sponsorship: Evens Foundation, specialised in intercultural projects.

Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof drew up the programme, which completed with some of our contacts. We chose and organised the partnership with the cultural venue Main d'Oeuvres, which is a specific venue in the periphery of Paris, involved in innovative music with young artists, so clearly concerned with the issues raised in the event's programme and debates. This venue with different kind of rooms and spaces was a good place to organise conferences and concerts at the same time. It is also a place where cultural actors and teams are convinced that cultural development should work in tandem with social matters. And it is a partner of Banlieues d'Europe network through Autresparts network (French network focusing on cultural action with the inhabitants of peripheral neighbourhoods).

BE organised the logistics (travel, translation, further details regarding the programme, speakers invitations) for all the non-UK invitees.

BE prepared the documents and files for the event (presentation, budget, administration of the project).

BE invited well-known French specialists as well as researchers who are already part of our network:

- Dominique Caubet, INALCO, Paris;
- Philippe Henry, Université Paris VIII, Paris;
- Jean-Samuel Bordreuil, Maison Méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme, Aix en Provence;
- Gilles Suzanne, Transverscité, Marseille;
- Marie Virolle, CNRS;
- Sylvia Faure, Université Lyon II, Lyon;
- Claude Rouot, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, Mission recherche et Technologie;
- Jean-Claude Rabeherifara, Université de Paris X – Nanterre;
- Hugues Bazin, chercheur en sciences sociales;
- Luc de Larminat, Culture et proximité (Paris).

In consultation with the Southampton team, we invited cultural policy representatives, working at various levels (local, national, regional etc.):

- Ministère de la culture: DMDTS;
- DRAC Ile de France – Pierre Oudart, directeur du service du développement et de l'action territoriale, Isabelle Lazzarini, responsable du département de Seine St Denis;
- Ville de Paris, Khédidja Bourcart, Adjointe au Maire, chargée de l'intégration et des étrangers non-communautaires);
- Fondation Evens, Germana Jaulin;

- FASILD, Catherine de Luca, direction action culturelle et de l'information;
- DIV (Délégation interministérielle à la ville) François Ménard (Observatoire national des zones urbaines sensibles);
- Conseil Général 93, Direction de la culture, Denis Vemclefs, Irène Guillotie;
- Institut des villes, mission nouveaux territoires de l'art: Claude Renard;
- IRMA, François Bensignor;
- British Council, Paris (Claire Glossop);
- Arts Council Londres Lady Susan Woodford Hollick; Graham Carr; John Keifer, Katharina Lobeck;
- British Council, Rabat (Maroc): Hicham El Kebbaj;
- AFAA – Marie-Paule Serre, Valérie Thfoin (*Afrique en créations*);
- Ministère de la culture: DMDTS Alain Lucchini, Observatoire des politiques du spectacle vivant, Jean-Pierre Estival, inspecteur DDAI – Clara Wagner, pôle Europe; Ariane Salmet, Jean-Louis Sautreau;
- Emmanuelle Lavaud – Direction des affaires culturelles, Ville de Paris;
- Luc Gruson, Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, Paris;
- Patrick Duval, Président du réseau Fanfare.

There were about 80 people in the audience over the course of the two days.

LJUBLJANA

Conference: Mobility and Solidarity in Contemporary Europe. Trans-Local Nexal vs. Nationally Contained Identitary Mechanisms of Social Cohesion.

7- 8 October 2005

Concept

To close a project, initiated in seven European cities (Belgrade, Berlin, Ljubljana, London, Paris, Rome, Vienna) in 2003 with the intent to investigate new social realities emerging from the massive migrations of the past fifty years, participating researchers invited colleagues working in connected areas, activists, artists, and public functionaries, to share their theoretical insights and practical experience. Towards the end of the project, London, one of the cities where research has been conducted, was the theatre of lethal identitary violence. This event shed a poignant light upon the endeavours of the project to conceptualise the new 'nexal' realities and their effects, and to question the prevailing legal, governmental and administrative practices in Europe.

The project was conducted in a close co-operation with artistic, cultural and activist practices. It is in many ways symptomatic that the most critical problems of our times are presently approached and articulated within activist practices outside political and administrative establishments, through cultural production and often in contemporary artistic practices and their concomitant discourses. The mini-conference gathered together people engaged in these productions and activities, so as further to assert and develop the basic tenets of the project.

Role of Banlieues d'Europe

The role of the network in this event's organisation was to invite the French researchers who participated in the Paris event, to develop and help build new research networks for the future, and European co- operation in the field of cultural policies. The idea was also to involve the new association Banlieues d'Europ'est, based in Bucharest (Romania), to facilitate the networking with Eastern European countries. Contacts were developed with the the Universities of Belgrade and Ljubljana.

Programme

Friday, 7th October

- 16.00 Ulrike MEINHOF, University of Southampton, and coordinator of the *Changing City Spaces* project: *Opening address*
- 16.15 – 17.30 Andrea LICATA, Centro Studi e Ricerche per la Pace dell'Università di Trieste: *Migration politics in Italy and actions for solidarity*
- Marta GREGORČIČ: *One day without immigrants*
- 17.30 – 18.00 Coffee, tea break
- 18.00 – 19.00 Saša ZUPANC and Maja LAMBERGER KHATIB, Association Matafir: *What does it mean to be asylum seeker in contemporary Slovene social and political atmosphere. Some preliminary remarks*
- Mojca PAJNIK, Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute, Ljubljana: *Integration Policies in Migration Between Nationalizing States and Transnational Public Sphere*
- 19.00 – 19.30 General discussion on the issues raised during the day

Saturday 8th October

- 10.00 – 11.30 Milorad PUPOVAC, Sveučilište u Zagrebu: *A Nation of Withouts: Solidarities without Justice, Mobilities without Freedom and Spaces without Communication*
- Brankica PETROVIĆ, Mirovni Inštitut – Peace Institute, Ljubljana: *Communication rights of minorities and immigrants and the role of public service broadcasting*
- Eyachew TEFERA, Inštitut za Afriške študije – Institute of African Studies, Ljubljana: *The Challenge of EU and the quest for an inclusive society, cultural diversity: solidarity and social cohesion in contemporary Europe vs. mobility and migration*
- 11:30 – 12.00 Coffee, tea break

- 12.00-13.30 Barbara BEZNEC: *Global Cities, global citizenship*
- Andrej KURNIK, Univerza v Ljubljani: *Autonomy of migration: from discourses to practices*
- Gorazd KOVAČIČ, Univerza v Ljubljani: *Aporias of tolerance*
- 13.30- 15.00 Lunch
- 15.30-17.30 Jelka ZORN, Univerza v Ljubljani, and Aleksandr TODOROVIĆ, founder and first chair persone of the Association of the Erased Residents of Slovenia: *The 'erased' State-formation and the politics of exclusion*
- Aldo MILHONIĆ, Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute, Ljubljana: *Food, flood and public good: intercultural interruptions*
- 17.30- 18.00 Coffee, tea break
- General Discussion on the issues raised during the conference
- Other conference participants: Elena BONI, Luca CANETTI (Università degli studi Padova), Ludovico FERRO (Università degli studi di Padova).

2.2. Related Events

Belgrade: Conference Cultural Policy and Art Production, was held at University of Art in Belgrade, 30 September to 3 October 2004.

The conference succeeded in gathering 18 universities and research centres from the Balkan region specialized for cultural policy research and teaching, as well as institutions and experts from other European countries (12). The total number of participants was 70 (28 from Serbia and Montenegro and 42 from abroad). The conference debated the new challenges for cultural policies on the Balkan and in the Europe, (research results from the project Changing City Spaces has been one of the major background information), especially focusing art production (priorities, forms and instruments of policy support, legislation change to stimulate entrepreneurship, etc.)

The second important policy issue debated at the conference was relevant to the necessary change of art education to adapt to the needs of the 'employability' of the artists, in fact, of their training not only for concrete art profession, but also for complex understanding of social, political, economical and cultural processes relevant for their future artistic career and acting within society. That was the reason why conference was organised with participation of ELIA (European League of the Institute of the Arts). The Changing City Space research had shown that artists educated in conservatoriums and classical art schools do not participate in processes of policy making, are lacking know-how to be project leaders and entrepreneurs, and that minority artists have huge problems to enter those schools with highly competitive entrance exams. How to educate minority and migrant artists, how to create curricula which would not take time from major profession but enable future artist competent for activism in his own environment, where part of the questions debated.

