

# *Crossing the Rainbow*

## **National Differences and International Convergences in Multicultural Performing Arts in Europe**

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### **An IETM Publication**

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## ***Introduction***

The multicultural performing arts in Europe vary in their consistency of presence, duration and scope. Different countries have defined multiculturalism in different ways: as separate ethnic communities and cultures, the national cultures of origin of foreigners, the private culture of citizens who share a common public culture,

cultural pluralism based on strands of different cultures that intertwine and create something new. These different definitions derive from different national self-understandings of power, place in the world, culture and of the position of others, which framed thinking and policy-making in the era of nation state building and colonialism. In the post-war era of decolonisation and post-colonial migration, the legacy of these conceptions has shaped the way states came to terms with the realities of economic reconstruction, consumer capitalism based on a mass migrant working class and a new international order.

Five distinctive policy frameworks for immigration, integration and citizenship are defined which cover, with some variation, the countries in this study: corporate multiculturalism; civic republicanism; ethnic nationalism and the *Gastarbeiter* system; the Southern Mediterranean unregulated and then restrictive regime; the minority nation.

## **I. National policy frameworks for immigration and integration**

### **1. Corporate multiculturalism in Britain and Netherlands**

One of the main distinctions in immigration lies between former colonial powers – Britain, France and the Netherlands which gave automatic citizenship or rights of settlement to immigrants from former colonies and non-colonial powers which recruited labour as a temporary stop-gap measure. Yet within the colonial powers, distinctive policy frameworks developed. Britain and the Netherlands have come to be defined by corporate multiculturalism – based on the recognition of diverse ethnic communities and their representation as groups in political bargaining and resourcing at local level, as a supplement rather than alternative to the democratic political system. Although it takes a more institutionalised form in the Netherlands with, for example, proportional representation of minorities on consultative committees, nevertheless both systems treat ethnic minorities as part of distinctive communities and cultures.

#### ***Britain***

British colonialism was distinguished from the French by its *laissez faire* approach to the colonised, seeking to control them through public order and institutions, rather than by imposing its own culture. Consequently, the British approach was determined by “managing public order and relations between majority and minority populations...allowing ethnic cultures and practices to mediate the process.”(Favell, 1998, 4)

Labour migration from the West Indies after the war and during the 1950s, and from India and Pakistan mainly in the 1960s was solicited by the state to fill jobs in the health and transport services, although recruitment was left largely to the market. (Peach, CRER, 1991) From the late 40s throughout 1950s immigration went on under the 1948 Nationality Act, which treated post-colonial Commonwealth subjects as British citizens. This open door policy lasted until 1962. From the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act immigration was restricted by job vouchers to filling shortages in the economy and then racially through ‘patrial status’ confining immigration to those who had a parent or grandparent born in the U.K. From 1971 black immigration was thus confined to family reunion. (Spencer, 1997, 143-44) The stridently nationalist Thatcher Nationality Act 1981, stopped even black family reunion and withdrew the centuries old entitlement of children born in Britain of non-British parents to *ius solis* - automatic citizenship at birth on the territory.

However, despite the restrictions, black and Asian migration, based mainly on family reunion continued up to the 1980s at between 30-50,000 a year. In 1972 a wave of Ugandan Asians were allowed in as refugees, swelling the numbers in that year to 60,000. (Spencer, 1, 133) They formed a small business class that rapidly revitalised Britain’s ailing corner shops and post offices. Chinese and Bangladeshis came to Britain during the 1980s – the Chinese were already well established in catering and began to advance professionally, while the Bangladeshis, from poor rural backgrounds, became heavily concentrated in inner city pockets of textile manufacture, especially in Tower Hamlets in east London. During the 1980s and 1990s, many black Africans came as refugees from such places as Nigeria, Liberia and Zaire. Ethnic minorities as a whole now constitute 7.9% of the overall population, i.e. 4.6 million out of a population of 58 million, most of them citizens, highly concentrated in London where 45% of all ethnic minorities live, and in a few other big cities in the Midlands and North. (2001 Census)

A dualist approach was adopted of racially restricted immigration combined with piecemeal integration within a legal framework that formed the consensus

between left and right. Race relations legislation, outlawing discrimination in jobs and housing was enacted by a Labour Government: the 1968 Race Relations Act also banned incitement to racial hatred and the 1976 Act extended the ban from direct to indirect discrimination and required schools to acknowledge religious and cultural identities. A Commission on Racial Equality was set up to monitor racial discrimination and bring test cases to court. Although the legal framework sought to protect individuals, politically government sought mediation through community leaders. Ethnic mobilisation of Asians, particularly by the Labour Party, took place at local level, to win marginal inner city constituencies.

However, the pragmatic bent of British policy, in contrast to the Dutch meant that social integration was largely left to the market and civil society, rather than active government intervention. As a result of delayed and poor access to council housing many West Indians and Asians bought up cheap inner city houses. (Karn, Kemeny, Williams, 1985, 52; 2) The government's shift away from comprehensive redevelopment under which the white working class had been rehoused in outlying high rise estates, to cheaper urban renewal programmes which shored up the old housing stock in the inner cities, reinforced ethnic segregation and 'the privatisation of squalor.' (Karn, Kemeny, Williams, 1985, 105; Smith, 1987, 30)

Social conflict broke through the consensus and provoked a pattern – of disturbances, followed by judicial inquiry and reactive political response. Young black people mobilised in inner city riots against police violence and social abandonment in 1981 and in 1985 (recalled in the Steel Pulse album *Handsworth Revolution*). The Scarman report in the wake of the first riots recommended community friendly policing and substantial funding to address inner city deprivation. The reports triggered retroactive government intervention with special urban programmes. However, nationally, a cultural rather than welfare approach gained the upper hand, with the introduction of teaching diverse faiths and cultures but not institutional change or social measures to address racism and inequality. (Favell, 1998, 131) This remains a key contrast with the Netherlands where multicultural education has been combined with an ongoing commitment to high level welfare.

In the 1990s mobilisation was led by the families of victims of racially motivated murder who challenged the police, the judicial system, and race relations as a whole. The Macpherson Inquiry, brought about by the campaign for justice by the parents of Stephen Lawrence, an 18 year old victim of racial murder, condemned the police for institutional racism and made recommendations that are now becoming law

on rooting out discriminatory practices in all public institutions. Some cities at the sharp end, like Birmingham, have begun to address ingrained ethnic inequality, through a targetted, non-ethnic, needs-based approach and new kinds of participation through inter-ethnic and inter-faith councils. (See Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2003) The second generation, especially women and young people have also begun to organise independently of their elders for example, the Southall Black Sisters and Bengali Youth Forum in Spitalfields, East London, diversifying the voice and representation in these communities. Thus multiculturalism is evolving at local level against separatist trends, in a more pluralist and intercultural direction.

However at national level, the government remains committed to a communitarian approach. Despite the findings of the Cantle Report, on the cause of riots in the North of England in 2001, of the lack of social and cultural contact between different communities, the government has recently allowed separate Muslim schools, on a par with other state funded denominational schools, that are likely to increase ethnic segregation. It has also attributed blame for the riots to the cultural failure of Asians to speak English at home, although the rioters had immaculate northern accents, rather than addressing social causes.

### *Netherlands*

In the post-war period the prevalent view until the late 1970s was that the Netherlands was overpopulated and a country of emigration not immigration. The foreign resident population stood at a mere 120,000 out of a population of 15 million. (Lucassen & Penninx, 1994, 11) It changed view under the confluence of two different steams of immigration. The first wave in the 1960s was formed by temporary labour recruitment from Turkey and Morocco of guestworkers without settlement rights or citizenship. But despite the denial of being a country of immigration, no restriction was imposed on family reunion as it was elsewhere, so by the late 1970s, families began to settle. (Lucassen & Penninx, 1998, 149) The legacy was a population of 280,000 Turks and 233,000 Moroccans in 1997. (Vermeulen & Penninx, 1998, 9) In the 1970s, the second stream of immigration came from the post-colonial influx from the Dutch East Indies – mainly Java. The Indonesians became Dutch citizens, but the state sought to assimilate them rather than acknowledge their culture. In 1975 with the onset of Surinamese independence, there was a further migration from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles to acquire Dutch citizenship before restrictions were imposed.

However, with the general stop on labour migration after 1973-4, clandestine migration of *sans papiers*, undocumented workers, increased to the cities. The current wave of newcomers is asylum seekers particularly from Iran, Iraq, Algeria and Morocco. Thus, Dutch multiculturalism, unlike British, has encompassed a range of minorities who came with different statuses from post-colonial and *Gastarbeiter* migration regimes. Although long settled, the minorities combined amount to only 5.7 % of the Dutch population. (Lecassen & Penninx, 1998, 172)

Up till the late 1970s, policies were based on the myth of migrant, but a series of reports began to shift from this implausible position of denial to one of policy recognition of minorities by 1983. The new minorities policy aimed to create a multicultural society in which distinctiveness was valued, and group associations would play the key part in maintaining immigrant culture and identity. This approach was mediated by welfare measures to counter social disadvantage and discrimination in line with equal opportunities. Like the British, state action was directed at removing obstacles to voluntary initiative and community development, and eliminating discriminatory practices. But the Dutch state was more proactive and institutionalised in its approach establishing national and local consultative councils of each minority, composed of delegates from the major immigrant associations, promoting 'proportional distribution' and even-handed treatment. (Entzinger, 1994, 27)

Unlike Britain, the gap in treatment of citizens and aliens was gradually bridged since the early 1980s. Aliens' legal position has been secured so they can obtain permanent residence after five years, those who enter for purposes of family reunion gain permanency after three years. The citizenship law of 1985 gave third generation children of parents born in the Netherlands automatic nationality *-ius soli* and second generation children of resident aliens brought up in the Netherlands the right to opt for Dutch nationality at 18-25 years of age. It also eased naturalisation and dual citizenship, thus producing a high 5% naturalisation. Consequently, over half the Turkish community has a Dutch passport. Foreigners also have the right to stand and vote in local elections and since 1986 several have been elected onto councils in the bigger cities. A comprehensive bill for Equal Treatment of Immigrants was passed in 1994 which outlaws unequal treatment on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, religion, sex, age and other grounds.

In housing special new build rented accommodation was allocated to citizens from former colonies, but not *Gastarbeiter*. From the 1980s the government sought to outlaw discrimination in the private rented sector but minorities remain at a

disadvantage there, exacerbated by the government withdrawal from public provision of housing in the 1990s. Within the framework of corporate bargaining between employers and unions, still in tact in the Netherlands in 1990 unlike the UK, strong measures were taken to counter the high unemployment among minorities.

In education the Dutch state interpreted equal opportunity in terms of special support for language learning with the close involvement of parents, and accorded equal status to minority cultures in the curriculum, providing for the teaching of minority language and culture. 'Intercultural education' was also instituted to incorporate immigrant culture and history into the general curriculum. The prior framework of Dutch 'pillarisation' which had divided the spoils of power between the different social groups - Protestant, Catholic and secular, provided a ready-made framework of regulation for Muslims and Hindus to set up their own schools, as began to happen after 1988. This runs counter to the more individualised and secularised society which had led to the erosion of pillarised confessional politics in the 1970s and remains a source of tension. However, the Diyanet, the main organisation of Turkish mosques is committed to a Europeanised form of Islam, aiming at Dutch trained imams to attract the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of Dutch-speaking Turks back to the mosque. (van Amersfoort H. & Doornik J. 1997)

Whilst the Dutch understanding of multiculturalism has been more underpinned by an understanding of social deprivation based on class not cultural difference, the weaknesses in Dutch multiculturalism are most evident there. Unemployment rates for Turks and Moroccans stood at 21% and 36% in the early 1990s, and these are also the groups excluded from social housing. Moreover, they are portrayed as welfare dependent and unwilling to adapt, particularly by improving their Dutch. This testifies not so much to the failure of corporate multiculturalism, as to that of the *Gastarbeiter* system which stigmatised and excluded them for so long.

### ***Shifts in Policy in Britain and Netherlands***

Both countries have shifted to some degree from a corporate form of multiculturalism to cultural diversity with explicit stress in the Dutch case on interculturalism nationally and in England at urban level. The change from multiculturalism to cultural diversity in England while not expressed by government, has been strongly promoted by the Arts Council.

## 2. Civic Republicanism in France

Civic republicanism is based on a concept of the nation as a political community of equals. The French universalistic ideal of integration aims to transform immigrants into 'citoyens' since the cultural requisites of citizenship are acquired through socialisation, rather than inherited, hence the great emphasis on language and education. (Favell, 1998) Civic equality has been publicly embodied in high quality services and public spaces but has also entailed an unacknowledged monoculturalism: promoting French language, high culture and literature. However, this has often been misrepresented as an 'assimilationist' model (e.g. Entzinger, 1994, 20), whereas it has guaranteed private association and cultural practice, and enabled second generation immigrants to contest what it means to be French and the bounds of 'French' culture, in a pluralistic direction.

In immigration terms, *ius sanguinis*, citizenship by descent, is supplemented by *ius soli*, citizenship acquired by birth in the territory. Sizeable labour migration since the 19<sup>th</sup> C took place without state concern –enabling easy naturalisation as figures on French nationals show: between a sixth and a quarter of them have at least one foreign-born grandparent. In 1999 out of population of 60 million, there were 3.5 million foreigners and about 10 million 'of foreign origin' (i.e. naturalised) who had settled since 1945. The state only became troubled when immigration became politicised in debates over citizenship and nationhood in the 1980s and 90s. (Kastoryano & Crowley, UNESCO-MOST) Up until then, the state aim was socio-economic insertion of immigrants focussed on jobs, housing and welfare, without concern for culture or religion. Although immigrants were mainly Muslim, this was not perceived as a problem. (Favell, 1998, 47) Almost three quarters of a million Algerians form 22% of the foreigner population with the Portuguese almost equal, with 21%, with 12% Moroccan, 9% Italian, 9% Spanish, 5% Turkish, 5% Tunisian, and 4% Central African. (Favell, 1998, 49) The new immigrants now come largely from North Africa, but also West Africa -the Ivory Coast and Senegal, and Madagaskar.

### *Political mobilisation and change*

Two major shifts took place in civic republicanism in the 1980s, linked to the political divergence of left and right in immigration and integration policy. In the 1981 amnesty, the first Left government in the post-war period under Mitterrand, regularised the position of longstanding clandestine migrants shut out after the stop on immigration in the early 1970s and adopted a multicultural, pluralist stance. As the

young generation of North Africans mobilised, 'beur' identity became a badge of pride, expressed as the right to be different. In reality they claimed the right to be treated equally although they were culturally different, and the Left responded. However the failure of its social and economic policy, with deindustrialisation and new ghettos in the *banlieues* resulting from efforts at slum clearance, produced the reactive mobilisation of the racist Front National, and the reassertion of the right, with an ethnic revision of republicanism in competition with Le Pen. The right-wing UDF/RPR coalition elected in 1986, attempted a new immigration control, clamping down on illegal residents and an end to *ius soli* for second generation born in France of foreign-born parents, as the Thatcher government had done in Britain in 1981. However it was forced to withdraw and set up a Commission on Nationality which reformulated a more individualist social contract, where nationality was no longer automatic, but the entitlement to register remained unconditional, along with *ius soli* - automatic nationality at birth to third generation children with at least one French parent, and easily accessible to second generation children with five years residence and no criminal record. For Algerian parents born before 1962 and thus considered French, their children were confirmed as French at birth. (Favell, 68)

Despite the logic of 'minorities' or 'communities' being rejected typified by the refusal to collect ethnic data, the High Council reports on poverty and unemployment which responded to the social agitation of the 1980s began to collect data on country of origin of respondents and family form, giving a 'strong substantive idea of what culturally being French should be' and of non-French otherness (*alterité*). However action on social integration proposed accommodation of Islam through promotion of association as a model for adapting religion to republican ideal, directing individuals to sanctioned organisations and public action.

An important source of change in the republican model has resulted from immigrant self-organisation and local community action, fostered by the Left through the Fund for Social Action (Fonds D'Action Sociale) in 1980-3, out of which an urban concept of citizenship as activism in civil society has grown. So the government was pressured into action to drastically increase budgets to fight exclusion in the *banlieues* from 1990. This activated civil society has also articulated its own cultural demands - not least in the infamous *l'affaire des foulards* when Muslim girls were sent home from school for wearing headscarfs. The girls argued an immaculate republican case in terms of their right to education as French citizens. Despite a racist campaign by the Front National with echoes in the media, the state was forced to reinstate them. (Gaspard & Khosrowkhavar, 1995)

Islamic voluntary associations have also developed independently of state recognition but began to claim their presence in civil society. The state, because of its *laïcité* had not previously acknowledged Islamic religious organisation as a public presence, tried at first to control Islamic political expression by setting up a Council of Reflection on Islam (CORIF) in 1990. However, the initiative was very unrepresentative and so in 1995 the state was forced to recognise the 'Representative Council of Muslims', on the same basis as the Representative Council of the Jews (CRIF) Not only has civil society become more pluralistic in the sense of active citizenship, but the state's integratory powers as guarantor of social cohesion have also been curtailed.

### **3. Ethnic Nationalism and *Gastarbeiter* System**

This policy framework is underpinned in Germany by strong ethnic conception of nationality which led not only to a denial of being a country of immigration, but to strong restrictions against naturalisation and hostility to multiculturalism. Cultural diversity (*kulturelle Vielfalt*) is understood exclusively in a territorial sense as the product of regional and local differences. This model not only applies to Germany but also Austria and was the predominant, though not exclusive influence on Belgium's immigration.

#### ***Germany***

German nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had an ethno-linguistic concept of the nation, based on a common language and culture. The failure of unification to incorporate the majority of German speaking people in the state reinforced the aspiration for ethno-cultural unity, so nationhood was legally expressed in terms of descent – *ius sanguinis* - rather than residence on the territory. (Brubaker, 1992) This ethnic conception of culture and state was perpetuated after the war, despite its racial connotations, to maintain the West German claim to East Germany.

The *Gastarbeiter* recruitment through bilateral agreements first with Italy and then in the 1960s with Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Yugoslavia was centrally organised by the Federal Labour Office, who screened and selected workers. The state treated them as an expendable workforce but with annual renewal of contracts by employers who found it uneconomic to recruit and train each year, they became a

permanent presence. Under international law, dependents could join them. Consequently, the foreigner presence grew rapidly but fluctuated with recession. The 1973 November stop on primary migration, banned recruitment from non-EC countries despite existing agreements but by then the migrant population had grown to 2.6 million. With subsequent family reunion, the total resident foreigner population increased to 4 million. Whereas migrants from the European Community countries like Italy, Spain and Greece, acquired equivalent status to Germans, second and third generation German-speaking Turks and Moroccans continued to be treated as foreigners without rights.

The German ethnic conception of culture expressed in the Constitution as *Volkszugehörigkeit* - belonging to the *Volk* – imposed many obstacles on naturalisation. You were required to prove long residence in suitable accommodation, a good reputation and lack of criminal record, the capacity to earn a living and support dependents and not rely on welfare, fluency in written and spoken language, voluntary attachment to Germany, a basic knowledge of the Constitution and commitment to Germany's basic order, so as to be able to satisfy a judge that would make 'a valuable contribution to German society'. (Hailbronner, 1989, 68)

Against the backdrop of unprecedented levels of racist violence after unification in 1991-2 directed at both asylum seekers and immigrants, and internal political concern about Germany's European image, the law was gradually reformed. The 1991 new Aliens Law set out eligibility for naturalisation of foreigners who renounced their previous citizenship and met formal residence requirements, removing the prejudicial requirement to prove extraordinary loyalty to German culture and constitutional order although authorisation was still subject to bureaucratic discretion and *ius sanguinis* remained in force. The law still barred Turks who could not renounce their Turkish citizenship without losing property rights. In 1993 though, naturalisation became a legal right following 15 years residence, still the longest requirement in Europe. However it was not until 2001 that *ius soli*, birth on the territory was written into citizenship law and dual citizenship was allowed, thus resolving the longstanding exclusion of Turks from citizenship status and voting rights.

As access to social welfare in Germany does not depend on citizenship, the minority population was relatively well treated socially although the degree and scope of entitlement varied according to foreigner status, privileging ethnic Germans over asylum seekers and Turks. (Kvistad, 1998, 147-8) Many immigrants were beneficiaries of social housing although the state curtailed provision in the 1990s which has

adversely affected refugees. However, no special language provision was made until the 1990s and Turks in particular have been blamed for their poor German.

Proponents of post-nationalism have argued that Turks acquired equivalent economic and social entitlements to German citizens through international law and human rights. (Soysal 1994) However the lack of formal citizenship for the longest period, affecting three generations, helps to account for the cultural marginalisation of these minorities in Germany. In addition to the substantial racial and anti-Islamic stereotyping of Turks, Moroccans and Arabs as fundamentalist, backward-looking and ghettoised, which is not unique to Germany but particularly marked in countries with *Gastarbeiter* regimes, minority cultures are still treated as foreign and traditional or exotic and their artists as ambassadors for their country of origin. This view denies their contemporary relevance and presence in German society and discourages the wider population from cultural interaction. Such an outlook was summed up in the political defence of the purity of Germany culture as the 'leading culture' (*Leitkultur*) by the Christian Democrat right as recently as 2001. (Bloomfield, 2003)

### ***Austria***

Austria still maintains the myth that it is not a country of immigration although historically it had a very high level of movement within the Habsburg empire, 60% of Vienna's population were classified as strangers (Jandl & Kraler, 2003) and then in the post war period as a country of transit for East Europeans escaping westwards from Communist states and through the *Gastarbeiter* regime.

Typically *Gastarbeiter* migration was turned on and off, with recruitment curtailed in 1975 through the Aliens Employment Act which reduced the level of Yugoslav and Turkish employment by 1985 to half its 1973 level. (Jandl & Kraler, 2003) From then on family reunion and informal recruitment in the boom of the late 1980s were the main means of entry. The insecure status of these workers improved in 1990 with the only regularisation that has taken place. In the late 1980s and early 1990s with the crisis in Eastern Europe and massive refugee flows from the war in Yugoslavia, the foreigner population doubled from 344,000 to 690,000 within five years. The subsequent racist mobilisation by the self-styled Freedom Party (FP) which called for 'zero immigration' led to restrictive legislation, the imposition of an employment quota of 10%, later 9% and Aliens and Residence Acts which made entry harder and imposed a ceiling on residence permits issued in any one year and incremental acquisition of residency rights after 5, 8 and 10 years to arrive at a similar

status to Austrian citizens but without political rights. However these rights could also be removed and naturalisation under the 1998 law remained discretionary on completion of 10 years residency, requiring the individual to prove economic self-sufficiency and linguistic proficiency. Despite the act reiterating *ius sanguinis* as the primary means of citizenship, and imposing longer and more arduous requirements on applicants than other countries, naturalization has continued to grow from 17,786 a year in 1998 to 31,731 in 2001. Between 1985 and 2001, over 254,000 foreigners were naturalized despite the increasing restrictions.

The right wing coalition governments of the conservative Volkspartei (VP) and FP have also imposed new restrictive asylum regime, cutting benefits, imposing visas, defining 'safe countries of origin' thus stigmatising refugees, although they were forced to withdraw this latter clause.

According to the 2001 census, 9.1 percent of Austria's eight million population are foreign residents, 62.8 per cent of whom come from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Vienna has a high concentration of them— 17.6% (Bennett, 2001) and even higher proportion - 32% - of those born outside Austria. The Turkish minority in Vienna is 80,000 strong, the Asian community about 5-8,000, while the black communities are no larger than 2,000. (Interview Hartmann, 2003)

### ***Belgium***

Although an-ex colonial power, Belgium did not recruit labour from its colonies in the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, but adopted the German *Gastarbeiter* system, with a belated Dutch-style impulse to equalise status. It drew southern European labour from Italy to work the coalmines of the southern Wallonia region. In the 1950s workers and political exiles came from Spain and Greece as well as Moroccan intellectual exiles escaping the repression under Assam II. By the 1960s through special bilateral agreements, this became a labour migration especially from Morocco and Turkey, of the poor, rural uneducated, who settled permanently when the 1965 regulation gave financial incentives for family reunion. This was partly a demographic move to repopulate the south and retain cheap labour in the mines. (Martiniello & Rea, 2003, 4) Gradually they attained citizenship through naturalisation. (Nicolas, 2001) Consequently immigrants settled predominantly in the declining industrial areas of Wallonia, and in the poorer neighbourhoods of the northern urban centres of Brussels and Antwerp.

The policy was economically driven so the requirement for work and residence permits was relaxed or tightened with economic fluctuations, leading to threats of expulsion, only withdrawn under trade union pressure. A complete stop on immigration in 1974 except for select skill shortages was combined with regularisation. However, immigrants from the European Community, who constituted 62% of the total, were treated differently, and did not need visas to enter. Increasing white European migration especially French and Dutch was accompanied by more restricted migration from non-EC countries and by a growth of clandestine migration, subject to repression and expulsion. (Martiniello & Rea, 2003) Following protest by immigrants in 1998 when a Nigerian asylum seeker was murdered during deportation, the government was forced to introduce a new regularisation in 1999 which touched about 50,000 people, almost half of them children.

In terms of integration, the law was changed in 1980 to put immigration on a legally regulated footing, establishing rights of entry, settlement and family reunion with right of appeal to tribunal. A new Nationality Code in 1984 established *ius soli* to children born in Belgium of non-Belgian parents or of a Belgian mother, and simplified naturalisation. Since then, 300,000 foreigners have naturalised and with the new law of 2001, a further 60,000. By 2000, foreigners accounted for 8.8% of the total population, 5% of Flanders' and 10% of Wallonia's excluding naturalised Belgians and *sans papiers*. The biggest minority remains the Italians (200,000) then Moroccans - 121,000, French -107,000, Dutch - 87,000 and Turks -69,000. (Martiniello & Rea, 2003,18) A Royal Commission on Immigrant Policy set up in 1989 in response to the rapid rise of the racist Vlaams Block, created education priority zones like the French to take positive action in deprived schools, as well as adopting intercultural teaching on the Dutch model. The Centre for Equality set up to fight racism took over from the Royal Commission. Turks and Moroccans are still the main victims of racist and anti-Islamic stereotyping, although Islam has become established as the second religion of Belgium.

#### **4. Southern Mediterranean 'model' from unregulated immigration to extreme restriction**

The southern Mediterranean countries – Italy, Spain and Portugal were countries of emigration up until the 1980s and so immigration was literally unregulated and undocumented, with fairly relaxed naturalisation procedures. In Spain and Portugal, children of foreigners born on the territory could obtain

nationality with 5 years residence. In Italy there was a five year residency requirement for naturalisation. Increasing demand for cheap labour to fill niches in the manufacturing economy and for domestics to provide care in the home grew and so did the economic crisis in Africa which made temporary and seasonal migration more permanent. The Southern European states then shifted gear suddenly to highly restrictive immigration regimes, high profile clamp downs on clandestine immigration, with periodic amnesties under Left governments and local *ad hoc* integration initiatives, dependent on the political colour of the local government, but without establishing a firm legal footing for immigration or integration. Under European Union pressure to close the southern border of Europe to Africa, and to integrate immigration and asylum policies under the Schengen agreement, the Southern Europeans imposed visa requirements, imposed fines on airlines carrying undocumented migrants, and raised the residency qualification for naturalisation from five years to 10 years.

As countries of emigration – their own inhabitants migrated from the south to northern Europe in the 1950s and 60s post-war boom. Domestically rural labour moved to the towns to higher productivity sectors of the economy but the by 1970s these countries were themselves experiencing labour shortages which pushed up wages for the indigenous workforce. Cheaper labour was imported to fill niches in dirty manual jobs in the foundries and car factories that the indigenous would no longer do. (King & Black, 1997) However, the declining rate of investment and restructuring in manufacturing created new unemployment among the immigrant workforce.

The crisis in Africa in the 1980s-1990s led to new migration to Spain, Portugal and Italy of more permanent street sellers who formed co-operatives and came into conflict with indigenous traders. The demise of welfare provision also led to the growth of domestics – mainly Filipino women to Italy and Spain, organised through the Catholic Church.

### ***Italy***

Debate in Italy focussed heavily on exclusion and clandestine migration with the aim of sealing the border with scant regard for the social situation of the immigrants. With the exception of small Ethiopian, Eritrean and Somalian

communities resulting deriving from colonial links, migration to Italy has been characterised by the lack of linguistic and cultural ties and sexual segregation rather than family reunion. There has been almost exclusively male migration from North and West Africa and the sub Continent, and exclusively female migration from the Philippines, Cape Verde and the Ivory Coast. At first, seasonal and temporary in nature, and often in transit to Northern Europe, it has only recently become a permanent settlement and so there is not as yet a second generation.

The legislative framework for immigration and integration was not firmly established and still lurches from left to right, from integration to expulsion. The Martelli bill in 1990 gave amnesty to clandestine immigrants who had entered Italy before December 1989, yet despite the comprehensive character of the legislation, in 1995 the Right introduced the Nespoli law which made illegal entry a criminal offence, with detention and expulsion of undocumented immigrants. In 1998 with the advent of the Centre Left government, the Napolitano-Turco law put immigration on a legal footing, establishing entitlements to health care, education, social housing, protection against discrimination, the right to sponsor the immigration of a relative and to participate in local elections.

However the advent of the second Berlusconi government has brought forward the Bossi-Fini law which goes a long way to closing the borders to asylum seekers and criminalising immigrants by requiring they be fingerprinted, lengthening the required stay from five to six years before a non-EU immigrant can qualify for legal residence, making re-entry of foreigners who have been expelled within the last 12 years a criminal offence, punishable with imprisonment. Already in 2001, the government reported that 42,100 migrants had been expelled. (World Refugee Survey 2003) It prevents family reunion of disabled relatives, except children. In order to regularise their situation, domestics in families now have to pay a tax. The government also holds asylum seekers in detention centres for initial decisions ostensibly up to 30 days but in 2002 this procedure took 12-15 months and has also complicated the right of appeal against deportation and reduced the time to lodge an appeal from 60 to 5 days.

In this climate of government hostility, the discretionary power of the administration is encouraged to obstruct. So naturalisation which immigrants become eligible for after ten years, can be delayed way beyond, as has been the case of a Senegalese actor in our study, Modou Gueye, who has been waiting thirteen years to become a citizen. (Interview with Gueye, 2003)

However, as in Spain and particularly Portugal, the political autonomy of local and regional government has enabled strong city and voluntary initiatives, stemming from the Catholic Church, particularly in small cities in the old red belt in Central Italy, such as Modena, Reggio Emilia, Ravenna and Arezzo which have provided immigrant reception and settlement, language training, job placement, integrated schooling and cultural programmes, including festivals. (Hellman, 1997,39) The region of Tuscany and the city of Turin stand out for their intercultural initiatives, through the Porto Franco Intercultura project and the Intercultural Centre in Turin. These have begun to integrate the diverse migration and minority presence in the region into regional history and disseminate interculturalism through library-learning centres, exhibitions, teaching, joint cultural production and festivals. (See Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2003) Rome City Council has invested money to help poor immigrants regularise by paying their taxes, establishing an official register of care assistants and paying for the inexperienced young women to qualify. (Interview Gianguido Palumbo, 2003)

### *Spain*

In the 1960s, Spain and Portugal had experienced a trickle individual artists and students migrating –mainly from Latin America but not migration of groups. As former colonial powers – their migrants came mainly from former colonies, so they had a language in common. But Spain did not form a cultural community with her ex-colonies although it did facilitate citizenship for Latin Americans and Filipinos, requiring only 2 years legal residence to naturalise and gain the vote instead of 10 years. (Morén-Alegret, 2002, 93)

Under Spanish law three regularisations took place in 1985-6, 1991 and 1996 under left pressure, but Socialist government only produced non-statutory guidelines for regularisation according to the needs of the labour market and ‘absorption capacity’, along with social and economic aid to countries of origin and expulsion of undocumented workers. In 1996 they set up an Inter-Ministry Commission on Immigration to coordinate action across departments and tighten procedures. In 1991 they imposed visas on immigrants from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Peru, then the Dominican Republic. By 1995 the number of countries requiring visas had risen to over 130 along with a new restrictive Asylum Act, even though the proportion of migrants in the Spanish population remained very low at 1.2%. Less than 20% of these

were from Africa, the biggest group among them being Moroccans, and 25% came from Latin America – especially Argentina.

