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Kunst in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft
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English Summary

Art in an Immigration Society

Contributions by the arts to
living together in diversity

In Zusammenarbeit mit



Organisation
der Vereinten Nationen
für Bildung, Wissenschaft
und Kultur

Deutsche
UNESCO-Kommission

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Introduction: Findings and recommendations

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Along with digital transformation, demographic change, globalization and social inequality, growing cultural diversity is one of the key challenges we face in society today. Home to the world's third-largest immigrant population, Germany has in recent years engaged intensively and quite successfully with the challenges associated with living in diversity. Indeed, most people in Germany have – step by step – grown accustomed to the idea of living in a diverse immigration society. One aspect of this evolving social attitude is the ability to recognize differences without resorting to stereotyping. The slogan of the first Bundesfachkongress Interkultur (“Differenzieren statt pauschalisieren”) called attention to this issue in 2006, highlighting the need to eschew generalizations in favor of nuanced personal understanding.

In 2018, the Bertelsmann Stiftung is awarding the Reinhard Mohn Prize with the theme of “Living Diversity – Shaping Society” to former German Federal President Joachim Gauck, who has long championed living together in diversity and the development of a new conception of “we.” With a number of parallel studies and publications, the Stiftung is also examining the conditions necessary for living successfully together in heterogeneous societies, and for developing a successful approach to cultural diversity. The “Cultural Integration” initiative created by Minister of State for Culture and the Media Monika Grütters in 2017 clearly highlights the political significance of the cultural aspects of living together in an immigration society. The 2018 coalition agreement between the CDU, the CSU and the SPD includes an “Agenda for Culture and the Future” that builds on Grütters’ initiative, and which will be carried out jointly with federal states, local authorities and civil society.

The present study, a Bertelsmann Stiftung initiative, was conceived in cooperation with the German UNESCO Commission. Using the selected case studies as a basis, it examines the role of the arts for living together in diversity. The focus of this exploratory study has been selected quite consciously to portray the arts, along with the sciences, as the most important aspect of our cultural capital. Moreover, the relationship between aesthetic practice and the way societies shape approaches to living in diversity has previously been the subject of too little investigation. The case studies presented here convincingly demonstrate that this country is home to a diversity of cultural-policy activities and approaches in local communities and in civil society, supported by the federal states and by the federal government.

To be sure, additional social fields of cultural learning also play a major role in successful cultural integration. These may include everyday cultural practices (cooking together, gardening, playing sports together) or lifestyle-related activities (ethnic music and fashion, restaurant culture) that are producing entirely new combinations. Transformations in the patterns of everyday social interaction are also important, whether in neighborhoods, civil society, church communities, sports and carnival associations, projects, or festivals. Indeed, practices constituting intangible cultural heritage have received increasing attention in recent years.¹

UNESCO created a conceptual framework for these multifaceted forms of cultural expression as long ago as 1982.² That year, the group's second World Conference on Cultural Policies developed a definition of culture that remains both valid and powerful today, and which laid the groundwork for the genuine recognition of the equal value of cultural forms of expression. The final conference document stated that culture "in its widest sense may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and literature, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. ... (It) is culture that gives man the ability to reflect upon himself. It is culture that makes us specifically human, rational beings, endowed with a critical judgment and a sense of moral commitment. It is through culture that we discern values and make choices. It is through culture that man expresses himself, becomes aware of himself, recognizes his incompleteness, questions his own achievements, seeks untiringly for new meanings and creates works through which he transcends his limitations."

With this definition as a starting point, we can work together with eyes on the future to shape a society that acknowledges diversity in all its contradictions and potential for conflict, and which understands participation, equality of opportunity and solidarity to be among the goals of our cultural work.

Societal diversity is thus not only a question of legal status, media reporting or the population's composition, but rather always also entails a negotiation of ambiguities and identities, feelings of belonging, shared and unconnected memories, and common images of the future. Culture is also the conversation about what and who we are, where we have come from, what we may be in the future, and how we can live. It is thus all the more worthwhile to carefully consider the relationship between the arts and living together in a diverse society.

1 UNESCO has supported the protection, documentation and preservation of intangible forms of cultural heritage since 2003. These depend crucially on human knowledge and skills and are an expression of creativity and inventiveness. They are transmitted from generation to generation and are continually in evolution. These forms of expression include dance, theater, music and oral traditions as well as rituals, festivals and skills to produce traditional crafts. As of today, 176 countries have joined the UNESCO convention on intangible cultural heritage.

2 www.unesco.de/infothek/dokumente/konferenzbeschluesse/erklaerung-von-mexiko.html (accessed on 20 April 2018).