Conference workshops dealt more concretely with policy recommendations and concrete instruments relevant for the support of art production and creativity in different art fields. It concerned all the level of decision making and acting: from state to city and with emphasis on possibility of artist's action within his own neighbourhood. On the other side specific emphasis was given to co-productions, transcultural cooperation in the process of creation and exchange, trying to explore three major areas: a) contribution of media and global networks (private sphere, transcultural capital...), b) EU programs, European state policies in this field and effectiveness of publicly supported cultural networks and c) genuine transcultural initiatives of immigrants, cross-border cooperation on private individual level, etc.

In the final part of the conference we held 5 round tables - field policy panels regrouping artists and practitioners from Serbia together with local and European researchers. Each round table was asked to produce paper with policy recommendations for State and City level for concrete field of art: Visual Art, Drama, Music, Dance and Publishing. (Film was excluded as just National Film Centre had been created with precise strategy paper in a process of a participative policy making).

Policy recommendations had to be relevant first of all to the stimulation of art production (as the research about cultural policy of Serbia had shown that Ministry is prioritising heritage protection and representation of cultural goods). All of the produced papers had been delivered to relevant departments within Ministry, and represented base for further work within few departments (support to publishing, theatre and music, while was no response for the visual arts and dance).

It is important to underline that conference had also its artistic/cultural part by showing the concrete results of the implementation of the few cultural policy instruments of the Secretariat for the Culture of City of Belgrade in the field of film and publishing (support to capital publishing projects through exhibition of published books with this support; and film projections of documentaries financed after winning the competition). So the population of Belgrade and the guests of conference could for the first time evaluate outcomes of the first public competitions for grants of city council of Belgrade/and consequently measure the impact of their policy attempts.

This dialogue between researchers and academics/teachers, policy makers, artist's practitioners coming from Serbia, from the region and from the Europe, has been extremely fruitful, especially when facing concrete situations – making possible comparison of theories and adequacy of instruments in achieving the goals. The conference also revealed a certain lack of statistical data and stimulated researchers of Changing City Space project team Belgrade to create two new surveys relevant to artists and practitioners (a) and organisations (b) in the field of creative industries, exploring economic and social situation of artists, but also economic potential of entrepreneur artistic organizations in those field, who are succeeding in spite, or failing because of lack of pro-active public policies adequate to the new changing societies.

One of the positive 'side', one impact of the conference, was the creation of the network of the cultural policy professors in the Balkan region and Europe, willing to cooperate, exchange research results and improve curricula, influencing at the same time decision-making environment and policy-makers in culture by their joint public actions (raising public awareness on crucial policy issues, lobbying actions etc.).

Vienna: 'Subtitle' – Cultural Production of Minorities between ethnicization and politics' 29 - 30 October 2004.

The discussion forum titled 'SUBTITLE – Cultural Production of Minorities between ethnicization and politics' took place at the principal site of the public library in Vienna on October 29th and 30th 2004.

The basic rationale for the event was to discuss questions and concerns to do with the conditions of cultural production by migrants in different cultural fields in Vienna: in the arts, literature, music and film. It consisted of four panels, to which cultural practitioners (artists, writers, musicians, film makers), theorists and cultural intermediaries – partly with, partly without migration backgrounds - were invited. The debates were intersected with different examples of the artists' work (literature readings, film extracts screenings, music performances).

The venue was the main site of the public libraries of Vienna, which is very popular particularly with second generation migrants, who use its IT facilities. The library is keenly oriented towards its culturally diverse clientele and also hosted the exhibition 'Gastarbajteri. Media and Migration' earlier in 2004.

The organising body of the event was the Vienna-based NGO Initiative Minorities (IM). Together with three colleagues (a musicologist, an artist and the manager of IM) Martina Böse from Changing City Spaces conceived the concept, organised and moderated the workshop.

Concept:

The field of cultural production is one of the few fields, in which so-called 'ethnic minority-members' seem to find relatively good opportunities for participation. The representation of 'minority voices' and 'border crossings' can be found increasingly also in activities of the mainstream cultural economy. What are the framing conditions however and the spaces for action within these spaces? Which strategies do artists develop in their work? Which 'subtitles' do they hence put under the apparent colourful diversity in the cultural field?

Many interpretations of the cultural productions of minority members view them primarily as an expression of their 'cultural identity'. In most cases both the notion of such an identity as well as its ascribed culture assumes fixed, unchangeable entities, which are quasi 'attached' to the cultural producers. Viewing the prominence of ascriptions from the outside and of the commodification of cultural difference, we might ask however, when such 'cultural identities' and 'ethnic' resources are in fact mobilized? When do artists and

cultural producers on the other hand oppose this by de-mystifying 'ethnicity'? And which opportunities does the cultural field offer them for the articulation of socio-political concerns?

Summary:

The event evolved over two consecutive days, with an audience of about 30-50 people per panel. Dependent on the topic, the audience number and its composition varied, ranging from artists and cultural intermediaries to theorists and activists in the respective cultural fields. The diversified audience as well as the heterogeneity of the panels within the workshop allowed for varied and lively discussions about the politics of cultural production as well as cultural diversity policies. The workshop provided a very appropriate space for a discussion and dissemination of our research results that went beyond the narrow realm of the academic community, including both representatives of the field of cultural production and of migrant activism.

'Subtitle' received media coverage in the programme 'Radio Stimme' on the Vienna-based Free Radio Orange, a review article on the event appeared in the periodical 'Kulturrisse', published by the Austrian syndicate of cultural initiatives (IG Kultur) and in the periodical 'Stimme', published by the Initiative Minorities.

Brighton Event, Problematizing Music and Migration Workshop, Brighton, 7-8 May 2005

The workshop which took place in Brighton on the 7th and 8th May 2005 was a collaboration between the University of Southampton's Centre for Transnational Studies (under the aegis of the EU 5th Framework project *Changing City Spaces*) and the Sussex Centre for Migration Research at the University of Sussex. In some sense it can be seen as the next step after the Paris event since the *Music and Migration* workshop was officially associated with the Brighton Festival – thus bringing together academics and cultural practitioners beyond the exchange of ideas to the actual co-organisation of an event.

This conference and its associated events, aimed to advance debate and performance in the field of music and migration through a focus on artists (producers) and their audiences (consumers) in different settings and scenes. The first part of the workshop brought together six papers from academics and journalists on the theme of music, artists and audiences in transnational contexts. There were three paper panels with papers which focused on world music and discourses of difference; the limitations of hybridity and other academic categories in relation to post-migrant music; music and

political agency; music production in transnational settings and the differences and similarities between the 'world music' industries in France and the UK.

In the afternoon, there was a panel discussion on the theme of the 'Local and transnational worlds of 'world' music.' This panel brought together a number of professionals working in music and cinema in both London and Paris. These included a musician, journalist, a film-maker and several producers of cultural events. The cultural producers and journalists were asked to talk about their work and consider whether different assumptions are made when working with/promoting 'diaspora' or European-based artists as opposed to working with those musicians who are based outside of Europe and who are passing through. Discussions also dealt with the difficulties involved in film distribution in the UK, the issue of different performance contexts, the opportunities and challenges of transnational links and artists' relationships to countries of origin.

After the day's discussions, workshop participants were invited to attend a concert given by the five well-known Malagasy solo artists who had played at the Paris event. This concert, especially curated for the Brighton Festival, brought together Dama (consultant to the *Changing City Spaces* project and workshop panellist), Fenoamby, Regis Gizavo, Erick Manana and Justin Vali. It offered the audience a unique chance of listening to the new musical expressions which artists create for themselves in the local and transnational contexts of 'world music' from Madagascar. The event was held at the Gardener Arts Centre and was extremely well-attended by 'locals' as well as members of the Malagasy diaspora based in the UK as well as France.

On Sunday 8th May, and as part of the workshop, the documentary film *Mahaleo* was screened at the Duke of York's cinema in Brighton. This UK première of the documentary film about the pivotal role played by the band *Mahaleo* in Madagascar and abroad, was attended by Dama (founding member of the group) and one of the film-makers and workshop panellists from the French-based production company, *Laterit* (Marie-Clémence Paes). After the film there was an opportunity for questions. The film was extremely well received and generated much discussion.

Both the *Music Matters* and *Music and Migration* workshops succeeded in bringing together different constituencies who do not normally engage with each other despite working on similar issues. A real exchange took place between culture professionals, musicians, journalists, researchers and policy officials. After the Paris event, many of the French-based researchers and culture professionals expressed a keen interest in attending the final project event in Ljubljana in October 2005 and several came to the

Brighton workshop. This desire on the part of the workshop participants for a continuing dialogue is an extremely encouraging sign that our research is feeding into changing perspectives at an academic, policy and artistic level.

Rome, New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome, 14 May 2005

Our research team was involved in the organisation of the cultural event called 'New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome', organised in Rome on 14th May 2005, where findings of our study were discussed with other academics, cultural policy makers (including a representative of the Office of Multiethnicity in Rome), journalists, cultural organisers and artists themselves. Thus, we succeeded in bringing together academics and many other figures who work in cultural sector, and to generate feedback from those who are directly involved in practical matters.