With the exclusionary thrust of new regulations, they were forced to recognise associational rights to immigrants and were pressured to undertake social integration measures. In 1993 Migration Office drew up a General Immigration Plan for Social Integration which set up an Immigrant Forum for exchange with voluntary organisations and an observatory to research and monitor minority ethnic groups. The Government also fixed quotas of migrants from different nationalities in different economic sectors but used them to regularise immigrant status. However with the Conservative government since 1996 expulsions were resumed and policy focus switched back from integration to exclusion of poor country migrants, and border control.

### ***Portugal***

Post-colonisation Portugal experienced a rapid burst of immigration from Africa – Cape Verde, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, plus East Timor and Goa and after 1986 also strong migration from European Community countries to Lisbon where 55% of all migrants lived (1995 figure). Despite the influx, the migrant population in Portugal in 1995 was also comparatively low at 1.7%, almost half from Africa, especially Cape Verde and about a quarter from Latin America mainly Brazil. It has sought to develop 'Lusufonia' like Francophonie, a privileged cultural community with its ex-colonies, with preferential terms of naturalisation and citizenship for those who migrate but this came into conflict with the pressures for Fortress Europe.

The new nationality law 37/1981 reversed the previous open attitude and abandoned the principle of *ius soli*, so depriving children who were born in Portugal of non-Portuguese parents of citizenship. Although the Constitution was revised to recognise the status of foreigner in Portugal, this was aimed at EU citizens rather than African immigrants. Naturalisation was also made harder in 1994 by raising the residence requirement to six years for the privileged group of post-colonial migrants and from five years to ten years for migrants from elsewhere. (Moreen-Alegret, 2002) Another cultural operator in our study, who is Brazilian, Tela Laeo has been waiting eleven years to naturalise, setting up a small business which is Portuguese, allowing her to trade in the EU whereas she is not. (Interview Tela Laeo, 13.7.03)

However, a campaign by left parties and immigrant associations for regularisation and an end to employers' withholding contracts was mounted in 1992-3 so the Conservative government acted to regularise and implement an integration programme of education, work training and information for immigrants but without engaging in dialogue with immigrants associations. The LusoAfrican youth movement mobilised politically in 1995 against the racial murder of an asylum seeker, demanding regularisation and cultural respect. (Albuquerque, 1999) The new Socialist government in 1995 enacted a second regularisation of foreigners in 1996 and a third one in 1999 covering non-Lusophone immigrants. It also embarked on a serious social policy for ethnic minorities, setting up a High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) directly under the Prime Minister, to co-ordinate policy across government departments, ensuring gypsies as well as immigrants were given special consideration in housing, education and employment. Despite this shift to social integration, there was no policy change on external immigration control or arrests and expulsion under Schengen. Nevertheless, the political system remained free of racism unlike Spain and Italy.

At local level in Lisbon, the promotion of integration under the Socialists had important cultural effects. The Municipal Council of Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities, set up as a consultative body to the council, defended ethnic minority rights, respect for minority culture and identity and intercultural dialogue. It helped organise small local cultural festivals with immigrant associations even when its advisory role to the city was ended. Although an administrative body, the Ethnic Minorities Office, replaced it within Lisbon council, this was headed by a Mozambican artist, Inácio Matinshe, who established a Multicultural Carnival in 1998 on the lines of a Lusophone street carnival, with the participation of the post-colonial, immigrant organisations. (Morén-Alegret, 2002)

## **5. Minority Nation Perspective**

Although Scotland had gained benefits from the Union with England and participated in English colonialism on equal terms, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it became a country of economic decline and emigration. As late as the mid 1970s it was losing population through poverty and unemployment – 600,000 people between 1951-71 (Miles & Dunlop, 1987, 123) Consequently the post-war migration of Asians was not based on the pull of a dynamic economy. With half the growth rate of England and 13% lower per capita income, the Scottish economy was in evident decline.

South Asian migration to Scotland started as a dribble in the 1950s but grew from 4,000 in 1960 to 32,000 in 1980 (Maan, 1992, 168; 174) and now stands at 100,000. (2001 Census Scotland) However, ethnic minorities constitute only 2% of the Scottish population compared to 9% in England. They are mainly settled in the cities where they have a marginal presence - Glasgow (5.5%) Edinburgh (4%) and Dundee (3.5%). Pakistanis form the largest group, with substantive Indian and Chinese communities and small groups of Bangladeshis and African Caribbeans. As they were employed mainly in public transport in Glasgow or self-employed as shopkeepers or small businessmen, there was little competition for jobs. Likewise with housing. Only 5% of the ethnic minority population live in council houses compared to over 50% of the indigenous population (Maan, 1992, 204) Some have argued that anti-Catholic sectarianism was already institutionalised in a divided workforce, education system and rival football teams, that prevented a new racial divide in Scotland. (Miles and Dunlop, 1987, 119) However, when Pakistani settlement in Scotland grew, sectarianism was on the decline. What appears more relevant is that political nationalism focused on the disadvantages of the Union with England. In that context, Scottish nationalism did not blame immigrants for post-industrial decline but developed an anti-English identity: "Part of this identity has involved the assertion that 'the Scots' are not as racist as the 'English'". (Audrey, 2000, 236-8)

This version of Scotland as without the race relation problems of England and as open and non-racist, is widely echoed in immigrant memoirs and interviews. They paint a picture of negotiated multiculturalism and successful integration for example through the building of mosques from 1940 on, integration in state schooling, where priority was given to English but where religious education became inter-faith, and was reflected in diverse staff who taught it, (Audrey, 2000, 151) and the emergence of a second generation who reject racial designation and traditionalism. (Audrey, 2000, 227-9) Increased Asian political participation and Asian progression from the inner city to the suburbs also points in the same direction.

The formation of Scottish Immigrant Labour Council in the early 1970s shows a willingness in the labour movement to maintain unity when racist legislation and agitation in England was growing. (Miles & Dunlop, 1987) Glasgow City and Strathclyde Regional councils responded early and well to immigration. Glasgow catered for the language needs of South Asian children by setting up an Immigrant Reception and Language Centre in 1970 which taught intensive English and then returned the pupils to mainstream schools.

However, the portrayal of the absence of Scottish racism is broken by the mid 1980s when the Scottish Asian Action Committee and Minority Ethnic Teachers' Association raised the profile of minority cultures, and brought issues of racism and exclusion in education into the public domain. In the 1990s Strathclyde Regional Council shifted its priority from language education to countering indirect discrimination and advancing a broad cultural diversity agenda and anti-racist strategy in *Tackling Racist Incidents within the Education Service* which addressed a whole range of individual racist behaviour though not institutional practices.

The widely accepted view that Scotland, though sharing England's legislative framework of race relations has been largely free of its racism has recently been challenged. Whereas high levels of self-employment and home ownership have previously been taken as positive signs of integration and success, Wardak sees them as responses to exclusion from jobs and council housing. The tendency of elders to inward-looking, conservative social organisation in the mosque and of young Pakistanis to separate cultural expression through *bhangra*, early evening discos of east-west fusion music and dance – are seen as a cultural reactions to discrimination, such as the exclusion from sports and dance halls, social clubs and football teams. (Wardak, 2000, 37-42; 45-6; 54-5)

Incomplete national independence can make for difficult relations between minority nations and new migrants. (Miles, 1993) The larger manual working class in Scotland and the political context of the Thatcher governments elected throughout the 1980s against the Scottish majority, fed the concept of an alternative Labour nation, exemplified in the central role the trades unions played in the Constitutional Convention on devolution. Not only had Scottish nationalism banished the Conservatives from Scotland but the political system had escaped racist parties and racial politics. However, the articulation of Scotland as hard-done-by and Labour nation has not made it immune to institutional racism. It may be that labourist understanding of traditional economic inequality and of national unity, combined with a system of local patronage that favours insiders, has blinded it to the complex inequalities - both cultural and economic - that new migrants face. Both cultural acceptance and redistribution of resources are required for their participation in public life on equal terms.

## II Country snapshots of multicultural theatre and dance scene

### 1. England

England has one of the earliest post war migrations, with long established immigrant communities. Indians brought with high cultural traditions of theatre, dance and music and the popular Mela festival while West Indian popular art forms like Carnival, calypso and steel bands, were imported and adapted from their Trinidadian origins by the addition of Jamaican sound systems and big floats on lorries. (Interview Pawlet Warner 21.12.01) For black people in the diaspora, whereas labour represented forced servitude, art became a primary form of resistance and collective re-creation, keeping memory alive and soul in tact through performance, and developing into a strong aesthetic of call and response in improvisation and dramaturgy. (Gilroy, 1991; 1994)

Therefore, it should be no surprise that racial attacks and political exclusion led to black and Asian political mobilisation and self organisation as artists. Umbrella arts organisations were formed like Caribbean Artists Movement in 1966, Artists for Democracy in 1974, Rock against Racism in 1978 and Organisation of Women of Asian and African Descent (OWAAD) who held their first conference in 1979. Nazeem Khan's 1976 report *The Arts Britain Ignores* highlighted the neglect and marginalisation of diverse talent by the funding bodies and she set up the Minorities Arts Advisory Service (MAAS) to campaign for change. (Khan, 2003) Officially, Black and Asian arts were pigeonholed as 'ethnic arts' by the Arts Council in the 1970s and mainstream arts organisations continued largely unaffected by the presence of this burgeoning new sector.

The major shift in cultural policy came against national government, rather than aided by it, through the Greater London Council (GLC) in London, which under Ken Livingstone allied itself with a rainbow coalition of new social movements against Thatcher's neo-Conservative government. The GLC's cultural strategy gave particular support to black and Asian arts and cultural policy shifted radically from giving popular access to high culture to one of collective cultural self-expression through, for example, festivals that explored the diverse threads of collective memory and through fostering independent black cultural industries. (Bianchini, 1987; 1989) This policy shift was also reflected in other cities where a new style Left came to power such as Sheffield and Manchester, and began to be mirrored in the Arts Council by the 1980s.

So there was a strong political impetus to setting up separate black and Asian theatre companies. One of the first and crucial companies for establishing Asian arts in England, Tara Arts, grew out of a direct response to the murder in Southall in west London, of a seventeen year old Asian boy, Gudip Singh Shaggar in the hot summer of 1976. Jatinder Verma set the company up not out of the anger he felt, but the realisation that “the only way to understand was to build imaginative bridges across cultures.” (Interview, Verma, 28.5. 2003.) The first play they did was a protest against the First World War written in 1917, transposed to 14<sup>th</sup> century Bengal. The plays ranged from adaptations of classic Sanskrit texts such as an irreverent version of *The Little Clay Cart* and Mahabarata plays like *Exile in the Forest* which transposed its exile section into contemporary experience of migration to England, to plays on issues—mental illness among British Asians in *Meet Me*, and on the lives of the elderly in *Ancestral Voices*, to Bhavai farces and reworkings of great religious tales in *Diwali stories* and *Ramayan Odyssey*.

Tara’s practice has always been explicitly intercultural and experimental rather than traditionally ethnic and this has been reflected in the diverse audience which it has always attracted, in part by going out to meet audiences in alternative spaces, rather than having a house of its own. Jatinder Verma has been a vocal advocate of an intercultural dialogue around the taken-for-grantedness of English as the theatrical language, as it is steeped in references to Judeo-Christian culture, and thus, can exclude: “Language is a window into the soul, but also a barrier to other souls” (Interview, Verma, 28.5.03.)

Hence his calls for a ‘Binglish’ theatre – a bicultural language and visuality which fuses Asian theatrical traditions –cadences, colours, movement and music with those of conventional English. Rather than trying to achieve a universal language like Peter Brook, through Binglish Verma seeks to engender dialogue by working through cultural differences in resonance and tone, set in play by actors of a Hindu or Muslim background. (Interview with Verma, 28.5.03; see also Verma articles on Tara website) Stylistically he too, he has juxtaposed a diverse range of avant garde and popular traditions, using “Bollywood melodrama combined with Brechtian staging techniques, Indian popular theatre forms with Italian commedia dell’arte.” (Terracciano, 2002)

The invitation by the National Theatre to direct Molière’s *Tartuffe* in 1990 symbolised the recognition of a diverse sensibility that could be creatively applied to a

European classic. In 1992, Verma again directed *The Little Clay Cart*, this time at the National, the first time it had produced an Asian text. In the 1990s Tara regularly put on European classics with transposed or contemporary interpretations - *The Tempest* with Bunraku puppets in 1994, the *Bourgeois Gentleman* relocated in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Pondicherry satirising the local comprador bourgeoisie, as coconuts - brown on the outside, white on the inside - for their emulation of the British, *A Midsummer's Night Dream* with a diverse company of Asian, African, Caribbean, Arab and English performers on an English lawn rather than in the magical forest, in a co-production with the Lyric in 1997.

Whereas Tara started out claiming the high culture, and bringing its own Asian high culture to bear on the repertoire, its most recent work the *Journey to the West* trilogy marks a retrieval of East Asian migrant history – and relationship to England, which is more often the dramatic starting point for contemporary diverse companies concerned with personal identity. However, it is virtually unprecedented for a touring company to stage a trilogy as it needs long-term funding and commitment. *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Revelations* were produced over five years through commissioned research, gathering the life stories of 200 people across three generations of Asians – that now forms an invaluable archive and educational resource. *Genesis* begins the epic of Indian colonial migration, the forcible leaving of the Punjab for East Africa as indentured labour to build the East African railway for the British. *Exodus* follows three of the women who leave Kenya and their men behind in 1968 to avoid being excluded by British immigration law. *Revelations* follows the fusion of English and Asian stories in contemporary Britain from video interviews made in the East Midlands and North. The whole trilogy was presented in a single day at the Mela in Manchester in March 2002 and individual parts have toured separately to non-theatrical spaces such as community halls.

The process of involving audiences was highly innovative. In each space they staged the whole trilogy, such as the West Yorkshire Playhouse, they approached local communities in advance, both Asian and non-Asian young people, getting them to tell their own stories of journeys, and those of their parents and grandparents, out of which the young people presented short pieces as a prologue to each part of the trilogy. So connections were made between the wider audience's experience of moving or being uprooted and that of immigrants' and refugees'. The audiences were drawn to the plays through their children performing their own stories of journeys and upheavals. One group of kids recounted an explosion in the gun factory in Wrexham, while in Southend, a Bosnian group dramatised their own traumatic route

to England. Another singular feature of the project was the use of the theatre foyer for exhibitions, not only of the story of Tara's production but of local diverse history, built around exhibit of key objects and telling of stories. This novel relation of the foyer to the communities outside the theatre transformed the Leicester Haymarket, not only for the week Tara was there, but into a permanently open foyer.

Over twenty years, Tara has spawned many of the new British Asian artists and art forms - Asian women's theatre, stand-up comedy, sit.coms, cross-over musical and dance theatre. For example Rita Wolff formed Kali in 1990 with Rukhsana Ahmad. Their first production, *Song for a Sanctuary*, dramatised the plight of, a Sikh woman, Balwant Kaur, murdered by her husband in a women's refuge. They went on to found theatre writing workshops for Asian women and to build performance work with community groups such as the Southall Black Sisters. Other Tara actresses, Sudha Bhuchar and Shaheen Khan wrote the BBC radio series *Girlies*, and Sudha went on to establish Tamasha theatre company with Kristine Landon Smith. It has had a string of hits with its intercultural mix of contemporary eastern music and dance-based plays about young British Asians: such as *East is East* (about British-Pakistani intermarriage, racism and the second generation) *Balti Kings* (on Punjabi business success with *Balti* curry in the Midlands) and *Fourteen Songs, Two Weddings and a Funeral* which won the Barclays New Musical Award in 1998 and the BBC Asia Award for Achievement in the Arts in 1999. Five of its nine productions were broadcast on radio, and since *East is East* was such a commercial success that it transferred to the West End, Tamasha has had regular co-productions with the Lyric Theatre. For Kristine Landon Smith *A Tainted Dawn* (1997) was the most important project artistically although *East is East* received the most attention. (Questionnaire, Kristine Landon Smith) Tara protégé, Ayub Khan Din wrote the play and subsequent film script of *East is East*. Other Tara actors have gone on to success in mainstream theatre and especially on T.V. like Anthony Clark, an associate director of the Birmingham Rep. and advisor on Tara's Board while Sanjeev Bhaskar became a comic actor and co-author of the BBC hit comedy series *Goodness Gracious Me* and *The Kumars of Number 42*. (Tara, Kali and Tamasha websites)

By the 1980s there was sufficient critical creative mass and momentum to establish a black and Asian theatre festival, and London Arts Theatre launched its first Black Theatre season which continued till 1990. This provided a platform for other Asian companies like the Asian Theatre Co-operative established in 1983 by young writers like Farrukh Dhondy who went on to become a TV producer in charge of Channel 4's diversity programming. (Ghosh, 2003) The British Asian Theatre

Company grew out of a film and video workshop, experimenting with a crossover between video and live theatre, using Asian music, dance, exotic costumes and sets. Some individuals broke through, especially in T.V. and in dance. Shobana Jeyasingh fused classical Indian dance with European ballet to achieve avant garde status within the contemporary dance field. Keith Khan, the artistic director of Moti Roti and now a much sought after free-lance director drew on his Indian Caribbean background in a fusion of Carnival, street theatre, Indian classical traditions and forms. (Terracciano, 2002) His staging of Salman Rushdie's novel of the divided inheritance of Indian independence *Midnight's Children*, at the Barbican Arts Centre (2003), synthesised Indian forms, narrative style, movement, and colours, in brief episodes with a video backdrop that interweave the intimacy of personal fates with the grand, historical forces of independence and partition that intrude.

Talawa occupies a similar position for Black – African Caribbean independent theatre that Tara does for Asian arts. Its motto '*Me lickle but me talawa*' - Don't underestimate me – sums up its pluck in starting out, with funding from the GLC in 1986 by challenging the English canon in different ways. Yvonne Brewster, of an older generation born in the West Indies, but who trained in Britain, gave full rein to the great black Caribbean and African writers - playwrights and poets – CLR James, Derek Walcott, Wole Soyinka, Ntozake Shange who were not staged in England at the time. CLR James historic play *The Black Jacobins*, on the challenge by Toussaint L'Ouverture in the Haitian revolution to Napoleonic France to end slavery, was revived for the first time since Paul Robeson had played it in 1936! She also did some of the first black Shakespeare – *Anthony and Cleopatra* in 1990, *Lear* in 1994 and *Othello* in 1997 as well as John Ford's *T'is a Pity She's a Whore* (1995) and Oscar Wilde's *Importance of Being Earnest* (1989) The third vital element in her artistic strategy was to put on plays by new black British writers like Michael Abbensetts – with *the Lion* in 1993 - and British African Biyi Bandele-with *Resurrections* in 1994. From 1996 master classes were held to foster new writing, performance, poetry and music out of which came *Zebra Crossing*, a collaboration of different pieces by Christopher Rodriguez, Caribbean performance poet Jean 'Binta' Breeze, black Scottish poet and novelist Jackie Kay and British African Caribbean novelist Courttia Newland, followed up by *Itsy Bitsy Spider: Anansi Steals the Wind* in 2002. There was a further *Zebra Crossing 2* in 1998 with collaboration between other young artists, soul singers and writers. Brewster established a touring circuit in both established and popular theatres around England and was invited to direct for both, doing a Trevor Rhone Jamaican comedy *Smile Orange*, for Theatre Royal, Stratford and Lorca's *Blood Wedding* for the Royal National.

Part of her legacy was to establish *Blackstage*, an archive of black actors, writers and directors online, which is an important historical resource for constructing a collective memory of black theatre in Britain. Another crucial legacy is the financing and near completion of a purpose built performance house near Victoria, financed under the Arts Council Capital Projects to inject capital funding into culturally diverse arts. This will create the first black production house, as opposed to touring company in England.

Paulette Randall, the new director of Talawa since February 2003, inherits a consolidated artistic position where it is no longer necessary to prove your worth by having to do the European classics. The further evolution of the company she sees as coming not from satisfying the constant demand for new black work but from applying the concept of the classic to black American writing by doing repeat productions, recognising they merit new interpretation in each generation. Like Brewster, she studied at Rose Bruford College, doing the Community Theatre Arts course. But Randall's biography illustrates the alternative route that second generation black artists often take into independent theatre, via community arts courses and experience of working creatively with deprived young people and signposts some of the institutional stepping stones – the Royal Court young writers' scheme, an Arts Council bursary to train as a director, the Tricycle theatre as one of the new theatres dedicated to presenting contemporary black work that provide a route in.

Randall became politicised by feminism, aware of the gap in black women's theatre and also of the racism implicit in theatre - organising a huge conference in the college in 1980-1 after a conflict with a white student over 'blacking up'. She set up her own theatre company two other women Bernadino Evarista, who became a poet and Patricia Hillaire. Together they joined the Royal Court 'Talking Black' workshops which gave them a space for writing and performance of their work every night: "The Theatre upstairs was ours" (Interview, Paulette Randall, 2.6.03) Paulette had her first three scenes of her play *Fishing* produced there when she was 21. Through an Arts Council bursary, she then trained as a director under Max Stafford Clarke at the Royal Court which gave her the contact with playwrights and screen writers like Caryl Churchill, Sarah Daniels and Danny Boyle. Randall's final break came through putting on *Pecong* – a Caribbean version of *Medea*, at the Tricycle theatre and on the strength of it, being invited to direct three August Wilson plays there– *The Piano Lesson*, *Two Trains Running* and *King Hedley II*.

However, although Talawa has gone from strength to strength, other black theatres like the Black Theatre Cooperative and Temba, did not survive. However, culturally diverse children's theatre has had stalwart advocacy by the Theatre Centre since the early 1980s. Founded in 1953 as a young people's theatre touring schools and other non-theatre spaces, it blossomed under the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) with GLC support, as a vital resource promoting equal opportunities and integrated casting. (Interview Isabel Howson, 21.7.03.) It is committed to commissioning, casting and access policies which 'aim to reflect, celebrate and explore the richness of our diverse society.' (Theatre Centre website) In particular it promotes new writing especially among Black, Asian and women playwrights that engages with both universal themes and contemporary issues such as the discriminatory exclusion of black pupils from school. It seeks to develop emotional responsiveness as well as creative expression and includes in its access policy pupils in special education and referral units.

Alternative political and working class theatres also opened their stages increasingly to multicultural influences, partly because they were located in growing multicultural areas and the young people living there were completely cut off from theatre which did not speak to them. In London, the Theatre Royal Stratford's artistic director, Philip Hedley, sought to address the gap by hosting and building a black theatre repertoire slowly through the 1980s. In 1979 he staged Mustapha Matura's play *Welcome Home Jacko*, set in a black youth club, which was restaged in 1983 with the young cast attracting a largely black and enthusiastic new audience, who identified with the actors who had since become stars in the TV comedy series *No Problem*. As Hedley puts it: "For the first time young Black people had their own British stars." (Hedley, 1998, 2) He went on to promote black writers like Trevor Rhone, four of whose Jamaican comedies were produced in the 1980s, and gave Rhone, Errol John and others the opportunity to direct their own work. In 1986 with help from the GLC to reach new audiences, dramas were included alongside comedies in the Black Season. The theatre began to draw mixed audiences and diversified further by introducing Asian plays, so by 1990, half the programme was Black and Asian 'almost exactly equating with the balance of `White and Black and Asian people in the community.' (Hedley, 1998, 5) and in the 1990s exceeding this.

Hedley's astute move in bringing the musical *Five Guys Named Moe* to the Stratford East and selling it to the West End financed the next five years expansion of its multicultural work with co-productions with almost all the leading Black and Asian independent theatres. Through its youth theatre and mixed programming, it

has brought on a pool of black acting talent like Joanne Campbell, the first black woman hero in pantomime and David Harewood – subsequently Royal National Theatre’s Othello. The Afro-Asian Directors course has built a pool of black directors the theatre draws on and its recently established Urban Music Theatre Workshop has enabled it to develop new musicals like *Da Boyz*, (2003) a hip hop reworking of the 1930s Broadway musical, *the Boys from Syracuse*, with the DJ Excalibah and the MC Skolla both graduates of the 2000 Music Theatre Workshop. The philosophy it has evolved that “theatre should form a continuous loop with its community” (Hedley, 1998, 1) informs every aspect, including pricing – tickets are normally available for £2-3 – outreach, education and marketing.

The 1980s produced a big political and funding crisis for culturally diverse theatre. The attitude from the government was, as Kully Thiarai, who came up through Red Ladder, expresses it: “ ‘Everything with red in its name is going to disappear.’ ...The black and Asian art world suffered more than any other in that period of funding cuts. ” (Interview Kully Thiarai, 15.5.03) Some companies went out of existence like British Asian Co-operative and Temba in London. The Black Theatre Cooperative was threatened but successfully relaunched as Nitro in the 1990s, in a more commercial form specialising in musicals. (Nitro website) Kokuma in Birmingham later disappeared. Through a process of osmosis the Arts Council began to change, recognising black and Asian arts had suffered more than others from the attack on the arts. A 1988 Arts Council report on audiences showed that the minority ethnic public was not being drawn to theatre and that their community organisations could provide the connective link through word-of-mouth publicity. (Khan, 2002, 16) The black and Asian arts community began to have a practical impact on thinking within the Arts Council.

In 1994, the Black Regional Initiative in Theatre (BRIT) was set up initially with three theatres: the Nottingham and West Yorkshire Playhouses, Leicester Haymarket and has subsequently been extended to Derby Playhouses, Hudawi Centre and Lawrence Batley theatre in Huddersfield, the Green Room Manchester, Kuumba and Old Vic in Bristol, Wolsey theatre in Ipswich, and Oval House London. This has given it a real national reach. It aimed to change the culture of those organisations through a pro-active cultural diversity policy. One aspect was devoted to training black and Asian directors, giving short-term courses in regional theatres with bursaries for attachment to specific companies to develop specific skills. The Haymarket had two trainee directors, West Yorkshire Playhouse set up a positive action programme with the Cultural Industries Development Agency for a series of minority ethnic trainees.

(FABRIT, 18.9.02.) It covered programming, marketing and distribution and brought in new work as Tony Graves, African Arts Producer at the time at Nottingham Playhouse testifies:

*In one sense it was very exhilarating because despite the odds ..... when you'd have a full house – black, African Caribbean, mixed audience, when you're seeing work that generally on the main stage wasn't getting a look in, that is also a great thing. .... It brought in artists that perhaps would never have gone on that stage ..... One of the things I put on was a hip hop opera 'Pressh' . It was coined a 'hip hopera' ... a nice marketing ploy, but it was really coming back to my classical music roots seeing how rap/hip hop could serve almost as a libretto in an operatic style and that if you could harness that with the large-scale forces of opera, in terms of music and sets, you would have a very potent, new form. .It was a great success, community people thought it was fantastic, it ran for three nights but that was it.... then it was off because it was seen as outreach community programme as opposed to 'this is a really exciting, not perfect, you know... a developing idea, but really quite extraordinary. (Interview Tony Graves, 15.5.03)*

A Cultural Diversity Unit was set up within the Arts Council in 1996 (significantly before the Labour government came to power) with Naseem Khan, who had campaigned for years against underfunding and marginalisation of black and Asian arts, as its head. That unit came up with the Cultural Diversity Action Plan in 1998, which prioritised building up minority ethnic structures, administrators and audiences and monitored its implementation. Among its key initiatives were the New Audiences Programme which ran from 1998-2001 and then extended to 2003, which allocated £20 million of the Department of Culture, Music and Sport (DCMS – national equivalent of Ministry of Culture) money to test new ideas for diversifying audiences, which resulted in 1500 projects, a wide range of partnerships with schools, community groups and commercial partners like sports stores and the adoption of action research as a methodology for experimenting and evaluating work with new groups and new settings. However the initiative has been criticised – partly for being too quantitatively driven as Phil Cave, the marketing officer for the Arts Council has acknowledged (Essential Audiences, May 2003, 2) but also for focussing on end-product, separating off audience development from all the other questions with which it is intimately connected. (Interview Tony Graves, 15.5.03)

Under the new impulse to sensitise organisations and funding bodies to cultural diversity, the Lottery-funded Arts Capital Programme financed 23 black and Asian building-based projects in 2001. Following the “Correcting the Picture” conference organised by the Arts Council with West Midlands Arts in 1998 which had highlighted the lack of minority ethnic administrators in the arts sector, a diversity fellowship scheme was set up which placed potential ‘high flyers’ from minority ethnic backgrounds in mainstream arts bodies to give them experience and training to fast track them into management jobs. (Khan, December 2002, 7) The New Audiences programme has now been scrapped and a new Directorate for Social Inclusion has been set up, integrating social inclusion, cultural diversity and disability. Along with it, Naseem Khan’s post and special unit have been abolished.

However a series of reports have confirmed the entrenched nature of racism in the sector. The Runnymede Trust, report *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, in 2000 argued that the underfunding of culturally diverse arts throughout the UK prevented the culturally hybrid society being reflected in the performing (and visual) arts. (Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000) The Race Relations (Amendment) Act, following the Macpherson Inquiry, required all public organisations to ensure by 2002 that their practices do not indirectly result in ethnic or racial discrimination. The 2001 Eclipse conference on strategies to combat racism in theatre, organised jointly by East Midlands Arts Board and Nottingham Playhouse, with the Arts Council, proposed positive action plans be drawn up by all subsidised theatres to create opportunities for minority ethnic arts practitioners, together with targets for implementation and external monitoring to reduce the dramatic inequalities in the sector. It also recommended dedicated funding from within annual budgets be set aside for equal opportunities training of staff and regional, follow-up seminars with senior managers of the organisations on implementation.

The African Caribbean and Asian Artists’ Workshop in the conference called for sanctions and withdrawal of funding if the policy was not implemented. Another significant idea was to establish a fund to subsidise shows which would allow programmers to take risks at the developmental stage of the work. (Eclipse Report, 2001) In following up the report, a series of regional seminars were held with the chairs and artistic directors of all funded companies to consider the legal implications and required organisational changes. (Interview Isabel Hawson, 21.7.03)

Out of the BRIT initiative and Eclipse report, the Eclipse Theatre project was developed, which commissions and tours Black work to larger stages. It has brought

culturally diverse work to places where it has never reached before: the recent tour of *Moon on a Rainbow Shawl*, directed by Paula Randall, was shown in Southill Park Bracknell, (Reading), against the initial reluctance of the board, to an ethnically mixed audience of 1,800, many of whom had never been to the theatre before. (Interview Isabel Hawson, 21.7.03)

The Year of Cultural Diversity which became the Decibel project has also engaged the Arts Council in profiling and marketing culturally diverse artists. Decibel set up a performing arts showcase, in association with x.trax over four days in Manchester for which there was a huge demand that could only be satisfied in small part. It attracted producers, promoters, programmers, funders and media to see the selected artists such as Tamasha, Nitro, Theatre of Darkness, Benji Reid, Arun Ghosh, Union Dance, Vayu Naidu Company, Yellow Earth Theatre and Kompany Malakhi. (Decibel Newsletter, May 2003 and website)

From the funding crisis of the 1980s, companies in the provinces were also forced to reorient themselves or go under. In 1986-7, Red Ladder, a socialist theatre in Leeds, experiencing decline, began to work with young Asians, 14-25 year olds, in West Yorkshire, bringing in Kully Thiarai, a British Indian social worker with a youth and community work background, to establish new community links. One piece they put on was based around the Bradford 12 young Asians arrested and falsely charged, which toured the local youth clubs in the area, taking the play to young people's own spaces. Another show toured on a bus to access young people on the street. The company developed a particular specialism in work with Asian women with *Winners* by Rona Monroe, which played only to young Asian women and was followed up with women-only workshops much to the concern of the Youth Service, then through commissioning a group of Asian women, they toured a new version of Meera Syal's *One of Us* as *Banghra Girls* (Interview with Kully Thiarai, 15.5.03)

Kully Thiarai obtained an Arts Council bursary to retrain as a director, attached to a Bradford based, non-ethnic touring company, Major Road, deliberately choosing to stay away from the London scene and not set up her own Asian company because she 'loved the collaborative process.' (Interview Thairai, 15.5.03) She returned to Red Ladder as artistic director in 1994-8, working with writers like Roy Williams and Roy Chaudry but also with white writers. She made an important breakthrough when, in 2001, she was appointed as the first black artistic director of a mainstream theatre – at the Haymarket in Leicester, funded to the tune of £1.3 million by the Arts

Council, East Midlands region and the city, the first in England which will have a majority non-white population by 2010. (Interview, Thairai, 15.5.03)

It was a joint appointment with an Irish male co-director, Paul Kerryson and came at a time when the Arts Council began implementing the mainstreaming strategy outlined in the Cultural Diversity Action Plan (1998) through BRIT's Asian Theatre Initiative, for big building-based organisations. Sita Ramamurthy was appointed to the new post of Asian Theatre Producer and Development Manager. She later went on to take charge of the Arts Council's first Year of Diversity. Through the initiative the Haymarket began to develop new audiences, becoming aware of Asian cultural resistance to going to the theatre, preferring to create their own entertainment in local settings but to go out on Sundays – when theatres are closed. (Interview Ellen Bianchini, 15. 5.03)

With Kully Thiarai's arrival the whole programme became multicultural including traditional Irish classic dramas and pantomimes with completely integrated casting. The key achievement of the Asian Theatre Initiative was the five youth theatre groups set up by the Outreach Department with a number of black and Asian actors in them although not proportionate in numbers to population size. This provoked a debate and the setting up a separate Asian youth theatre group which eventually became mixed, though primarily focused around what Asian theatre means to the second generation. It also developed a strong commissioning programme for new playwrights from Asian backgrounds.