It may be immediately apparent, for example, that singing or dancing in common has the power to bring people together even if they don't speak a common language. A deeper and less obvious point, however, is how a society's social life and collective identity are reflected, influenced and shaped by the manifold forms of artistic practice. When it comes to critical engagement with social processes and open exchange about social experiences, art is a global medium.

The present study on the arts in an immigration society offers an initial contribution to the clarification of several issues: how the arts and diversity are related, and what contribution the arts can offer with regard to living together in a heterogeneous world. It additionally outlines trends in Germany since World War II. On the basis of a dozen case studies examining current artistic projects, it describes the complex relationships between the arts and cultural diversity in an immigration society. In so doing, it offers initial clues regarding social, structural and institutional factors that are important for living successfully in diversity. A section of conclusions and recommendations completes the study.

Germany in 2018 is a largely cosmopolitan, diverse and inclusive country, home to people from 200 different countries with diverse cultural characteristics and different sets of values. Today's cultural diversity is the result both of historical and more recent migration and refugee flows, particularly within the last 10 to 20 years. These global trends are regularly recorded by the United Nations (UN) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).³

The data show that migration and a productive approach to the resulting diversity are today key factors in the constitution of successful societies.

Germany has long been characterized by immigration and cultural diversity. The former West Germany experienced a continuous and numerically substantial influx of people beginning at least in the 1960s. Today, around 20 percent of Germany's residents have a so-called migrant background. In some cities, the ratio is significantly higher; in Frankfurt, for example, this is true of more than half of the city's residents, while among young people, fully 70 percent come from families with origins in another country.⁴ This phenomenon is also referred to as "superdiversity" (see Vertovec 2007⁵; Phillimore 2017; Grzymala-Kazłowska and Phillimore 2017), or the diversification of diversity. This description encompasses the scope, tempo and range of this heterogeneity, as well as

3 See, for example, United Nations 2016: 5. The number of migrants worldwide has grown from 173 million people in 2000 to 244 million in 2015. Two-thirds of migrants live in just 20 countries, with the largest populations in the United States (47 million), followed by Germany and Russia (each with 12 million) and Saudi Arabia. At the end of 2016, the UNHCR counted 65.6 million refugees globally, including 40.3 million internally displaced persons in countries such as in Colombia (see www.unhcr.org/dach/de/services/statistiken (in German, accessed 15 March 2018)). Rather than coming to Europe, many refugees seek protection in neighboring countries such as Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Pakistan or Turkey. This last-named country has currently taken in the most refugees worldwide, including 3.4 million Syrians. See, for example, International Crisis Group (2018).

4 www.frankfurt.de/sixcms/media.php/738/amka-monitoring15-final-01.pdf.

5 The concept of superdiversity was developed by Steven Vertovec (2007). He defines it as the diversification of diversity with regard to 1) legal status, 2) origin/ethnicity, 3) education/professional experience/vocational training, 4) gender, 5) age and 6) spatial distribution.

the new phenomenon of circular migration – that is, moving in stages from one country or continent to another, and then back again. Consequently, these superdiverse urban spaces are characterized by a new quality⁶, the diversification of diversity, that consists of many “we’s.” In short, former German Federal President Gauck’s formulation – the call to reinvent and practice the “solidarity of differences” – becomes necessary under these conditions.

Germany has long been characterized by religious diversity even independently of the current waves of immigration. Historically, Catholics and Protestants have long lived side by side here. Until the Holocaust, there was also a large Jewish population that held undisputed significance for the country’s cultural and scientific life. Since that time, Jewish life in Germany has revived once again.

Given society’s current empirical diversity, which is a sign of movement and change, notions of cultural homogeneity appear to be particularly unrealistic. In this regard, it remains doubtful whether any era could truly have claimed an extensive cultural homogeneity with regard to national origin or religion. In all probability, the sight of differences in a supposedly foreign culture distorts the view of the range of variations within one’s own culture, as well as of the commonalities and links between cultures. While the strict demarcation of “the other” promotes the illusion of homogeneity within one’s “own” society, a different view is necessary within a diverse society; instead, differences must be perceived and acknowledged, but without fashioning them into impassable divides. According to UNESCO, culture constitutes a process in which people come to understand and negotiate their mutual relationships, both within groups and in collective everyday activities. Culture additionally offers the ability to question, renew and determine individual and collective values, narratives, attitudes and ways of life. Accordingly, the 1996 UNESCO Delors Report identified “learning to live together” as one of the four key objectives for learning and education in the 21st century.⁷

However, while living together in diversity is more colorful and stimulating, it also holds the potential for new kinds of conflicts. It demands more and increasingly active efforts to shape collective social life. People must be willing to acknowledge and address the difficulties associated with heterogeneity and ambiguity. These conflicts should not be regarded as fundamentally negative. Conflicts here are a sign of progress, not regression; they are both an indication of unresolved tensions and a driving force behind societal change. Thus, how we deal with conflicts in our society is a crucial element in living together in cultural diversity. As a rule, it is of little help to ignore or obstruct them.