The Conference was hosted by the Università Popolare and was organised around two panels: one on music-cinema and one on mass media. In the first panel, Prof. Ulrike Meinhof presented the objectives of our research project and gave a brief overview of the results which emerged in the other two 'African nexus' cities (i.e., Paris and London). However, not only African but also Latin American and Balkan interests were represented in our conference. After Prof Meinhof's presentation, the results obtained in Rome were presented, followed by a discussion of urban cultural policy, socio-cultural diversity and interaction, processes of inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in cultural life in Rome and ways in which immigrants construct a sense of belonging to the city. Cultural organisers and artists of immigrant origin emphasised that the need for a valid multicultural policy has only been acknowledged in more recent years. However, most of the initiatives have been monopolised by Italians and usually characterised by a paternalistic power relation, even where cultures of 'migrant origin' are concerned. Immigrant artists and communities collaborate, but their work is largely invisible and their participation is managed by others. Funding resources are mostly oriented towards socio-culture (e.g., projects which foster social integration, such as organising Italian language classes, vocational training, etc.), and promotion of immigrant artists is considered of secondary importance.

Furthermore, the extent to which immigrants use the opportunities of being part of a complex and the broad cultural scene available in Rome was discussed as was the extent to which they may prefer to remain more segregated and organise on their own. In relation to this issue, the importance of cultural events (e.g., music concerts) in promoting a sense of belonging among immigrants, and in preventing/reducing racism and xenophobia among Italians, was discussed too. Some participants argued that

concerts and large-scale events are not the most opportune way for promoting interactions and contacts, or reducing prejudice towards immigrants. Cultural organisers pointed out that from their experiences small-scale events produce more positive results in this respect. They confirmed that they face great difficulties in obtaining suitable resources, logistic support, information, and space. Furthermore, it seems that these cultural initiatives attract particular audiences among Italians, mainly those that are more open-minded and tolerant of cultural difference, and much has to be done for promotion of immigrant culture and immigrant participation in cultural life.

The second panel discussion focused on the role of mass-media in the promotion of cultural participation of immigrants living in Rome, and in the development of a culture of tolerance and respect towards cultural differences. Besides the results of our study, a series of studies conducted at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, University of Rome 'La Sapienza' was presented. The negative representation of immigrants in Italian mass-media was discussed as well.

After the day's conference, the participants were invited to attend an evening concert given by Malagasy musician 'Dama', who came from Paris. He performed together with two Senegalese musicians, settled in Rome. It gave us the opportunity to take on, for a brief period, the role of cultural organiser and to experience the challenges and difficulties they face. It was one of the first times that a well-known Malagasy artist has performed in Italy in more recent years. We have been aware since the beginning of the project of the low number of Malagasy immigrants living in Rome (about 150 persons), and our aspiration was to involve Italians in the audience too. Various efforts were made to promote the event (e.g., contacting the mass-media, publishing and distribution of 5000 leaflets around Rome, etc.), but nevertheless the participation of Italians was limited and the audience was composed mostly of Malagasy immigrants.

The programme in detail was as follows:

'Cambiare lo spazio urbano: le nuove sfide della politica culturale a Roma' [Changing city space: new challenges to cultural policy in Rome], Piazza Barberini 54 (l'Aula Magna - terzo piano), Roma

Sabato 14 maggio 2005, ore 10.00 – 14.00

10.00 – 12.00 Prima sessione [first section]:

Il processo di inclusione vs. esclusione degli immigrati attraverso l'analisi delle particolari forme culturali [the process of inclusion vs. exclusion of immigrants through the analysis of particular cultural forms]

Introduzione del progetto [Introduction of the project] (Prof. Ulrike Meinhof, University of Southampton);

Presentazione dei risultati di ricerca: le strategie indirizzate alla promozione dell'inclusione culturale [Presentation of the results of research: the strategies addressed to the promotion of cultural inclusion] (Ankica Kosic, European University Institute, Florence);

Il livello in cui le persone sfruttano le opportunità nel largo repertorio culturale della città, o quali sono le circostanze che influenzano il loro 'ritiro', isolamento nel loro gruppo etnico [The level in which the persons use the opportunities in the large cultural repertoire in the city, or which are the circumstances that influence their 'withdrawal', isolation within their ethnic groups] (Karolina Peric, Ass. Cult. SUAMOX);

Primo piano sulla musica [First view on music] (Francesco Scalco, Dipartimento cultura dell'Archi nazionale; UPTER).

Segue la discussione con gli altri partecipanti [followed by the discussion of around 30 participants].

Fra gli invitati (partecipated):

Barbara Mousy, cultural manager e insegnante danze africane; Claudio Rossi, Ufficio di Multietnicità, Comune di Roma; Emiliano Paletti, Direzione Esecutiva Zone Attive; Felicité Mbezele, Ass. Teatrale Takshif; Francesco Scalco, UPTER; Luci Zuvela, Ass. Cult. 'LIPA'; Luigi Toschi, Ass. cult. La Forza Centrifuga; Mass Ndiaye, musicista di Senegal; Ronald Ricaurte, Ass. Cult. SUAMOX; Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo – Dama, musicista di Madagascar e altri.

11:50 – 12:00 COFFEE BREAK

12.00 – 14.00

Seconda sessione [second section]:

L'interazione tra le diversità e le culture nella città di Roma: il ruolo dei mass-media [The interaction between diversity and culture in the city of Rome: the role of mass-media]

Obiettivo principale della sessione è mettere in luce le esperienze positive dal mondo dell'immigrazione, creando un appuntamento in cui dare espressione alle esperienze professionali nel campo dei media che vedono protagonisti i cittadini immigrati [The objective of this section is to analyse the positive experiences in the world of immigration, by focalizing a special attention to those mass media which see immigrants as protagonists].

Presentazione dei risultati della ricerca: Partecipazione degli immigrati nei Mass mediaa Roma [Presentation of the results of research: Participation of immigrants in mass media in Rome] (Ankica Kosic, European University Institute, Florence);

'Mediamigranti: dalla rappresentazione alla partecipazione' [Mediamigranti: from representation to participation] (Marco Bruno, Facoltà di Sociologia, Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza');

Tra rappresentazione e opinione: una ricerca su media e immigrazione [Between representation and opinion: a research on media and immigration](Marco Binotto, Facoltà di Sociologia, Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza');

'L'immagine dell'islam nei media italiani. Appunti da una ricerca' [Representation of Islam in Italian media. Research findings] (Patrizia Laurano, Facoltà di Sociologia, Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza')

Segue la discussione con gli altri partecipanti [followed by the discussion].

Fra gli invitati (partecipated):

Ihab Hashem, editore del 'Nur', giornale etnico; Nacera Benali, giornalista; Sekou Djabate, conduttore del programma radio 'Afric'kan' alla Radio Città Futura; Souad Sbai, editore del 'Al Maghrebiya', mensile etnico; e altri.

The presentation of our team was published in 'Input' (Vol. 91/92/93), a review of the 'Università Popolare' in Rome.

The Conference was followed in the evening by a concert (described previously).

London, *The Seventh Man – Then and Now*, 12 April; 17 May 2005

This series of events focused on John Berger and Jean Mohr's *The Seventh Man*, first published in 1975. This text was a ground-breaking study of the Gastarbeiter phenomenon in Europe. The three events that were curated by Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (as part of the overall John Berger season of events in London in May 2005) focused particularly on the issue of Turkish migrants in Europe, exploring how the agenda has developed over thirty years.. The programme of events included writers, filmmakers and visual artists of Turkish and Kurdish origins.

12 April – 12 May, Mehmet Emir's Photography exhibition at the Austrian Cultural Forum. The exhibition opened on the 12th, accompanied by a panel discussion with Mehmet Emir, Jean Mohr, Timothy O'Grady, moderated by Asu Aksoy.

Film Screening of 'Kleine Freiheit' by Yuksel Yavuz, at the Goethe Institute: 27 April, accompanied by a question and answer session with Yuksel Yavuz, commentator Sukhdev Sandhu.

15 May, Reading by Latife Tekin at London Kitabevi (a Turkish bookstore based in the heart of the Turkish community in London).

16 May, John Berger reading from Latife Tekin and Emine Sevgi Ozdamar's novels, at Borders Bookshop, Charing Cross, London.

17 May panel discussion at the Institute of International Visual Arts, with Gary Younge (journalist), Latife Tekin (writer), Emine Sevgi Ozdamar (writer), Maureen Freely (writer, translator), and Fiona Sampson (editor, translator, poet), moderated by Kevin Robins.