The foyer project Thairai sees as part of making the theatre a 'shared space', breaking down hierarchical barriers between amateur and professional, performer and audience, child and adult, inside and outside as well as ethnic barriers. In *Eat Eat*, a collaborative project with the refugee community performed in the Guildhall, people will share a meal without knowing who is performer, who audience, who a refugee.

For a period after leaving Red Ladder, Thiarai was involved in the relaunch of Contact Theatre in Manchester. Like many radical, alternative theatres it had not recovered from the funding crisis and had to rethink its artistic direction. Thiarai oversaw the appointment of John McGrath and its transformation into a culturally diverse young people's theatre, commissioning contemporary drama like Linda Brogan's *What's in the Cat* - a story about a Jamaican-Irish family growing up in Moss Side, Manchester in the 1970s. The theatre now provides another space on a national

circuit hosting culturally diverse youth work from companies like Theatre Centre, Moti Roti, Red Ladder and others.

In other parts of the country the mainstreaming initiative has had ripple effects. UK International in Worcester, a market town in a rural area, is running a capacity building programme for black producers, whose first trainee went on to get a job in mainstream theatre. They now have two associate producers from ethnic minority backgrounds. (Ryan, Questionnaire, 2003)

On the writing front, young writers programmes have spread since the days from the Royal Court and Theatre Royal. Birmingham Rep has a strong programme that nurtures young minority writers. Paines Plough, a new writing theatre company in London ran a Black and Asian writing project 'Ticket to Write' jointly with West Yorkshire Playhouse in Leeds in 2000 which sought, commissioned and produced the work of ten unproduced writers which were then performed by ten Black and Asian actors. Two of the writers then went on to gain full-length commissions from the companies.

Other producing houses in London, like the Oval, the Tricycle, Riverside Studios have become important outlets and promoters of culturally diverse work. Now many mainstream theatres' programming has changed in London: Young Vic, last season produced Langston Hughes musical *Simply Heavenly*, and current is showing a new adaptation by Tanika Gupta of *Hobson's Choice*; the Lyric has programmed for next season *Strictly Dandia* – Tamasha's new play written and directed by Sudha Bhuchar and Kristine and its own Step Up company's production of *Slave/Teacher* a story of the journey of a black British brother and sister into their family's past. The South Bank and Barbican arts centres have recently showcased South Asian dance and theatre – with a fantastic staging of Salman Rushdie's novel on the mixed outcomes of Indian independence *Midnight's Children* as a musical revue, with video backdrop.

Several black actors have gone mainstream like David Harewood, a graduate of the Theatre Royal Stratford, Adrian Lester and Lennie James. Women have fared less well, with some being sidelined or forced abroad – like Jean-Marie Baptiste. A number of black women writers are now well established such as Winsome Pinnock, Pat Cumper, Amber Lone, Meera Syel, Tanika Gupta and others are gaining exposure through the Eclipse initiative – like Juliet Jilks.

However, the lack of black producing houses indicates that power and control is still retained overwhelmingly in white hands. Talawa has applied for one at a time when funding cuts threaten key intercultural theatres. The Haymarket in Leicester has closed for a year and most of the staff have been made redundant, while it is waiting to move into new premises in St George's, the designated new cultural quarter of the city with unknown cost to community relationships it has built around the intercultural programme. Theatre Royal Stratford is in huge debt and under threat despite its Arts Council grant being raised from £430,000 to £750,000 because of the costs and closure entailed in refurbishing the building and in producing and staging musicals through workshop training of young people, while keeping ticket prices very low. (Kennedy & Chrisafis, 9.6.03)

In many ways the British scene reflects the model of multiculturalism in that black and Asian culture was not integrated into the mainstream but grew up independently in political aesthetic resistance to racism and conventional theatre and struggled for cultural recognition as artists against official neglect and outright opposition. Minority ethnic theatre has been defined ethnically by critics and funders and marginalised as such when most of the companies have been working with intercultural conceptions. The whole process of coming out of a marginal position and demanding an equal place within the mainstream theatres and funding and the way the Arts Council has itself become an advocate of that is partly testimony to the size and strength of immigrant communities in Britain and the degree to which they have organised and actively exercised citizenship rights.

The weaknesses of the British model of multiculturalism, compared to the Dutch, stands out in persistent underfunding, financial insecurity and periodic crises – affecting major theatres pioneering cultural diversity, and retrospective action after political mobilisation or legal intervention. The change in policies, practices and personnel have enhanced the credibility of the Arts Council in its commitment to cultural diversity. However, the capacity of the Arts Council to make national policy comes up against structural limits due to the heavy centralisation of cultural and other resources in London. The initiatives to tour and market diverse work in the regions are seeking to address this deficit in bigger cities. In reality, many small provincial cities like Luton or Swindon with multicultural populations have no mixed programming, unlike the world music and other cultural festivals throughout rural areas of France and Italy. This underlines the importance not only of contributing British experience of diversity to international debate, (Khan, 2002, 21) but also of adapting ideas and valuable innovations from other countries' experience of cultural diversity.

## 2. Netherlands

### *Cultural policy framework*

Historically in the post-war period, Dutch cultural policy was driven by the desire for social integration through the welfare state, giving popular access to high culture and heritage. A Christian Democratic consensus on religious and moral values was gradually undermined by the end of the 1960s, and policy switched focus to increasing cultural participation. However, culture was still understood in a monocultural way by the policy makers and mainstream institutions (Bakker, 2003) With the squeeze on public expenditure in the 1980s, the orientation shifted from welfare to artistic quality as the main criterion of subsidy (Hansen & Fisher, 1997, 70), without questioning the divergent understandings of quality. The national government through the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, makes national cultural policy and administers part of the funding system. However, the funding of major performing arts institutions is shared with the four major cities and larger municipalities. The cultural covenants which govern the division of responsibilities have helped cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam to develop their own cultural profile and diversity strategy and to increase cultural expenditure. (Dutch Ministry of Culture, 2001,1)

The Cultural Council which advises the Ministry of Culture is made up of specialist commissions. It recommended the establishment of a four year structural subsidy to allow cultural producers to plan ahead. (Hansen and Fisher, 1997) Piloted from 1988, it was extended to the performing arts and community arts, as well as the other sectors, in 1994. However in other regards the specialist committees remained conservative, overwhelmingly composed of white Dutch and unfamiliar with non-western aesthetics and art forms. (Saraber, 2002) In 1999 a colourful and unorthodox, Labour Culture Minister, Rik Van Der Ploeg challenged the monocultural, consensus view of Dutch cultural policy, which owing to an integrationist conception of interculturalism, denied structural subsidy to minority producers unless their work visibly engaged with familiar, western art forms. At the same time separate budgets designated for minorities and institutions designed to support ethnic minorities like the Multi Music Federation, had been scrapped. Based on a radical reconceptualisation of culture:

*“Culture is not a kind of glue but rather an unarmed confrontation between many different subcultures” (Van der Ploeg, 1999)*

Van der Ploeg enacted a series of cultural diversity measures to counter the exclusion of minorities both as public and as producers. (Van der Ploeg, 1999) First was the opening up of cultural institutions to immigrants, diversifying audiences through programming strategies and community links, using local networks and increased outreach funding. Multicultural arts education has been introduced in schools through the Culture and School Project and a voucher scheme enables children from low-income families to attend performances. (Dutch Ministry of Culture, 2001,4) Communication with the audience has been introduced as a criterion of evaluation of quality and representation on the Cultural Council’s advisory committees and the management boards of cultural institutions have been expanded to draw in a broader range of expertise and diverse people. The Amateur Art Fund provided the example by filling vacancies on its advisory boards with ethnic minorities or people under the age of 30. Work placements and mentoring were proposed to build confidence and capacity among cultural minorities to take on managerial roles.

In redefining interculturalism, Van der Ploeg argued that venues such as theatres and museums had to become intercultural meeting places with mixed programming, facilitating cross-cultural mixing, confrontation and creative interplay, without requiring each work in itself achieve an intercultural synthesis. He suggested crossing over the youth and minority cultural circuit with that of the established subsidised arts, so that marginalised work would enter the mainstream, and mainstream work would reach the margins.

To open up the subsidy system to give minorities access and foster the creativity of cultural activists already emerging from local neighbourhoods, he laid down a funding priority in favour of newcomers and multicultural initiatives, also committing funding bodies to earmark part of their budget for young and immigrant artists and gave a commitment to review rather than rubberstamp subsidy to established institutions. To ensure compliance by the cultural institutions, they were required to sign policy and performance agreements, setting out how they would implement cultural diversity in their activities, staffing, and board representation, on a par with broadcasting regulation. To give an incentive to the institutions, additional subsidies were also offered for outstanding diversification projects. He encouraged the development of pilot experiments to break down the barrier between professional and amateur arts – such as that of the Mondrian Foundation, the Performing Arts Fund,

the Amateur Art Fund and the Work Foundation for the Stage Arts appointment of a 'developer' - for two years to act as a talent scout-cum-agent for multicultural artists and initiatives, connecting them to networks and linking them to project funding. (Van der Ploeg, 1999)

Most of these ideas had been picked up from initiatives tried out in the multicultural and intercultural arts sector and from critiques that it had voiced. The establishment of the Phenix Foundation as an independent research body doing ongoing research and monitoring, identifying the mechanisms of exclusion, discriminatory evaluation and funding procedures and implanting a diversity culture in the mentality of funders, programmers and managers has underpinned this work.

The Dutch multicultural theatre started out through the professional self-organisation of trained culturally diverse artists. Cosmic theatre remains the only black theatre production company with its own house, a significant contrast to England which still does not have one. Founded in 1981 in the Netherlands as Cosmic Illusions by Curaçao director Felix de Rooy and actor/writer Norman de Palm, it established a successful production base in diverse theatre and dance before moving into Nes street, the centre of alternative theatre in the heart of Amsterdam, in 1993. Ironically they turned the tables on slavery by establishing a multicultural theatre in a former tobacco auction hall. Associated in the latter years with the director and latter day Labour Party politician, John Leerdam, it became 'the engine' of intercultural theatre for the whole of the Netherlands. Primarily drawing on Surinamese and Antillean audiences, it has itself diversified among a Turkish, Moroccan and Dutch public.

The company produces one or two shows of its own each year— such as a Caribbean interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet*, with hip hop and R&B musical accompaniment, directed by Leerdam and the new artistic director, Khaldoun Elmecky, which played in a garage car park in Bijlmer immigrant district of Amsterdam in 2000. The 2003 production, *Trouw en de Liefde* (Faithful in Love), a play by Birgitta Hacham, based on research into the love lives of immigrants living in Bijlmer, explored the personal values, attitudes and prejudices of a Turk, a Moroccan, a Surinamese, an Antillean and an indigenous Dutchman. This play won the Hollandse Nieuwe Festival for new Dutch writers, an example of how Cosmic promotes not only performers but also culturally diverse writers. As it defines it: "We give theatre makers from a diversity of backgrounds the opportunity to make a production and co-production with our help in our theatre," fostering a 'fruit bowl'

concept of theatre, in which “artists from different cultures look for a cultural mix without losing their own identity.” (Cosmic Theatre, website)

Made in Da Shade, the first hip hop theatre company set up in 1992, defines itself by contrast as ‘multidisciplinary’ and ‘urban theatre’ very much oriented to contemporary culture and society: “Theatre is about now: alive and direct,” (Made in da Shade website) As the co-founder, Marjorie Boston, expressed it: “It reflects the urban youth culture which is the culture of today” (Interview Boston, 2003) Although inspired by hip hop, they integrate acting and scriptwriting with dancing, rap, visual arts, tagging, DJ and computer generated soundscapes and interactivity. Whilst their first production *Shade* in 1994 dealt with identity, recent productions have moved away from ethnic to other kinds of contemporary social issue, experimenting with radical new forms of perception and relationship to the audience – such as V.O.O.D.O. (1998) a ‘zap’ performance that allows the audience to “mentally stroll through the show and mix and match as they please.” (Review in *Trouw*, 7.10.98) with a DJ sampling and mixing on stage against a video backdrop of arresting images foregrounded by shifting scenes of build up to a noir death inspired by *Diary of a Hitman*, played out against another story of a love triangle, undermined by AIDS. *Diggydotcom* (2001-2002) the result of a long-term collaboration with the Youth Ensemble of Atlanta, USA, dealt with the borderline between fantasy and reality in the virtual world of the web, “mixing theatre, beautiful videoimages and amazing dance”, and engaging the audience and actors in direct interactive communication. (de Lange, 1.10.01; Made in da Shade, 2003) They have branched out into TV with a Dutch version of the English sitcom *The Kumars at number 42*” transposed into the backyard studio of a Surinamese family, with Marjorie Boston as the granny. They also market CDs of their musical compositions and collaborations. Their latest production *Mothership Connection*, also concerned with trying to recoup lost fame, with live music by Senna was performed in both the Cosmic summer tent and in Amsterdam city theatre, the Stadsschouwburg.

Made in da Shade has proved inspirational in the urban hip hop theatre scene, which evolved out of the music scene. Rotterdam’s Lef, began life as a new wave music venue that faced with competition from bigger city centre venues, redefined itself as a youth theatre. It quickly shifted from issue-based theatre-in-education to multicultural theatre with post-school aspiring rappers, DJs and breakdancers from a hip hop milieu, drawing on a job creation scheme for the young unemployed to fund it.

They have since become established with 10 actors on permanent contract but without structural funding as yet. Touring the Netherlands, Surinam and Aruba in the Antilles and following up their performances with dance, drama, music and rap workshops means the performance schedule of 90-100 shows a year is very intensive, but ensures 40% of their earnings from sales. (Interview, Van der Most, 28.3.03) When they began, the material for the shows was generated through improvisation from biography-based workshops, but the work has evolved through a collective writing process with a scriptwriter. In their last production the players picked the director and designer and worked collaboratively with them to develop the show. *The Shorties* were two plays, incorporating multi-media which they developed with Made in da Shade. Their new large-scale project is for a multi-media hip hop opera with a commissioned libretto to be done jointly by a Dutch director, a hip-hop musician and multi-media artist in a new kind of collaboration. This marks a turning point, from 'bottom-up' projects which they will continue to do once a year, to two bigger shows a year, one touring and one in a big location. (Interview, Van der Most, 28.3.03.)

The performers in Rotterdams Lef are self-taught and have acquired training in the company and now are in high demand for TV commercials, soaps and dramas, but remain committed to the company. Jolanda Spool, the 29 years old artistic director of Dutch/Surinamese origin, is a key reference point for them, as 'performer, peer-educator and director'. (Lavrijsen, 2001) She now divides her time between the Rotterdams Lef and Cosmic Theatre. (Interview Van der Most, 28.3.03)

Jolanda Spool also founded Dox, a multicultural youth theatre group in Utrecht, which does crossover work with music, dance, art and video, drawing on cabaret and local theatre traditions. Its production *Lonsome Cowboy* won the Audience Prize (de Publieksprijs) at the National Festival of Amateur Theatre in 2001 (Lavrijsen, 2001) *Bring my Family Back* (2003) portrayed young people's problems of growing up, dealing with family conflicts, personal rejection, sex and love, through the eyes of characters from different cultural backgrounds with different personal stories: a Hindustani boy with an alcoholic father, a young Moroccan in love caught between images of home and contemporary youth culture, an African boy rejected by a Dutch girl for speaking French. As the Surinamese Dutch drama practitioner, Annette De Vries put it:

*The differences are mainly attributed to the life story, characteristics and choices of the youngsters themselves,.... Dox approaches the performance's themes from the universal and individual perspective,*

*and only when necessary from the cultural perspective. This yields a product which is mysteriously short on 'multicultural' or the 'intercultural', but in essence contains all the more of these qualities.*  
(De Vries, 2003)

ISH, is a highly successful, Amsterdam-based, new style hip hop company that has pushed the sporting dimension of hip hop furthest. Headed by the skater Marco Gerris, it offers musical theatre spectaculars like ISH, ISH2 and Triple ISH which combine ice-skating, street and break dance, martial arts, acrobatics and bunjie jumping with music mixed by DJs on stage. This potent kind of dance event appeals widely to young people on the club circuit who have been drawn into the theatre houses all over the Netherlands as well as outdoor venues. ISH has also toured widely in the United States, Canada, Japan, China and Brazil as well Europe. The four artists in the company are self-styled 'born on the street' skaters, and include a trial biker and downhill racer. Like other hip hop companies aware of their roots, they share their skills through training workshops in the form of master-classes in everything from skate dance and martial arts to theatrical expression and deejaying. (ISH website; Interview Bakker, 23.8.03)

NES, the foundation which programmes the Frascati and de Brakke Grond theatres, two venues 50 metres apart in the same street as Cosmic, is dedicated to research and development in 'the meeting cultures', whether ethnic, sub- and high cultures or of different genres and media. It puts on four or five independent productions a year, as well as inviting Dutch and Flemish guest performances from contemporary dance, theatre, live arts and fusions of club- street- and high culture.

Whereas Cosmic programmes mono- and intercultural work of both young and established artists and creates big productions that can transfer to the Amsterdam royal stage, NES nurtures less established young culturally diverse companies and individual artists, supporting their subsidy applications, writing and dramaturgy, helping them to raise their artistic level. The main sources of funding for this work are Amsterdam City Council, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, the Amsterdam Fonds voor de Kunst (Arts Fund) audience development section. Private funders like the Doen Foundation (lottery money) and the VSB Bank have become interested in cultural diversity in the last five years. Doen also supports the more commercial side and VSB longer term enhancement of the professionalism and stability of new companies over a two- year period.

About 40% of NES's programme consists of new cross-cultural work, most of which is created by young practitioners and is aimed at young audiences and a third of NES-production unit's finance goes to this area of work. (Interview with Moos Van Den Broek) In response to the new cultural circuits of young people, 60% of which are of mixed or non-Dutch origin, NES has tried to connect in new ways with culturally diverse youth. In 2000 it appointed Moos Van Den Broek, who came from a small theatre on the outskirts of Amsterdam where she had developed collaborations between experimental dancers, fresh from the academy and amateur break- and street dancers. (Interview Moos Van Den Broek, 31.3.03) Now the annual NES festival *Something Raw* gives an overview of new developments in dance, combining and confronting these different 'dance scenes'.

NES management board invited a group of young people of diverse backgrounds to set up their own artistic committee to put on their own festival – which has become - *Breaking Walls*. Among the artists and shows in the first festival were ISH and Jonzi D from England. (Comedia Report, 13.2.03.) As Moos Van Den Broek sums up "We tried to build a bridge between work youngsters make and avant garde theatre." (Interview with Moos Van Den Broek, 31.3.03.)

Through collaboration with a social worker in a youth centre in Bijlmer, the multicultural area to the south east of Amsterdam, a youngster group was set up called *Likeminds*. To foster links with these talented young immigrants NES organised a training programme with professional playwrights and directors, and staged their first production. This group is now independent, taking workshops from international stars like Will Power, Benji Reid and Lemn Sissay. The youngsters themselves are providing workshops for their peers. A number of members have gone into professional and technical training in theatre and multimedia. NES is still coaching them and produces a yearly performance with *Likeminds*.

While some hip hop theatres emerging from the second generation are blossoming, for other diverse companies the future is uncertain. Alba, a young, very mixed company in the Hague is becoming established, but is still only project funded (Interview Moos Van Den Broek, 31.3.03), MAP – Multi Arts Production, a multidisciplinary Surinamese-based theatre group, run by David Schwab, another collaborator from Cosmic and Rotterdams Lef, and now supported by NES, is still in the development stage, in its attempt to nurture professional actors, but is subsidised. (Interview Moos Van Den Broek, 31.3.03; Lavrijsen, 2001) Delta, an Indonesian and Moluccan theatre group who work with NES, are also not yet firmly established

although they have attained four-year structural funding. (Interview Moos Van Den Broek, 31.3.03) Jongeren Theater 020, based in Amsterdam is a youth theatre formerly linked to Artisjok 020, some of whose actors also train with ISH, but whose reputation has suffered since it changed artistic direction.

Another popular and commercially successful strand of intercultural entertainment is that of stand-up comedy. Surinamese comedians stand out: Jorgen Raymann who has graduated from the small venue circuit to 800-1000 seat theatres, with his own TV comedy show "Comedy Factory," and since 2001, his late night show "Raymann is laat" (Jörgen Raymann website) and Erik Van Sauers who attracts such huge audiences that he has no need for foundation backing, and is also doing his own T.V. show with satirical comment on the news. (Interview Sasha Dees, 31.3.03.)

Another very different strand out of which multicultural theatre has evolved in the Netherlands is community based theatre and museums. Peter van der Hurk of the Wijk Theater, located within Theater Zuidplein in Rotterdam, was drawn to alternative theatre through the influence of Peter Brook's concept of the empty space, the experimental Mama theatre in lower Eastside New York and Augustus Boal's method of working with the oppressed. (Interview Peter Van der Hurk, 28.3.03) Through his own study of dramaturgy, he developed interview-based research on people's life stories which are then dramatised. Based on the south side of Rotterdam in a formerly dense working class port area, the neighbourhoods are now 80-90% immigrant so the dramatic raw material now mirrors this changing reality. The plays tour intensively in small theatres and community centres across the city. Although not aimed at training professional actors, nevertheless he has encouraged many young Turkish and Moroccan actors to go on to theatre school. Moos Van Den Broek was also a former pupil of his. (Interview Moos Van Den Broek) While Wijk does not have to struggle to attain funding, it finds it hard to attract professional directors who are committed to this kind of socially engaged theatre. (Interview with Van Der Hurk, 28.3.03.)

In 1998 Theater Zuidplein was designated by the City of Rotterdam as the main venue for cultural diversity, in recognition of the growing multicultural nature of the city. It has pioneered a method of multicultural programming by committee. In what its artistic director, Ruud Breteler, refers to as a 'demand-led' model, representatives of different ethnic minorities, proportionate to their population size in the city, make up a youth and an adult committee, which select the multicultural programme for the season, in conjunction with the managing director who retains

financial control. They have free access to productions in the Netherlands and abroad, and can also recommend productions from their countries of origin that they have heard or read about. (Breteler, 2003) The method raises controversial issues of representativeness, conservative bias against the unfamiliar, and loss of artistic autonomy with this kind of proportional, audience-led approach and the problematic carving up of Zuidplein's programme into 30% multicultural, aimed at ethnic minorities, and 70% not. However, the measurable effects of the experiment have been close contact between the committee representatives and their respective communities which has heightened interest in the theatre programme and drawn diversified audiences. It is envisaged as transitional, until multicultural programming becomes integral to Zuidplein's culture. (Breteler, 2003)

The Volksbuurt Museum – of Working Class Neighbourhoods - in The Hague – has developed a similar method of programming through 'ambassadors' of different cultural groups. In an innovative and unusual approach for a traditional labour museum, it has responded to the growth of a multicultural society by combining "a conventional museum with a theatre and other forms of encounter, imagination and interchange", including an intercultural reinterpretation of history through the migrant experience. (VBM website) It conceives the theatre as a stepping stone between western and non-western, traditional and innovative art forms, linking a diverse working class neighbourhood to city centre cultural institutions and helping young talent to develop and create future 'ethnic theatre expertise.' (VBM website) It is a novelty of the Netherlands that museums, not only this labour museum, but also anthropological museums such as the Museums of World Cultures in Rotterdam and Utrecht and the Tropen Institute in Amsterdam have theatres which put on performances by cultural minorities. RAST – a Turkish/Kurdish theatre company - for example, performs on this museum circuit as well as at NES, Cosmic and Theater Zuidplein.

Turkish theatre is itself, diversifying. Alongside RAST are Teatro Kina which plays to full houses in alternative venues, never on the professional circuit, Krater which operates in south-east Amsterdam, and Galyp, an unsubsidised theatre in Rotterdam. RAST now reaches a wider audience, in its attempt to create "a new 'language' for the theatre – a fusion between western and eastern theatre traditions." (RAST website) It is made up of both young and mature actors who do text-based drama, both classics, including Nazim Hikmet and contemporary Turkish and Dutch Turkish works. In their current season they have programmed *Antigone*, and *In De Schaduw van mijn Vader* (In the Shadow of my Father) – a story of first generation

Turkish migrant workers to the Netherlands. They are collaborating with a Flemish writer on their own histories in Amsterdam and with Dutch, Belgian and Turkish directors. Their work has been recognised by the Ministry of Culture in the award of four year structural funding. As well as theatre workshops in Amsterdam, they also run an intercultural theatre workshop in Turkey and tour in the Kurdish area, as well in Germany.

The Turkish Theatre Festival in Amsterdam provides a showcase for contemporary Turkish theatre companies from both the Netherlands and Turkey, but the main intermediaries for culture from the Turkish mainland are commercial operators within the Turkish community. It has thrown up a circuit of young cultural entrepreneurs who risk all without any government backing to bring over soap stars and major singers, filling large spaces of 500-3,000 seats. For example, Sultan of the Dance – renamed Fire of Anatolia- a 120 strong dance company- is being brought over in the autumn of 2003 by a Turkish maths student. (Interview, Bakker 23.8.03) Turkish dance in the Netherlands, like Moroccan dance has not gained a foothold as it provides a very insecure career without government support. (Van Den Broek, 31.3.03)

The Moroccan community does not have the same kind of developed cultural network or presence as the Turkish, but a handful of disparate actors and stand up comedians like the Berber Najib Am Hali. At first, Dutch Moroccan actors did not want to play roles which dealt with their background but sought acceptance for main roles in Dutch companies. (Interview with Timmers, 28.3.03) However, some intercultural work does take place with, for example, the Dutch experimental theatre Olaf Toneel, in Rotterdam, which developed an artistic relationship with Moroccan actors through its artistic director, Gerrit Timmers. Timmers attended the Fituc Festival of international drama schools in Casablanca and reported on three plays for three Rotterdam theatres – the Schouwburg, the Landterfenster and Zuidplein, in the early 90s. Theater Zuidplein responded so years before it became the official multicultural theatre in the city, it invited the first Moroccan play to Rotterdam. An exchange programme with the Casablanca theatre Mouley Rachid grew out of it and the respective directors visited each other's theatres. This rooted Moroccan theatre exchange in the city and visits by Waterhuis and Wijk Theater followed - Peter Van Der Hurk took a play with Dutch Moroccan young people to Morocco.

Timmers himself who comes from a mixed Indonesian and Dutch background, came across *La Civilisation, ma Mère* by Driss Chraïbi, while in Morocco and read it on the flight home. The story of an illiterate mother who learnt to read and write like

Timmers' own mother, struck a chord with him, so in homage to her, he decided to stage the story. In 1994-5 he staged it with Moroccan actors. The collaboration "felt so good, so I decided to continue," but only when he could find an appropriate subject which "comes from my heart." (Interview, Timmers, 28.3.03.) So a collaboration began every other year that then became yearly – including an adaptation of *Othello* which transposed the central character to a General Schwarzkopf figure, a white chief briefing Egyptian and Saudi officers in French after the first Gulf War, exploiting the tragic possibilities of linguistic misunderstanding and racial tensions, with an Dutch/Arab audience. In 2002 they put on a condensed and comic version of Ibsen's *Nora* which challenged the Moroccan fundamentalist opposition to changing the Civil Code to allow women to divorce and inherit, portraying Nora, secretly in love and borrowing money behind her husband's back, with comic symbolism.

However, the project for 2001 Porto European Capital of Culture misfired when Timmers tried to dramatise the French Algerian Asha Dubar's, feminist retelling of the story of the Prophet from the point of view of Aisha, his young wife who had given rise to many holy sayings. The production had to be pulled when one actor was reported as saying that the follower of the Prophet should not be shown on stage, and then the lead actress argued likewise for the wife of the Prophet which undermined the point of the production - to show a Muslim audience that Aisha had had a prominent role at the time of the Prophet. However, the situation was partially retrieved by staging a debate at Theater Zuidplein which 700 people attended, giving young Muslims the chance to debate with other young Moroccans who protested their right to see the play, against the Imam's injunction against it. (Interview with Gerit Timmers, 28.3.03.)

City based festivals which have provided a showcase for multicultural work have also now become increasingly intercultural or exemplars of the new urban youth culture. For example, Dunya has grown since 1995 into one of the biggest multidisciplinary outdoor events in the Netherlands based on world music, jazz, poetry, storytelling and theatre, expanding from 6 to 14 stages with 200,000 people attending. When in 1996 it started collaborating with the De Doelen Concert Hall, and the Schouwburg, the latter's director, Annemie Vanackere opposed ethnically separate stages, and began to experiment by presenting Chinese, Moroccan, Tunisian and Israeli companies with simultaneous translation or subtitles, in a not wholly successful attempt to attract both white and Arabic audiences. (Vanackere, 2001) A sign of the growing density of relationships and networks in the Dutch scene is the emergence of independent intercultural producers like Han Bakker, formerly of Dogtroep

international theatre, who set up the Phenix Foundation and advised the Dutch government on how to expand its cultural relations with Turkey (Interview with Bakker, 23.8.03) and Sasha Dees, who manages the international promotion and tours of Made in Da Shade, and Dutch Surinamese artist Jörgen Raymann, and also produces dance and theatre companies in Surinam for Surifesta and Paramaribo Theatre Festival. (Sasha Dees website and Interview, Sasha Dees, 31.3. 03.)

. The Dutch performing arts scene is clearly marked by a corporate multiculturalism framework in both positive and negative respects. The institutionalised programming model tends to individuals as representatives of ethnic minority communities and artists as ‘ambassadors’ of a particular culture although artists themselves are claiming the right to be treated as individuals and not to be ethnically designated. On the other hand, many minorities have a cultural presence and public profile, including those, like Turks and Moroccans who came as *Gastarbeiter* and not as citizens from former colonies. This stands in contrast to England, where multiculturalism is confined to the large established minorities from former colonies and Germany, where *Gastarbeiter* were long denied citizenship and have a culturally separate and marginal status. Although the Netherlands has a sixth of the Turkish population that Germany has, it has a more developed theatre scene than they do. The degree of interrelationship within the sector in the Netherlands also stands out. It demonstrates a high degree of responsibility taken for the health of fellow companies and intergenerational reproduction of the sector through training new talent and nursing young companies. This has created an intercultural performance circuit largely in alternative theatres rather than a breakthrough into the mainstream.