6 These urban areas are typically home to people from well over 100 or 150 countries. This includes cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin, Birmingham, Hamburg, Cologne, London, Paris and Rotterdam in Europe, as well as São Paulo (100 countries), Toronto (190), Melbourne (204), Bangkok and Jakarta.

7 The Delors Report, entitled “Learning: The Treasure Within,” appeared in April 1996. It outlined challenges for education policy in the 21st century. According to the document, education includes four areas of learning: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be, and learning to live together. The report was drafted by a 15-member UNESCO expert committee chaired by former European Commission President Jacques Delors. See Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission (1997).

This core idea was a part of UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001. That document's Article 2 states that, "in our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together." Society's approach to diversity will determine whether it will in fact successfully become a positive force that – as the same document's Article 3 notes – leads to "a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence."

Artistic expression entails vital engagement with these problems and conflicts, with questions of identity and belonging, and with the public representation and communication of diversity. The present study makes no claim to be an exhaustive treatment of the interactions between the arts, cultural diversity and cultural integration. However, it helps to clarify the critical issues, highlights important avenues for future development, and provides an overview of examples of constructive and productive approaches to this diversity.

We offer our thanks to Dr. Burcu Dogramaci, whose introduction, focusing predominately on the post-World War II period, discusses how migration in Germany has affected the development of cultural diversity in the arts and within artistic productions, as well as the significance achieved today by artists with a migrant background. In addition, on the basis of a critical evaluation of the case studies, she has identified social and structural factors underlying the success of these approaches. At the same time, she also points out obstacles and difficulties.

We owe our thanks to Barbara Haack for her support in researching and evaluating the case studies that underpin this study. Each case study testifies to the capacity of film, the visual arts, literature, blogs, music, dance and theater to provide socially formative inspiration through esthetics and cultural learning. Performative arts, exhibitions, festivals, workshops or blogs that engage with their audiences are particularly well-suited to addressing the basic challenges and opportunities associated with cultural integration. For each example featured here, there are countless other similar projects and initiatives. As case studies, each example highlights various approaches, art forms and actors but are not intended to represent all variants.

We can draw a few **generalizations** from this study about the conditions under which projects involving the arts can have a positive impact on living together in diversity. Projects achieve their objectives when they reach new target groups while appealing to both a majority society and members of migrant or refugee groups. Project staff must therefore approach these groups – also in their local contexts – and break down the barriers to cultural inclusion. When people of different backgrounds work together in a more familiar and personal context that builds relationships, shared ideas and approaches to living in diversity arise more naturally and easily. This works particularly well in projects where artistic expression through music or dance offers participants performative mechanisms other than those associated with language to work through issues and themes to transcend barriers.

Projects that are designed to address the broader public are particularly important in terms of giving a face and voice to the social and cultural diversity present in a majority society. This is where work in the arts becomes, in a positive sense, political education. These projects help unmask the illusion of a homogenous “native” society while helping the public recognize cultural diversity as an asset.

The demographics are clear: Anywhere from 60% to 70% of children and youth in large and medium-sized urban areas in Germany have multiple mother tongues and a migration or refugee background. They often have limited access to public cultural facilities and events such as libraries, museums, theaters, live music clubs, concert halls or festivals. Intercultural project work with all children and youth of this age demographic is key to ensuring that we all live together well in diversity.

The arts-related projects and measures featured here are to be viewed as experiments in targeting collective social life in contexts of cultural diversity. Many of these case studies have successfully triggered learning processes that lead to a shift in perspective. However, most of them are scheduled to run for a limited period of time, which makes it difficult to foster in-depth appreciation-oriented and learning outcomes. This is where public and cultural institutions for the arts and their appreciation for cultural diversity as an asset and opportunity can play an important role. The informal learning processes we need in society can be sustained if our cultural institutions commit to the following: 1) In addition to emphasizing artistic excellence, cultural institutions could take politico-cultural education as part of their mandate. 2) They could remain open to extant political and cultural challenges. 3) They integrate into their program difficult issues and out-of-the-box artist views on the potentially controversial subject of cultural diversity.

However, cultural policy and its action areas cannot alone provide national solutions to veiled or explicit xenophobia, let alone violent racism. Battling these problems nationally requires cooperation with other policy areas and is urgently needed.