3. Research Output During Life-time of the Project

3.1. Southampton

Publications

Kiwan, Nadia, (2005). 'Managing Marginalization: Young French-North Africans and Local Associations', *Modern and Contemporary France*, vol. 14, no.4, pp. 465 – 481.

Kiwan, Dina and Nadia Kiwan (2005), 'Citizenship Education: the French and English Experience', in *Young People in Transition: Becoming Citizens?*, edited by Christopher Pole, Jane Pilcher and John Williams, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 136-158.

Kiwan, Nadia(in press). 'Maghrebi Music in and Beyond the Post-Colonial City' (conference volume of International Conference organised by Mohamed V University, Rabat, Morocco and Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, Open University, UK, Rabat: '*Urban Generations: Post-colonial Cities*'.)

Kiwan, Nadia (in press), 'The Citizen and the Subject', in *Redefining the French Republic* ed. G. Raymond and A. Cole (Manchester University Press).

Kiwan, Nadia and Ulrike Meinhof (2006 in press). 'Perspectives of Cultural Diversity: A Discourse Analytical Approach' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Kiwan, Nadia and Kira Kosnick (2006 in press). 'The 'Whiteness' of Cultural Policy in Paris and Berlin', in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Kosnick, Kira (2003) 'Ethnicizing the Media: Multicultural Imperatives, Homebound Politics, and Turkish Media Production in Germany,' in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Nr. 28/29, Spring-Fall, pp. 107-132.

Kosnick, Kira (2004) 'Speaking in One's Own Voice': Representational Strategies of Alevi Turkish Migrants on Open-Access Television in Berlin,' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol.30, Nr.5, September, pp. 979-994.

Rasolofondraosolo, Zafimahaleo and Ulrike H.Meinhof (2003). 'Popular Malagasy music and the construction of cultural identities' AILA Review Volume 16: pp.127-148.

Meinhof, Ulrike (2005). 'Initiating a Public: Malagasy Music and live audiences in differentiated cultural contexts'. In S. Livingstone (ed.) *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere*. Intellect.

Meinhof, Ulrike H. and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds.) (in press 2006). *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*. Palgrave.

Meinhof, Ulrike and Z. Rasolofondraosolo (in press 2006). 'Malagasy Musicians in Transnational Settings'. In conference volume of *Urban Generations: Postcolonial Cities*. (Rabat 2004) ed. by D. Richards, to appear in *Moving Worlds*.

Meinhof, Ulrike and Z. Rasolofondraosolo (in press 2006). 'African Music and national identification in transnational networks'. In conference volume *International Conference on Language, Literature and Identity (Yaounde 2005)*, ed. by Kizitus Mpoche et al.

Conference Papers/Lectures/Invited Talks

05.09.2003. Nadia Kiwan. 'Birth of a social movement or pragmatic antidote to 'la galère'? : Young people of North African origin and local associations in Aubervilliers', *Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France and the Centre de Recherches Interculturelles sur les domaines Anglophones et francophones, University of Paris 13*, 4-6 September 2003.

24.03.2004. Nadia Kiwan, 'Young French-North Africans and Neighbourhood Associations: Socio-Cultural Conflict or Socio-Cultural Pragmatism?' British Sociological Association (BSA) Annual Conference, University of York: *Sociological Challenges: Conflict, Anxiety and Discontent*, 22-24 March 2004.

1.07.2004. Nadia Kiwan, 'Discourses and Experiences: the Construction of Identities Amongst Young People of North African Origin in France'. Paper to be presented at Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France, University of Surrey. *Discourse, Persuasion and Public Perception in France*, 1-3 July 2004.

10.07.2004. Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, 'Three Forms of Transnationalism and the African Cultural Scene in Paris: Displacement or Cultural Capital?' A co-authored paper to be presented at the Centre for Transnational Studies International Conference, University of Southampton: *Language and the Future of Europe: Ideologies, Policies and Practices*, 8-10 July 2004.

14.07.2004. Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, 'Perspectives on Cultural Diversity: a Discourse Analytical Approach'. Paper presented at an international conference organised by the Globalization, Identity Politics and Social Conflict (GIPSC) Project in collaboration with The Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, Open University, University of Surrey: '*The new orders of difference: The Cultural Discourses and Texts of Economic Migration*', 14-16 July 2004.

18.09.2004. Nadia Kiwan, 'Shifting Socio-Cultural Identities: Young People of North African Origin in France', conference organised by French Department, University of Bristol and Centre for Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, Sociology Department, University of Bristol: '*The Construction of Minority Identities in Britain and France*', 17-18 September 2004.

02.10.2004. Nadia Kiwan, 'Maghrebi Music in and beyond the Post-colonial city', International Conference organised by Mohamed V University, Rabat, Morocco and Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies, Open University, UK, Rabat: '*Urban Generations: Post-colonial Cities*', 1-3 October 2004.

03.11.2004. Nadia Kiwan, Ulrike Meinhof, 'Perspectives on Cultural Diversity: France, Germany and the European Union', Research seminar, Centre for Transnational Studies Research Seminar, University of Southampton.

08.04.2005. Nadia Kiwan, 'Musiques 'métissées' dans et au-delà d'une ville 'postcoloniale': le cas de Paris', paper presented at Paris cultural event, *Music matters: cultural flows in changing city spaces*.

24-28.03. 2004. Kira Kosnick, 'The Gap between Culture and Cultures: Cultural Policy in Berlin and its Implications for Immigrant Cultural Production'. Paper presented at the '*Fifth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting*', Florence & Montecatini Terme, organised by the Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute, Italy.

14.05.2004, Kira Kosnick, 'The Relevance of Subcultures: Queer and Postmigrant Dance Cultures in Berlin'. Talk given together with Ipek Ipekcioglu at the international conference '*Transnational Cultures and Transcultural Studies*', Goldsmiths College, University of London.

11-19.04.2003. Ulrike Meinhof and Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo, Paper/performance by UHM and ZR (Dama) 'Popular Malagasy music and cultural identity'. *International Conference in Lagos, Nigeria. Globalization, Identity, Politics and Social Conflict*.

22-23.05.2003. Ulrike Meinhof & Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo 'Discourses of Identity: Images, music and the construction of cultural identity.' Nijmegen, Belgium.

4-6.09.2003. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Discourses of music, live audiences, and the public sphere: a case study of Malagasy music events in Europe.' *BAAL Annual meeting*.

12-15.10.2003. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Malagasy music and live audiences in differentiated cultural contexts'. *11th Ross Priory International Seminar on Broadcast Talk*.

18.12.2003. Ulrike Meinhof, '*Weltmusik*' zwischen *Transnationalität* und *Diaspora*, Universität Chemnitz, Germany.

01.03.2004. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Music, migration and differentiated audiences', University of Surrey at Roehampton.

21.04.2004. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Initiating a public 'Malagasy music in differentiated cultural setting'', University of Warwick.

20-22.05.2004. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Transnationalism and changing city spaces in Europe' Key note address at: '*Transnational Communities and ICTs: Participation and Citizenship*'. COST A16- Final Conference, 20-22 May 2004, at the University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland.

24.01.2005. Ulrike Meinhof, *Transnationale Netzwerke als kulturelles Kapital: eine Fallstudie aus der afrikanischen Musikszene in Paris*, University of Bern, Switzerland.

07.02.2005. Ulrike Meinhof 'Initiating a public' Sunderland University Research seminar.

31.03.05 – 02.04.2005. Ulrike Meinhof, Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo 'African music and national identification in transnational networks' *International Conference on Language, Literature and Identity*, Yaounde, Cameroon.

15.04.2005. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Discourses of Cultural Diversity and Cohesion in Europe and its Nation-States', Plenary talk UCL conference *DISCOURSE, IDENTITY AND POLITICS IN EUROPE*, London.

21-23.04.2005. Ulrike Meinhof, 'Reimagining Europe' Plenary talk *Rethinking European Spaces: Territory, Borders, Governance* Royal Holloway London.

02.04.2005. Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo, 'Musical encounters: Madagascar meets Cameroon', Yaounde, Cameroon.

24-30.07.2006. Ulrike Meinhof. Organiser of symposium: Global images, global music, and local languages (with Werner Holly). Paper: 'Africa on your streets'? World-music - the web – transnational public spheres'. World Congress of International Association for Applied Linguistics (AILA), Madison, Wisconsin.

Curation of Cultural Events

Kosnick and Meinhof, **See Annex 2 (Key Events)** relating to Dissemination Event Berlin: *Europe in Motion - Moving Images, Shifting Perspectives in Transcultural Cinema*, 10 – 16 December 2004, www.europeinmotion.net for further information.