The degree to which training is self-provided indicates one of the key weaknesses – that the drama schools do not attract or retain young people from cultural minorities. 99% of them leave after the first year, as they do not feel at home. (Interview, Van Der Hurk, 28.3.03) Jörgen Tjon A Fong, a Surinamese Dutch actor, praises De Nieuw Amsterdam for its one-year intensive, multi-disciplinary course but even there he felt the risk of being labelled ‘an “immigrant” theatre maker ... You are made an immigrant by the outside world. I still often have to weigh up whether to follow the regular path or my own.’ (Cited in Roze, 2002) The collaboration of the Utrecht school with NES is one step to addressing this deficit.

Although there has been a shift in the artistic self-definition of second generation artists which has enabled them to challenge and expand the boundaries of

what is mainstream, even within theatres that host, nurture and co-produce these young companies like NES and Zuidplein, there is a separation between their main productions and their multicultural production, expressed in proportionate terms of 60% 40% or institutional separation of majority from minority cultures. The conceptual shift from multicultural to intercultural art has not been mirrored as yet, in the staffing and management of the institutions, which even in the alternative theatres remains overwhelmingly white.

### 3. France

#### *The Cultural Framework and Funding*

French national culture has been dominated by monumental high culture, symbolically representing the state. The preservation of the cultural heritage and the French language long dominated the policy. However, Jack Lang, the influential Minister of Culture under Mitterrand, broke the mould, by doubling the national cultural budget and shifting priorities to contemporary initiatives and projects. The regional decentralisation enacted in 1982-3 ensured a growth of cultural expenditure in the cities and regions, with a noticeable shift in growth to the localities which now account for 60% of overall cultural spending. (ERICarts, France, 2002, 12) Performing arts take the largest proportion of the cultural budget at national, regional and municipal levels 21%, 35% and 19% respectively. (1996 figures, ERICarts, France, 2002, 33-34) This means that funding has shifted significantly away from buildings and infrastructure to cultural animation and performance.

Along with the prestige *grands projets* which became a hallmark of the Mitterrand government, Lang set up Cultural Action Zones (ZACs) in the run-down areas of small towns of 50-60,000 population, to develop local cultural activity and create a national circuit for contemporary work. There are now over 60 ZAC designated centres in French provincial towns. The Ministry of Culture itself decentralised its offices, setting up regional directorates for cultural affairs which operated cultural development agreements with regional and local authorities and project agreements for 7 years investment in cultural projects, creating a long-term planning structure (ERICarts, France, 2002)

From the promotion of French high culture, the emphasis has shifted at a national level to extending access to high culture to everyone, enhancing creativity

and defending cultural diversity in a globalised world, understood in terms of national identity. (ERICarts, *France*, 2002,13) The republican conception of citizenship based on equal rights for all born or naturalised in the territory denies recognition of minority communities based on ethnic, religious, linguistic or other cultural criteria. (ERICarts, *France*, 2002, 15) Likewise no census data or statistics are collected on these groups. However in practice, special measures have been adopted for areas of social disadvantage which disproportionately affect ethnic minorities. The commitment to creativity means that there is special support available for drama, dance and circus companies among others. (ERICarts, *France*, 2002, 37) A remarkable sea-change in France, previously renowned for its statism has come about through the growth of civil society, witnessed by the vibrancy of cultural associations – 160,000 of them - 3.2 % of which are theatre- and dance-based. Music underwent an explosion of groups in the 1980s - 135,000 – and they acquired special status. Again this sector has a strong concentration of ethnic minority young people and the music festivals are made up of culturally diverse French musicians and traditions.

Significantly in 2002 Michel Duffour, the Secretary of State for Heritage and Cultural Decentralisation, was so impressed by the creative output of friches – alternative centres of cultural production and experimentation established in disused industrial premises converted to cultural use, that he launched a new programme of financial support of €2.8 million per year, for these ‘new territories of art.’ In his address to the international conference of the same name, held at the friche Belle de Mai in Marseilles 14-16 February 2002, he identified in these ‘intermediate spaces’ a new social function of art, as the three qualities of their work: ‘an inventiveness of forms, a convergence of artistic expressions and the reconquest of time for creation’ could not be dissociated from

*the reappropriation of the territory, the yearning .... to revolutionise the experience of work, to refound the city, to build through contact with the other. ....The quest of the senses has by now become the quest for the commonality, for the collective, for togetherness, for respect for the other... the desire for a way of living together, where everyone can be themselves ( Duffour , 14.02.02)*

In the strongly international nature of the gathering he also saw a new kind of artistic co-operation based on global citizenship and a more equal relationship between North and South. (Duffour, 17.01.2002)

The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in promoting national prestige through foreign cultural policy has also transmuted into cultivating cultural diplomacy with former colonies and intercultural exchange through the House of World Cultures and Arab World Institute in Paris (Council of Europe, 1994-5) The 40 drama festivals held in the country are an important showcase for innovative, foreign work. In Avignon theatre festival, the oldest and one of the most radical, 70% of the productions are made or come from outside France. (Council of Europe, 1994-5, 259-283)

### ***The Intercultural Performing Arts***

Owing to the framework of republican citizenship, it was virtually impossible for immigrant artists to establish their own companies twenty years ago. A rare and noticeable exception is the hip hop dance company BlackBlanc Beur. Its founder Jean Djemad has a remarkable biography – born in France of Algerian parents, a doctor at 23 and martial arts and swimming champion, chosen three times for the national team in both sports. A superb athlete, he met Christine Coudin, an experimental choreographer with a catholic knowledge of classical, African, jazz and flamenco dance traditions and together they set up BlackBlancBeur. Beur represented an important strand of Djemad's identity then, which he acknowledges is not a concern of the second generation now.

In 1984, they auditioned 600 young people aged 16-21, in an underground car park, with the aim of transposing what they did on the street to a choreographed stage. They selected 39 who formed the company, working on a non-professional basis. In 1990 the company became professional. Four of the dancers are now political representatives in the town of Trappes, a number are radio presenters and lighting technicians, one is a lawyer and many are dancers or choreographers. (Interview with Djemad, 2003) The company set up in St.Quentin en Yvelines, a suburb of Paris with high unemployment and social distress, but the criteria of selection were aesthetic:

*When we choose a dancer for a piece, we don't choose him because he's black or beur, but because it is the right guy, in the right place to do the right job ...Inside our group there is no black, no blanc no beur. What we live inside the group is personal and we transmit it subjectively.... a new space of invention for each and all together. It is a utopia...our Noah's Ark. (Interview Jean Djemad, 2003)*

When the Left came to power in 1982, Black Blanc Beur distinguished themselves by insisting on the aesthetic as well as social dimensions of their practice which was not understood by either the social sector who saw them as artists, nor by the cultural sector who defined them as social. They received no funding from the Ministry of Culture until 2003, financing the company largely from selling their shows. They only received state subsidy from the social and territorial urban intervention budgets of the region and département of Yvelines. However, their choreographed pieces became renowned for their athleticism and cross-over with other forms of dance, including contemporary, jazz, breakdance and Chinese acrobatics, and for their original music compositions.

The nineteen productions they have performed cover a great range from the larger ensemble *Contre Pieds* football spectacular they took to post-apartheid South Africa, the first foreign company to perform there, to the intimate dialogue between hip hop and African dance performed by Iffra Dia and Lamine Diouf in *Wartane* with Arab-Andalucian music which triumphed at the Rencontres à la Villette festival in 1999, to recent break dance explorations *Break Quintet* with five dancers expressing their individual virtuosity to the ethno jazz of Pablo Cueco (Hanh, 2002) and *Défilles*, acclaimed for bringing feminine protagonists and perspectives to hip hop. (Gya, 26.11.2002) As a result of their artistry and experimental fusions, Black Blanc Beur has found a large international market, in Germany, Spain, northern and Eastern Europe (Djemad, 2003) In June 2002 'it did a triumphant tour of Asia (Cambodia and China)' (*Les Nouvelles*, September 2002) It is significant that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AFAR) provided funding for these tours, recognising the company as a 'representative of France' to the outside world, but the Ministry of Culture did not recognise it internally until now.

The hip hop scene has taken off in a big way in France. Two groups which represent a breakthrough for the second generation artists, running their own companies and gaining credit for being at the experimental edge are Accrorap and Compagnie Käfig, both from the Saint Priest neighbourhood of Lyons. Accrorap, founded in 1989, by four breakdancers including Kader Attou had their first success with *Athina*, which crossed over hip hop with classical ballet and music by Henry Fourès, performed at the International Lyons Biennale of Dance in 1994. It was followed by *Kelkemo* – which dramatised memories of the Bosnian and Croatian refugees they had met in their dance workshops in Zagreb in 1996. In *Anokha*, (2003) they have collaborated with Indian classical dancers – both *kathak* and *bharatanatyam* to produce a balance between 'the suffering of men and the serenity of the gods',

combining esoteric movements born in the seclusion of the temple with the rhetoric of hip-hop born in the social world of the street. From touring Brazil in 1998, and discovering Brazilian hip hop, they collaborated with the Afro-Brazilian hip hop group Quilombo Urbano in the shanty town of Sao Luis. They transplanted this Franco-Brazilian collaboration to the Rhône Alpes region, in a workshop-based project with five Brazilian dancers and four from Accrorap and twenty amateur young people which gave them intensive training, culminating in a touring production in 2000. (Accrorap website)

Compagnie Käfig expresses the diffidence for ethnic characterisation that Djemad indicated, defying journalistic labelling as 'French Algerian' by defining themselves simply as 'French dancers'. (Dréano, 2001,75) In 1998, they took the Lyons Biennale by storm with their production *Récital* that went on to play in Hong Kong and New York. It combined special lighting effects and Arab music mixed with classical – oud and violin with a percussive beat – in an explosive visual performance.

Parc de la Villette in Paris, forms a crucial link in the national and international circuit for hip-hop. This massive modernist complex converted from an ox market and abattoir on the north east side of Paris, brings together urban dance forms and music – above all hip hop - with theatre, film and multimedia under one roof, in a dynamic relationship to the neighbourhood. Since 1996, Philippe Mourrat has run the Rencontres des Cultures Urbaines (Meeting of Urban Cultures – now renamed Rencontres de la Villette) which has created a showcase for multicultural artistic expression of marginalised groups. It has nurtured local non-professional youth groups like Etha Dam, Ozmoz, the Théâtre du Voile déchiré (Theatre of the Torn Veil) which puts on poetic plays for young people on difficult issues of racism and the war in Algeria. However, hip hop has come to predominate integrating black American and African speech, rhythms, gestures and graphics with elements of Brazilian capoeira as well as contemporary European, Arabic and North African dance. In France hip hop, according to Mourrat “was quickly snapped up by immigrant youths, because it answered needs: for transcendence, for challenges, for collective identity.” (Mourrat, 2002) Parc de la Villette also puts on a lively programme of intercultural work, of Moroccan, Jewish, ex Yugoslav writers and performers, on themes of exile, diaspora, solidarity and resistance. *Un voyage pas comme les autres* (A journey not like any other) by the dramaturge Christophe Labas Lafite, staged in 1999 during La Villette's 'Magnetic Nights' in the park, turned the audience into protagonists individually taking on the identity of a real asylum seeker, so they had 'to live for an hour in their skin' (Les Nuits Magnétiques website) and go through a series of spaces,

confronting the bureaucratic and physical obstacles to gaining recognition as a refugee in France. (Interview Labas Lafite, 2003)

However, for the last twenty years, the *friches* have provided virtually the only alternative space where 'culturally diverse' work could flourish. As a cultural outgrowth of the post 1968 social movements, they were committed to socially engaged art and situated themselves in run-down, working class, and immigrant areas. Consequently they developed a socially embedded artistic practice which became reflected in their work and relationships with both diverse artists and communities.

Collectif 12 is a significant example, located in Mantes la Jolie, in the greater Paris region, an area of 98 different ethnic groups notorious for its hard housing estates and the riots in 1991-2 against the police in which three people were killed. According to Catherine Boskowitz, the artistic and theatre director, it is important for them to feel 'the emotion of the city... Each of us needs to be with the society and to feel what happens, and after...to translate it in our productions.'" (Interview with Catherine Boskowitz, 2003) Her theatre work focuses on high literary texts especially Genet, and the Ivory Coast writer, Amadou Kourouma which deal with the post-colonial legacy. For example in Kourouma's *Allah n'est pas obligé*, she uses a popular cabaret form to lay bare the black man at its core. A current art project which is being realised by their set designer, Philippe Niorth, in collaboration with artists in Beirut and Amman confronting western and vernacular images of the Mediterranean and questions of violence, also entails a Genet text- his reportage *Quatre Heures à Chatila*.

Australian, Anna Mortley of the Compagnie Praxis dance company within Collectif 12, testifies to the active artistic and social influence living in Mantes la Jolie has had on her work, enabling her to perform a solo piece in a short skirt in Tunisia, dealing with female sickness as a symbol of social malaise, which was warmly received by many young Muslim women who came up to talk to her afterwards. (Interview Anna Mortley, 2003) The company engages in workshops with the local community for which it can access 'action culturelle' project funding. They are also involved in artistic exchanges with dancers from other cultures – such as Aborigines who visited Collectif 12, are going to Australia to continue the collaboration, but funding is restricted and only possible as part of a festival. Although the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, French embassy in Australia and Australian government are financing the trip, it amounts to a minor grant. The Ministry of Culture does not recognise their company partly because Mortley's partner Stephanie Chêne was

trained in acting and Anna in visual arts so they do not come recommended from the main dance schools, but it also finds it difficult to categorise cross-over art forms - for example their proposed *Antigone* was turned down by the dance section of the Ministry because it had five minutes of text in it. They were advised to try the theatre section where it was rejected as dance so the project did not receive funding.

Although the friche collaborates primarily with culturally diverse artists, Boskowitz's own background in theatre in Aubervilliers where the director encouraged her to do theatre work on the local housing estates, has also shaped Collectif 12's relations with the local communities. For example, Monique, the cook, put on literacy classes for local immigrant women which led to an artistic collaboration between 5 of them and the choreographer, culminating in 'a beautiful performance'. (Interview Catherine Boskowitz 2003; See also *Le Carré dans la Mare*, 2002) To attract audiences from the locality, the marketing manger goes to the local market to spread information, and the Madagascan caretaker maintains close links with the Madagascan community who make food for special performances.

Mains d'Oevres is another major friche near Saint Denis on the outskirts of Paris, set up by the indefatigable Fazette Bordage, who intuited deindustrialisation and growing unemployment would 'reverse the idea of art as a luxury' and put it 'at the heart of society.' (Fazette Bordage, 2003) She has fought for twenty years for the institutional funding and policy support for alternative spaces for young artists that is just beginning to take shape. Through fighting to establish the first friche in France, Comfort Moderne in Poitiers, which attracted huge audiences but took 7 years to get funded, she 'discovered citizenship.' Her critique of French cultural policy is that it has been defined 'from above', not through a collaborative process with artists. Politicians have then wanted to define the programme and personnel as well. The danger now with putting alternative culture at the centre of policy is that they will want to control it. (Interview Fazette Bordage, 2003)

Many of the friche ideals are put into practice at Mains d'Oevres –as a creative laboratory incubating new, small companies across different art forms by giving them artistic residencies and spaces for 1-2 years. As well as being a centre of experimentation and production, it hosts social and civic associations, and through the Pepinière project seeks to build up the creative, capacity of organisations and local people to initiate projects and networks, working in slum areas in the youth centres and library. The Maison D'Algerie seeks to establish a new image and relations between Algerians and French people. The company of two sisters, Celles qui

Marchent, have developed storytelling walks around the locality, working with local inhabitants in a nearby school. The Arts Factories website, which Mains d'Oeuvres is creating, is collecting material on all 'citizens artistic initiatives' and developing an archive on working with communities through innovative forms of art in education, and around memory and history. Mains d'Oeuvres is thus, a 'building without walls', but also acts as a meeting place for artists and local residents, open from 9.30 till 2.a.m in the morning.

Two of the dance companies which it has in residence indicate the meaning of 'cultural diversity' in this context. Compagnie Ixkisit, was founded by the Brazilian choreographer Joel Borges, not only to present his own work, that crosses disciplinary and geographical boundaries but to develop young dancers. Through a decentralised co-operation agreement between municipalities, artistic-led twinning between St. Denis in France and counterparts in Budapest and Lisbon has enabled joint funding for three years of a 'Chantier en Construction' (A building site in the making) Mains d'oeuvres is hosting the French part, with EU funded professional choreography workshops. The project aims to open up non-conventional performance spaces and facilitate artistic networks for productive collaborations. Isabel Andreen who runs Ixkisit, focuses on the problem of funders who want guaranteed material outcomes while being reluctant to finance the space for exchange and experiment (Interview Isabel Andreen, 2003)

Ixkisit's work has also developed an Eastern European dimension through the Week for Dance programme. Seen as 'a time for dialogue and creation supporting structures in geographically sensitive areas', (Ixkisit, 2003, 4) it supports artistic development in the Balkan region, with the first workshop held in Cetinje in Montenegro in 2002. Eight of the fifteen young choreographers were then invited back for a short residency at Mains d'Oeuvres. This kind of interculturalism is at a high international level and only touches on the neighbourhood where a local artist individually takes an initiative and proposes collaboration, such as a young Algerian artist they took to Montenegro. During the residencies, a hip hop workshop was held at the Cap J Youth Centre of St.Ouen, and a jam session with improvisation and contact dance.

Faim de Siècle, is an even more cross-over, mix of backgrounds and art forms. Its founder and choreographer Ibrahim Qurashi, has an Uzbeki/ Yemeni/ Indian background and grew up in Kenya. Qurashi refuses an identity of nationality or place and the company has an ambient existence between Paris and New York. Typically

there are people of a dozen nationalities who collaborate on the projects. They create landscapes with sculptural and architectural elements, visual art, virtual imaging and video projection with special lighting and electronic soundscapes with which the dancers interact. They have presented different versions of Heiner Müller's trilogy *Landschaft mit Argonauten* dealing with the Medea myth in relation to contemporary forms of genocide - *Abandoned Shores*, the first site-specific work of the company played in New York in 1999 and as *Rivage à l'Abandon* at the International Street Arts Festival, Châtillon, in France, then *Shattered Boxes* in 2000, which played at Festival d'Arts Multimédia Urbains, Belfort in France in 2000, and then the extraordinary dark, poetic *Landscapes* which incorporates texts from Brecht, Primo Levi, Mahmoud Darwish with Müller's and takes the audience through seventeen different spaces as a prisoner, detainee, refugee and captive.

The young theatre company in Mains d'Oeuvres, *Du Zieu dans les Bleues*, set up by Nathalie Garraud, as a loose collective, was conceived as a mix between artistic studio theatre and socially inspired work. In 2000, she began working in Lebanon with the *Asiles* NGO and returned 3 times to work on a project with Palestinian refugee children in Beddawi and Nahr el Bahred near Tripoli. Over a period of time – in month long visits, she established a relationship with the Palestinian young people aged 13-20 running a writing workshop in French and Arabic the first time and then developing a workshop around the Edward Bond play *Les Enfants*, which offered roles for 10-15 children and wide scope for them to tell their own stories. At the same time Jerome Hankins, a Bond translator and director put the same play on with children from the Parisian banlieues. Both sets of children exchanged emails and were to meet up in Avignon, to perform both versions. While the Palestinians came over to France and were rehearsing in Marseilles, the Festival was cancelled.

Despite the difficulties of funding this work as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only pays for subsistence, Garraud is undeterred and Mains d'Oeuvres' cheap subscription, 'a gift'. (Interview Nathalie Garraud, 2003) A further project is planned for 2004 bringing together Palestinians and Lebanese who live completely separately in the Lebanon, with French artists. She has already found five actors from each community who want to form the ensemble around the theme of resistance.

When *Du Zieu dans les Bleues* rehearsed for Avignon festival with the Palestinian children, it did so in the Friche Belle de Mai in nearby Marseilles. This gigantic, multidisciplinary cultural centre, situated in disused industrial premises near the station, includes recording studios, writing, sound & voice and theatre workshops.

Its strength lies in music, holding the Hip Hop Logic Festival, and *stages*, but they also programme across a wide range, from world music to the opera, *What's Goin' On*, by Richard Dubelski, based on interviews with immigrants, workers and unemployed in the inner city. However, it also has its own theatre production company, Massalia, which specialises in puppet theatre, a popular art form which attracts a wide audience. It also extends the repertoire by inviting international companies of different traditions such as shadow theatre from Cambodia. The theatre also puts on French classics with a mixed cast – for example Racine's *Britannicus* (2002) with American, African and European actors and provocative contemporary classics such as Bond's, *Les Enfants* (The Children - 2003) working with schools and local groups.

Also in Marseilles, the Théâtre du Merlan, was set up in 1993 in the basement of a shopping centre as a ZAC centre despite it being located in a major city. It serves the mixed northern neighbourhoods of Marseilles, providing workshops with professional artists in 12 different genres including dance and drama writing and provides transport to the theatre and cheap tickets for performances to make the theatre accessible to the poorest population. Josephine Desjardins, the press officer, expressed its purpose thus: "In the quartiers of the North there are a multiplicity of cultures and civilizations. But it is art which enables a common vocabulary." (Theatre Merlan website)

This survey of some intercultural work in France highlights the impact of the civic integration model on multiculturalism in the performing arts. Ethnic categorisation of artists and their work is almost universally refused but that has not made cultural minority artists more equal or prominent than elsewhere. Although the Maghrebin French now dominate the hip hop music and dance scene, a deficit exists in other genres such as text based theatre where almost no commissioning of new writing takes place and power still resides in the hands of 'white' French in the mainstream and the alternative centres.

The friches have nurtured cultural diversity in the sense of mixing diverse art forms and artists, and this includes immigrant, though more usually international, artists from abroad, probably because it has been easier to get project funding for innovative cross-over work from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs than the highly compartmentalised Ministry of Culture. The embedded social practice of the friches has created links with communities through artistic training workshops, educational and urban projects but for the most part, with the exception of hip hop, not channels of entry into professional theatre or dance. On the other hand, decentralisation gave a

huge impetus to local and regional cultural initiatives, such as summer festivals – which expose provincial towns to multicultural and global influences in music, dance and theatre. It also multiplied potential funding streams that young artists and small companies can access for projects. These shifts along with the new commitment to alternative spaces have begun to transform the French performing arts terrain into a post-modern intercultural one.

#### 4. Germany

German theatre still enjoys enormous prestige and market – with 8-10 million opera- and prose theatre-goers alone, and more than 20 million tickets sold each year. Thus it retains a strong national representative role, dominated by high culture with 80% of the subsidies, even after privatisation in the 1990s, going to maintain fixed costs of buildings and staff. (Schäfer, 2003; Woestmeyer 2000) The theatre scene is largely closed off to multicultural influences. It is virtually impossible to found a new theatre under these conditions, only to find space in an existing one. However, the *Intendanten*, who preside over the theatres, occupy a prestigious position in a national market, and generally do not know about or have contact with local minority cultures. (Schäfer, 2003) There are Turkish actors in the mainstream state theatre but no black actors are employed on the permanent staff. They are employed on a one-off basis in ethnically typecast roles. For example, Özlem Soydan, a Berlin-born Turkish actress has difficulty getting any other parts than that of a Turkish woman although she is well-known and has a high reputation. It is also still the case that German actors will be asked to 'black up' to play Othello. (Interview Res Bosshart, April 2003)

The impact of an ethnic conception of national culture and denial of multicultural reality combined with the social marginalisation of immigrants have left their mark on the theatre world, by separating migrant theatre and dance off from what is defined as German culture, and treating it as community-based and therefore 'social' rather than 'artistic', minority language theatre. This may be an appropriate response to recently arrived immigrants or refugees – for example, the amateur Kurdish and Iranian theatre groups, which keep alive cultural traditions, ideals and hope by performing in their own language for their communities. However for the Turkish population of 1.7million, now third generation German born and constituting the largest minority in Germany, it perpetuates their cultural marginalisation and prevents them developing their artistic potential.

There are only two professional Turkish theatres in Germany with their own houses, Alkadesh in Köln (Cologne) and Tiyatrom in Berlin. This constitutes a very limited artistic presence. Yet this cannot be entirely attributed to characteristics of the culture since there are almost 80 amateur groups, which have not secured public funding or recognition. (Interview Arman, 26.6.03) In comparison to the Netherlands, which has Turkish migration a sixth of the size but a much livelier scene, Turkish theatre appears underrepresented and underdeveloped.

Tiyatrom, however is city funded, by the Senate for Cultural Affairs in Berlin, to the tune of €225,000 (c. £145,000) and has been so for 19 years, as a Turkish speaking theatre. Its actors are not salaried but employed on a free-lance basis. It plays to a 78-80% Turkish audience with the other 20-22% German and mixed nationalities. However, it defines the space as 'an intercultural playhouse' (*interkulturelle Spielstätte*) and makes serious efforts to go beyond the ghetto. Yekta Arman, the director, has translated Turkish and Arabic fairy tales, such as *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, *Aladdin's Lamp* and *Captain Sinbad* into German and turned them into plays with music and dance for kindergarten and primary school children. Through their links with schools they have also developed a youth theatre dealing with contemporary problems and conflicts affecting cultural minority teenagers which play in schools and lead to discussions after the performance which have sometimes provoked a negative reaction from teachers. However, airing these issues is seen by Arman as the main virtue of having a German language youth theatre. (Interview Arman, 26.6.03)

Although Muslim parents tend to see acting as not a proper job or secure career for their children, 82 young people attend Arman's youth theatre. Although generally pursued as a hobby, if taken seriously over 5-7 years or more it provides a basic theatre training. Nine students have come out of it so far who have gone on to be professional film, T.V. and stage actors, such as both Mehmet Ergen, Özlem Sajdic, Nesrin Gürsu, Birsal Altan, Selda Islik and Ceyda Kirci.

The adult theatre has a strong focus on music and dance because of the folkloric attraction for the very broad and socially mixed public which ranges from academics to housewives to workers from rural backgrounds with low level education. However they do a wide range of classical and contemporary texts, including western works like Terry Johnson's *Hysteria (Histeri)*. But they do not have the means to commission new work or make adaptations for the stage of the new minority literature which is emerging, (see Harnisch et.al, 1998) and the German stages show no interest in doing so. Tiyatrom has had only episodic relations with

German theatres such as Deutsches Theater who were looking for Turkish actors for one play, so Tiyatrom actors got to know many of their actors. This then led to exchanges with Karusell theatre and the Berliner Ensemble but no co-productions: "It has not yet happened but it could happen." (Interview Yekta Arman, 26.06.03)

The exceptions to this general lack of intercultural interest are few. Kampnagel, the main experimental stage in Hamburg, where Res Bosshart was artistic director from 1994-99, succeeded by the current Croatian director, Gordana Vnuk, undertook some one-off projects with Bosnian refugees, both young people and their parents which culminated in mixed performances. They were funded by the city's Social Affairs Department but the director was paid to put on the production as a social service, so the actors were not paid. (Interview Res Bosshart, April 2003) The only German theatres which are seriously intercultural: Theater Mühlheim an der Ruhr and Meta Theater in Munich, were originally conceived as international, avant garde theatres. As Theater an-der-Ruhr puts it: "Long before the 'multiculturalism' became a goal in Germany, international theatre work was an important and taken-for-granted element of Theater-an-der-Ruhr's artistic work." (Theater-an-der-Ruhr website)

Set in a parkland suburb of Mühlheim by the Rhine, it seems an unlikely location for an intercultural theatre. Yet it draws on a wide catchment area, being next to the large, industrial city of Duisburg and densely populated Ruhr region. Founded in 1980 by Roberto Ciulli, an Italian exile from Milan, where he had run the Globe theatre in the 1960s, with the dramaturge Helmut Schäfer, it is an aesthetically driven theatre, which does interpretations of classical and contemporary texts (such as the ancient Greeks, Shakespeare, Büchner, Goldoni, Chekhov, Kafka, Pasolini, Weiss) with a mixed cast, seeking out a universal theatre language which transcends linguistic and cultural differences. There are seventeen actors in the permanent ensemble including a Mexican, a Serbian and a Kurdish actor and there have been Arab actors in the past. They perform in German but using several languages in performance grew out of its artistic exchange with Middle Eastern countries.

In 1987, it first established an exchange relationship with the State Theatre of Turkey with reciprocal tours of each other's country. By 1994 this developed into the first co-production of Lorca's *The House of Bernardo Alba*, directed by Ciulli and the Turkish director Müge Gürmann with Turkish actors. In 1995 they put on *In the Jungle of the Citie's*, an early Brecht play in the state theatre in Istanbul, performed in Spanish, Turkish and German. *The Silk Road* project taking in collaborations with local actors in the countries on the trade route to China, was developed from 1997 and intense links

subsequently developed with Iran, soon after authors had been purged there and it was culturally cut off. Contrary to this trend, Theater an-der-Ruhr performed at the Fadjr Theatre Festival in Tehran, returning every year and in 2002 staging *The House of Bernardo Alba*, with Iranian actors in the first German-Iranian co-production. Relations with Iraq followed in 2002 when the company went there - the first western theatre to do so since the 1<sup>st</sup> Gulf War, performing 4 plays in Baghdad. In the autumn of 2003 Theater an-der-Ruhr will stage a festival, with the première of Schäfer's adaptation of Genet's *Le Paragone* with a Kurdish actor in the main role, and Genet's searing reportage *Quatre Heures de Chatila*, on the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camp in south Lebanon, as well as Iranian and Tunisian productions. (Schäfer, 20.06.03)

These projects have brought not only critical recognition and prizes (in 1982, 1984, 1988 it won the Grand Prix at Belgrade International Theatre Festival), but also international recognition as ambassadors of Germany from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who finance their foreign tours. Their artistic prominence also brought the local city council round by 1985 to supporting them seriously. Their current budget amounts to a hefty €3.5 million, half of which comes from the city and other state and regional bodies but 50% of it from sales of their productions within the large German theatre market, where many houses buy in productions.

The theatre has a strong regional following but half of the audience, on Schäfer's estimate, are under 25, attracted by their radical aesthetics. Although the cast is mixed, they have found it much harder to draw a culturally mixed audience, especially Turkish. Their experience, confirmed even by the Turkish co-production of *In the Jungle of the Cities*, indicates that even third generation youth whose grandparents came from a rural Anatolian background, are not used to going to the theatre and are not attracted by Turkish actors unless the performance entails traditional music or dance. The company employs two fieldworkers as mediators with local immigrant communities who hold drama workshops in schools – they have links with 150 in the region – and they also use the actors' links with their communities of origin.

Ciulli was responsible for bringing one, of the only two (then existing) gypsy theatres in Europe to Germany when he invited Roma Theater Pralipe from Skopje in Macedonia, to Mühlheim in 1991. At that time their plays were provoking resistance among the Roma audience as the situation for ethnic minorities deteriorated in Yugoslavia, and their funding had been cut off. The company was stranded in Germany as war broke out and Theater-an-der-Ruhr offered them sanctuary and

support in getting established and going on tour (Torch, 2000-1, 25) They obtained an annual grant of Dm 360,000 (≈240,000) from the Cultural Ministry of the North Rhine Westphalia region and developed their own distinctive aesthetic – putting on western classics such as Shakespeare – *Romeo and Juliet*, and modern plays like Brecht’s *Mother Courage* and Lorca’s *Blood Wedding* and *Yerma* in Romanès, relying on body language, colour, rhythm and expressiveness to communicate with a German audience.

Pralipe retained a political dimension to their work – in 1995 giving special performances in the Vienna Burgtheater in protest at the attacks on the Roma population in the Austrian Oberwald, and toured East Germany under the banner *Kultur gegen Gewalt* (Culture against Violence) to counter racist attacks on asylum seekers in Rostock and Hoyerswerde. (Goethe Institute website) They have always drawn on Roma history and literary texts in contemporary productions such as *Tetovirime vogja* (Taetowierte Seelen – Tattooed Souls) by the contemporary Macedonian writer Goran Stefanovski which deals with the tension between an ethnological and living approach to Roma culture and roots, performed at the Intercultural Theatre Festival in Vienna in 1996 (see website); *Die Tinte unter meinem Haut* (The Colour under my Skin) on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Himmler’s decree on the extermination of Roma and Sinti, performed at Documentation and Cultural Centre for German Roma and Sinti Documentation in Heidelberg in December 2002 (Heidelberg Stadtblatt, 11.12.2002) and *Kosovo mon Amour*, performed at the Ruhr Festspiele in 2003.