Drawing upon these conclusions, we propose the following seven **recommendations for action**:

- Further strengthen and consolidate intercultural offerings provided by institutions for the arts and culture that receive public funds: The study shows that innovative ideas and strategies can reach new target groups and audiences. Although publicly funded cultural institutions generally target the broader public, their activities are usually embedded within the majority society’s public administrative infrastructure. Changes or adaptations in this regard could help foster and strengthen constructive efforts in addressing cultural diversity, and for greater impact. Individual associations, such as the German Library Association, the German Stage Association and the German Museum Association, have already begun collecting national data on intercultural offerings.

Ultimately, what matters are the perspectives of diversity that are integrated into artistic and curatorial workflows and management duties – whether this takes place in–

house, through independent curators, or in the form of co-productions. Undertaking and publishing by 2019 a critical review and summary of Germany's most relevant institutions would serve as a strategic investment by providing the "Living together in diversity" project a broad and durable foundation.

- Foster artists' self-organization and expertise: Immigrants, refugees and people living in exile process their experiences as such through art and thus have an impact on society. An analysis of Germany's postwar history through the lens of diversity makes this very clear. And as the German experience with exile in the 20th century demonstrates, self-organization among artists and cultural professionals seeking refuge in a foreign country can prove exceptionally beneficial for both the artists as well as the country in which they have settled precisely because such forms of organization expand opportunities for inclusion and deepen resources for cultural diversity. In order to promote such self-organization among artists active in Germany today, we need to ensure that sufficient resources such as work or exhibition spaces and production opportunities are made available and that these individuals can build their skill-sets in areas such as coordination and multilingual public relations.
- Make long-term funding a possibility: The projects highlighted in the case studies operate under very different conditions. Viewed with an eye to the long-term nature of living well together in cultural diversity, we recognize the difficulties in harmonizing this objective with the limits of current funding structures and regulations. As part of high-level cultural policy talks between the German federal government and states regarding the coalition agreement (Bundesregierung 2018) or through actors such as the Bundestag and the Association of German Cities, it has been proposed to draw up by 2019 a critical review of necessary funding approaches among local, state, federal actors and foundation or private partners that would also include a review of promising strategies for ensuring long-term commitment to resource support. The review will include innovative funding concepts encompassing project and infrastructural support such as the "House of Resources" project, which was developed by Kulturen Stuttgart e.V. and supports civic activity among self-organized migrant groups and has since been tested in 13 other Germany cities as part of an initiative supported by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).
- Train young people to become multipliers and team players in advocating cultural diversity: The heterogeneity of backgrounds among youth in Germany is particularly high. Given the fact that young people generally experience and interact with diversity on a day-to-day basis, this should be made visible to a broader public. Indeed, their experiences could be drawn upon to foster active interaction with diversity among the broader public. Youth centers, neighborhood cultural centers, resource houses for migrant self-organization, library-sponsored arts and cultural facilities, jazz clubs and discos can all become sites of local networking or locations where art influenced by a culture of living well together in diversity can flourish. These locations can become effective incubators of sorts in helping young people of all backgrounds to become cultural diversity multipliers and scouts.

- Expanding history-related education offerings to include the history of cultural diversity: Viewing German postwar history from a cultural history point of view shows just how much diversity shaped this period, but also how little this has been embedded in the public consciousness. In order to strengthen the knowledge and cultural understanding needed to ensure social cohesion in Germany, the country's historical narrative should include that of the ongoing development and changing nature of cultural diversity. This would allow both the German experience of emigration, refugee and exile in the 19th and 20th centuries as well as the experience of countless others in the context of international migration from the 17th to 21st centuries to be understood as a shared human experience.

Though several good projects are already in place, they are often difficult to locate and are not coordinated with each other. German Länder, the federal government and relevant institutes – each within the context of their respective responsibilities – should identify and classify these pilot projects with the help of internet portals such as “Appreciating Migration History” and offer this bundled information as a resource for culture in a diverse society. Given their commitment to the social contract, public broadcasters can play a key role here in contributing knowledge, experience and expertise. Interactive platforms such as YouTube, where diversity is ever-present, could prove particularly helpful for programs such as “Jugend erinnert” (“Young people remember”), which was noted in the 2018 coalition agreement.

- Generate knowledge, ensure evidence-based approaches: The study presented here has deepened our understanding of current cultural practices in Germany. Yet much more can be done and is necessary. The Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBWF)-commissioned publication “Inter- Kultur-Barometer: Migration als Einflussfaktor auf Kunst und Kultur” (“Intercultural Barometer: Migration as a Factor Influencing Art and Culture”) delivered in 2012 an important set of data and qualitative findings that are essential to instituting effective change in cultural institutes and goal-oriented project work (see Auswärtiges Amt 2016). Though an important data-collecting instrument, the barometer has been carried out only a second time – in 2015 and in a slightly changed format. A tenable and financially viable instrument such as the barometer is essential to creating a solid empirical foundation upon which decisions can be made about “how” to go about living in cultural diversity. Demonstrated political commitment to ensuring that a barometer of this nature continue to collect and accumulate data and thus track changes underway is more important than finding an optimal solution.
- Develop longitudinal accompanying research: The case studies show how little is known about what mechanisms in a project are effective and how difficult it is to obtain information about completed projects. It is therefore necessary to conduct research throughout the life-cycle of a project and document results that run deeper than a mere project evaluation. The objectives of such efforts are to better understand which forms of emotional learning and the quality of informal learning take place in these performative projects and art facilities. Further objectives include identifying the medium- and long-term impact these projects have on influencing how people view (both in aesthetic and emotional terms) cultural diversity and how they develop diversity skills. The United

Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development includes the “appreciation of cultural diversity” as an explicit goal of education (SDG 4). Qualitative research findings are essential to developing a thorough understanding of the current state of affairs and assessing long-term developments.

The experiences and activities presented here in this study can help soften and thus change traditional thinking patterns and structures. An intelligent migration policy should take action in addressing the lessons drawn here.

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An overview of the 12 case studies

The Deutsche Kammerphilharmonie Bremen's Zukunftslabor

Founded in 1980, the Deutsche Kammerphilharmonie Bremen is a Bremen-based orchestra that has been led since 2004 by Paavo Järvi. The Zukunftslabor (Laboratory of the Future), an international academy for participatory musical theater led by the Deutsche Kammerphilharmonie, is not housed within the Kammerphilharmonie itself, but rather in a school in Bremen's Tenever neighborhood. Its goal is to bring people together through music, provide them with individualized support and bolster their self-confidence.

Banda Internationale

Active since 2001, the 15-person Banda Internationale is a Dresden music ensemble with players originating from around the world. The band, whose style shifts between brass-band and world music, is known for its committed political stance against racism, xenophobia and the PEGIDA movement.

Komische Oper Berlin: Selam Opera!

The Komische Oper Berlin began its Selam Opera! Project in 2011, bringing the genre of opera out of the opera house and into Berlin's neighborhoods. The goal is to expose people to opera who might not otherwise come into contact with it. With a strongly intercultural focus to its project, the Komische Oper Berlin journeys into neighborhoods as an "opera house for everyone," aiming to create occasions for genuine encounters between the city's residents and the opera.

Heimatkunde. 30 Künstler blicken auf Deutschland

The Jewish Museum Berlin, which opened its doors in 2001, is Europe's biggest Jewish-themed museum, and represents a lively point of encounter with Jewish culture. It sees itself as a place of reflection on Jewish history and culture as well as on the issues of migration and diversity in Germany. One expression of this mandate was the "Heimatkunde: 30 artists look at Germany" (How German is it? 30 Artists' Notion of Home) exhibit, in which artists of various origin, religion and nationality took a close look at present-day Germany in 2011 and 2012.

H.E.R.O.E.S.

H.E.R.O.E.S. is a Euro-Arabic dance network that has been in existence since 2014, and which ultimately led to the founding of dance company “The People United Project.” The goal of German-Chinese dancer/choreographer Hanna Ma, who initiated the project, is to bring different dance cultures into contact with each other, and help them gain recognition within Germany.

Empfangshalle: Woher Kollege – Wohin Kollege

The Empfangshalle duo consists of artists Corbinian Böhm and Michael Gruber, who draw the raw material for their work from public spaces, while simultaneously using such spaces to exhibit their artistic productions. For instance, with the mobile exhibition “Woher Kollege – Wohin Kollege” (Buddy, where do you come from, where are you going?), they photographed 28 Munich sanitation workers’ places of origin, and mounted the pictures using garbage trucks as exhibition surfaces.

Morgenland

Filmmaker Thomas Kirchberg produced his film Morgenland in Göttingen in 2015. Taking an unsentimental tone, it portrays the living conditions of young refugees and migrants who live in Göttingen. It focuses on showing what inspires the youth, what they dream about, what they fear and what they expect from life.

Migrantenstadl

Run by Tunay Önder, Imad Mustafa, Amira Amor and Ben Ali, Migrantenstadl is a successful internet blog that since 2011 has published generally humorous stories of all stripes from the migrant milieu. The contents, whether penned by the blog’s creators or guest authors, range from politically motivated essays and poetic observations to aphoristic thoughts, images and drawings.

Hajusom

Hajusom is a collective of young performers with refugee or migrant backgrounds that has produced interdisciplinary theater performances in Hamburg’s St. Pauli district since 1999. In addition to offerings for the permanent ensemble, the project also includes programs for novice performers. Moreover, alongside its well-known theater performances, it also hosts music, hip-hop and cooking events.