Kiwan and Meinhof, **See Annex 2 (Key Events)** relating to *Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces*, 7-9 April 2005, Mainsd'oeuvres, Paris.

Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo Joint Curator of musical evening at Paris cultural event, *Music matters: cultural flows in changing city spaces*, 8/04/2005 with N. Kiwan, U. Meinhof and Banlieues d'Europe.

Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo, Joint Curator of musical evening in conjunction with Brighton Festival and U. Meinhof, 7 May 2005-05-24

Zafimahaleo Rasolofondraosolo, Joint Curator with A. Kotic of *L'Africa encontra L'Africa*, musical evening, at Rome cultural event 14 May 2005

3.2. London

Publications

Aksoy, Asu (2004). 'Some Muslims Within: Watching Television after September 11', in *Media, War and Terrorism: Responses from the Middle East*, Peter Van Der Veer and Shoma Munshi (eds.), Routledge Curzon, pp. 224-250.

Aksoy, Asu (2005), 'Transnational Virtues/Cool Loyalties: 'Small-scale Research' with Turkish Speakers in London', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, forthcoming.

Aksoy, Asu (2006 in press) 'Migrants and the Re-invention of Europe' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Aksoy, Asu (2006 in press) 'London and the Project of Urban Cosmopolitanism' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2003), 'The Enlargement of Meaning: Social Demand in a Transnational Context', *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4-5, pp. 365-388,

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2003), 'Banal Transnationalism: The Difference that Television Makes', in *The Media of Diaspora*, Karim H. Karim (ed.), Routledge, London,, pp.89-105

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2004). 'Parting from Phantoms: What is at Issue in the Development of Transnational Television from Turkey', in J.Friedman and S.Randeria (Eds.), *Worlds on the Move: Globalisation, Migration and Cultural Security*, London, I B Tauris,

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins (2004). 'Whoever Looks always Finds: Transnational Viewing and Knowledge-Experience', in J. Chalaby (Ed.), *Transnational Television Worldwide*, I B Tauris.

Aksoy, Asu and Kevin Robins, (2005). 'Thinking Across Spaces: Transnational Television from Turkey', in T. Morris-Suzuki and S. Yoshimi (eds), *The Cultural Politics of Globalisation*, Tokyo, Heibonsha (in Japanese).

Robins, Kevin (2003). 'Beyond Imagined Community? Transnational Media and Turkish Migrants in Europe', in S. Hjarvard (ed), *Media in a Globalized Society* (Northern Lights Film and Media Studies Yearbook), Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003, pp. 187-205. Translated into German as "Beyond Imagined Community? Transnationale Medien und türkische Migrantinnen in Europa", pp. 114-132 in B.Hipfl, E. Klaus and U. Scheer (eds), *Identitätsräume: Nation, Körper und Geschlecht in den Medien*, Bielefeld, transcript Verlag.

Robins, Kevin (2003). 'Les dangers du concept de 'communauté imaginée' pour l'espace européen', in E. Dacheux (ed), *L'Europe qui se construit: réflexions sur l'espace public européen*, Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, pp. 199-217.

Robins, Kevin (2006 in press) 'Towards a Cultural Policy for European Cosmopolitanism', *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in the Changing European Space* ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Conference Papers

10-11.01.2003. Asu Aksoy, Discussant at the Sussex University Anthropology Department, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, Workshop on Transnational Islam.

28.03.2003. Asu Aksoy, 'Creative Interruption: Turkish Migrants, Turkey and Europe', *After Copenhagen: Certainties & Ambiguities in Turkey's European Quest*, Kingston University, Kingston.

23-26.04.2003. Asu Aksoy, 'Transnational Television and Dialogical Imagination', EMTEL Conference, *New Media and Everyday Life in Europe*, London.

2003. Asu Aksoy, 'Transnational Turn in European Cinema: Turkish Migrant Cinema in Europe', *Accented Cultures- Deterritorialisation and Transnationality in the Arts and Media*, Amsterdam School of Cultural Analysis, Amsterdam.

18-20.12.2003. Asu Aksoy, 'A Cosmopolitan Perspective on the Changing Experience of Migrants in Europe', Istanbul Bilgi University Conference on *International Migration and Turkey: New Trends, Major Issues and Policy Needs*, Istanbul.

14.05.2004. Asu Aksoy, Chair at the Goldsmiths College, Transcultural Research Unit, International Conference, Transnational Cultures and Transcultural Studies.

31.03-03.04.2005. Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins 'Transnational Turkish Television', *Society for Cinema and Media Studies conference*, London.

15.11.2004. Kevin Robins, 'Transnational Cultural Spaces', Invited lecture, Bauhaus, Dessau.

26-28.11.2004. Kevin Robins, 'Cross-Examining the Public Sphere', Keynote Address, Third Space Seminar - Examining the Law, Malmö/Lund.

Curation of Cultural Events

Dissemination: Festival and Workshop Organisation

2005: John Berger Season See Annex 2 (Related Events for more information)

2004: New Trends in Turkish Cinema in Europe

Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins were co-organisers of a panel meeting taking place in December 2004, at the RIO Cinema, as part of the London Turkish Film Festival. Contributing organisations included Film London, BFI, Rio Cinema, Sabanci Bank.

2004: Europe in Motion: Moving Images, Shifting Perspectives in Transnational Cinema

Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins were co-organisers of an international workshop and film festival event, in Berlin in December 2004. Participating organisations include EU Changing City Spaces Project, Kulturspruenge Berlin, Hauptstadtkulturfonds Berlin, British Council Berlin.

2004: Transnational Cultures and Transcultural Studies

Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins were the organisers of the international conference to inaugurate the Transcultural Research Unit at the Department of Media and Communications.

3.3. Vienna

Participation in various working groups focusing on the themes treated within the project.

Meetings with RP6 projects 'The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination' and 'International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe' (IMISCOE).

Founded a working group on language and migration bringing together researchers and NGO representatives in 2003.

Provision of feedback to the *Gastarbajteri* exhibition at formal (through contributing an evaluation to the final project report) and informal levels (in conversations with different project participants).

Following the collaboration with the Vienna-based NGO *Initiative Minorities*, the idea for a discussion event emerged, which would develop some ideas that had emerged in the process of the exhibition further, in order to discuss them with a broader audience of artists, cultural practitioners, intermediaries and theorists.

Publications

Böse, Martina (2004) Creative industries training – domestication versus empowerment,. In: FOKUS/WIWIPOL (eds) *Creative Industries – A measure for urban development?*, an online reader, Vienna. www.fokus.or.at/reader.pdf

Böse Martina, Cornelia Kogoj (2004) Transnationale Medien und Migration. In: Hakan Gürses, Cornelia Kogoj, Sylvia Mattl (eds) *Gastarbeiter. 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*, Vienna: Mandelbaum.

Böse, Martina (2005) “Ich entscheide mich dafür, MigrantInnen zu sagen.” Zur Vermittlung von ‘Gegenerzählungen’ und Repräsentationspolitik in der Ausstellung gastarbeiter - 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration. In: Nora Sternfeld, Beatrice Jaschke, Charlotte Martinz-Turek (eds.) *Wer spricht? Reflexionen zur Vermittlung*, Vienna: Turia & Kant.

Böse, Martina (forthcoming) Difference and exclusion at work in the club culture economy. In *International Journal of Cultural Studies*.

Martina Böse, Brigitta Busch, Milena Dragicevic-Sesic (in press 2006) ‘Despite and beyond cultural policy: third and fourth sector practices and strategies’, in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

de Cillia, Rudolf; Brigitta Busch (in print) Language policy. In: Keith Brown (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics - 2nd Edition*. Oxford:Elsevier Publishers.

Busch, Brigitta (in print) Interactions between politics, media and discourse. In: Keith Brown (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics - 2nd Edition*. Oxford:Elsevier Publishers.

Busch, Brigitta (in print) Local media between multiculturalism and diversity. In: Clare Mar- Molinero; Patrick Stevenson *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices: Language and the Future of Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Busch, Brigitta (in print) Homogeneity vs. heteroglossia. In: Alastair Pennycook; Sifree Makoni (eds.) *Disinventing and reinventing language*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters.

Busch, Brigitta (2004) *Sprachen im Disput. Medien und Öffentlichkeit in multilingualen Gesellschaften*. Klagenfurt: Drava.

Busch, Brigitta (2004) Sprachenpolitik, Sprachen der Minderheiten und die Rolle des Staates. In: Daniela Graf; Karl Kaser (Hg.) *Vision Europa. Vom Nationalstaat zum Europäischen Gemeinwesen*. Wien: Czernin Verlag, 42-55.

Busch, Brigitta; Helen Kelly-Holmes (2004) Language boundaries as social, political and discursive constructs. In: *Language, discourse and borders. Current Issues in Language and Society*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters, 1-13.