Despite their international recognition, winning the Ruhr Art and Science Prize in 1994, and co-productions with leading German and foreign theatres, Pralipe’s grant was cut in 2001, just a year after it moved out of Theater-an-der-Ruhr and transferred to Düsseldorf. Senior politicians who had praised the company, such as the President of the Republic and former Minister President of the region, Johannes Rau, and the current Minister-President of the region and his Green Minister of Culture, did not attend Pralipe’s 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration. (Ortmann, 18.01.01.) They have not acted to reverse this funding decision which endangers the future presence of Pralipe in Germany. (Polke, 0.4.05.00.)

Meta Theater, also set in the countryside in a modernist Bauhaus space designed by Axel Tangerding, the theatre’s founder, also has its origins as an international, experimental theatre, but of a very sensual and poetic kind, incorporating movement, dance, music, lighting and even sculpture (in the 1991 production of *Words are Dwellings out of Blocks in Space*.) Rather than text-based, it set out as an anthropological research-based theatre, exploring world cultures and

theatrical traditions –beginning with Japanese Noh theatre, Indian movement and Chinese opera, drawing on universal themes of madness and death in the early work and biblical and creation myths as it has developed further. Grotowski's influence is evident in the search for what is common between world cultures and the differences which exist beyond language. However Axel Tangerding has also absorbed an Asian concept of the stage easily shifting from the outside to the inner world, although he has not yet done a full intercultural co-production.

Attuned to intercultural work, Tangerding was readily receptive to engage in such collaboration closer to home, when in 1991 a friend, Ellen Stewart, of the Mama theatre, New York and UNESCO's Heritage and Culture section pressed him to put the story of the Assyrians she had discovered at the nearby Augsburg summer festival, on stage. They turned out to be asylum seekers of the Christian Assyrian minority from Kurdistan, descendants of the survivors of the great massacre of their people along with the Armenians and Greeks by the Ottoman Turks in 1917. In Augsburg, which is a small city but with a higher percentage of immigrants -20%- than Munich, there is a community of 2,000 - many of whom have now become citizens. As full-time workers, they could only collaborate on an artistic project in the evenings and at weekends, so over a two-year period they worked with Tangerding on a production which told the story of the massacre and their history, culminating in the bilingual epic, *Gilgamesh*, which opened the Augsburg festival in 1993. The effect of seeing foreign workers on stage caused a major stir. It was so significant they also went on tour at weekends and in the holidays to the main German festivals, Vienna and Spoleto.

It was followed up in 1998 by *Babylon*, a reinterpretation of the eastern creation myth also performed in Aramaic and German in the main city theatre, incorporating their own songs, dances and children's plays. This was awarded the *Bundesverdienst Kreuz* (Federal Service Cross) the highest national honour in Germany. The current project for 2005 has a symbolic resonance – as it will be inaugurated at the *Friedenfest* - Peace Festival on August 8<sup>th</sup>, the 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1555 Treaty of Augsburg peace pact between Catholics and Protestants. The artistic collaboration has been extended to other minority faiths – Jews and the 5,000 strong Allahvit community of progressive Muslims (who do not worship in mosques or wear the veil) around the shared myth of *Lilith* – the ambivalent figure of the precursor of Eve- who appears in some guise in Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The aim is to contribute to a new definition of peace – between cultures, especially migrant cultures by identifying the

roots they have in common rather than their differences. (Interview Axel Tangerding, 2.7.03)

Meta Theater has to fight to get these projects funded by the city. When asked what problems he had funding these projects he replied to the point, “Only problems. If you succeed you are lucky.” (Interview Axel Tangerding, 2.7.03) The *Lilith* project has been lauded by the politicians but their fear of the unknown outcome of such innovative work combined with budget cuts, have made them reluctant to fund it. They want a final script and not a long-drawn out collaborative process. To cut costs, they want the city theatre to put it on rather than develop over a period of time costly collaboration with amateurs from these minority communities. In response to this lack of political will, Tangerding argues “I want to be part of the cultural policy. I want to oblige the politicians to have this kind of intercultural work.” (Interview Tangerding, 2.7.03) So he has developed a strategy of forming a coalition using the desire of Augsburg City Council to become European Capital of Culture in 2010 - with interculturalism as the theme – as a lever. This illustrates his case of how artists themselves must become politically inventive, offering the complex artistic collaborative process as a project within a narrative linked to public celebration, with an opening that will attract the press and gain critical and public attention. Meta Theater, even with its international renown and artistic success working with migrants, is only able to undertake such projects about once every five years.

Thus, the German theatre scene is not devoid of intercultural experience but it is exceptional in both senses of the word. For the wealth of the German theatre, in funding, sheer scale, and size of the public, the interaction with minority cultures and scope for presentation of their work on German stages is markedly absent. The two funded minority theatres have virtually no public profile or impact beyond their minority community. In this case, the German ethnic conception of culture and citizenship appears largely to account for this exceptionalism – the lack of visibility, promotion and development of minority cultures in theatre and the lack of engagement or interest by established German houses in investing in artistic collaboration, and commissioning with immigrant artists.

## 5. Austria

Austria resembles the German situation in a many ways. From the turn of the century Vienna rapidly absorbed migrants from the Balkans and Central Europe and

assimilated them into the German language. Its modernism was imprinted with folk motifs from Moravian peasant designs to Yiddish in literature. (Wischnbart, 1996) However, the national conception of culture to which the Austrian Republic was heir, was German-based high culture without a memory of its diverse cultural origins. Czech or Slovene artists who did not assimilate or produce their work in German were marginalised. This still influences the underlying conception of Austrian culture today. Performance in minority languages puts the theatre outside the mainstream and ensures funding only as a community project even if the department, the subsidy and the theatre are designated as 'intercultural'. Yet minority theatres which engage in a serious intercultural practice by developing a new theatrical language, using multiple languages and/or non-verbal body language, music, dance and visual arts in line with contemporary post-modern practice, receive no recognition.

Although its largest immigrant communities are recent refugees from the Balkans, its second largest community of Turks, who came as *Gastarbeiter* thirty or forty years ago without settlement or citizenship rights and are also marginalised by the funding system. Funding for culture is primarily a responsibility of the provinces and cities - the federal government only controls the big monuments and symbols of national culture- including the national theatres, (ERICarts, 1994-5) Vienna which is both the city and region, channels its funds primarily to the prestigious established houses. International cultural policy, which is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has, since EU entry in 1995, been oriented to cultural exchange with the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Third World countries through establishing Austrian Cultural Forums including in Krakow (1989) Bratislava (1990) Prague (1993) Kiev (1994) (Ankara, (2000) Belgrade (2001) oriented to contemporary culture and innovation on tradition rather than upholding Austrian national prestige. The diminishing importance of state boundaries, it argued: 'offers international cultural policy the opportunity to showcase cultural diversity as a reflection of the wealth of human life and experience and thus to demolish the fear of unfamiliar cultures.' As cultural policy is not made at federal level, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the only articulation of an Austrian conception of culture:

*For Austria the integration of foreigners has always been a matter of course, because Austrian identity is defined primarily in terms of culture. Austria is not a classical ethnic nation which justifies itself only in terms of language, but a cultural nation which has developed over time. (Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001)*

The optimistic claims of both successful integration and an implicitly non-ethnic, inclusive Austrian *Kulturnation*, differentiated from the discredited idea of an ethnic nation, by the spurious distinction of ethnic as a linguistic, rather than cultural concept, are belied by the treatment of cultural diversity at local level.

Vienna City Council funds the Vienna Theatre Project, set up in 2002 to facilitate high-quality English-language theatre productions at different venues in and around Vienna, the English language International Theatre which brings in theatre from abroad, including for example, Athol Fugard from South Africa, and the Tanzquartier –which has begun to engage with other dance traditions, holding in 2002 the 'East meets West' project. However, the City Council is driven by a high cultural institutional focus, and is not in touch with the innovative tendencies in intercultural arts and does not generally fund initiatives which come from minority cultures. In the past it did fund the Serapions Theater, founded in 1973 by Erwin Piplits and Ulrike Kaufmann, as a highly visual, scenic theatre. It became internationally renowned for its ethnically mixed company which worked without texts, through improvisation. However, at the end of 1980s, when it needed an injection of a further 1 million Schillings (c.  $\approx$ 70,000) it was refused. It lost 50% of its funding and its theatre in Tabor Strasse. This disrupted its work in 1991-1992, and the director lost heart although the company transferred to the beautiful Odeon Theatre in 1992 and is still working. (Helmut Hartmann, 2003)

Since then, funding for multicultural festivals and theatres founded by immigrants has been hived off to an Intercultural Affairs Department which has a separate, and much smaller budget than the city's cultural budget. The department was started in 1998, under the control of Haider Sari, who is personally responsible for allocating grants without the recommendations of a commission. The subsidies of around  $\approx$ 1 million are parcelled out between many competing projects, with the only sizeable subsidies going to Interkult Theater and the Hallamasch Festival.

Interkult is funded to the tune of  $\approx$ 300,000 as a multilingual theatre which operates in English, Turkish, Spanish and German, run by a Turkish director, Aret Güzel Aleksanyan. It sees itself as:

*a place of encounter of different cultures...a socially relevant institution.....concerned in its artistic work to dismantle prejudices. Its aim is to acknowledge the specific cultural identity of population groups living in Vienna, support their cultural sense of themselves,*

*take care of their mother tongue .... because Interkult Theatre is conscious that a loss of cultural identity also means a loss of pluralist society. Equally the goal of Interkult is to promote exchange between native Austrian culture and foreign cultures in Vienna. '*  
(Interkult website)

The theatre is frequented not only by Turkish, but also Croatian, Polish, Ukrainian and other minorities from Eastern Europe, yet despite its multilingual profile, its programming is dominated by music so Turkish theatre is rarely presented. It attracts young audiences because the theatre maintains close links with teachers and fulfils a strong educational function but is essentially non-professional.

The Hallamasch festival was started in 1997, on the initiative of the City of Vienna, as an intercultural street festival with a carnival parade, and also receives ≈300,000 subsidy from the city and additional European Union funding. The 4 day event in September, covers a 300 hour cultural programme including theatre, dance and music as well as visual and plastic arts, involving 1,500 artists, and attracts over 300,000 visitors a year. (Hallamasch festival website) This is a substantial popular event, which gives immigrant communities and diverse cultures greater visibility, but has not so far created the training and channels into professional theatre and dance.

However, professional theatre initiatives by immigrants have not gained recognition or funding, even though they have attained high quality artistically. The Theater des Augenblicks (Theatre of the Moment) established in 1987 by a Turkish woman director, Gül Gürses, is a small, research based theatre, which made a name for itself with Gürses' productions of the Nazim Hikmet play *Letters to Taranta Babu* which had its German première in 1988, and *Guernica* in 1989 which led to invitations to the International Theatre Festival in Istanbul and to the Trent Music Festival. The theatre has increasingly become a centre for international collaborative work of the highest order, for example with the Japanese director and Peter Brook collaborator, Yoshi Oida. However, from its inception it aimed to produce at least one Turkish production a year but has not had any subsidy from the city for the last five years. This is despite being innovative and internationally respected, while seeking a collaborative relationship with minorities resident in Austria. (*Kontext Europa* website)

Through its Festival *Kontext Europa* which it established in 2000, it has developed collaborative relationships, a forum for debate and a showcase for the work of young artists especially from Eastern Europe, south-eastern Europe and Turkey,

based on an inclusive vision of Europe of the peripheries. The third of these in 2002: *Inside worlds - Outside worlds* addressed the 'inner migration' as well as outer displacement of refugees from ex-Yugoslavia, with the Dracula multi-media project and Omen theatre from Serbia and the Roma Theatre Pralipe, formerly from Macedonia, as well as Greek, Turkish, Rumanian and Bulgarian artists.

Significantly these festivals are based on foreign partnerships with Roma Theatre of Pralipe and Les Substances in France with European funding from the Culture 2000 programme and Kulturkontakt – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs programme in South Eastern Europe. Their latest project, *Tracing Roads Across* of 'active culture, intercultural relations and resources for connecting peoples together' is a three-year collaboration with the Work Centre of Jerzy Grotowski and Thomas Richards in Italy, with partners including the Turkish National Theatre Istanbul-Ankara, the National Tunisian theatre, the Centre for Studies on Jerzy Grotowski's Work in Wroclaw, Poland and Institut pour la mémoire et l'édition contemporaine (IMEC) in Paris-Caen. In the first year they will travel around Italy, Austria, Turkey, Bulgaria, Poland and Russia bringing together selected theatre groups, cultural organisations, intellectuals and students in cultural dialogue, creating a network of support and future artistic collaborations. (*Tracing Roads across* website)

Likewise it is difficult for individual minority performers to gain cultural recognition. The Turkish dancer Ziya Azazi came to Vienna 9 years ago and worked in four dance companies before becoming independent. She has been experimenting and extending her aesthetics, succeeding, according to the rave press review of her role in Yoshi Oida's theatre dance version of Jean Genet's *Die Zofen* (The Servants) 'in making the leap to being a multi-faceted actor.' (ImpulsTanzFestival, press review) She is going to the Barbican in London next year to play with Jan Fabre company in *Tannhäuser*. Yet this dancer-actor is forced to do commercials for car firms like Siemens and Volkswagen and perform for corporate entertainment to earn a living. ('Carpe Diem' 19.07.2002)

In the absence of a policy for recognising the artistic worth and innovation of professional culturally diverse theatre, WUK provides a shelter, rehearsal and performance space and support for migrant artists such as Ziya Aziz and Durmus Dogan. It began life in 1981 as a squatted council building turned to multiple social and cultural uses, by various political groups – both Socialist and Conservative and later migrant groups, community associations and artistic groups – musicians, then

visual artists and performers who gradually took over all the rooms in the 12,000 sq. metre space.

Quite quickly it attained funding from the city council and by 1991 had acquired additional funding from the government under the new Department for Cultural Initiatives and Development of Structures. WUK receives  $\approx$  218,000 from them which has remained at that level ever since. The Chancellor wants to divert subsidies from Vienna to the counties in a conservative move back to traditional culture and the classical festivals. At city level, since 1998 when WUK achieved its first rolling contract for 15 million Schillings – the equivalent of  $\approx$  1.1million - over 3 years, funding has also been at a standstill. Helmut Hartmann, the theatre programmer who employs a high range of multicultural artists, attributes this to a lack of knowledge and commitment to this kind of art. Even though former mayor of Vienna, Helmut Zilk, liked to visit WUK and show international guests round, he tended to instrumentalise it to enhance the city's and his political party's image.

As it provided cheap studio spaces, WUK rooms soon became colonised as different groups became established, making it harder for newcomers to enter. Over the years the culturally diverse character of the centre has also diminished both in terms of producers and audience as established migrant groups began to move out. For example, a Turkish initiative, now called Verein Echo, ([www.echo-ev.de](http://www.echo-ev.de)) which left WUK ten years ago, finds it easier to attract its second generation young Turkish audience in its own space. There is a Kurdish centre still in WUK, but another Turkish group left because of conflict between them. However, Hartmann has no problem in attracting mixed audiences, especially Turkish people by using word-of-mouth to spread programme information in the local market. (Hartmann, 2003) WUK, as an open, innovative and cross-over cultural space has played an indispensable role in nurturing an alternative and culturally diverse arts scene, with between 50-60% of directors and choreographers in Vienna having come from WUK. (Interview Helmut Hartmann, 2003)

Nevertheless, WUK has not proved immune from similar divisions in the understanding of interculturalism that plagues the political system. As it developed historically through self-management, sections based on different art forms and social interests: painting, music, theatre/dance & movement, children and young people, intercultural initiatives, social issues and a workshop on self-help initiatives are autonomous, self-governing bodies within the membership association. In practice, the theatre & dance section is dominated by post-modern dance groups with only

handful of performers from minority cultural traditions (such as the RNA – Indian dance group) or engaged in intercultural work (the Theatre of Visions issue-based drama including *Hylia. Zur Diskriminierung von AusländerInnen* (On the Discrimination against Foreign Women -1991) and *Asyl. Eine Amtshandlung*, (Asylum. Official Treatment, 1994-95)

By contrast, the Intercultural Initiatives section is dominated by minority associations, lobby and welfare groups such as Iranian Students, Ethiopians, the Anti-discrimination Initiative, Asylum, a Youth Forum and an association for Intercultural Projects but with only a handful of artistic groups. The split between social and artistic projects seems to have reproduced itself within the structure of WUK which was born from the post-'68 alternative cultural practice which refused the division between the social and aesthetic, the political and cultural. All these trends: – natural turnover, political splits and faltering generational renewal, financial pressure, internal structural divisions and growing divergence between artistic and social concerns imply that WUK's role in incubating intercultural arts and performers, has weakened. Two thirds of its total income of c. 4.5 million is already devoted to social integration projects of an educational and training kind, rather than artistic cultural work.

From this cameo of the intercultural performing arts in Vienna, the claim of the Austrian branch of the International Theatre Institute that Austrian theatres "*are proud to number more than forty nations not only among their artists but among the rest of their personnel.*" (Austrian section ITI website) should be taken sceptically since most are employed backstage, in catering, cleaning and clerical. For it is clear that artists of migrant origin are not integrated into the mainstream theatres, although rather more in contemporary dance companies. Few independent companies have been set up by minorities, and those that have, have not acquired regular funding as their culture is not valued in itself as a constitutive part of Austrian culture. This is in part due to their foreign status and the tendency to categorise 'intercultural' activities as social rather than artistic.

## **6. Belgium**

### ***Cultural Policy, Cultural Diversity***

According to Ericarts, the Council of Europe's monitor of cultural policies in Europe, Flemish cultural policy now aims to integrate arts and socio-cultural work

which have been previously treated separately. (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2002, 9) In fact this policy change is the culmination of many years of organising from below. By the 1980s local multicultural festivals emerged – such as the Antwerp Festival of Immigrants and the Ghent Feesten. Inside and outside of Flanders, theatre groups formed such as Belçikal and Shadows, Tie 3 and the Kopspeel theatre workshop. In 1984, the Flemish Minister of Culture set up the first temporary subsidy scheme ‘Neighbouring Cultures’ which covered 65% of the fees of immigrant artists.

In 1992, interventionist bodies such as the Commission on Immigrants (a voluntary body set up by the Council of Popular Emancipation) pushed for a general cultural policy for immigrants. Then a Royal Commission on Immigrant Policies, which had been set up in 1988, began to research and make recommendations. In its 1992 report ‘Cultural Diversity as Mutual Enrichment,’ it proposed government funding of social and cultural activities ‘for and by immigrants’, multicultural programming in the prestige concert hall and theatres in all the big Flemish cities and the setting up of a Multicultural Education and Arts Centre. In 1993 this latter idea was taken up by the Flemish Minister of Culture, Hugo Wecks and transposed into an Intercultural Centre for Immigrants, but it was categorised as social at first, financed by the Ministry of Social Welfare and not related to cultural production or the performing arts. However, the new decree on the performing arts, which introduced the four year subsidy for recognised companies and cultural centres, also provided a small budget for individual projects. (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2002) When the Province of Antwerp established its Project for Open Cultural Centres, the Intercultural Centre then began to organise a number of artistic events – including *Cockroaches* – the first intercultural theatre collaboration and performance in Flanders of Eric de Volder and Saban Ol which, according to Pascal Nicolas, (current director of the Cultural Centre in Berchem, Antwerp)

*was intercultural because at several levels within the production the voice was heard – loud and clear- of immigrants living in Flanders. Importantly, this voice was not heard as a result of some anthropological interest or some tourist-like curiosity, and neither was it a voice in the desert. (Nicolas, 2001)*

On the other hand, Wallonia cultural policy is modelled on France, embodied in the concept of territorial *développement culturelle* through partnership agreements with local authorities in the cities, towns and rural areas and the requirement for increased access of disadvantaged groups to cultural institutions, without

acknowledging ethnic diversity or recognising ethnicity as a major marker of exclusion. (Bennett, 2001, 36) They refer to foreign or immigrant communities as cultural, not ethnic, minorities. Cultural diversity refers only to a diversity of cultural forms and artistic disciplines as in France and this forms the basis of subsidy, without reference to cultural group or community of origin. (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2002, 12) The structural funding is also for four years but depends on individual applications and decisions made by the Minister and one-year project funding. The lack of strategic objectives in the cultural field means there is a policy deficit. Budgets are modest and the funding is divided up among many competing projects which attain small subsidies without any overall direction. (Questionnaire, Cèline Renchon)

French Wallonia has very few examples of multicultural or intercultural companies. Most seem to be free-lance directors or performers. Sam Touzani, a writer, artistic director and one-time dancer is one of the best-known, whose work deals with his Moroccan origins and immigration to Belgium. Laurent Wanson, a young experimental artistic director does collaborative work with minorities. In Brussels, a number of theatres situated in high concentration immigrant areas organise artistic activities with the local communities such as Theatre Ocean Nord, Halles De Schaerbeek (one of the original friches) and Theatre Les Tanneurs. Many local initiatives are organised by youth centres, (*maisons de jeunes*) and cultural centres (*centres d'art et d'expressivité*) for immigrants but they are defined as 'social', not 'artistic' even if art is the chosen medium of communication. They remain cut off from the cultural institutions and professional sector.

The innovative Brussels-based French company Transquinquennal is intercultural in the French sense of pushing and crossing boundaries, particularly of performance where actors reinvent text and improvise on stage in productions such as *Cité-Cité*, (1993-1994) *Le mouvement perpétuel*, (1995-1996) *Le Club* (1995-1996) and *Aux prises avec la vie courante, Est*, (1999-2000) Working with the Flemish company Dito'Dito in another language on productions *Ja ja maar nee nee/ Ah oui ça alors là*, 1997-1998, *100 ways to disappear and live free*, (1998-1999) *Enfin bref/Kortom*, (1999-2000) *Vous Dites/U Zegt* (2000-2001) was just an extension of this experimental approach. While Dito'Dito and Kunsten Festival des Arts have close bilingual collaboration with Transquinquennal, they have extended their intercultural collaboration to immigrant artists and communities.

New kinds of intercultural theatre began to emerge in Flanders in the early 1990s: Dito' Dito in Brussels and Victoria in Ghent, and then Hush Hush Hush, a hip

hop dance company sprung up in Antwerp. Funding and recognition were slow in coming. In 1996 the Flemish Minister of Culture allocated only €37,000 for a single project to improve access of ethnic and cultural minorities to the performing and visual arts. But by 2000, in his memorandum, the new Minister, Bert Anciaux recognized the culturally transformative role of immigrant artistic production and collaboration:

*New inhabitants of Flanders should be given the opportunity to emancipate themselves. They should be able to participate in the diversity of cultural activities, they should be able to take part as a matter of course. This will generate new means of expression, which will in turn enrich Flemish society* (Anciaux, 2000, quoted by Nicolas)

Anciaux directed the new Literature Fund to pay special attention to immigrant writers, and from 2001, a special budget was allocated to support social and artistic projects of immigrant groups, organised in national or local associations. (Ericarts, 11) Project funding generally runs on a yearly basis and candidates are allowed only one a year and only after proving themselves over a period of time can they apply for the quadrennial structural funding that the established classical theatres currently monopolise. However the system is going to change with the introduction of a two year project funding in 2006 (Devriendt, 2003)

### ***The Intercultural Theatre and Dance Scene***

The spearhead for the development of intercultural arts was an international arts festival which created contact and collaboration and provided a showcase for foreign and local talent. Kunsten Festival des Arts was set up in 1994 as a three week festival in May, in recognition of the gap between Brussels as the national and European capital and its parochial artistic landscape:

*The main idea was to be open and to give 'a place of encounter' and not ... be imprisoned within frontiers. You had also mental frontiers that were also frontiers between cultural communities....The Festival was a kind of statement against frontiers."* (Claire Dietz, 2003)

The aesthetic impulse to make contact with the international arts scene had both cultural and social consequences on the local reality. Kunsten distinguished itself firstly by addressing a bilingual audience which was novel in Brussels. Secondly it drew artists and performers from far-flung cultures – Brazilian, Indonesian, Chinese,

as well as European, with a mixture of genres and styles. It was also as Claire Dietz, the dramaturge said 'against frontiers in the arts.' (Dietz, 2003) As it developed and grew, it engaged in an intense dialogue with local artists and community workers who worked with immigrants, especially Moroccans and Turks.

The first attempt at an artistic project was with the Palestinian film-maker Michèle Khleifi, who drew on his own experience of exile and arrival, in a new culture and place. But it proved to be too ambitious, overloading him with the writing, casting and production. They then began collaboration with companies with some experience in this field Dito' Dito and the Francophone Transquinquennial (see below) learning from the experience that a three week festival could not undertake the long-term collaborative work with communities required to produce serious work. However, they could support and produce the outcome of such work for the Festival.

Subsequently they have given space to or invited intercultural projects, including four films in the 'El Dorado' season, one of which follows Moroccan refugees across frontiers en route to Belgium without papers, made by a young Chilean director in collaboration with a Belgian. They have learnt the importance of integrating these productions in the mainstream of the Festival, not hiving them off in a specially designated context. A further step in relating to local communities has been to open a dialogue between the attributed or assumed culture of a minority community and the living culture of their country of origin. So in 1998, a contemporary company was invited from Syria to perform in the festival, linking with the local community.

It is hard to draw a diverse audience to the festival in general. Only when the performance has gone to the community, has it managed to attract a broader audience. This happened with *Le Retour des Hirondelles*, a film made by Els Dietvorst – in collaboration with Beurscheuwborg theatre who worked with the inhabitants of Place Anneessens near Zuid station in Brussels, to dramatise a karaoke night with singing and exploration of different characters and their dreams as a means of imagining transformations in their lives. It was screened in the open air in Place Annessens and all the people from the locality as well as the festival audience attended.

Dito'Dito, the company which collaborated with Kunsten, was set up in 1993 as a collaboration between Guy Dermul and Willy Thomas (surname initials D and T combined to give the company its name). It too, took the radical step in 1996 of deciding to perform bilingually in Flemish and French. It began collaborating with

Transquinquennial in 1997 on a Rudi Bekaert trilogy. In 1998, it set up a series of talks with foreign artists with Kunsten Festival des Arts, 'D'ici e de là/Van hier en ginder' out of which a play emerged "Deux Arabes ou la Parabole de l'Artichaut"/"Twee Arabieren of de Parabel van d Artisjok", by Lucas Catherine, performed by Transquinquennial, with the author and three Maghrebin actors. The play reinterpreted relations between the West and the Arab world through the metaphor of the circulation of the artichoke and the perceptions of 'the other' it carried as it was imported to and fro, into southern Europe from the Maghreb, to the Middle East when Europe gained control of the Silk Route and to the Far East where it was rejected as 'western'.

Dito'Dito's collaboration with Nedjma Hadj, brought intercultural collaboration on texts into the heart of the company. An Algerian born architect who trained in Belgium, she came because of the difficulty she felt of being recognised as an individual in Algeria, in the traditional society in which she grew up, before the current Islamicist regime. Hence her attraction to the idea of the Algerian French anthropologist Malek Choebel, that, the 'Islamic concept of the community (of Muslim believers), 'umma' excludes the individual as actor.

Active collaboration with Dito Dito brought her voice as a migrant writer directly onto the stage. Through monologue and dialogue she gives voice to the bleak interior world of exile, the silence, isolation, pointlessness of return, the strong sense of place and things, and of non-place, being on the frontier, 'on the knife edge', part of the smallest minority, as the female protagonist of *Kérosène*, a play she wrote (with Guy Dermul) in 1999, expresses it. (Hadj & Dermul, 2000) Her current research on an old Brussels Jewish couple she met in a café and talked to about new immigrants reflects her humanistic engagement with people of different backgrounds and generations, with their own experiences of racism and their prejudices against others. (Nedjma Hadj, 2003)

Dito'Dito developed a socially-engaged artistic practice of long-term collaboration in immigrant communities which has generated both texts and performances. For example they work with *Maisons du quartiers* (neighbourhood community centres) through workshops. One such project - '*J'y suis resté depuis/En daar ben ik gebleven* (I am staying here for good) - with *Le Cactus* and *La Boutique Culturelle* lasted two years culminating in a joint production with Théâtre Les Tanneurs and L'Avenir community theatres, based on the workshop exchanges. The accounts of the migrant women reveal the internal cultural life of their communities. For example,

Nazira El Maoufik, a young Maghrebin woman who has worked for five years with Avenir, recounted to Nedjma Hadj the pessimism among the young people, primarily Maghrebin or Turkish who think 'there is nothing for them here'. The discussions in the workshop revolved around money, school, racial conflict with the police, boys and the impossibility of love. (Houari, Hadj & Thomas, 2000, 29-31) So these workshops bring up and dramatise material from the everyday lives of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation immigrants and bring new voices and experiences of the city onto the stage.

Another collaborative project was carried out with seven youth centres co-ordinated by BRES who approached Dito Dito to undertake a joint production. Dito invited seven contemporary authors to produce material and then conducted a theatre workshop with ten of the young men and four of the women from the youth centres, improvising around the texts, leading over a two year period between December 2001 and April 2003 to the production of STOEMP (a Flemish dish of mashed potato and carrot) – two plays titled *Braise d'amour* and *La vie commerce a Molenbrook* which express humorously the tensions for second generation Maghrebins in negotiating between cultures – including personal relationships with Muslim girls and dealing with macho men.

Through the work in the Brussels youth clubs they met Mohamed Ouachen, who collaborated with them in *Boumkoeur/ Cuisines et dépendances.*, a play of the young Beur writer and actor, Rachid Djaidani, based on an extravagant meal with tables laden with food, interrupted by the sounds and signs of a Parisian *banlieu*. It bears a Dito/Dito hallmark of first person testimony, speaking directly to the audience, as the realm of bourgeois comfort and domesticity is brought face to face with the reality of immigrant streetlife.

The company has put its neck out in investing in this kind of long-term, costly work. The theatre critics who follow their classical work consider this intercultural collaborative work as too social and not professional enough and so do not come to performances or review it. Likewise the programmers who buy Dito Dito's avant-garde productions, are reluctant to risk such explicitly socially engaged theatre which they are uncertain how to categorise for the market and believe will be difficult to sell. (Devriendt, 2003) According to Manu Devriendt, the manager of the company, this perception is beginning to change as the artistic quality of the work has risen and has gained some recognition from the Minister of Culture in the new funding stream for social-artistic projects. However, Dito Dito prefers not to define itself as intercultural

or multicultural, as it can only fund this work through cross-subsidising it from the classical and avant garde work for which it acquires structural funding.

More recently, companies have been founded by black performers born in Belgium, or who arrived in their infancy. In Antwerp, Hush Hush Hush, the hip hop/contemporary dance company was set up by Abdulaziz Sarrokh, a Moroccan who came to Belgium when he was 8 months old, as a member of a family of 10. Without an artistic training Abdulaziz cut his teeth on the streets: "I came from the neighbourhoods... when I was young I danced for the pleasure, the fun, to go out and move." By chance he met the choreographer, Alain Platel, (of Les Ballets C de la B and Victoria theatre in Ghent) who invited him to dance with him. Contemporary dance was alien to his experience and he thought it 'crazy' and 'not movement...everyone could make those movements, for me ... there is some speciality to being a dancer.... You must have substantial understanding of this kind of movement." (Interview Abdulaziz Sarrokh, 19.6.03)

However, after success with 'Bonjour Madame' in Les Ballets C de B, a couple of years later, after he had gone into neighbourhood social work and become more 'open-minded', he collaborated again with Platel on La Tristeza Complice and stayed with the company for over 2 years, travelling the world. When asked to work with dance with young people in the neighbourhoods, he saw the potential for mixing hip hop with contemporary dance, and from the popularity he had witnessed for contemporary dance abroad, also of mixing the audience. In 1996 when he set up Hush Hush Hush, the response to the first performance of *Carte Blanche* was overwhelming. From the first few, the performances grew to over 60, attracting a new, young and mixed audience, without special marketing or links to diverse communities, relying only on crossing over different dance audiences.