Welcome to my library

Saxony-Anhalt's "Welcome to my library – Vielfalt und Mehrsprachigkeit in Bibio und Kita" (Diversity and Multilingualism in Libraries and Kindergartens) pilot project aims to facilitate societal participation and integration among immigrant children. The library is conceived as a meeting place particularly for people with refugee or migrant backgrounds and reflects the prevailing societal diversity in its services so that reading and literature can be understood as forms of mediation between cultures.

Birlikte

"Birlikte – Zusammenstehen" (Stand Together) was a cultural festival that took place annually from 2014 to 2016 in and around Cologne's Keupstraße area. The goal of the festival was to commemorate the racially motivated assassinations by the National Socialist Underground (NSU) that took place in the Keupstraße district in 2004. However, another particular focus was to give a voice to residents who were subject to massive discrimination and assumptions of criminality by the police during investigations into the background of the attack.

schön. wie schön

The "schön. wie schön" project in Bavaria's schools takes on the question of how art education must change given the recognition that diversity is increasingly a part of life, particularly for young people. In pilot projects from 2014 to 2016, the 16 participating schools addressed and reflected on issues of globalization, migration and diversity in the context of their art classes. The project was ultimately evaluated with the aim of developing recommendations for other schools' approaches to diversity.

Conditions of success: Case study findings

Burcu Dogramaci

To what degree do festivals, initiatives and projects in this country make a positive contribution to living together in social diversity, and what inspiration can they provide for future projects? Do these projects promote harmonious social interaction under conditions of cultural diversity? How do such projects reach mainstream audiences? This study's selected case examples offer important clues in answering these questions. The objective was to identify regionally varied and culturally diverse projects that appealed to different target audiences, and which distinguished themselves through particularly innovative concepts.

The study took special notice of the goals set by the evaluated examples. For example, one project sought to increase the public visibility of workers from different cultural backgrounds (Empfangshalle), another focused on introducing opera music to people with little previous access to it (Selam Opera), and still another (Heimatkunde) was designed to change people's perspectives on the idea of "homeland," or "Heimat" in German – a tradition-steeped concept that often takes on nationalistic connotations. Nevertheless, the examples studied also show a number of common overarching objectives and conditions for success. These will be summarized below.

Social factors

Removing barriers: Projects for intercultural understanding are particularly productive when they leave their established venues and work instead within the target audiences' local milieus (Zukunftslabor, Selam Opera). This shift, for instance to the rehearsal rooms of a school in a socially and culturally heterogeneous city neighborhood, allows barriers to be dismantled, and lets projects address their target audiences in a familiar environment. This makes natural contact possible through informal encounters on the school grounds or in the classrooms, for example. As a participatory project, a joint undertaking such as a biennial neighborhood opera (Zukunftslabor) can provide a trustworthy channel for reaching students. Especially when the "cultural agents" and the target audiences share the same urban space, participants can interact as equals from the start.

Participation: Projects that focus on cooperative work (Zukunftslabor, Hajusom, Banda Internationale) instead of functioning with an inflexible agenda or offering a particular service have a good chance of being accepted by participants. In projects of this kind, target audiences have the opportunity to develop a genuine sense of ownership and can shape the

initiative alongside the project leaders. Audience members' own narratives, memories and visions of the future can in this way be integrated into the project. This in turn increases their ability to identify with the final product. However, integrative practices in artistic projects demand complex consideration, and require long-term plans that are oriented beyond the immediate moment. Support should be provided for projects that bring together actors from different cultural backgrounds and enable them to collaborate as equals.

Participatory, inclusive teamwork by actors with different language capabilities requires considerable time. Thus, when initiating and financing projects, it makes sense to provide primarily medium- or long-term funding. Backers should also recognize and support the potential held by digital activities, particularly when working with young people. Examples could include the development of digital writing workshops, online forums for film and music, or the formation of networks. The share of digital activities among all projects promoting the acceptance of cultural diversity is expected to rise substantially in the years to come.

Interaction: When actors from different cultural backgrounds work personally together on projects requiring long-term interaction (Banda Internationale, Hajusom, Kammerphilharmonie), they tend to develop ideas in common. Initiatives in which project managers and target audiences learn from one another should be regarded as particularly sustainable. Successful intercultural projects are not one-way streets. Rather, they are based on mutual exchange between individuals that meet and collaborate artistically, develop narratives together, and agree on concepts, memories and visions of the future. From diverse "I's" can emerge a "we," or – as described at the beginning of this study – a "new we."

Language as a mediator: Language can be a mediator, but also a hindrance. The challenge of intercultural projects is that each participant must communicate with the other (as in the case of *Welcome to my library*, which explicitly takes on the issue of language acquisition). This raises the question of how initiatives and projects can deal with difficulties in mutual comprehension. Understanding succeeds particularly well in projects that employ wordless communication media such as music or dance (Banda Internationale, H.E.R.O.E.S.), which allow issues such as narrative motifs are expressed performatively.