Busch, Brigitta; Helen Kelly-Holmes (2004) *Language, discourse and borders. Current Issues in Language and Society*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters.

Busch, Brigitta; Martina Böse (2005) Stil als Ressource, Stil als Ware: 'Gastarbeiteri' oder Die Ironisierung nationaler Identitäten. In: Dieter Wolff (Hg.) *Forum angewandte Linguistik*. Publikationsreihe der Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik (GAL) Bd. 47, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 33-46.

Busch, Brigitta; Krzyzanowski Michał (in preparation) Inside or outside of Europe. Discursive strategies of inclusion/exclusion in the enlargement debate (Prov. title). In: James Anderson; Warwick Armstrong (eds.) *Europe's borders and geopolitics: Expansion, Exclusion and Integration in the European Union*. London: Routledge Transnationalism Series.

Conference Presentations

2003

10. 12. 2003. Brigitta Busch, Diskursforum des Internationalen Forschungszentrums Kulturwissenschaft (IFK). Vortrag: Soziolinguistik und Diskursanalyse. Zur Analyse von mehrsprachigen Medientexten. Wien.

21. 11. 2003. Brigitta Busch, Symposium des Burgenländisch-kroatischen Zentrums 'Die Rolle des Staates und Minderheiten'. Vortrag: Minderheiten und Medien, Mehrsprachigkeit und Bildung, Wien.

16. 5. 2003. Brigitta Busch, VFRÖ-Medientagung 2003: Offene Medien für eine offene Gesellschaft. Mehrsprachigkeit und Integration in Radio, TV und Internet, Einleitungsvortrag: Die Bedeutung des Dritten Sektors, Graz.

2004

12-13.11.2004. Brigitta Busch, International seminar: Mainstreaming minorities in the media in multicultural societies. Key note speech: Media policies and civil society in Europe. Ljubljana.

19.11.2004. Brigitta Busch, Kick-off meeting for the international project in the framework of Grundtvig 1 'Inter.media: Interkulturelle Bildung für die nicht-kommerzielle Medienarbeit'. Introductory presentation: Migration and Media diversity in urban contexts. Frankfurt.

23.-25. 9. 2004. Brigitta Busch, 35. Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik. Themenbereich: Mediale Repräsentationen innerer und äußerer Mehrsprachigkeit. Referat: Vom nationalstaatlichen zum postnationalen Paradigma: Über die Transformation von sprachlichen Praktiken und Diskurse in lokalen Medien. Wuppertal.

23.-25. 9. 2004. Brigitta Busch and Martina Böse, 35. Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik. Sektion 3: Textlinguistik und Stilistik: Stil als Ware. Referat zusammen mit Martina Böse: 'Gastarbeiteri' und Ironisierung nationaler Identitäten. Wuppertal.

9-11.09.2004. Brigitta Busch, BAAL 37th Annual Meeting in London: 'Reconfiguring Europe - The Contribution of Applied Linguistics' Invited panel: 'Communicating Europe: Language policies, participation and democratisation'. Referat: EU language policies: competing language ideologies. King's College, London.

8-12.07.2005. Brigitta Busch, Conference at the Centre for Transnational Studies, University of Southampton 'Language and the Future of Europe: Ideologies, Policies and Practices'. Referat: Urban vs. national language policies.

24-25.05.2004. Brigitta Busch, Symposium des Sprachenzentrums der Universität Wien 'Sprachen und Kulturen: Wissensaustausch mit den neuen EU-Mitgliedern'.

20.03.2004. Martina Böse, FOKUS Workshop 'Creative Industries. A measure for urban development?'. Paper presentation: 'Creative industries-talk' and the not so sexy issue of regeneration', Vienna.

24. 2. 2004, Brigitta Busch, Novinarski večer 'Manjšine in mediji', Referat: Evropska javnost in večjezičnost, Mirovni Inštitut, Ljubljana.

22. 1. 2004. Brigitta Busch, Members of Parliament Network for South Eastern Europe (European Parliament). Eröffnungsvortrag: Media and cultural policy in South Eastern Europe: current issues and long term perspectives. Wien.

2005

10-12.11. 2005. Ruth Wodak, 'The Discursive Construction of Individual and Collective Memories', presentation, Manchester Metropolitan University Conference, 'The Future of Memory'.

9-11.11.2005. Brigitta Busch, Graz University: Meeting with colleagues from the University (Romany project) in the view of follow up projects within the Balkan nexus and meeting with Graz based NGOs.

4. 8. 2005. Brigitta Busch, Round table: Podiumsdiskussion 'Minderheitensprachen in Österreich' an der Internationalen Deutschlehrertagung, idt 2005. Impulsreferat zu Sprachenpolitik in Österreich. Graz.

23.-25.06.2005. Brigitta Busch, Respecting heteroglossia in society and valorizing individual linguistic resources. Einleitungsreferat zur Tagung 'Literacy and linguistic diversity in a global perspective'. European Centre for Modern Languages, ECML, Graz.

12-13.05.2005. Britgitta Busch, The Re-/Construction of Europe/EU: On Social, Political and Cultural Dimensions of Reforming and Enlarging the European Union. Diskussionsbeitrag. Lancaster University.

21-23.01.2005. Martina Böse, Inaugural conference of the Cultural Theory Institute, 'Making Use of Culture', University of Manchester. Paper presentation: Inclusion and Exclusion in the Making of Culture, Manchester.

Curation of Cultural Event

The central dissemination event for the Viennese team was, a workshop called 'SUBTITLE – Cultural Production of Minorities between ethnicization and politics', which took place in the principal site of the public library in Vienna in October 2004. See Annex 2 –Related Events – Vienna for further details.

Related (follow up) research projects and consultancies

Grundtvig 2 Learning partnership „[edu:comm] Education via Communication‘ in partnership with community media in Vienna, Ljubljana, Manchester, Amsterdam and Madrid (2005/2006)

Grundtvig 1 'Inter.media: Interkulturelle Bildung für die nicht-kommerzielle Medienarbeit'. Consultancy and evaluation of subprojects.

Didaktik in heterogenen Klassen. Sprachliche Vielfalt und Nutzung des sprachlichen Umfelds.

Eine Erhebung der Erfahrungen von LehrerInnen im muttersprachlichen Unterricht

Förderung: BM für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur, Wien, 2004–2005

Austrian UNESCO Commission: Consultancy on language policy for social cohesion. (Elaboration of a plan of action for the programme 'Cultural and linguistic diversity in education and the media') (2005)

ECRI, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. ECRI's report on the situation in Austria (2005) (consultancy and presentation at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna, 13. 9. 2005)

Teaching, Teacher Training

Academic teaching:

- Institute of Linguistics, University of Vienna (Seminar media and intercultural communication, summer term 2004; Language biographies, summer term 2005)
- Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaft der Universität Klagenfurt (Lecture series on multilingualism, winter term 2004/05 and winter term 2005/06)
- Institute of Slavic Languages, University of Klagenfurt (Seminar: Language biographies, winter term 2005/06)

Invited talks/lectures:

- Universität Innsbruck, (June 2005)
- Universität Wien, Institut für Germanistik(May 2005)

- University of Aberdeen, Institut für Germanistik (May 2005)
- Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germanistik (November 2004)
- Universität Ljubljana (November 2004)
- University of Cardiff, Centre for Language and Communication (June 2003)
- Univerzitet Umetnosti, BelgradE (March 2003)

A- dult education programme in Vienna

- Internationales Studienzentrum für wissenschaftliche Erwachsenenbildung und Demokratieforschung (ISZ), Wien (Kommunikation im interkulturellen Kontext; Sprache und Identität, June 2005)

Teacher training:

- Seminar with teachers teaching Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian in Austrian primary schools (St. Pölten, 13-15 April 2005)
- Seminar with teachers teaching Turkish, Albanian, Romany and other community languages in Austrian primary schools (St. Pölten, 23-25 November 2005)
- Seminar with teachers in Austrian secondary schools in the framework of the global education week on cultural and linguistic diversity (Linz, 22-23 Nov. 2005)

Online discussion

Martina Böse, Invited contribution to the virtual symposium dia-loge 'Here to Stay' (Subtitle: Contributions to an antiracist film theory and practice'), organized as part of the Austrian Filmfestival Diagonale 2005. 'Von Gestaltungsstrategien zur Zeit von diaspora chic und multikulti attitüden', <http://www.dia-log.at>.

3.4. Florence

Publications

Kosic, A. 2005. 'Le sfide della politica culturale a Roma. I risultati di una ricerca' [Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome: Results of a Piece of Research]. *Input*, 91/92/93, pp. 36-38.