Reluctant to call his company 'multicultural' or 'hip hop', Abdulaziz defines it thus:

*I'm a dance company and I'm working with different kinds of people. For other people it may be multicultural ...but for me I choose my people because they are good dancers. .... the different thing in dance is that you must work with different people. When you collaborate with different styles and different kinds of people you have also mixing and it is very important for me that when you make an artistic creation, you have different kinds of view, because you have a different background and he has a different background... It's a very good clash. We*

*also live like this. Life is this. My neighbourhood is different from me and ... I'm different from another neighbourhood but we must live together."*

His artistic aim now is to extend the language of hip hop beyond the street to reach a new realm of emotional self-expression on stage, pushing at the macho limits of street dance and flamenco. He is proud that hip hoppers have now taken to yoga to be supple and are crossing classical, contemporary and jazz forms with hip hop. "Hip hoppers are more open to experiment with different kinds of movement." (Interview Abdulaziz, 19.6.03)

This learning process, which he himself went through, he sees as relevant to critics as to hip hoppers. They rejected his work at first as purely gymnastic, because they did not understand its norms and compared it unfavourably to contemporary dance. They too have become more aware and appreciative of the work. The real recognition of its success came in 2001 when Hush Hush Hush attained four year structural funding which has allowed them to establish a stable organisation and plan longer term.

In addition they have acquired the social-cultural project funding, in the first instance for a project which failed to retain immigrant young people, and in a second instance to create an open space where kids can come for the whole year and show what they can do. It involves a very committed and serious programme of engagement with the young people, to encourage them in what they can do, and then with each individual:

*to bring him to an artistic view and develop him in his mind and you try to give him a chance. 'You see you can also do a performance...you cannot try to do a performance in twenty minutes'. It's an exchange together – professional and semi professional choreographers and people who like dancing who reject contemporary dance.*  
(Interview Abdulaziz Sarokh, 19.6.03)

The learning process proceeds by encouraging them to express feelings with which the audience will identify and to include girls. Through taking these Muslim rappers to a variety of dance performances he has helped them overcome inhibitions from their background – for example against nudity, exposing them gradually to unfamiliar types of dance, mixed with dance forms they know and like. Such an approach has begun to bear fruit as these young people look up to him as a role model and have an easier time convincing their parents that dance is a viable career. But this

kind of engagement is time-consuming and expensive, and is blighted by the need to renew funding every year which makes the future uncertain. As a result he has seen a lot of talent go to waste. (Interview Abdulaziz Sarrokh 19.6.03)

Les Ballets du Grand Maghreb in Brussels is a recently established dance company set up in 2001 also by a Moroccan Belgian, the blind dancer, Saïd Gharbi, in collaboration with a French Algerian dancer, Ali Sami and the dramaturge George Weinand. Saïd, when aged 24 was picked out by the Flemish choreographer, Wim Vanderkeybus, from the school for the blind he attended and without any classical background or training, he started dancing professionally in Vanderkeybus's company, *Ultima Vez*, where he met Ali. From 1992-2000 he did 5 productions with Vanderkeybus, including filming a backdrop to *The Day of Heaven and Hell*, a choreography on the life of Pasolini, in his Moroccan village with his family.

In the company, Saïd and Ali, with George retraced their steps back to Morocco and Algeria as source material for their first production. As one critic described the process:

*They tackled the world of men, of masculine friendship, of male energy in contact with men's bodies. Alongside it lay the closed world of women, a universe inaccessible to men. Following a line of demarcation oscillating between visible and invisible, public and private, and which imposes deviancy as the norm, the first elements of choreography started to take shape (Jans, 2001)*

For Saïd, *Inn Tidar* (Arabic for 'waiting') was both biographical –retracing the funny and sad side of his family's journey from Tangiers to Brussels when he was 10 months old and poetic – with a setting enclosing the dancers within a cage of wrought iron gates, with shadow play, live music from the oud, violin and percussion and the voice of the muezzin coming from an almost invisible female singer. It integrated the two different cultural traditions of his background–

*In Inn Tidar we have a part where I have a kind of Arabic dance mixed with a European ballad, western music. This of course is me, is us..., people who live in Europe. We have this multiculturalism, this mixture, and in this piece also contemporary movement, so European movement and this Arabic movement, this is me also ... 'bicultural' ..... If you deal with that in a good way it's very positive ..... I can adapt myself, it's true, but of course I have this fusion, and try and take the positive ways from both sides*

(Saïd Gharbi, 2003)

Funded on an annual single project basis and through co-producers in Belgium, France, and Switzerland, *Inn Tidar* went on tour in Belgium and Europe to critical acclaim performing at Kunsten Festival des Arts and the Maghreb festival at Parc de la Villette in Paris, Tanzwerkstatt in Berlin and Berchem Cultural Centre in Antwerp among other places. (Wynants, 7.05.2002; Vernay 8.5.2002; Boisseau, 23.05.2002; Bédarida, 3.06.2002)

While Ali Salmi has left the company, Saïd is now extending his artistic scope and the meaning of cultural diversity by developing a new kind of ballet for the blind. The work will draw heavily on sound, orientation and disorientation, the play of light and dark and “ will confront the public with this darkness I live in.” He defines the specific heightened sense of touch, feeling and hearing of blind people as a cultural sensibility, which he will bring to the stage not only for sighted people, but above all for blind people, through the accretion of physical, tactile and sound experiences which will recompose the world in mental images. “I am Saïd Gharbi, coming from Morocco, ta ta ta ... and I have what I call, another culture, I’m blind and in a dance (sense), I have a different culture because I am blind.” (Interview Saïd Gharbi, 2003)

The Berchem Cultural Centre in Antwerp which hosted Les Grands Ballets de Maghreb and where Hush Hush Hush reside, has developed a form of multicultural programming, while refusing a multicultural or ethnic definition of itself. Its current director, Pascal Nicolas, co-ordinated the first Festival of Immigrants in Antwerp 15 years ago, started by a joint association set up the Greek, Turkish, Chilean, Portuguese and Spanish Communist Parties to which the immigrants - political exiles from dictatorships – belonged. His experience with open cultural centres in Antwerp province developing multicultural programming even in localities where there were no migrants, has influenced his conception of Berchem: that it must act not as a conventional centre for diffusion of high art, but for socially integrated arts, supporting artists who are involved in the community. He aims to ‘make the distinction between ...socio-cultural work and artistic work disappear, not to see it as a division but as a strength ... that one is good for the other.’ (Nicolas, 2003)

The programming reflects a range of backgrounds, cultures and communities, not just local but ‘atopic’ as well, ‘without saying they are ethnic, just saying they are artists. But they are artists with names like Sarrokh and Abdu Wafi ...’ (Nicolas, 2003) However, the audience remains largely white except during the migrant cultural

festivals, based on community partnerships. The partnerships develop throughout the year, fostered through a shared weekly meal and reciprocal visits, for example by the theatre programmer to the Muslim festival or Turkish amateur theatre with their artistic directors. The aim is to raise the intercultural awareness of the programming staff and all the personnel 'so there is a certain interaction and the definition of quality is renegotiated between the partners and the staff.' (Nicolas, 2003) Attuning the cultural management to an intercultural perspective is seen as a process of learning and as the first step to building a more diverse audience.

The Antwerp Open festival arose as a longer-term cultural response to the rise of the racist Vlaamsblok. When it jumped from 8% to 28% in the polls in Antwerp in 1992 it precipitated a change of direction in the Antwerp Cultural Capital of Europe programme, from a purely artistic conception to a political-cultural response – opening with a Sarajevo theatre project instead of Pino Bausch. As Bruno Verbergt, one of the team at the time and now director of Antwerp Open, describes it, they chose 'a symbolic fight.' (Verbergt, 2003) When the director of Antwerp Capital of Culture, Eric Antonis, stood for election and took charge of culture in the city, both he and Verbergt saw culture as the means to defeat the extreme right and undermine racism.

Antwerp Open was a key institution, with a huge budget of €1.7 million for developing a positive and outgoing view of the city. It is a 2 month summer festival with a quarter of a million visitors – 95% of them local - to over 400 shows, 40% of which are free and 60% of which cost below €5. Although there is no evidence it has changed voting behaviour, it has contributed to what Verbergt defines as 'a positive motivational factor' in civic well-being and pride of those whose material well-being and security have already been satisfied, while not compensating those citizens who lack such primary goods. However, Antwerp Open along with objectives – such as broadening enhancing artistic creation, access and participation and 'raising cultural competence', has incorporated cultural and social diversity criteria into the festival so it only gives subsidy to performers or production companies who convince them that their work contributes to such diversity. (Verbergt, 2003)

From this sketch of some multicultural and intercultural initiatives in Belgium, it appears that the struggle of cultural communities in Belgium held back cultural openness. Bridging the Flemish-Francophone divide was significant for opening up to international influences, including receptivity to local cultural diversity. Some- mainly Flemish- companies have opened themselves to this multicultural reality through collaborations with immigrant artists or long-term socially engaged work

with immigrant communities. This work is generating new artistic material and giving voice to urban realities which would otherwise be largely absent from the stage. But the companies face pressures from the cost and time it takes to generate high quality intercultural collaboration with non-professionals and from the critical reception to the quality of the work and/or misunderstanding of the form. In reality immigrant artists need the support of established companies even to become artists, to get training or recognition. Both Abdulaziz and Saïd Gharbi were 'discovered' by chance by established Flemish choreographers who provided them with a route into the professional dance world. Only now is it becoming possible for independent companies founded by immigrants themselves to claim equal artistic status with their Flemish counterparts and to acquire structural funding. There are still very few, although the prospects for the second generation have been enhanced by their breakthrough.

## 7. Italy

Historically the cultural policy of the Italian state has been highly centralised and dominated by heritage and classical visual art, although it acquired a brief for promoting performing arts when the Centre Left government modernised and expanded the Ministry into a comprehensive Ministry of Heritage and Cultural Activities in 1998. However the state's grip on funding has only diminished through privatising trends to public-private partnerships with tax incentives and *ad hoc* lottery funding. The Right government in power since 2001 has sought to accentuate privatisation, handing over the management of public cultural institutions and non profit organisations to the private sector and making productivity a key criterion of subsidy. As Ericarts, which monitors European cultural policies points out, there are no innovative policies aimed at cultural integration of new immigrants. (Ericarts Italy, 2002, 10) Although the state still accounts for over 50% of public spending on culture, the regions, provinces and municipalities share went up quite significantly in the early 90s with a slight decline since then. (EricArts, Italy, 2002, 22)

The cities act as the main counterweight to central government disregard of migrant cultures and a key funding source for intercultural theatre. However the intercultural theatres in Bologna are not engaged with local cultural diversity. Teatro Clandestino is an experimental contemporary production company, which is highly international, touring France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, England, Germany and Switzerland. It had an Eritrean actress in its ensemble for years, who played in the

*Tempest* and *Othello*, challenging the image of the great Moor as a tiny black woman, but the company did not conceive of this interculturally and did not draw on her culture of origin to transform their repertoire. They work on the mythological aspects of classical Greek and Shakespearean texts, focussing on the universal popular elements, abstracted from cultural differences, in contrast to Tara Arts' or Meta Theater's approach of reaching the universal through differences. (Interview Pietro Babbina, Fiorenza Menni and Mauro Milone, 3.7.03)

Teatri di Vite, a contemporary theatre that mixes languages and forms – especially music and video, was given a derelict performance space by the Commune when it became a co-operative in 1998, with special funding for refurbishment and a gradually increasing structural subsidy. It played an important role in bringing contemporary lesser known dance companies, such as the Hungarian Yvette Bojic, and others from western, eastern and south eastern Europe and Africa to the city, as the only space where foreign work could be seen. Under its director Andrea Adriatico, it also does two highly visual, physical theatre productions a year that tour abroad and one text-based production. In addition they undertake annual theatre workshops with students and the general public. As they have a non-elitist approach to the theatre, they draw a very socially mixed and young audience with a cheap €8 concessionary ticket. They have had occasional collaborations with foreign artists and considered doing workshops abroad and then production workshops in Bologna with foreign artists, leading possibly to a joint production. So this theatre engages in intercultural work with artists abroad that may become more intense. It is possible then that Teatri di Vite may turn its attention to intercultural collaboration with local migrant artists, which they do not exclude. (Interview with Monica Nicoli, 3.7.03.)

Subsidised intercultural theatres in Italy have tended to develop in cities of the left where there was a prior established alternative theatre which evolved through anthropological research in an intercultural direction or radical children's theatre which responded to multicultural social change reflected first and foremost in schools. Teatro delle Albe in Ravenna, falls into the first category. Set up in 1983 by Marco Martinelli, Ermanna Montanari, Luigi Dadina and Marcella Nonni, in Ravenna as a community based co-operative with everyone on the same salary, it defines itself as 'politittttico' – with seven ts- i.e. political in the multi-layered sense of combining ethics and aesthetics, the planetary and the polis in its scope. (Montanari, 1998,18-19; 21)

In 1988 it became Afro-Romagnolo, under the sway of a scientific argument they pursued poetically that Emilia Romagna, the region Ravenna is in, had been attached to Africa, when it was one with Europe, making its sub-soil African. In pursuit of migrants with whom they could collaborate on a show, Martinelli and Dadina found through pedlars, Mandiaye N'Diaye, Mor Awa Niang and El Hadji Niang on the beach in Rimini. Mandiaye is convinced by the legend that his coming to Emilia Romagna and chance meeting with Martinelli was the fulfilment of his destiny of return, becoming an actor as a retrieval of a dying tradition. (Interview with Mandiaye N'Diaye, 4.0.03)

The anthropological research they began, found commonalities between Ermanna's Romagnolo dialect and Mandiaye's native Wolof, between the roving fulêr barn storytellers in Romagna and the West African *griots*, in the peasant feeling for the soil, stomach and senses. Likewise in rituals and legends they found parallels – between the griot '*malocchio*' – evil eye - and the Romagnolo '*maleficio*' – spell - in the curse in which the person's footprint is put in a sack with a toad, and then squashed, so the soul of the toad corresponds to the soul of the person whose footprint it was. In Senegal this is done to slow down and defeat footballing opponents. (Interview Mandiaye N'diaye, 4.7.03)

These commonalities entered the creative process of Afro-Romagnolo *meticcio* (*métissage*) that fused dramaturgy, dance, music and dialects in plays like *Ruh! Romagna più Africa Ugual* (1988 –Romagna plus Africa Equals.) and *I ventidue infortuni de Mor Alecchino* (Moor Harlequin's Twenty Two Misfortunes) Here the harlequin from the Goldoni play is transposed into a poor African immigrant who has made Italy his home, speaking both Wolof and Lombard with phrases lifted straight from Berlusconi's mouth. The play contrasts the universal figure of the oppressed harlequin, with the Senegalese innkeeper, Scapino, who in his attempt to assimilate, adopts 'all the negative attitudes of the white man'. (Picarazzi, 1997, 4-7)

Through intercultural research on classical Greece and African animism, Martinelli wrote and produced plays like *All'Inferno* (which won the Ubu Prize in 1997) and *Cremolo and Carione* which transposes the peasants' anger with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer in Aristophanes' play to the modern context of Africa. They are preparing to take this play to Africa and are doing a documentary about it with the Italian writer, Gianni Celati. *Lunga Vita d'Albero* derives from the parallel legends of Allin Setouwe Dietta – a young girl in Diola, in southern Senegal, who left her village to serve in a rich bourgeois household, had a vision that called her

back to defend the village orchards from French invasion in the 1920s and Bruna, a girl in the Tuscan hills who saved partisans during the Nazi occupation. A Tuscan tourist tells the story of the village and then goes to Africa and tells the story of the animist queen. (Interview Mandiaye N'Diaye, 4.7.03.)

Mandiaye has become a prominent black actor in Italy against the odds. The Senagalese community in Ravenna figures about 700 out of 5,000 in Emilia Romagna and there are no independent black theatre groups, but musical groups, especially percussion with whom Mandiaye has done various collaborations. The three solo shows synthesising the Afro Romagnolo traditions of narration as a dream fantasy with music and dance, magically retrieved the social role of the West African *griot* as keeper of the memory of the community, educator, invested with the sole power to challenge the powerful, denounce wrongdoing and protect the moral order, and his Romagnolo counterpart in the *fulêr*. (Dadina & N'Diaye, 1994) After 15 days rehearsal in Ravenna and 15 days rehearsal in Senegal and bilingual recital it was rapturously received there. He feels it almost overstated similarities, presenting in dream fashion an image of equality that almost denied cultural difference, and the importance of reciprocal understanding. (Interview Mandiaye N'Diaye, 4.7.03.)

Mandiaye has also connected Albe to Senegal through his collaboration with the Man Kenen Ki Centre, set up by Jean-Michel Bruyère as a place for street children from Dakar to rebuild their lives, acquiring performance skills, to make their own theatre and circus. The company is intending to spend six months of the year out there and six months in Ravenna.

Albe has an enthusiastic African following, among the 'non scuola' (unschooled) as Mandiaye defines them (and the actors, none of whom, apart from Martinelli, studied theatre). This ethos of 'non scuola' characterises the workshops which Martinelli puts on during the winter in Ravenna secondary schools, which 300 children attend weekly. All the artistic directors and external collaborators with Albe lead groups of ten which work on their own text and performance, aiming to draw young people back to theatre through kindling their creativity and curiosity. In *I Polacchi* (The Poles) the twelve soldiers were played by school students.

The theatre enjoys structural funding from the commune of Ravenna which gives it a rolling contract to manage and programme the Ravenna Teatro stabile di innovazione (Innovative Repertory Theatre) which includes Albe and a children's theatre. The unified structure established in 1997, enabled them to get ministerial

funding which has given them underlying financial security. The region provides *ad hoc* funding for projects, collaborations and trips abroad. (Interview Francesca Venturi and Marcella Nonni, 4.7.03)

The situation of *Maschere Nere* stands in stark contrast, although it is also engaged in a 'contamination between traditions' of black Africa particularly Cameroun and Senegal, and Italy. (IETM questionnaire, Gazzola, 2003) Leonardo Gazzola trained as an actor and director in Cameroun, researching the pre-colonial mythology in the villages of the South and the musical instruments intimately bound up with it, like the *mvét*, that you have to make a sacrifice to play. The retrieval of ancient memories became the source for his scripts. He sought to find the points in common and differences in theatre traditions – between the trained actor in Italy and the Cameroun belief that you are born an actor and choose whether to show it or not, unlike the West African tradition of the griots who are born into a distinct caste of storytellers. From the Senegalese tradition of percussion, he also incorporated the *nkul* instrument into *Maschere Nere*.

At the time Gazzola returned to Italy in the early 1990s, African migration was increasing rapidly. He began to meet Africans and collaborate artistically. Most of the big subsidised companies that hire a black actor on a one-off basis for a show, employ artists who trained with *Maschere Nere*: ERT Modena, Paolo Rossi's cabaret, Scena Madre in Rome. As a result, *Maschere Nere*'s own reservoir of black actors has become depleted as they cannot compete with the seasonal payment of subsidised companies. While it is fashionable to use a black actor, the standard repertoire remains. Modou Gueye, a Senegalese actor in *Maschere Nere*, complains of the lack of *meticcio* (métissage) in Italy, the exotic use of black actors but their negative typecasting as pedlars, addicts, and dealers never as ordinary workers, which makes him refuse parts. (Interview Modou Gueye, 8.7.03)

Lack of subsidy from any source remains the underlying problem for the company. Unlike Teatro delle Albe, it was not an established company before it became intercultural. Milan, unlike Ravenna, is less favourably disposed politically, although in the company's experience, the Forza Italia is more open to youth, social centres and immigrants than the Left, which operates nepotism that excludes newcomers. However, they recognise this as the Right instrumentalising a group to enhance its own image and gain media advantage, so they did not respond to Forza Italia advances. Likewise nationally, they were excluded from even applying to be considered for subsidy from the Ministry and ETI – the public theatre agency.

As a result, Maschere Nere is forced to rely on sales of its productions and its own inventiveness in creating other sources of income. The *L'Altro* Festival (The Other Festival) is fundamental to their survival. Held for two weeks a year in the city, it enhances the visibility of 'theatre of migration' (*teatro delle migrazioni*) from Italy and abroad, from for example, Rumania and Cameroun. A series of small sponsors allow them to pay the participants. However Maschere Nere has not reaped the benefit of giving exposure to other intercultural companies. While they have been invited to participate in the intercultural season at Teatro Franco Parenti in Milan, or in the African strand of Festival Sant'Archangelo's in 1997 when all the groups with African actors showcased in *L'Altro* Festival, were invited, Maschere Nere has been conspicuously excluded.

The harsh reality of competition and lack of funding affects many small companies on the margin of the market. Critics do not come because the theatre is not on their list and even festival publicity elicits a limited response. They did go to the Avignon Theatre Festival in 1995 where their production was well-received but the five producers who bought the production were too dispersed to make a tour feasible, and they were left in heavy debt from the cost of attendance. They are too small to match EU project funding and have not found co production partners. In response to these obstacles they developed other means of earning.

One means is a theatre school, which began as an informal exchange of know-how on drumming, dance and theatre techniques, but as they began to lose their African actors, they formalised it as a school with the remaining African actors as trainers. So in 1998 the school was set up with paid teachers, entry without prior training or audition, but by interview. In 2002 48 people applied for 12 places. The applicants, with the exception a Brazilian and an Ethiopian, are all Italian, highlighting the difficulties of attracting largely first generation immigrants who are economically insecure. Although they view African participation as vital to the school's future, one of the students interviewed, Caterina Posterino, pointed out the value of the course in creating cultural mediators as well as actors and in transmitting valuable communicative skills through percussion and dance synthesis that she has used in teaching immigrant children in a special school. (Interview Caterina Posterino, 8.7.03.)

A vital new venture, which has helped secure the company's future, is a co-operation agreement with COOPI, an NGO that operates in the international field. This will enable them to produce artistic shows around exhibitions and conferences on

themes like child soldiers in Sierra Leone or the war in Iraq, using humour and other imaginative devices to explore international co-operation and solidarity. This also opens up opportunities to apply to the council for festival funding. (Interview Marcello Guidazzi, 8.7.03.) It is also combined with services for schools such as intercultural workshops and exhibitions. In the project *Danziamo i nostri diritti* (Dancing our rights) the children were taught some Malinké percussion rhythms and then some of the children were chosen to dance to them interpreting their rights.

Modou Gueye came to Italy as a baker, and continued to work while spending three years learning acting and the art of storytelling in Maschere Nere. Through this process, he discovered his own cultural origins, the value of dialogue and expression. When he returns to Senegal now, he contributes to revitalising the *griot* tradition by singing and storytelling with the children in the village, countering the disrepute around *griot* and the integralist strictures of Islamic elders against the women singing and dancing. His close ties with his village and country have helped shape Maschere Nere's project to set up a cultural centre in Beud, 120 Km. from Dakar, which will cultivate cultural exchange between Maschere Nere and Senegalese artists. The centre will enable theatrical performances but also offer 2 year literacy courses and paid work to small artisans in Dakar who are under-employed, teaching their trades – such as carpentry and dress-making. Maschere Nere has already developed a strand of 'theatrical tourism', sending groups of Italian actors who want closer contact with Africa, on stagiaires to the Cameroun with training from local artists which they hope to extend to Senegal. However, Modou has a more ambitious idea for artistic exchange by developing a show from the Senegalese annual wrestling tournament which is traditionally accompanied by artistic performances, song and dances. By broadening its appeal and scope, he aims to bring the show to an Italian public, creating mutual cultural and financial benefits. This proposal already has the support of the Minister of Tourism in Senegal. (Interview Modou Gueye, 8.7.03)

Another initiative of this kind has been implemented by Koron Tlé, the Centre of Intercultural Research on Theatre Languages, in Milan - one of the groups who have performed at L'Altro Festival. They were invited in 1993 to West Africa by Sotigui Kouyaté, a chief *griot* in Burkino Faso, who said: "You must come to my country because the artistic form in which you express aspects of our culture, is, for us, the return of our culture." (Cited in Pace & Sartori, 2003) They had intensive artistic exchanges over several months with the *griots* and other local artists out of which the project arose for an association with artists from Burkino Faso to establish the Siraba arts and crafts training centre in the Acarteville district of Bobo Dioulasso. It will be

run by the three Burkino Faso partners Théâtre Sanyon, Ensemble Badenia and Troupe Yeleenba with Koron Tlé, providing professional training to young people, with the financial support of an NGO and the diffusion of African culture through *stage* and workshops in Italy. (Mani Tesi website)

In Compagnia dance company, set up by the Brazilian dancer Regina Marques, is another unfunded intercultural company which built up its reputation over five years, in collaboration with the Brazilian choreographer Eugenio di Melio. Marques has developed co-productions, for example with the Bergamo Festival, which cover overheads, and places pieces in theatre slots which subsidised theatres have over from the number they have to guarantee when applying for subsidy. In this way the bigger companies can help out the smaller unsubsidised ones, who thus avoid paying tax and insurance. Since most dance festivals are supported by the Ministry and have to engage 75% subsidised companies, newcomers are squeezed to the margin. As a foreigner, she has never applied for subsidy as she stands no chance. The commission within the Ministry in Rome which selects companies for subsidy is composed entirely of choreographers who have their own dance companies or are linked to subsidised companies so it is closed circle. The funding criteria are becoming more exclusive as the social contributions have tripled and the number of minimum guaranteed performances has risen from 20 to 30. In 2002, In Compagnia did eleven performances. Only by opening up the commission and redistributing the funds on more open and equitable lines could the system change. But whereas there is a tradition of lobbying for fair principles of distribution in Emilia Romagna, this is alien to Milan. (Interview Regina Marques, 8.7.03)

Marques' artistic work with the Afro Brazilian actress/dancer Delma Pompeo, a long-time actress and trainer at Mashcere Nere, in *The Hour of Macabea*, she does not define as intercultural but as an interdisciplinary artistic exchange between acting and dancing, enabling her to work on a character and Delma to explore choreographed movement, usually absent from Afro Brazilian dance. Marques developed improvisations around a character further in the Festival Danaii when she danced in shop windows but for the Festival Orientale/Occidentale (East-West Festival) in Rovereto has returned to her physical discipline.

In Compagnia now resides in INBRIT, an institute supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Basil which aims to become a cultural centre for the Brazilian community in Milan. Through providing language courses, renting out rooms and small performance spaces, it aims to fund an artistic programme. Regina Marques will

run dance classes and weekend workshops for the general public and then develop workshops for professional dancers, and put on and host small performances and improvisations, the aim is to raise the cultural awareness of Brazilians in Italy of Brazilian-based music and dance. (Interview Regina Marques, 8.7.03)

Almateatro, an offshoot of Alma Mater, the intercultural immigrant women's centre in Turin, is another unfunded theatre, that is semi-professional with professional directors – the dramaturge Gabriela Bordin from Teatro Settimo –and Rosanna Rabezzana who specialises in movement, and one professional actress, Nigerian Sonia Aimiumu. It was set up as a means of developing the self-expression and identity of immigrant women, mainly professional women and students from Latin America, Eastern Europe, the Philippines and Middle East - in the climate of hostility in the early 1990s. It aimed to make the women feel more at ease and communicate, whatever their level of Italian, through song and dance: "Interculture was the keyword. We didn't want to assimilate..." (Interview Levaté 9.7.03) The group did workshops twice a week and produced a series of shows for schools and neighbourhoods.

Alma Mater received 3 year funding from the Ministry of Social Policies and a small part of that went to the theatre for internal workshops and intercultural education in schools. For one large project they worked in primary schools in the San Saverio neighbourhood which has a very high migrant presence. The year-long workshops experimented with different forms of expression and involved immigrant parents in telling stories and singing songs to the children which gave cultural recognition to the families within the school. It ended in an open-air performance with 80 children and 30 parents and teachers.

For a number of shows the text was developed through workshop improvisation in Italian and other languages on present themes, like *Chadour e altri Foulards* (The Chadour and other Headscarves) out of which Gabriella wrote the text and Rosanna the movement. For other shows like *Storie Sommerse* (Suppressed Life-stories) about women escaping slavery, the script was based on research on historical texts. Sonia Aimiumu wrote a script exploring the similarity and differences between women, across nation and nationality. For the past two years this has been staged with four women citing stories of other women – revolving around the central story of a Nigerian woman married off at 15 to an old man in his 60s to be his maid, which dramatised a real life situation, experienced by many of the different women interviewed, including Italian, on which the script was based.

The group also has a three year partnership with Teatro Baretto, a theatre linked to the Turin National Theatre, which offers them the chance to raise their professional level and gain wider recognition. In the first year Baretto bought some Almateatro shows and they are currently discussing co-productions. The group is somewhat at a crossroads. While the past ten years of project work have enabled them to train and gain experience as actors and have children, they have not been paid. The difficulty of combining being working mothers and unpaid actors with the administrative burden of repeated funding applications has become unsustainable. To take a qualitative leap to a fully professional level, they need sustained funding for administrative support and artistic development. This would allow them to go beyond 'the emergency of identity' of initial migration, to deal with the new social situation of the women who have settled in Italy who have other emotions that needs exploring. (Interview Enza Levaté and Sonia Aimiumu, 9.7.03.)

Sonia Amiumu stands out as an immigrant who arrived in Italy as a trained actor. But she found it hard both in Nigeria where dancing was considered immoral and music and acting were not considered as reputable professions and in Italy where she was rejected by the Conservatoire, (although the Jazz Centre readily accepted her). Almateatro offered her the chance to prove her capability in a new context and the community of women gave her the support of a family. She faced ridicule from fellow actors in her first show with the National Theatre youth programme in 1995, for her poor Italian and lack of theatre diction, but her accent improved and she worked in radio drama for two years and with the National Theatre in Rome, and since 1998 with the Teatro dell'Angolo in Turin.

Teatro dell'Angolo, founded at the end of the 1960s as a co-operative, was born from the idea of actors as improvisors of social reality. It has become one of the eighteen nationally recognized 'Innovative Repertory Theatres for Children and Young People' and is internationally renowned. From its contemporary reinterpretation of classical myths like Ulysees and Robinson Crusoe, Teatro dell'Angolo began to introduce the culturally diverse world around it into its stories. With Aimiumu as a black Cinderella in *Cenerentola o della differenza*, (Cinderella or speaking of difference) – they used humour, African song and dance movements and the interplay of languages to explore the relationships between father and daughter, sister and stepsisters, Cinderella 'with fair hair and deep blue eyes' and Prince, both as fable and racist representation. (Teatro dell'Angolo, 2003, 26)

In 2000, the theatre produced an extraordinary version of *Romeo and Juliet* – *Il Gioco di Romeo e Giulietta*, that won the Grinzane Cavour prize – for encouraging young people to read. It was performed in the huge market square of Porta Palazzo in Turin – a densely populated immigrant quarter and emblematic gateway to the city. The company worked for several months with hundreds of the young people in African drumming, dance and movement workshops in schools – and then selected fifty who rehearsed intensively for a month. They dramatised the conflict between the Montagu and Capulet families as a kind of interethnic gang warfare, in which the protagonists are caught on opposite sides of the line, symbolised by a high net they get caught up in as they caress and kiss through the gap. It used the imagery of the market, the rich diversity of fruit and vegetables as symbols of human diversity, with the violence dissipated in smashing watermelons. It was performed at night, with hundreds of lanterns, African drum and Arabic music to the appreciation of from the public of the area who saw their own lives reflected in the story. (Interview Graziano Melano 9.7.03; video *Il Gioco di Romeo e Giulietta*) This kind of collaboration turned the city into a stage and the performance enacted a new way of living together.

The Cooperative Laboratorio di Brescia is another co-operative children's theatre that has extended its understanding of intercultural from 'dialogue between various theatrical and artistic languages, exchange and research' to

*interculturality through narration, fable, shadow puppets, animation and dance, bringing pupils to the discovery of languages, communciative forms and rituals of cultures other than our own, in a playful, fantastic and mysterious way that creates a real moment of encounter through the theatrical experience.* (Cooperativa Teatro Laboratorio website)

From the early 1990s they have been producing shows such as the Moroccan fable *Hiena e il Ghul* (1992-3) which mixes Arab language, magic and culinary traditions, the *Nigun*, a dance piece of the nomadic existence of a dancer without a memory, from a family of acrobats, without a clear identity but for the mixture of cultures within her, expressed through Klezmer music, Nile musicians and flamenco dance; and *Hakim Alwane* (The Sage of Colours – 1997-8) a *griot* narration of the coloured elephant who discovers himself through experiencing difference in relation to nature and the world.