Visibility: Some of the projects presented here are directed at a broad public, and thus help give cultural diversity a human face (Empfangshalle). This makes the personal individuality and diversity concealed under the unifying concept of "migrant" visible, along with the work that is carried out by such individuals, but which may not be publicly perceived. In urban districts popularly regarded as "problem areas," public events (Birlikte, Zukunftslabor) can paint a multidimensional picture of a neighborhood and its residents, thus counteracting prejudices. Many of the projects surveyed here are also effective in reaching the mainstream community, in part by identifying this as a target audience from the start (*Selam Opera*, *Welcome to my library*, *Heimatkunde*, *Morgenland*).

Unlocking potential: Projects that convey cultural diversity (e.g., art, music, literature) – for example, by expanding repertoires or integrating musical instruments (Banda Internationale) or dance styles (H.E.R.O.E.S.) from their participants’ countries of origin – place strong emphasis on cultural diversity as added value within society, rather than as a negative deviation from the norm. Thus, they stress that migration is a source of societal enrichment even beyond its (long-accepted) influence on culinary diversity (e.g., Turkish, Arabic or Chinese food).

Learning tolerance: Some of the projects illustrate how defensive reactions to foreignness, unconventional roles or mutual discomfort make cooperation more difficult. For example, this can be seen when women take on leadership roles in H.E.R.O.E.S and Morgenland. In the best case, artistic collaboration can dismantle barriers and increase tolerance and acceptance of other positions as participants collectively bring a project to conclusion. Particularly for open-ended work processes (Zukunftslabor), agreement requires constructive interaction and thus the development of a certain rapport between participants. This also entails overcoming prejudices and learned norms with regard to people of other genders, sexual orientations, political beliefs, skin colors or religions.

Telling stories: A number of projects (Selam Opera) treat German history as a narrative of cultural diversity, conceiving the history of migration as a shared experience. A similar approach is taken in dealing with repressed history and contemporary events such as far-right abuses or attacks (Birlikte). This can help convey a nuanced and different understanding of concepts such as “homeland” (German: Heimat), “foreign” or “being a foreigner” (Heimatkunde).

Young people as multipliers: Children and youth are shaping the society of the future. Thus, intercultural project work with them is particularly important with regard to living successfully together in cultural diversity. To this end, initiatives that productively integrate multiple languages, different cultural experiences and aspects of cultural memory are highly worthy of support. Practical work of this kind can bolster participating children and youth’s creative potential, give them recognition and promote a dialogue in which all participants learn from each other. Moreover, a broader community can be reached through the young people’s families and friends.

Structures and institutional factors

Continuity: Many of the projects surveyed here are of limited duration. This can clearly spark new ideas or trigger changes in perspective; however, it is open to question whether these one-off projects can in fact produce sustainable impact or deepen understanding for people of other cultures, nations or religions. One advantage of limited-duration projects is that they are developed over a short period of time, and can thus react to current issues and debates, or even to changed circumstances. They are perhaps more flexible than long-term projects, but are less sustainable as a consequence. Short-term project support of this kind can only rarely produce genuine societal change.

Due to issues such as different languages, cultural influences, prejudices and so on, many projects require a comparatively long time before participating actors are able to trust and interact productively with one another. Participatory projects in particular can often be developed only with a relatively long period of support. In addition, overall visibility and acceptance increases if projects can be repeated or even mounted on a permanent basis. Thus, in summary, cultural project work intended to have a formative social impact presupposes and demands continuity; such work is already being carried out today by cultural forums (Stuttgart's Forum der Kulturen).

Projects often require dedicated volunteer work (Birlikte). However, this alone cannot guarantee long-term and continuous project work. Because migration is primarily an urban phenomenon, most projects focused on the promotion of cultural diversity are located in cities. The selection of case studies presented here reflects this fact. Nevertheless – or even precisely because of this fact – projects in the future should also be initiated and carried out in rural areas in which skepticism, defensiveness and even xenophobia are particularly widespread.

Opening institutional doors: Fundamentally, it is unclear how the projects studied might structurally change the institutions involved over the long term. Do projects such as the Bremen Chamber Orchestra's Zukunftslabor have any impact on the orchestra's broader repertoire? What long-term conclusions do libraries draw from one-off projects (Welcome to my library)? How can theater and opera-house repertoires be expanded on the basis of limited-duration initiatives (Zukunftslabor, Selam Opera)? Can an initiative (schön. wie schön) produce long-term changes in art teachers' academic training? And what kind of inspiration can these case studies provide with regard to shaping the society of tomorrow? As yet, these examples leave many questions unanswered. Such issues must be examined in the context of a longer-term study. However, one thing is certain today: Cultural inspiration in a diverse society can only come from artistic and cultural institutions that are open to political and social challenges, and which are unafraid to confront their audiences with uncomfortable issues and unconventional artistic positions.