Kosic, A. and A. Triandafyllidou. (in press 2006), 'Urban Cultural Policy and Immigrants in Rome: Multiculturalism or Simply Paternalism?' in *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy*

in the Changing European Space ed. U. Meinhof and A. Triandafyllidou (Palgrave Macmillan).

Conference Papers

7-9.04.2005. Kotic, A. Participation in the workshop: Music Matters: Cultural Flows in Changing City Spaces, Paris.

14.05.2005. Kotic, A. Participation in the workshop: 'Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Europe', UPTER, Piazza Barberini 54, Rome. Paper presented: Strategies for the promotion of cultural inclusion in the city of Rome.

08.2005. Kotic, A. Participation at XVII International Congress of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Xi'an, China, Aug 2004. Paper presented: Transnational immigrants in global cities.

Curation of Cultural Events

14.05.2005. See annex relating to 'New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Rome', *Università Popolare* in Rome.

Other Dissemination

05.2003. Kotic, A. and A. Triandafyllidou 2003. 'New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Italy', Unpublished project report, Florence, European University Institute, May 2003.

3.5. Ljubljana

Publications

Nikola Janović, (2003) 'Balkan v podobi. Reprezentacija balkanske popularne folklore v slovenskih medijih'/Balkans in the image. Representation of the Balkan popular folklore in Slovene media/*Medijska preža/Mediawatch Journal*. No. 17-18, Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute, pp. 10 – 12.

Nikola Janović (May 2004) 'Euphoric Phantasm and Political Rear-View Mirror: European Ascertainment of Multiculturalism', *Euphoria Magazine*.

Janović, Nikola and Rastko Močnik (in press 2006), 'Three Nexal Registers: Identity-Peripheral Cultural Industries and Alternative Cultures' in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Conference Papers/Lectures

25-28.09.2003. Rastko Močnik, Theory of Ideology: problematics, history, theories, analyses of cases. Postgraduate and predoctoral course. Department of Sociology, Paisiy Hilendarski University, Plovdiv.

25.10.2003. Rastko Močnik, *From the natives' point of view: »Balkans« as a self-inflicted classification*. Lecture. – Symposium: *The reinvention of the Balkans: geopolitics, art and culture in South-East Europe*.

Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, in co-operation with ifa, Stuttgart. Within the frame of the exhibition: *In den Schluchten des Balkan* Documenta-Halle, Kassel.

13-15.05.2004. Nikola Janović, Université Jean Monnet, St-Etienne, France - Centre de recherche en education. Rastko Mocnik: L'argumentation identitaire dans le discours politique. Trois exemples de l'ex-Yougoslavie. Colloque international CULTURE(S) ET REFLEXIVITE.

05.2004. Nikola Janović, Interview with Rastko Močnik: Contemporary Paradigms (Globalisation, Multiculturalism etc.) and Interview with Rambo Amadeus, Ljubljana.

3.6. Belgrade

Publications

Mapping cultural cooperation in Southeastern Europe, with Corina Suteu, in: Reader 'Crossing perspectives: cultural cooperation with South Eastern Europe', European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, June 2003. pp. 71-83.

EU enlargement processes and its impact on culture (interviews with actors in Serbia) + Synthesis report published in: Reader 'Crossing perspectives: cultural cooperation with South Eastern Europe', European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, June 2003. pp. 57-58.

Internationalizarea politicilor culturale, (with Corina Suteu), Observator Cultural, Bucharest, n. 178. 22-28.07. 2003, pp. 11-15.

Ethics within the alternative poetics (Etika u okviru poetike), in: Led Art – dokumenti vremena 1993 – 2003 (ICE ART – documents of time), pp.23-28, Multimedijalni centar LED ART, Novi Sad, 2004. ISBN 86-905375-0-3.

Belef, poliphonies of cultures: challenges for the new cultural policies, august 2004, www.belef.org

Mreza – metafora ili instrument (Network – metaphore or instrument), Zarez, Zagreb (special number), autumn 2004.

Compendium – Serbia and Montenegro – new version, published on web site www.culturalpolicies.net November 2004.

Dragićević Šešić, Milena and Sanjin Dragojević (in press 2006), 'Imagined or Real Divides' in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Böse, Martina Brigitta Busch, Milena Dragićević Šešić (in press 2006) 'Despite and beyond cultural policy: third and fourth sector practices and strategies', in Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou (eds) *Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Conference Papers

11-12.06.2003. Models of cultural policies and financing in Europe, Ulaan Bator, Mongolia. Forum on Cultural Policy and Financing.

16-18.06.2003. Crossing perspectives, symposium ECF, Amsterdam -. Paper: Cultural cooperation – policies and practices.

27-28.06.2003. Key-note speech: Cultural policy of Serbia, National debate: Cultural policy, with international experts of Council of Europe,, Sava centar, Belgrade.

18. 07. 2003. Višegrad Summer school, Vila Decius, Krakow, Poland. Lecture: Southeast Europe & European Union.

17-20.09.2003. 2nd Danube conference. Belgrade, paper: Possibilities for cultural policy & cultural cooperation in Danube region.

24. 09. 2003. Seminar: Social actors in transformation, paper: Artist as activists in todays Balkan, Minneapolis, USA.

08.10.2003. National cultural policy in Serbia, debate at Council of Europe Cultural committee, Strasbourg, CDCULT 1A.

2003 Culture & goods: between hammer and, interview with Z.Z. Economist magazine, n.184, deck. Pp.42-43.

30.09-02.10. 2004. *Cultural Policy and Art Production* – introductory speech for the International Conference: **Cultural Policy and Art Production**, University of Arts Belgrade, (presented the results of the research from the project Changing City spaces: challenges for the new cultural policies in Europe).

30.09-02.10. 2004 At the same conference, for the session: **Education for cultural policy**, paper: *Teaching Cultural Policy in Southeast Europe – historical development* Belgrade, University of Arts).

6-8. 10. 2004, conference: **Intercultural dialogue**, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, paper: *Art as a space of intercultural dialogue in contemporary Balkans*.

19-20.11.2004. Istanbul, conference: **Cultural policy of Anatolian cities**, paper: *Strategies of cultural policy development in multicultural cities*.

Teaching

October, Dushanbe: Compendium seminar (instructive seminar for the cultural policy researchers from Central Asia). Paper: How to research and document cultural policy.

Interviews

Gornji Milanovac sindrom, and the keys of discontinuity, Vesna Roganovic interview, *Danas*, (daily), 8-9 May 2004., p. VII

<http://www.dnevnik.co.yu/arhiva/01-08-2004/Strane/spec.htm>

Politics and arts: autocensorship. *Politika*, |(daily, Belgrade), 21.12 2004, p.17

17.03.2005. Introductory paper: *Cultural policies and cultural practices in Serbia in transition*, Conference: **Les 'modèles' européens et français d`administration de la culture peuvent-ils aider à faire face aux défis de la transition en Serbie?** IETM, Belgrade.

04.02.2005. Europe as an integrated cultural space, CEU Budapest.

16.03.2005. Types of strategies in partnership and cooperation, introductory lecture for the seminar on partnership and networking, Balkan express meeting, Belgrade.

15.03.2005. Theatre policy and situation in the field of alternative theater movement, Balkan express meeting: Performing arts as a factor of development, Belgrade.

29.03.-02.04.2005. STAGE seminar for the city directors of cultural affaires of Armenia, held in Tsakhkadzor, Armenia. Two lectures:

L'évolution des politiques culturelles territoriales en Europe centrale et orientale: organisation, enjeux, moyens.

Les types des strategies de politiques culturelles des villes.

21.04.2005. Malmo University, Shiftlecture #64, Imagined divides - new European divisions.

Banlieues d'Europe

29.11.2003. Meeting in Paris organised by Agence de développement des Relations Interculturelles, on the coming 'Museum for immigration heritage and memory' in France.

27- 28.11. 2004. Meeting in Pesaro (Italien), with italien cultural and social network ARCI: 'from city to europa, the new cultural rights'. Presentation of the project

5-6.03.2004. Meeting in Paris, network 'Les Rencontres', network of cultural politicians in Europa 'cultural diversity and political territories in Europe'. Presentation of the project

26.03. 2004. Meeting with head director of Cultural sector in the Council of Europe. With the responsible for the program'dialog between cultures against conflicts'. Presentation of the project

2 -3.05. 2005. Paris - *L'Europe de la Culture* - Sarah Levin

9-12.06. 2005 Zagreb - *Culturelink conference - (Mondial conference about cultural policies)* Frédérique Ehrmann was invited to present Banlieues d'Europe activites, including the project changing city spaces. Silvia Cazacu from Banlieues d'Europ'est was invited too.