Some of the performers, the Moroccan actor, Abderrahim El Hadiri, Algerian trained dancer and percussionist Alessandra Orlando Ghezzi and African musician, H. Olama Oyié also run intercultural workshops for elementary and middle schools in the Arabic theatre of narration, Arab animation, movement and rhythm, African dance, bodily expression, and music including from southern Cameroun. (Cooperativa Teatro Laboratorio di Brescia website)

A theatre which has an even more diverse profile is the refugee theatre Teatro di Nascosto in Volterra. It grew out of Annet Henneman's background and training in Grotowski's theatre and her work in prison theatre with Armundo Punzo in Volterra. There they drew on the innate storytelling and performance skills of prisoners, who had no experience of theatre at all, and on dialect theatre, Neapolitan songs and hard physical training, insisting the prisoners had to 'be better than normal actors.' (Interview Annett Henneman, 26.7.03)

After seven years collaboration, in proximity to personal and natural disaster and the arrival of the boatloads of Albanian and Kosovan refugees in Southern Italy, Henneman suddenly decided that she could not stand by in the face of this injustice, but had to use her art to tell the world what was happening, through a theatre of reportage. Such a theatre would give voice to people who 'have no voice' and prevent the public consoling itself that the stories were just invented. So in 1998 she set up Teatro di Nascosto with Gianni Calastri and a team of Italian actors, based primarily around the plight of the Kurdish people.

The methodology involved gathering material from the countries refugees had fled and building characters from the real life-stories. So they visited Diyarbakir and Istanbul and on their return put on a *Serata Kurda* (a Kurdish evening) set in a refugee camp in which the public heard some of the refugee stories, performed by Nascosto actors and then share a Kurdish meal and glass of tea. *Lontano dal Kurdistan/Ji Kurdistan durement* (Far from Kurdistan) was a follow-up on the experience of cruelty and torture, escape and the mixed emotions of exile, which mixed witness accounts, with photographs, songs and dance, that premièred at the festival in Pontedera in 1999.

The second major production *Sebri Eyub /La Pazienza di Giobbe* (The Patience of Job) focussed on Iranian Kurdistan, following a visit to Kermanshah, Islam Abat and Tehran, having been prevented from entering Iraq. The play dealt with the desperate waiting and blocked aspirations of exiles in Iran waiting to go to Europe or to find

their families in Iraq, and included a Kurdish actor who had joined the company, Adil Yalcin. Other productions followed including monologues *Hedye*, *Payman* and *Ismail*. In 2001, they expanded their theme to world poverty, the underlying situation generating refugees with *La Scala di Povertà* (The scale of poverty) combining stories gathered from the homeless sleeping rough outside Rome central station, with those from Calcutta and Kurdistan.

The training for theatre of reportage involves the actors in entering another culture. So they lived with three girls hidden in an apartment in Istanbul whose parents had escaped to Europe. In Turkish Kurdistan they met women whose sons had been eaten by dogs before their eyes and recounted it in a calm and controlled way. They became schooled in Muslim culture, the strong feelings for friendship that are not openly expressed. It became the actors' work to imitate the behaviour of the culture around them and in the process they learnt Arabic and Kurdish dancing with months of meticulous practice. It was perhaps only one step further from this method acting to have actual refugees as players. So Henneman set up an academy with a three-year theatre training for asylum seekers and refugees, to train them to enact their own stories. Ten students from Africa, Afghanistan and Kurdistan were selected out of 23 for the first intake. They live together with Teatro di Nascosto in a living cultural exchange of traditions, languages and religions, sharing the psychological burdens of uncertain status and ongoing terror as well as formal learning of Italian, English and computer skills, which will equip them to work as intercultural mediators. And it has required sensitive cultural adjustment in the intensive physical training as well.

The academy has confronted serious financial and political obstacles because of the Bossi Fini law, which closed down the national asylum programme (PNA) removing board and lodging allowance from asylum rejects, which left seven of the Academy's ten students illegal and destitute when their applications were turned down. Nevertheless, the theatre has continued to work, producing and performing the show *Dinieghi*, (Refusals) based on the students' own stories of exile and asylum rejection, with the voice of the Committee deciding their fate offstage, with the performers on stage answering questions in their own language simultaneously, interspersed with songs and dance performed by a Rwandan dancer. It is a simple and versatile performance (they are now down to three students) that can be done as a short piece for conferences or a longer version for theatres. So effective was the performance in the vast expanse of Milan station in 2002 that *Médicins sans Frontières*, Amnesty and ICS Network who saw the performance invited them to participate in their international campaign 'Right to Asylum –a civic question.' They have bought 40

performances to be staged over three years in theatres, schools, conferences, public squares and stations.

This international recognition offers the theatre a lifeline – paying ≈20,000 for the project. The company survives and just about manages to support the asylum seekers, by combining this with European funding for the Academy under the Equal Integra programme for integration which it has jointly with Teatro Ponte'd'Era, sales and modest amounts from the Tuscan region which recognized Teatro di Nascosto from its inception as one of its first Intercultural Centres, the province and the city council, which also has also given them an old carpentry workshop as a rehearsal space. In all they have survived in the last year on ≈110,000, without salaries, although that includes rent for the house and subsistence for five people, increasing to eight in the autumn of 2003. (Interview Annet Henneman, 27.7.03; Henneman, 2003)

The Italian national policy framework has made incisive inroads into intercultural performing arts – depriving the sector of national recognition and support, and making it dependent on the political whim of local and regional authorities. This must account for the virtual absence of intercultural theatre groups in the south, although there is a lively music scene on the Adriatic coast of Balkan and traditional Italian musical fusion bands, and Middle Eastern and Mediterranean music, dance and theatre crossovers in Sicily. (Interview Gianguido Palumbo, 7.7.03) Yet paradoxically this situation has produced some of the most innovative experiments in intercultural theatre, circumventing national constraints – not only in the African-Italian *meticcio* but also in international cultural exchanges, and in a new kind of theatre of globalisation, funded by international NGOs - whether 'theatre of migration' or the refugee 'theatre of reportage' which dramatise global themes as they impinge locally on people's lives.

## 8. Spain

Spanish cultural intervention has devolved very largely to the cities and regions since decentralisation in the early 1980s. Central government only accounts for 20% of cultural expenditure, while the regions contribute over a quarter, the larger cities a quarter and the smaller municipalities another 20%. (Ministry of Culture, 1995) From the end of the Franco era, Spain experienced buoyant growth in cultural funding until the early 1990s, including from foundations and banks. (Council of Europe, 1994-

5) One of the beneficiaries of this growth has been the fostering of creativity especially in street arts and the recovery of public space for popular festivity. (Garcia, 2003)

Festivals offer the only outlet for the artistic expression of new immigrants. La Mercé Festival in Barcelona creates in a week-long fiesta a grand occasion for civic participation as well as a varied and variable artistic programme that attracts almost 2 million people. Toni Gonzalez has worked on the fiesta for three years to expand artistic participation in the Street Arts Festival which currently involves 30-40 companies. The budget for La Mercé overall has been cut this year to divert funds to the Forum of World Cultures to be held in Barcelona in 2004, and within the festival the first victim has been the artistic rather than traditional side. However, since the Institut de Cultura – Barcelona City Council’s Department of Culture – was involved in the Comedia network to promote multicultural arts in Europe through Gonzalez, they managed to programme a small Festival of Cultural Diversity within La Mercé, financed to the tune of €50,000, part by the EU and part by the city. (Interview Toni Gonzalez, 11.7.03)

The Festival of Cultural Diversity presented work across a range of the performing arts - street theatre and staged theatre, dance, music and circus with international artists invited from the countries of origin of the participating migrant artists resident in Barcelona, from other countries in Europe and Comedia partners. Among the participants were an Indian artist and African dance group from England, a hip hop company from Perpignan and African costume designers from Marseilles, acrobats and drummers from Morocco. (Interview Toni Gonzalez, 11.7.03) By placing culturally diverse artists in the different sections of La Mercé, they were spread about the festival. In the street arts festival *Barcelona Arts de Carrer* a range of Latin American groups such as Loco Brusca, Banda do Pelo and La Mescara performed. The *Passeig de Gracia - Passeig de les Persones* included artists from China, Africa and Latin America resident in Barcelona, while in the BAM music festival, musicians from all the different cultural communities played. (Comedia Project report La Mercé festival, 2002) Prior to the Festival, at the Comedia Conference on Urban Street Arts (September 18-19, 2002) a range of migrant artists performed, especially drummers and dancers of different ethnic backgrounds and traditions who gather in the Parc de la Ciutadella every Sunday to create spontaneous artistic happenings. (Comedia, September 2002)

The programming of local immigrant and international artists opens the possibility of joint productions which would give the local immigrant artists greater visibility and strengthen their presence in the festival and in the city. At the moment

they have a precarious existence, especially the undocumented - *sans papiers* - being excluded from subsidies and without the profile or contacts to enable them to live off their work. Most of them are forced to do other jobs.

In this context, the *Noves Veus* (New Voices) Festival of Intercultural Theatre held for the first time in February March 2003 in a series of modest, alternative spaces, was a welcome opening, acting as a showcase for the work of small migrant companies “condemned to the cultural ostracism and endogamy the rest of the year.” (Sales Alternatives de Barcelona, 2003, 3) A joint initiative of Sales Alternatives de Barcelona (a group for alternative spaces in Barcelona) with the city’s Immigration Council, it committed itself to working throughout the year for the integration of migrant theatre groups and projects into national professional circuits. Among the participants in the festival were a Brazilian-Chilean Monologue Dance Theatre, Grup de Teatre Griot from Guinea Bissau, the interdisciplinary Colombian theatre El Solar Taller, refounded in Barcelona with actors from other nationalities and a Moroccan-Catalan theatre that deals with the migrant experience, both looking back to the village and forward to the future in Spain.

Another festival – this time of dance - Festival Dias de Dança, organised by Marató de L’Espectacle, which puts on contemporary dance in open spaces, also features culturally diverse young artists across all disciplines. It has established an international network – and put on workshops with Union Dance from England and Belgian hip hop company HushHushHush (featured elsewhere in this study).

Some companies who came from Latin America ten years ago as artists, have become more established. Teatro de los Sentidos, (Theatre of the Senses) a famous example, was set up by the Colombian director Enrico Vargas, who came from the Mamas in New York. It draws on a strong Mediterranean sensory tradition and in its recent incarnation in *Oracoli* (The Oracles) on ancient Greek oral tradition with archaic and alchemic elements of fatalism. Palo Q’Sea (Whatever you want) from Columbia is a professional street music theatre group working in a magical carnivalesque tradition with objects, masks, giant effigies and figures on stilts. Its recent production *No me conoces*, transformed a funeral procession into the magic world of Latin American mythology to the accompaniment of live music with pyrotechnic effects.

As in almost all other countries, *métissage* is more developed in the musical field than in theatre, and there are second generation Catalan fusion bands – crossing Roma flamenco, salsa and rumba like Manu Chao, founded by a Franco-Spanish

musician who moved back to Spain, or Catalan hip hop, techno and scratch bands like Ojos de Bruyo. Whereas the musicians are very open and international, and work together easily, the performing arts are more closed.

Elsinor programmes and produces avant garde performing arts for festivals and theatres, and organises tours and distribution networks. Agnès Blot, who runs the 'Off' wing of the agency, brings artists from abroad, who are at the cutting edge, 'in permanent exploration of difference, aesthetic provocation and transformative cultural exchange,' among them Jan Fabre and Circus Baobab. (Elsinor website). Over the last twenty years she has been trying to develop a North-South artistic exchange, particularly of multicultural and intercultural performers but has been hampered by traditional programming in most Spanish cities and strong visa restrictions. (Questionnaire Agnès Blot)

This sketch of the culturally diverse performing arts in Spain conforms only too well to the arbitrary and restrictive immigration regime that leaves immigrants in an uncertain legal and financial position. This system also blocks the cultural development of immigrant artists and cultural interaction with the society and inhibits intercultural exchange with their countries of origin.

## **9. Portugal**

The shift in financing of culture from central to local government has continued since 1994, showing dynamic growth of almost 50% at local level (Ericarts, Portugal, 2002, 18) The Socialist government which was in power 1995-2001 adopted a more pro-active cultural policy, committed to internationalising Portuguese culture, by establishing an inter-state Lusophone cultural community of Portuguese-speaking countries, (CPLP) and creating exceptional opportunities for cultural exchange programmes within Expo 1998. (Serodio, 1999)

The new government, in promoting creativity, provided new support for the smaller, young theatre and dance groups. (Interviews Andreen 17.6.04; Deputter 14.7.03) An independent commission was set up to evaluate subsidy applications and three year structural funding introduced for established companies (15 in 2000) creating some stability into the system. (Serodio, 1999)

However the criteria of allocation have sometimes been contentious – in 2002 the commission for dance turned down the application of a young choreographer who had won the Ministry of Culture’s own prize for Best Young Choreographer in 2001, and supported a company which no-one in the dance community thought credible, instead. (Interview Eva Nunes, 12.7.03.) Such distortions in standards tend to penalise innovative or daring projects. (Serodio, 1999)

Part of the new strategy was also to promote literacy and new audiences through touring initiatives and new programmes for amateur and student theatre. Nevertheless there was a marked decline in theatre, dance and concert attendance between 1995-2000, (Ericarts, Portugal, 2002, 23) indicating a failure to attract young people. In 2000 support for theatre groups was debated in the media. One of the weaknesses has been the lack of a specific policy aimed at promoting cultural diversity, although some local council Youth Departments set up cultural centres for young people where they can experiment with new forms of urban culture. However, there appears to be no connection between the professional intercultural arts sector and ‘Luso-African’ youth who emerged as a cultural movement in the early 90s, expressing themselves through rap, graffiti, breakdance and hip hop parties. (Albuquerque, 2000) Unlike France and Belgium, Portugal does not have any emergent hip-hop dance and theatre scene.

In Oporto, the International Theatre Festival of Iberian speaking countries (FITEI) the oldest festival in Portugal, invites companies from Spain, Latin America and former Portuguese colonies in Africa, like Razies Inversas and Companhia Ruth Escobar from Brazil and Mutumbela Gogo and Companhia Gungu from Mozambique. However, there are few Portuguese companies in the festival, which work consistently with black actors - Paolo Ribiero who has collaborated with Cape Verde dancers is unusual. (Serôdio, 1999)

One of the few exceptions in theatre found in this study is Teatro Meridional in Lisbon. Its intercultural work has grown out of its conscious pursuit of bilingual (Portuguese-Spanish) collaboration in the Southern Mediterranean tradition of mime and Commedia dell’Arte, focused on the actor –audience dynamic. Established in 1992 by Miguel Seabra with one Italian and two Spanish actors, they worked without texts and as clowns in their early productions, graduating to text-based adaptations of classical works such as *Romeo* (1996) and *Macbeth* (1998). The group split in 2000 into Spanish and Portuguese companies, both with the same name, but different trajectories. Miguel says of that collaboration “We had different cultural references. It

was for me the best thing to work with people from different parts. If you have only one main cultural reference, you are much more limited.” (Interview, Miguel Seabra, 12.7.03)

Since 2000, Miguel has collaborated with Natalia Louiza a well-known actress in film, radio and television, who grew up in Mozambique and seeks to reflect on the post-colonial revolution in Portuguese-African relations in her work, not only with Teatro Meridional but also in broadcasting –she has just finished directing a series with African actors in Mozambique for Portuguese T.V. (Interview Natalia Louiza, 12.7.03) Meridional has retained the company’s roots in constructing works around the central figure of the actor but extended this to collaboration with African, as well as Portuguese actors:

*We want to keep a Mediterranean way of being in life, mostly an emotional way of acting, of relating..... You follow mostly what you feel – here bodily expression has great meaning and importance... African actors also have a different and still genuine way of communicating via bodily expression...that’s still very related to the earth roots. (Interview Miguel Seabra, 12.7.03.)*

Before Natalia joined the company, an interest in colonial exploration and post-colonial legacy was already evident in Magalhaes Nobre Tragédia historico-comico-marítimo (Magellan – a historical, comical maritime tragedy -1997) which comically recounted the story of Magellan’s trip to the Moluccas, and the Mozambican writer, Mia Couto’s A Varanda do Frangipani with Natalia in the cast. They have done nine productions jointly since 2000 including Mar me Quer a short story by Mia Couto, adapted by Natalia (2001) Mundau (2001) an original play by Natalia about the way colonialism had changed the world outlooks of Africans in Africa and those in Portugal, and O relato de Alabad (2002) which retells the story of the Second Crusade conquest of Lisbon through the eyes of the Muslim poet chronicler Alabad bin Muhammad Almançor. (Teatro Meridional website)

However, the theatre has not managed to establish an active relationship with African communities in Lisbon, despite attempts at contact with the African associations in the city. They recognise it takes long term commitment to gain their trust, but working with African actors and plays is drawing a growing black audience. The company is well-established – and supported by central government with a subsidy of ≈135,000 p.a. for two years, with five permanent staff and fifteen external

collaborators. They have tried to establish a relationship with the City Council - which changed political colours from Left to Right in 2002 – that has not been required.

ACTO – the Instituto de Arte Dramática is, according to its director José Felipe Pereira, “a research institute, not just a theatre company.” (Fortes Interview, Comedia report) It combines drama production and programming on global themes, international cultural exchange and training, with close links with the local community. Set up in 1992 in Aveiro, it moved to Estarreja, a small town just to its north in 1996, on the invitation of the town council. To help develop new audiences and attune the public to culturally diverse work, they established the Estarreja Festival – ESTA in 1999. Under the motto “A Crossroads of Cultures”, an international, multidisciplinary festival developed with the theme “Multiculturalism” in 1999, “Globalisation” in 2000 and “Cultural Diversity and Citizenship” in 2001. As well as theatre, dance and music, the festival featured street performances, café concerts, a book market, debates and lectures and working groups of artists from all over the world.

The company has evolved a transcultural approach to cultural difference—drawing it to Frazer’s Golden Bough – *O Ramo Dourado*, staged in 1999 from their research into “the body as a vehicle of transcultural genetic memory”. The starting point for *The Smile* was the fact that smiling is a universal body language “identically reproduced in ... diverse human cultures.” Actors from different national backgrounds, worked together in an international co-production with Comedia partners, Theater Zuidplein in Rotterdam and WUK in Vienna, which staged production in 2002. The follow-up *Life Rituals*, with Comedia partners Nes from Amsterdam and WUK, deals explicitly with the changes in habits and languages resulting from migration. The initial stage of seminar discussions with academics and activists as well actors, will be followed by three performances in 2004. (ACTO website; Comedia, November 2002)

Like ACTO, Rui Horta, one of the foremost choreographers in Portugal, was enticed away from the big cities of Lisbon or Oporto, to set up his Centro Coreografico in part of a beautiful old convent in Montemor –o-novo in the Alentejo. The company is international and multicultural in its dance collaborators – in the last performance there were French, Spanish and Czech dancers –but this is now common in contemporary companies. However the Centre is pioneering a kind of *friche* - the first in Portugal - which brings together multiple kinds of artistic creativity under the one roof – welcoming companies in residence, filming on location, a book fair with

photography, sculpture and painting exhibitions and roundtable, and it holds film-shows jazz concerts and dance performances for the public in the large hall. This is also a way of attracting audiences in an area which is socially poor, though not culturally diverse. They use invitations to encourage new audiences to come, and organise buses with the city hall to bring people from the tiny outlying villages. As Eva Nunes, the manager puts it: "They were too poor to come, so we went to get them." Performances are followed by après scène discussion to raise critical understanding.

The centre benefits financially from being located in the poorest region of Portugal which could help it to gain grants in future from the EU. It enjoys a 3 year subsidy from the Ministry of Culture, which over the last three years has been set at €99,000. They have no funding from the town hall but the free concession of the space with maintenance and overheads included. Although the subsidy is generous for Portugal, it only covers a third of their costs so the rest has to come from international co-productions – such as the collaboration with the Maison de la Culture de Bourges, with four Portuguese and four German choreographers, co-produced by the Tanzwerkstatt in Berlin with some project funding from the Goethe Institute.

The first artist in residence at the Centro Coreografico was Clara Andermatt, a dancer who like Meridional, developed an intense relationship with African art. Travelling abroad to study ballet in England, and contemporary dance in Barcelona, she became open to international influences. When she was in Spain, she won first prize in a competition in Madrid but decided to go back to Lisbon to her roots: "I feel very Portuguese ... I think it is important to come back and build something where you belong." (Interview with Clara Andermatt, 13.7.03)

On her return the Gulbenkian Centre for Contemporary Art – Acarte, one of most prestigious places for showing contemporary dance, invited her to do one piece after another, so she was suddenly propelled back into the scene she had been away from, for a long time. So she set up her own company with Monica Lapa –the director of Danças na Cidades, and Amelia Bentes who worked together for seven years. The style of her work was very emotional and theatrical –'Mediterranean' in form making no distinction between body and thought.

At that stage she had no interest or knowledge of Capo Verde. However Gorge Salavisa, the director of Ballet Gulbenkian, invited her and Paolo Ribiero to go to Cape Verde to do a collaborative project on Cape Verde dance and

music for Lisbon Capital of Culture 1994, for which he was the dance programmer. So they spent two months getting to know the Cape Verde dance groups, auditioning and selecting eighteen dancers and musicians for the project. As Andermatt so graphically expressed it; "The dance and music was there and we just grabbed a group of people." (Interview Clara Andermatt, 13.7.03.) They combined many different styles of traditional music such as 'morna' – a kind of fado, 'cola deira', a light, bouncy, swing, 'mazurka' from France, a Brazilian beat which were part of the rhythms of the interior - the *metizo* of people and traditions of the Capo Verde entrepôt. In the two months Andermatt and Ribiero were learning and absorbing, they contributed their own background, styles and interpretations to the mix which gave a dynamic dimension to the set structure of Capo Verde dance. The Capo Verdians responded enthusiastically to learning new kinds of movement and playing with their own rhythms and creativity.

From this initial project, Andermatt was drawn to go back by the feeling and beauty she had found there in the people and in the earth:  
" There was such a strong collaboration...we felt it both ways. 'O.K. Is this going to end here?' I tell them I'm staying there." (Interview Clara Andermatt, 13.7.03.) So with her company she decided to return and went on to do a series of projects, first *Dança Cabo Verde* (To dance Cape Verde), then a 3 month intensive education project in Cape Verde, opening her own work in the mornings to selected dancers including José Silva who she later brought to Lisbon on a scholarship, and then doing classes of contemporary work in the afternoon, with Monica doing tap dancing, improvisation and composition. The dancers who attended were semi-professionals who had their own groups and performed at parties and events they organised themselves. With the lack of a market and funding structures, they meet in warehouses after work to practise and experiment. Andermatt was struck by their energy and joy, despite the physical injuries they suffered from rehearsing on cement floors. Out of the workshop came the second production *C.V. Sabe* – a creole expression for something juicy and sweet, that also means to know in Portuguese. When Andermatt returned, the Cape Verdian experience continued to influence her work with the piece *Magnetic Anomalies* that expressed her magnetic feelings for the people and place and an elemental connection to the earth with music by the Cape Verdean composer Vasco Martins. The work was only presented in the Coliseum, and, unusually for a big theatre, attracted the Cape Verdean community who were offered cheap tickets for the second night. Although it was much talked about, it was too expensive and large scale a production to put on elsewhere in Portugal.

When Acarte invited her to do another production, she brought over a music group from Cape Verde with Vasco Martins and presented *Poemes de Amore* (Love Poems) with Vasco Martins' South-bound Music Project. This collaboration complemented her performance rather than interpreting her dance, by showing the evolution of Cape Verdean music.

In 1998 for Lisbon Expo Andermatt was invited to submit a project. With her partners from the company leaving, Andermatt went wild and proposed a huge project integrating choreography and music in a new way and on a grand scale with Cape Verde musicians dancing and dancers singing. As a result of Ann Rosenthal, of Multi-Arts Project Productions knowing her work and acting as her agent in the US, the project gained financial support from there as well as from Expo and Acarte. She worked with fifteen dancers and musicians – apart from a Spanish dancer and a Portuguese actor, all of them from Cape Verde on the project *Dan Dau* (I give you...you give to me...) They worked first in Cape Verde for five months, basing the production on interviews with Cape Verdeans around fundamental questions of doubt, love, time and death. The dancers selected from the responses what for them summed up the essence of Cape Verde culture and then set it to music and dance. Rather than expressing traditional roots, it was more 'the soul of Cape Verdean people' that came out of this new kind of 'researched dance.' (Interview Clara Andermatt, 13.7.03)

When they came to Lisbon, they ended up living together for two years with Clara, in an intensive working collaboration, taking the project on tour around the world. It was a total commitment. At the end of it some had to go back to their families in Cape Verde, and Clara did not have the finance or energy to keep the group going. So they produced a choreographed concert, synthesising all their artistic encounters which toured the US and Germany as their last act, captured on the *Dan Dau* CD.

The Ministry of Culture in Cape Verde was very supportive of the cultural exchange and invited her to set up a school there but it was not the right time. Andermatt regrets that the highly fruitful intercultural collaboration with Cape Verde has not left a permanent legacy, despite the growth in critical interest and support in Portugal and elsewhere.

Danças na Cidades is dedicated to developing international cultural relations with former colonies on a more equal basis. Set up in 1993 by Monica Lapa, a later partner in Clara Andermatt's company, it came out of the Festival *Incontres Acarte*,

(Acarte Meetings) organised by Georg Brugmans which introduced young people to international contemporary dance showing them what was happening in other places. It galvanised the young generation of choreographers who had no place to show their work to set up their own event. The Maratona de Dança created a showcase for their work, with small performances in hundreds of alternative spaces such as bars and cafés which were full all day and into the night. It was a huge marketing achievement, attracting press and public attention, replete with a political manifesto, claiming their place in the artistic scene. The whole festival was unsubsidised, but such a success that Monica and two friends decided to repeat it every year. So from 1993-1995 it took place on an unsubsidised basis for young Portuguese artists.

In 1996, the first year they obtained subsidy, they opened it up to foreign companies and hosted the Dutch company Rabana and the Belgian company Le Ballet C de la B. As two important venues opened at this time catering for contemporary dance, Culturgest and Centro Cultural de Belém, the need for spaces to showcase new Portuguese work had been met. So the idea of an international dance festival with a strong element of dialogue, workshops and exchange took root at first oriented to Europe and the U.S. But soon, they began to realise the Eurocentric bias in the dance community which turned its back on the South, even though Portugal had a five hundred year colonial history of relationship with other cultures. It required them making the effort of opening up and going there to find out about their dance and music scene. They also realised that they could not just go and invite companies to come to the festival but needed to build relationships with more continuous ongoing contact. So they applied for structural funding to enable them to transform the organisation putting it on a professional basis of biennial festivals, with partner projects running all year. The Cape Verde company Raiz de Polon whom Clara and Monica had got to know, proposed a dance school in Capo Verde, international co-productions, tours and an international dance festival. As a small organisation then, Danças offered scaled down support in a series of workshops, co-production and touring. The first production worked so beautifully, they continued the collaboration, finding that it became more organic and spontaneous over time.

With Brazil, they discovered mutual ignorance about each other's dance scene. The Danças found Brazilian dance was more developed than they expected but struggled to find finance, and were able to inform the Brazilians about the Brazilian dance boom in European Festivals. They intensified contacts, inviting dancers both ways to festivals and establishing grass roots networks. By contrast in Africa, Danças organises more dance training and workshops in Cape Verde and Mozambique. Raiz

de Polon became professional, as their work received recognition from touring in Europe, the main way that African companies can survive. International aid organisations like Unicef also commission work from artists for campaigns on health issues like AIDS or democratic issues like voting in elections. Dance offers a unified form of communication in Mozambique where twenty languages are spoken in the interior, so dance companies are recruited by NGOs. The main way to gain recognition however, is through international partners and co-producers like Danças.

This dependence on the European market, and other effects of European intervention on indigenous dance cultures raise issues about equalising cultural relations which Danças has had to think about in its practice. From his experience of programming African dance for two weeks in 1998, in the Centro Cultural de Belém, Mark Deputter, who had joined Danças the year before, learnt to integrate them completely into contemporary dance programme and not have them off as a separate category. For the International Festival 2000, Anne De Keersmaeker, Russian, Cape Verdean and African companies were mixed together and so the audience became a cross-over and the perception that the South had no contemporary dance of its own was challenged. (Interview Mark Deputter, 14.7.03.) Since 1999, during the festival they have held international meetings of promoters and producers which has established an informal network between them North and South, and a conference on a multicultural theme. One of these resulted in the book *Practices of Interculturalism*.

Danças has linked up Portuguese and other European artists with groups in the South, both to give workshops in contemporary dance to the local dance community and to work together on joint projects for co-creation in Cape Verde and Mozambique. It has now found funding for a longer term six month dance training in Mozambique with the many local dance companies. Once again this raised issues about imposing western dance forms on African culture, but also issues for Mozambique of the effect of bringing dance traditions which colonialism had suppressed, to the stage for which they were never designed and freezing them in the past without the infusion of contemporary urban cultural influences such as breakdance. These issues were discussed in a three day workshop and will result in another publication. Deputter sees it as a question of "how to inform without deforming.... The only thing is to do it in a way so that we don't block out their own traditions, their own body language which is different from ours..." It requires awareness of the unlevel playing field: "We come from the North with our knowledge, money, confidence, coming from a culture that colonises others. We own the market." (Interview Deputter, 14.7.03.)

As well as workshops and projects in the South, Danças has also set up a parallel co-creation project in Portugal once a year, inviting dancers and choreographers from the South – in August 2003, 34 dancers came -10 from Africa, 5-6 from Mediterranean region and Arab countries with Latin Americans, Indonesians and Europeans, to live together and work together for a month. For the first half, they get to know each other in workshops given by African and Asian, as well as European, teachers, and in the second half, they do laboratory work in a studio, exchanging ideas and experimenting with joint pieces. A two-week seminar takes place in the evenings around the theme of multiculturalism, exploring the experience of working together.

Despite experimenting new forms of international cultural relations, Danças does not have particular relations with migrant choreographers or dancers except Cape Verdeans who are an integral part of the dance scene, or migrant communities in Lisbon. The Mozambican, Cape Verdean and East European communities live very much apart and have their own cultural circuits in which official theatre venues play very little part. Attempts by Deputter to bring in black audiences to both Centrum Cultural de Belém and the Festival only really succeed when there are performances from the community's country of origin, so they failed, for example, to attract migrants to Akram Khan in the 2002 Festival. However, Danças does intend to do long-term projects with local immigrant communities when it can fund them. One project was already cancelled because of money. Ironically, as Deputter note, it is easier to find money for international work abroad than to acquire funding for a project on the periphery of Lisbon. As yet there is no government or city council initiative to fund outreach or project work to realise 'a citizen's right to culture' for immigrants. (Interview Mark Deputter, 14.7.03)

Culturgest was set up in 1993 by António Pinto Ribiero, a well-known choreographer and artistic director, as a multidisciplinary cultural centre, with gallery, exhibition spaces, conference facilities as well as performance spaces, showing contemporary dance work in Lisbon. The novelty of his programming concept for contemporary dance resided in showing culturally diverse work from the start, defining diversity not only as the work of international artists, but ethnic and sexual minorities within Portuguese society who function outside the mainstream. As Ribiero put it: "Multiculturalism from the outset had to be an internal problem." (Ribiero, 2001, 139) So he programmed Cape Verde, Mozambican and other minority performers, and also went on to hold a large season of works by gypsies, 'the strongest and most representative cultural minority in Portugal,' but usually invisible. He also

invited disabled artists treating them equally, with the same terms of contract and publicity. Culturgest, too, set up an annual multicultural festival in April –May of each year, with regional themes –one year *Os Árabes Entre Nós* (The Arabs are among us), another *Ôs Extremos do Mundo* (The extremes of the world) familiarising audiences with the contemporary culture of regions whose image in the west is of unchanging traditionalism. (Ribiero, 2001,139)

The national policy framework for immigration and integration in Portugal has inhibited the development of immigrant artistic groups, preventing many from becoming professional. Integration programmes are still at a basic level which provides little cultural opportunity for young people and there is no cultural funding for established companies to develop intercultural outreach and project work with migrant communities. So many connections are missed, although the creativity is there to be tapped.