In the long run, this means that the exclusively external perspective on issues such as migration, exile and the life of a refugee should be avoided. As long as museums, theaters and publishers in Germany employ primarily German-origin specialist, managerial and executive staffers, asymmetries will be inevitable, and projects on cultural diversity will remain stuck in a "speaking about" mode. New funding instruments aimed at filling more leadership and managerial positions with migrants and people of color must be developed. Although no studies have as yet examined the effects of structural changes of this kind, it can be assumed that other life experiences and other linguistic and cultural influences can change perspectives and institutions. Theater director Shermin Langhoff sums this up well: "If you go from A through B to C, you have an entirely different story to tell, and see things differently, than if you never leave A" (Alfred Toepfer Stiftung 2011: 7). This change in staffing structures could take place through specific funding mechanisms such as targeted grants or through the establishment of training programs with an intercultural focus.

Repertoire and program planning: A related question here is how mainstream cultural institutions in the diversifying society of the 21st century – whether theaters, museums or publishing houses – can reach a public whose members have differing ethnic and social backgrounds, different language and educational skills, and who look back to different cultural traditions. A diverse audience certainly must be approached in a multiplicity of ways. Actors within institutions can serve as mediators, but repertoires and formats too should respond to the diverse interests and preferences of a culturally heterogeneous public. The Maxim Gorki Theater, for example, which as a matter of course places cultural diversity and diverse languages, traditions and religions high on its agenda, shows that this can work.

Other theaters, opera houses and exhibition spaces should also be provided with incentives (funding opportunities, staff support) to open their programs and integrate authors, composers and artists from migrants' countries of origin into their repertoires. This can have lasting effect as the majority society comes to recognize the cultural other as an enrichment; moreover, migrants can in this way come to understand that their origin is valued. For example, new (if necessary, time-limited) positions could be established for playwrights or curators with a specific intercultural educational background and broad language skills. Selecting people with a migrant background for such positions would provide an additional positive signal.

Support artistic self-organization: The history of exile shows that refugee self-organization in the cultural realm can be very productive, because this gives them participation opportunities and strengthens their sense of agency. Migrant self-organization (MSO) has a long history in Germany. Future self-organization campaigns, including funding programs, should take research findings in this area into account – for instance, regarding the degree to which MSOs can act as pathways to integration (Pries and Sezgin 2012). Funding programs announced through social media in multiple languages could invite migrants and refugees to develop their own concepts for cultural initiatives and artistic projects.

Trained contact persons acting as cultural brokers could provide help with organizing, developing financing plans and programming schedules, and in dealing with authorities. Initiatives such as the Weißensee Academy of Art Berlin's "foundationClass," which has been running since 2016, or the Berlin University of the Arts' intercultural study-preparation program for refugees, which prepares participants to apply for German-language art and design schools, serve as models in this regard.⁸ The goal of similar initiatives in other cultural fields must be to recognize untapped potential and to support migrant and refugees' cultural work by helping them to act on their own behalf.

⁸ www.kh-berlin.de/projekt-uebersicht/Project/overview/foundationclass-2051.html; <https://www.udkberlin.de/universitaet/engagement-fuer-gefluechtete/#c31300> (Download 26.3.2018).

Summary

The case studies presented here express the potential inherent in art, film, theater and literature to provide vital society-shaping stimuli. Exhibitions, festivals and workshops with appropriately focused themes can communicate and help audiences come to terms with fundamental political and societal challenges – even if they alone cannot offer a solution to intolerance, xenophobia and racism. However, over the long term, projects that champion a socially diverse culture and focus on communication and interaction will ideally create a consciousness of Germany as a country of immigration. If only temporarily, they serve as places of encounter and debate, where participants and audiences alike can deepen their understanding of life concepts, collective and individual memory, and visions of the future.

In a diverse society, culture too will find similarly diverse expression. Thus, this study can assemble only a sampling of such expressive forms. Political scientist Volker M. Heins describes diversity as a social utopia that must be actively shaped if its value is to be recognized. “In what does the social utopia of diversity lie?” he writes. “Not in a society of permanent conflict between cultural groups entrenched one against the other, but rather in the facilitation of social relationships between individuals and groups that are no longer distorted by abstractions such as nation, race or culture. ‘Live and let live!’ instead of ‘Oh no, you don’t respect my group!’” (Heins 2014: 245)

Diversity is not a condition of being, but rather a perpetual becoming – and is thus a process. The challenge here is to continue to give expression to this diversity, and thus achieve a societal consciousness that the foreign was always already here – and thus is always a part of one’s own native environment.

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