16.06.2005. *Strasbourg - National day of la Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration.* Frédérique Ehrmann was invited to present Banlieues d'Europe activites, including the project changing city spaces.Especially on the researchers, cultural actors, artistsnetworking, on the question of culture and migration.

17-19.06. 2005 *Turin - Quartiers en crise* - Sarah Levin and Jean Hurstel were invited to present Banlieues d'Europe's activities, including the project Changing city spaces, at a conference on cultural policies and urban policies of different cities in Europe.

28.06.2005 Lyon – Arsec – professional meeting. Cultural policies in the new European countries, and the development of cooperation projects. Frédérique Ehrmann was invited to present Banlieues d’Europe’s activities, including the project Changing city spaces.

Table 7. Future Dissemination of the *Changing City Spaces* Consortium

Partner	Future Exploitation Intention
<p>University of Southampton</p>	<p>N. Kiwan and U. Meinhof plan to conduct future research on the non-European transnational connections that migrant and post-migrant cultural movements have and thus build on the nexus design beyond Europe’s borders. In this sense we aim to develop the nexus concept and the transcultural capital concept which were developed during the <i>City Spaces</i> research.</p> <p>The following article is in preparation and due to be submitted to a peer reviewed journal:</p> <p>N. Kiwan, U. Meinhof, ‘The Challenges of Forging New Musical Scenes in Paris and Beyond’.</p> <p>N.Kiwan is preparing the following articles for publication in a peer reviewed journal, ‘La Nouvelle Sono Orientale de Paris’: New Bled Vibrations in Paris and Beyond’.</p> <p>N. Kiwan ‘ Equal Opportunities and Republican Revival: Post-Migrant Politics in Contemporary France’.</p> <p>Kira Kosnick will present a research paper at the University of Sussex Centre for Migration Research</p> <p>‘Beyond the Community - Queer Migrant Club Cultures in Metropolitan Spaces’</p> <p>Wednesday 23rd of November, 2005</p> <p>Kira Kosnick will present a conference paper at the Society for Visual Anthropology Visual Research Conference on the following panel: Post-Colonial Broadcasting: Struggling for Place and History in the Mass Media, 3 December 2005, Washington DC.</p> <p>Kira Kosnick has been awarded a workshop grant from the AHRC programme <i>Diasporas, Migration and Identities</i> for 2006, entitled Beyond the Community: Migrant Club Cultures and Queer Diasporic Identifications.</p> <p>Ulrike Meinhof has been invited to give a paper on Transnationalism and Changing City Spaces at the European University in Florence (9 February 2006) as well as several talks at international conferences in Vienna (Theory of European Culture, 12-13 May 2006) and in Modena (Congresso Internazionale Scienze della cultura e del linguaggio - Nuovi Orientamenti e Prospettive 28-29-30 September 2006.</p>

<p>Banlieues d'Europe</p>	<p>Strasbourg (France) – Banlieues d'Europe is involved in the 'Masters in Cultural Policy', organised by the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Strasbourg.Frédérique Ehrmann was one of the selection jury (July 2005).Banlieues d'Europe will run training sessions for the Masters and will present the research project Changing City Spaces.</p> <p>Anvers (Belgium) November 2005: Meeting of Banlieues d'Europe on the subject 'Cultural diversity in action, cultures and re-creations', gathering together cultural actors, artists, researchers and responsible for pubic policies. Among the speakers, Mohand Haddar from New Bled Vibrations.</p>
<p>Belgrade, University of Arts</p>	<p>Action Research project: City cultural policies in Turkey with Anadolu Foundation as a partner (two cities involved in the moment: Kayseri and Kars).</p> <p>Exploitation intention:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) using methodological tools developed within Changing city spaces (focus groups, observations, data collection etc.) b) using results of the research relevant to cultural policies in all seven cities as comparative and stimulative base for action research which should contribute to develop local cultural policies (taking in account diversities and migrations in Kars, and necessary changes in the fight for 'European accession' in Kayzeri (one of the richest and most conservative Turkish cities) c) using data relevant from the Turkish-Kurdish nexus in debating migration issues in those two cities in Turkey d) using policy recommendations for the debate with Turkish policy makers. <p>Research project: Cities on European margins (book) partner: Sanjin Dragojevic (IMO, Croatia), commanditeur: European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam From the Baltic cities of Kaliningrad and Tartu, to Caucasus cities of Baku, Tbilisi and Erevan, this research will use some of the methodological tools and results developed within Changing City Spaces.</p> <p>Organisation of a Debate: Policy of international cultural relations of city of Belgrade. February 2006. As a president of a Committee for cultural cooperation and exchange of a City of Belgrade, Milena Dragesevic-Sesic has used the research results to develop with other members of the committee a 'chart' and draft strategy for the future, which now has to be debated within political circles in Belgrade. Then, the public debate is scheduled for February.</p>

<p>Belgrade contd.</p>	<p>The results of the research represents the material for 'training' at the MA course in Cultural Policy and Cultural Management in the Balkans, of the University of Arts in Belgrade, where students are analysing and debating data relevant to the Balkan nexus. It is already the third generation of students which will in a certain way be able to use the City Spaces research (the previous two generations participated in the research as interviewers) - this generation will work on the material gathered in a workshops, carrying out analysis and comparisons.</p> <p>CREATING CULTURAL CAPITAL, conference of Council of Europe, will be held in Naples in the Maison de la Mediteranee on the 15/16 December 2005</p> <p>As the aims of the Creating Cultural Capital (CCC) Project are to promote and support European and global cultural diversity and creativity and seek to provide local level access to the means of cultural production and exchange in the context of the cultural industries and the global market, in Naples I will present the results embedded in our research which are relevant (creative industries and cultural diversities - this complex dichotomy in between global influences and local specificities -as expressed in new production of Balkan music)</p>
<p>Goldsmiths College, University of London</p>	<p>Istanbul Bilgi University Centre for Migration Research, Goethe Institute, Institut Français d'Istanbul, Turkey,(Dr Asu Aksoy is now based there as International Projects Director) Third Culture/Third Space, 18 November 2005</p> <p>This discussion panel and film screening event will centre on the following theme: Cinema of the Children of Migrant Families in Germany and France: German-Turk Cinema/Migrants' Cinema in France.</p> <p>Kevin Robins will give a keynote speech at Istanbul Bilgi University, at the Conference on Cultural Studies at a Crossroads, July 2006.</p>

<p>University of Vienna</p>	<p>Follow up research projects and consultancies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Learning partnership '[edu:comm] Education via Communication' in partnership with community media in Vienna, Ljubljana, Manchester, Amsterdam and Madrid (2005/2006) - 'Inter.media: Interkulturelle Bildung für die nicht-kommerzielle Medienarbeit'. Consultancy and evaluation of subprojects (2005). - Sprachliche Vielfalt und Nutzung des sprachlichen Umfelds. Eine Erhebung der Erfahrungen von LehrerInnen im muttersprachlichen Unterricht [making use of the multilingual environment (media, cultural activities) in fostering intercultural education) <p>Förderung: BM für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur, Wien, 2004-2005, another follow up planned for 2006.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Austrian UNESCO Commission: Consultancy on language policy for social cohesion. (Elaboration of a plan of action for the programme 'Cultural and linguistic diversity in education and the media') (2005)
<p>European University Institute</p>	<p>This team is engaged in further dissemination and exploitation activities through academic publications. At the moment, we are preparing the following article due to be submitted to a peer review journal: Kotic, A. 'The Role of 'World Music' in Creating New Social Spaces and Identities'.</p>
<p>University of Ljubljana</p>	<p>Panel Discussion at Balkan Black Box Festival 16-23 October 2005: 'Turbo-Culture. A Radioshow', 19 November 2005, 6 pm Volksbühne, Roter Salon</p> <p>'Turbo-Culture - Product of Globalization or Nationalism?' with: Rastko Mocnik (Ljubljana), Viktor Marinov (Sofia), Dusan Maljkovic (Belgrade)</p> <p>In the countries of Southeast Europe, (cultural) division of societies is often demonstrated by the opposition of pop-folk as turbo (YU)/Chalga (BG)/Manele (RO), on the one hand, and contemporary urban music styles, such as rock, electronic music etc. on the other. The genre of pop-folk is seen as a 'threat to civilization' which is directly linked with social-political relations of dominance.</p>

European Commission

EUR 23111 — EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES — Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Europe - Changing City Spaces

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

2007 — 218 pp. — 21,0 x 29,7 cm

ISBN 978-92-79-07557-5

How to obtain EU publications

Our priced publications are available from EU Bookshop (<http://bookshop.europa.eu/>), where you can place an order with the sales agent of your choice.

The Publications Office has a worldwide network of sales agents. You can obtain their contact details by sending a fax to (352) 29 29-42758.