## 10. Scotland

The multicultural arts scene has a rather chequered history and is only now beginning to establish a firmer footing and funding and make an intercultural transition. Part of the story is the slow process of breaking free of ethnic stereotyping of culture and of challenging institutional discrimination and marginalisation. While 30% of youth theatres surveyed recently declared themselves ethnically mixed (it is not clear to what degree, see Keenlyside, 2002, 15)), this is not reflected in any way in the professional theatre scene.

At one end of the spectrum Theatre Cryptic is highly intercultural at international level, recognised by Glasgow Council, funded as an ambassador for the city, but not connected to cultural diversity in Scottish society, at the other end the Edinburgh Mela and Scottish Carnival Arts - flourishing intercultural festivals of high artistic quality, have been marginalised as community arts, with a history of underfunding or not being funded at all.

Glasgow Council which is a major funder of theatre gives disproportionately heavy funding to Citizens – the working class theatre in the city - of £500,000 whereas most other theatres get £20,000 or less – including prestigious theatres like Cryptic. Although Citizens' programming is adventurous it is almost entirely white. Other mainstream organisations can afford to buy in black dancers or actors for one-off

performances or projects without being required to collaborate with specialist minority ethnic organisations. Tramway brought in Akram Khan and three weeks in advance asked the Scottish Academy of Asian Arts to disseminate the publicity through its networks, leaving no opportunity for it to extend his stay so they could put on training workshops with him. Similarly Tag - a well-known TIE company- could buy in a couple of black actors and win the tender for an Education Department anti-racist drama project working with young people in schools against a bid from the actor/director, Faroque Khan Abbasani and black community artist Clare Robertson of the Scottish Academy of Arts, without any attempt to get Tag to collaborate with them. (Interview Clare Robertson, 5.6.03.)

A dedicated cultural diversity post was set up in 1999, jointly funded by Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) occupied by Harinder Berman, an Indian Sikh with a community education and social work background. A special cultural diversity fund had also been set up for the modest annual sum of £60-70,000 to distribute to community groups. This sum was doubled in 2002 to £150,000 with the support of SAC's Year of Cultural Diversity. However, lack of strategic direction has meant that an already limited pot of money is dispersed to one-off projects on an *ad hoc* basis, which does not allow groups to develop and grow. Berman highlights some of the problems that lack of resources poses for voluntary community groups in over-reliance on a few dedicated people, leading to splintering and factionalism, and problems for him of being viewed as an events organiser and agent of singular community interests, 'one of their own'. (Interview Harinder Berman, 28.4.03)

Such rivalries led to the demise of the Glasgow Mela – the South Asian festival which has splintered into separatist factions and an attempted break away Muslim Eiyd Mela. The North Glasgow Festival set up in response to the stabbing of an asylum seeker on Sighthill Estate, and run by the Strathclyde police (!) was an impromptu and ill prepared response which lacked any involvement of local communities at first. Now in its third year, with Scottish Arts Council funding from the Year of Cultural Diversity, it has involved refugees and asylum seekers with the local community, commissioned new work and provided a showcase of performances from different cultures, introducing Bollywood dance, samba and salsa classes. One of the biggest successes of cultural diversity in the city is seen as the Chinese Development Agency initiative to extend the Chinese New Year through community involvement and work in schools throughout the year, engaging a part-time co-ordinator and a Chinese dance teacher working in predominantly white schools. The

aim is to retain the support of the Chinese community while making the festivities accessible to all communities. (Interview Harminder Berma, 28.4.03.) SAC Arts Development Officer for Black and Minority Ethnic Arts, Femi Folorunso, envisages the second generation Chinese, who have trained at Glasgow College of Art, utilising their community background to develop diasporic links with the arts scene in mainland China, circumventing the hold of the mainstream institutions over international cultural relations. (Interview Femi Folorunso, 4.6.03.)

Scottish Academy of Asian Arts in Glasgow, the longest established Asian arts organisation, dating back to 1976, specialises in classical and folk music and dance from the sub-continent, programming high quality international artists, and providing formal and informal arts education and training. It was relaunched in 1999 to put the organisation on a more professional footing to overcome barriers to growth from organisational and financial deficiencies. Clare Robertson, a Scottish Nigerian community arts worker and folk musician, was appointed in 2000, entrusted with the task of embedding the organisation. They needed to attract sufficient dance teachers who would be committed to stay in Glasgow, rather than bringing them up from London at weekends or hiring on short term contracts, and then losing the whole production infrastructure of music and costume design as well as dancers when the teacher left. In an attempt to keep hold of the teachers, they began to recruit directly from India with sufficient income to entice them to stay and build the Academy.

The Academy faces particular problems not only because of its weaker infrastructure and funding, compared to mainstream organisations but also because it promotes a minority art form within minority communities. *Bharata natyam* and *kathakali* are highly specialised, requiring long training. The dancers combine traditional and contemporary forms with ballet, in a very rich, vibrant contemporary idiom. However such fusion work – an explicit objective is to promote Asian, multicultural, and cross-cultural arts – has difficulty attracting a mixed audience. Asian audiences have found it difficult to accept male dancers stripped to the waist and touching and white audiences often stay away from a venue they perceive as exclusively Asian. (Interview Claire Robertson, 5.6.03) The Glasgow Mela, which SAAA took over and relaunched in 2000, has been more successful in drawing mixed audiences.

Although committed to partnerships with mainstream organisations as the only way the organisation can afford to bring over international artists, it faces the problem of their entrenched financial power. Organisations like Tramway and Centre

for Contemporary Arts collaborate on their own terms, as they can afford to bring in artists like Shobana Jeyasingh and Moti Roti with a ready following from their intellectual, middle class audiences, without entering into serious partnership involving co-commissioning with SAAA. Tramway only rents out space to them for workshops. Outreach by mainstream organisations has aimed at increasing their own audiences among minorities not in sharing resources with minority ethnic organisations. The Academy provides them with services, for example, Robertson sensitised their outreach officers to the high art nature of *bharata natyam* and *kathakali* but without them giving SAAA anything in return. As she sums up the problem:

*Glasgow City Council does not have an arts strategy. It doesn't have a strategy for ensuring that mainstream funded organisations have an equal opportunities policy that is activated... At worker level maybe... but what does that mean in artistic terms? They don't bloody know."*  
(Interview Claire Robertson, 5.6.03)

Fablevision, which was set up as a touring theatre company by Liz Gardiner, has been one of the main enabling organisations that have laid the groundwork for professional intercultural theatre –with Theatre Insaan. Inspired by the pedagogy of community engagement, and ten years experience of teaching drama in schools in deprived areas of Renfrewshire, Fable Vision aimed to cross all boundaries, including that of language, reaching out to the deaf and mentally disabled, playing in schools, community and resource centres as well as mainstream theatres like Tron and Traverse. When Strathclyde regional council made the condition of its financial support for 1990 Glasgow European City of Culture a socially engaged arts programme, it turned to Fablevision to deliver. Out of this opportunity, over a four year period, the first disability theatre in Scotland, Birds of Paradise, emerged and the Easterhouse street theatre project – a community play with 500 performers – *Ruchazi Ruchazi* - took place but, once the funding was over, could not be sustained. Fablevision learnt from this the need for sustainable structures and funding which has been embodied in their *Creative Communities* project. This is building a community resource, website training and cultural development capacity which has underpinned the genesis of Theatre Insaan.

Theatre Insaan started from a multicultural theatre project in 1993 in collaboration with Abhinaya dance project then based in Glasgow, and Sudarshen Dheer, dance artist-in-residence on Clydebank. They brought over dance artists and musicians from Theatre Action group in New Dehli to work with Scottish Asian

dancers. Faroque Khan, Jaya Dheer and Archie Lall combined mime and European style movements in the performance *Sufar so far* which dramatised through the different dance styles the split lives and identities of a migrant man who came to Glasgow from rural India and the wife he left behind. They toured it round schools. Out of the collaboration Gardiner and Khan conceived Theatre Insaan as a professional company with integrated training and outreach, but also creating new art forms through dance fusion.

The project *Soul Food* aimed to prove the potential through a series of workshops in schools especially in areas where children of minority ethnic background were concentrated. Twenty Asian, Chinese, black African and indigenous Scots children devoted two weeks of their holidays to it and performed it in the Ramshorn Theatre in Glasgow, in an experience that moved 'towards transculturalism' as Liz Gardiner described it. (Interview Liz Gardiner, 5.6.03) Clear divergences emerged in artistic and political approaches between the artists and the council. Although the Cultural Diversity Officer welcomed the initiative, hoping to involve the cast in the Lord Provost's procession and programming them to perform at the official opening, they felt the risk of being turned into 'performing monkeys' rather than being given support to develop as a permanent company. Likewise Glasgow City Council who commissioned Fablevision to do an anti-racist project after a refugee was fatally stabbed, sought to impose their own themes on the workshop programme, such as comparative religion. As Gardiner puts it, Glasgow City Council saw themselves as buyers in a marketplace, putting out tenders, rather than enabling artistic-led projects. Faroque Khan who headed the project, steered clear of the imposed themes and transformed it into '*Crossing the Rainbow Bridge*,' an intercultural celebration ending with a performance in the West End Festival and St. Mungo's Museum.

The culmination of these projects was the recognition in November 2002 by the Scottish Arts Council of the viability of the theatre with a £20,000 grant to establish the company, board and business plan and initiate the first project. However it required matched funding which Glasgow City Council refused in March 2003, confirming a reluctant political will to back a high profile intercultural initiative. (Interview Gardiner, 5.6.03)

Scottish Carnival Arts, another outgrowth of Fablevision, provides an extraordinarily welcoming and creative space to people from a wide range of diverse cultural backgrounds, including asylum seekers and refugees, yet it has no core

funding, relying on project funding and the voluntary goodwill of Julie Murray, the co-ordinator, unpaid professional artists and other volunteers. It is a form of intercultural community development which raises the level of creativity and channels it towards the Midsummer Carnival which is mounted in June as part of the West End Festival.

Involved in cross-over arts, music, and street theatre it does a range of collaborative projects throughout the year persuading other organisations that arts are the best means of integration. In the 2001 project with Maryhill Integration and Resettlement Network for Refugees and Asylum Seekers, which gained front page media coverage owing to the recent murder of an asylum seeker, they brought together racist gangs of youth, devising a route through their different territories for a lantern procession and put on new workshops to meet their express desires. The young people were open to African djembe drumming if it were integrated with Djing and they got involved in making large scale lanterns and putting on the evening party, working alongside newly arrived refugee children who barely spoke English. Street workers generally make contact with local kids in the areas they hang out to draw them to workshops in capoeira, breakdancing, Djing or whatever.

The space is attracting artists like Noel Bridgman, a second generation Caribbean Scot, who highlights the contemporaneity and intercultural nature of Carnival, 'about who we are now' in contrast to the enforced traditionalism and fake pastiche of the 'Caribbeanness' he experienced limbo dancing in the *Carabbinos* when he was a kid. (Interview Noel Bridgman, 28.4.03) The Carnival thus embodies a social artistic practice which integrates people of different ethnic backgrounds through creativity in a shared project, at the same time giving skill training and artistic experience to young people in street theatre arts.

In Edinburgh, Mela has gone a long way to achieving that kind of intercultural fusion and virtuous circle of equal opportunities for participation and training, building intercultural circuits and diasporic links. Arising in 1994 from discussions between the Asian communities and a race equality worker, the council set up a group composed of 12 people from different minority communities, including Chinese and African, young and older people, with council officers and cross-party political support which piloted the first small Mela in 1995. Alan Tweedie, a Labour councillor on the Race Relations sub-committee, who had a background in youth and community work, alternative theatre with 7.84 and equal opportunities at the Theatre Workshop

was invited by Shinaz Babadur to chair the Mela to avoid the factionalism to which the South Asian communities were prone.

The initial Mela aimed high with a big Pakistani concert of Nasraf Ali Khan, the famous Indian dancer, Aruradha Padwan, a Bangladeshi theatre company and high quality African acts but incurred a big debt of £29,000. However the stage was set for broad participation, intercultural arts practice with growing elements of cross-over and fusion forms and new international exchange with the Sub-Continent. Schools were involved in creative workshops, and subsequently in holiday workshops and local groups in performing, and now also in lead up projects, including an activity weekend for young people aged 15-25 with fusion music including Indian wedding bands, Chinese percussion, angkalung -a Malaysian bamboo instrument, scratch Djing, mask and set decoration, drama and streetdance, sculpture and scrap metal and self defence for women! The multicultural fashion show became a very popular event from the start with young people learning new dances and taking workshops in dress-making and design.

A new element came to fruition this year in the Scots Umbrella project that involved more than seventy musicians, playing on three stages - in a three and a half hour concert conducted by the joint composers, Colin Blakey and Kim Ho Ip. The musicians included Sangeet Mala Asian Choir, Indian Music and Dance Collective, Robert Fish Band, Tartan Dholis and the Intercultural Ensemble with instruments ranging from Galician pipes, dhol drums, yang qin, sitar and didgeridoo to conch shell! Links with artists from the sub-Continent have been cultivated through Tweedie's annual treks back and forth to establish partnerships and networks with artists, theatre and dance groups.

Although it has successfully avoided serious internal divisions, it has faced an uphill struggle to get funding and recognition. At the start the council bailed the Mela out of debt, but it had no funding to finance permanent staff. At that time the Arts Council only granted £5,000 a year out of a meagre £23,000 fund for all ethnic minority arts in Scotland. It was disparaged as a 'community event' especially after the negative experience of the Glasgow Mela. As the Edinburgh Mela expanded, it became more professional and mixed in its staffing with an Asian production manager and Asian co-ordinator but when the production manager left, posts were put on a part-time job sharing basis. As a result money was released for a part-time marketing post and an office-based administrative manager. Alan Tweedie was persuaded to take over the production side and so stepped down as chair.

Before relinquishing his position in 2000, Tweedie came into sharp conflict with the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) over the underfunding of the Mela. In the previous November 1999, the SAC Combined Arts Committee had dispersed £70,000 to already well-endowed mainstream arts organisations based on officers' select reports and representations. The Mela had been unrepresented and had not known of the decisions being taken and was incensed at the outcome. It appealed unanimously against the 2000-1 funding allocation, accusing the SAC of institutional racism despite its verbal commitments to cultural diversity, highlighting its refusal to redistribute resources to address the serious underfunding of minority ethnic arts. It contrasted the Mela's £6,000 grant in 1998-9 with the £30,000 grant to the Gaelic Faisean nan Giadheal (Youth Arts Tuition Festival) and huge £760,000 grant to the Edinburgh International Festival. It protested at being ghettoised and stigmatised by the rest of the arts community as 'less professional' and 'of marginal importance' and demanded serious reconsideration. (Edinburgh Mela, 2003) After bitter acrimony, the grant was raised to £7,000 and then £12,000 for 2000.

The Scottish Arts Council wanted the accusation of institutional racism withdrawn and threatened Tweedie with legal action before finding a face-saving solution through the 2002 Cultural Diversity initiative. The Mela was accorded £25,000 a year from the capacity building fund for the two years 2001-3. In 2002, Femi Folorunso, was employed to steer the Cultural Diversity programme, and the gates of the SAC began to open. (Interview Tweedie, 26.4.03.)

The Scottish Arts Council cultural diversity strategy was given a dose of realism by Folorunso's appointment. A university lecturer in Nigeria, who had come to Scotland to study Scottish drama and post-colonialism, he was drawn in particular to the neglected traditions of Scottish vernacular and popular theatre and struck by their marginalisation within the Edinburgh International festival. Yet his approach to cultural diversity is to treat it centrally as an issue of equalising citizenship not intervening in programming. He argues that excluding minority organisations from properly funded training and professional development forces them to rely on an 'exotic' idea of diversity in traditional forms, beloved of the primarily white but now also black and Asian middle class. He derides this kind of multiculturalism for condemning ethnic minorities to the margins while protecting the privilege of the centre –i.e. the main cultural institutions. In contrast the second generation, born and educated in Scotland, want to participate in the mainstream cultural space but find that their path is blocked. So the thrust of his strategy has been 'mainstreaming',

building up the organisational and funding base to allow ethnic minorities access and thus equalise citizenship in the cultural realm. (Interview Folorunso, 4.6.03)

The mainstreaming scheme provides annual grants of £3,000 to £20,000 to build organisational capacity and the employment base or to develop strategy, projects or research in minority ethnic organisations. Mainstream organisations can also apply if they want to enhance diversity. An Arts Traineeship scheme, on the lines of the successful one in England, aims to address the deficiencies in managerial capacity of minority ethnic organisations by placing people from minority ethnic backgrounds in mainstream arts organisations with a £13,000 a year bursary, for monitored training. The scheme solicited a strong response from both applicants and arts organisations who want to continue participation in the scheme. In 2002 there were eleven placements in a range of Scottish cultural institutions and 13 in 2003. One of these internships was in the Citizens Theatre for wardrobe, technical or stage management skills, while the one in the Glasgow Film Theatre focussed on administration, management and programming skills. The SAC has also established partnership funding with Edinburgh and Glasgow councils to the tune of £40,000 and £50,000 respectively to support smaller urban cultural diversity initiatives and has undertaken an audience development programme of research and pilot projects on attracting minority ethnic audiences. (Scottish Arts Council, 2002)

Folorunso is actively engaged in persuading several minority ethnic organisations that cling to their 'exotic' status and are resistant to accepting people from mainstream organisations or from other minority ethnic backgrounds as well as challenging the professional hierarchy. He points to the dangers of *noblesse n'oblige* benevolence that high level dependence on townhall funding breeds, in perpetuating marginalisation. With the political demand for immediate delivery and short-term results, arts organisations are pressured to follow the latest craze - at the moment fusion, enticed by the apparent endorsement of cultural diversity when participation in the cultural space on equal terms calls for economic measures - redistribution of arts funding and subsidised seating, to embed their creativity in the cultural sector. (Interview Folorunso, 4.6.03)

This would suggest that the strong labourist tradition in the cities, even though formally committed to cultural diversity, serves to reinforce the privilege and protectionism of mainstream cultural institutions in the face of demands to open up and share resources. This is not an unfamiliar scenario elsewhere, although the small, close-knit nature of the Scottish multicultural arts scene may have allowed more

intimate access to internal struggles over minority ethnic participation and institutional racism. These seem to confirm characteristics of the minority nation policy framework in marginalising new migrants while vehemently denying racism is involved. However, the Scottish specificity of this blindness to ethnic inequality and discrimination needs further research to explain.

### III Non-national formative influences

Whilst the national policy frameworks explain some of the structural constraints on the performing arts, there are other factors that shape the multicultural performing arts, such as the funding structure and the degree of centralisation of the state. Although Britain and the Netherlands share a similar approach to cultural diversity, the Dutch multicultural theatres are on a more secure footing and not threatened with huge debts and closure as has happened periodically in Britain and is happening now. Regional and local decentralisation can also counteract monocultural or downright racist national policy. In both France and Italy, regional decentralisation has added significant resources and ensured a proliferation of summer festivals in small towns as well as large cities which are highly multicultural in music and, to a lesser degree, in theatre.

However, even taking into account all the national differences, there are striking similarities and common routes to intercultural theatre and dance, which imply that other determinants that transcend national boundaries are in play. The most significant underlying social and cultural change is the emergence of a second – in some cases even a third - generation with its own identity – expressed in Käfig's insistence on being French dancers, not French Algerians, or as a nationless, diasporic multiple identity in Lusophone rap songs: "I am a son without a nation/I am second generation/Big mess /I feel my roots do not belong to this land (General D, 1995)

*"I was born in Angola, my mum is Cape Verdean/I have always lived in lusoland/  
Three cultures I will not break/Each one has something to teach me/ I rather make a  
fusion/Because strength comes out of union."* (Da Weasel, 1995, quoted in  
Albuquerque, 2000, 8)

Across many national cultures, hip hop theatre and dance is referred to as the new urban youth culture. As Tyrone Huggins, the artistic director of Theatre of Darkness expressed this generational change in England:

*I believe in twenty years' time, when my nieces and nephews have grown and go in search of theatre that tells them something about themselves, they will not look to the best American playwriting, or African playwriting or Caribbean playwriting. They will hunt to find Black British work. (Eclipse Report, 2001)*

The aesthetics of dance also tend inherently towards intercultural collaboration— as it is non-verbal and based on universal body language. As AbdulAzziz expresses it, the crossover of styles in contemporary dance requires a creative clash of differences which is the basis of living together. Theatres like Meridional and ACTO in Portugal which place centrality on the actor's direct communication with the audience, draw on the universal language of gesture, of the smile. The evolution of new interdisciplinary theatrical forms which integrate music, dance, mime, multi-media also make theatre less dependent on text and the spoken word. Languages are mixed with sur titles or left as a polyphonic element both generating and showing the limits of understanding. Helmut Schäfer speaks of a particular kind of theatrical language which is unique and transformatory like magic.

Intercultural theatre also shares common formative influences. Peter Brook's anthropological theatre research looms in the background of many of the white theatre companies that have become intercultural. For Catherine Boskovitz of Collectif 12, he was a kind of founding father as he gave yearly workshops at her school which she went to from the age of 13 to 18. (Interview with Boskovitz 16,6,03) Jerzy Grotowski's Catholic, dark, physical, actor-based style shaped the work of Axel Tangerding in Meta Theater and Annet Henneman in Teatro di Nascosto, who trained with the Grotowski principal actor Richard Cieslac, worked with the Grotowski theatre in Poland in 1979-80 and went on to work with another Grotowski actor, Cymkutis. Theater des Augenblicks in Vienna is currently involved in collaboration with the Workcenter of Jerzy Grotowski.

The performers in this field often come from unorthodox backgrounds and career paths, based on a political or social commitment that is transformed into an aesthetic drive. Jatinder Verma set up Tara Arts in response to a racial murder. Pascal Nicolas's first experience in intercultural programming came when he organised the Antwerp Festival of Immigrants in 1984 with an immigrants association set up by the Communist parties of exiles from the dictatorships in Greece, Turkey, Chile, Spain and Portugal. (Nicolas, 2001 and Interview with Pascal Nicolas, 2003) Annet Henneman

worked with Armando Punzo for seven years in theatre in prison in Volterra before initiating her theatre for refugees.

Sometimes politics appears to have been a counter trigger to engagement with local cultural diversity. This was expressed forcibly by Cathie Boyd of Theatre Cryptic: “I hate politics” she said (Interview Cathie Boyd, 25.4.03) in explanation as to why she got away from Northern Ireland to Glasgow. As 1990 European Capital of Culture, it became a showcase of international avant garde theatre that offered aesthetic escape in the wider world. Pietro Babbina of Teatro Clandestino, a similar international theatre said “We don’t do political theatre” (Interview Pietro Babbina, 3.7.03) By politics he meant polemical, partisan and instrumentalising art to push a message – the very same motivations that led Ermanna and Marco Martinelli to redefine politics as ethics and aesthetics in their work.

For minority ethnic artists social work or youth and community work offered one route into performing arts: for Kullie Thiarai, now co-artistic director of the Haymarket theatre in England, Abdulaziz Sarrokh of Hush Hush in Belgium and Yakta Amman of Theater Tiyatrom in Germany.

Training in and organising community arts has also provided grounding and experience, especially in England and Scotland. While gaining experience in a provincial theatre in Bolton, Paulette Randall also took drama workshops with unemployed youngsters in Toxteth, Liverpool at weekends. One of the kids she worked with subsequently followed her to Rose Bruford College to do the Community Theatre Arts course. As a doctor, Jean Djemad developed a non-medical approach to treating recovering drug addicts, by integrating them with non-addicts in cultural activities, especially music before going on to set up Black Blanc Beur. (Interview Djemad, 17.6.03)

For second generation hip hoppers, their apprenticeship is on the street and whether they make it or not, is determined by whether the kind of spaces exist like HushHushHush in Brussels that will spend the time and effort training them, pushing them to further both artistically and professionally. Similarly young black actors have come up through youth theatres which gave them the opportunity to practise, work together and build something that they could then perform. Ben Thomas, Roger Griffiths, Joanne Martin experienced this through Theatre Royal Stratford. Jongeren, Artisjok, Rotjong and ongoing workshops for young people by companies like ISH and Rotterdams Lef create similar channels in the Netherlands.

First generation migrant artists were often recruited by native practitioners by chance. In Italy, Marco Martinelli and Luigi Dadina found Mandiaye N'Diaye, Mor Awa Niang and El Hadji Niang on a beach in Rimini. Modou Gueye met Leonardo Gazzola through a friend and was invited to participate in *Maschere Nere* in Milan. In Belgium, Said Gharbi was 'discovered' by Wim Van der Kuyeser in a school for blind children and Abdulaziz Sarrokh's first break was being invited by the famous choreographer Alain Platel, to do a project with him when he was still dancing for fun on the street. Only with a strong community-based artistic practice of the kind Peter Van Der Hurk has created in *Wijk Theater*, Nes developed in *Bijlmer*, *Dito Dito* in Brussels, and *Hush Hush* in Antwerp can the talent and potential of minority ethnic young people be developed so they have more consistent chances of becoming performers and playing an active part in reshaping the culture.

If the individual pathways to working in the culturally diverse performing arts were unconventional, in order to overcome social obstacles, cultural marginalisation or plain racist neglect, where and how did the intercultural sector emerge? First of all in black and ethnic minority companies themselves. They were usually inherently intercultural even 20 years ago, although often ethnically designated to marginalise them. Tara Arts defines itself as intercultural and has always had a mixed audience for its integration of classical western and Indian forms of expression. Yet as Jatinder Verma ironically notes, when they put on the *Mahabarata*, they were an 'ethnic minority' company, when Peter Brook did it – he was intercultural! Abdulaziz Sarrokh of *Hush Hush Hush* in eschewing the label multicultural also highlights the difference in the way black and white companies are represented: "I also choreograph with Wim Vanderkeybus and Alain Platel.... They are also contemporary companies working with dancers from different countries but they are not labelled that way." (Interview with Abdulaziz Sarrokh, 19.6.03)

Yet the cultural bases of these companies are inherently intercultural – in the fusions of Moroccan, Muslim and hip hop in a bilingual Flemish context or *Les Grands Ballets de Maghreb's* fusion of contemporary European and traditional Arabic dance and music. The first French hip hop dance company, *Black Blanc Beur* had mixed ethnicity in its very name and was described by Djemad as a Utopia internally because of that, unfortunately not externally.... *Made in da Shade*, the first Dutch hip hop company was likewise mixed from the start, and at every level- in cultural sources – texts and myths, in forms and languages and in collaborations.

However, most of the intercultural performing arts scene in most countries has arisen from 'white' theatres which have opened up in some way to other cultures, literary and dramatic traditions and to collaboration with minority ethnic artists and communities. These theatres themselves are a tiny minority of the mainstream theatre scene so it is important to identify the motivation that led them in an intercultural direction.

The post-1968 political and cultural ferment gave birth to alternative theatre which appears as a primary source of the development of interculturalism, in its commitment to emancipation, its internationalist aspiration, refusal of hierarchical boundaries, focus on improvising and performance, use of alternative spaces that challenge traditional bourgeois boundaries of theatre, and recreation of a popular theatre by researching, retrieving and reinventing popular traditions, both native and from other cultures. Teatro dell'Angolo grew directly out of the 1968 movement, with theatre aimed at emancipating the imagination of children and young people. Theatre Royal Stratford came from the tradition of popular theatre. Teatro delle Albe articulated a political vision, which came to be expressed through the retrieval of African and Romagnolo traditions being lost through globalisation. International avant-garde theatres like Theater an-der-Ruhr in Germany which had a similar cultural political matrix, became intercultural through developing cultural relations with Third World countries, sometimes the countries of origin of migrants and refugees at home. Through this kind of collaboration, the ensemble in Mühlheim became mixed. Olaf Toneel in Rotterdam in the Netherlands followed a similar trajectory. Anthropological research on world cultures has led to companies like MetaTheater in Munich to navigate the local environment for other cultures closer to home.

Another legacy of 1968 was the commitment to a socially embedded artistic practice often in alternative spaces in working class or poor areas. The friches like Collectif 12, Mains d'Oeuvres, Belle de Mai in France, housed in converted industrial premises which cluster arts companies and performance groups in mixed neighbourhoods, have an active relationships with both the locality and minority artists although no explicit intercultural discourse in the anthropological sense. Cultural diversity in France is still generally conceived as meaning multi- and interdisciplinary art forms. However the commitment to a socially engaged arts practice marks out many of the companies which work with immigrant youth whether to renew audiences like Nes, Theatre Royal Stratford and Teatro delle Albe, to develop

the talent of the next generation like Hush Hush Hush or to generate artistic material that reflects contemporary urban reality like Dito Dito in Brussels.

It is interesting to note that the Belgian companies tend to disavow any ethnic designation, stressing the social or artistic motivations for their work. Berchem Cultural Centre defines itself through socio-cultural collaboration with artists not with ethnic minority communities – similar to the French model. Dito Dito distances itself from both a multicultural and intercultural label for strategic reasons of evading the prejudices of funders, defining this as part of their work but not their total identity.

Mixed immigrant background that Gerrit Timmers of Olaf Toneel has, though not generally cited in this study, opened him up to texts from another culture and then collaborative production with artists from the culture. A more marked characteristic of many artists in the sample is that of moving country for a prolonged period or permanently, like Roberto Ciulli of Theater an der Ruhr, who left Italy for Germany, Annet Henneman of Teatro di Nascosto, a Dutch woman who trained for two years in Poland and settled in Italy, Mark Deputter of Danças na Cidades, a Belgian who ran the Stuc Festival in Leuven before moving to Portugal, José Felipe Perreira of ACTO in Portugal who lived in Amsterdam for three years. Some of them testify to how enriching an experience it was. (See for example Perreira in Fortes, Comedia report) Undoubtedly it plays a role in sensitising people to otherness and lays the basis for international networks and co-operation. International exposure which Clara Andermatt had, in common with many of her contemporaries in Portugal who went abroad to train, enabled them to escape the parochialism and insularity which the Salazar dictatorship had bequeathed on Portugal. (Interview with Mark Deputter, 14.7.03)

Another distinctive attribute of some artists resides in colonial or post-colonial experience in their personal background which shaped their aesthetics and politics. Natalia Louiza of Teatro Meridional grew up in Mozambique and is fascinated by African and Latin American literature, but not European. In her own writing she grapples with the way Portuguese colonialism has shaped the outlook of Africans both in Africa and in Portugal. Leonardo Gazzola's art was formed through immersing himself in the culture of the south Cameroun and later Senegal, as part of retrieving traditions which colonialism and globalisation had denigrated and marginalised. In southern Europe, the cultural impact of the border region of the Mediterranean with its strong traditions of physical theatre, emotional expressiveness and less rigid boundaries between indoors and outdoors, high and low culture,

professional and popular, underlies the affinity of many the Portuguese and Italian artists - Teatro Meridional, ACTO, Clara Andermatt, Teatro delle Albe with African actors' artistic expression.

Major European or international sponsored events have played a significant role in opening up relatively insular societies to international cultural influences. Cathy Boyd of Theatre Cryptic found that Glasgow European City of Culture 1990 introduced her to the world of international avant-garde theatre which had been foreign to her. For Clara Andermatt the commission from Lisbon European Capital of Culture 1994 to go to Cape Verde enabled her to enter the vibrant mixed culture of the islanders, the product of it having been a slave and trading entrepot for the Portuguese, and so through her collaborative work with local dancers, she began to create a reverse relationship of learning and respect for them. Lisbon Expo had a similar effect in exposing Portuguese society to international avant garde and popular theatre, including street performances. (Interview Tela Leao)

European programmes have also played a part in bringing artists of diverse cultures together. The stimulus for contacts between Gerrit Timmers of Olaf Toneel and Mulem L'Araoussi at the Fituc Festival was a European Community Programme on Problems of Mediterranean Urbanisation involving Istanbul, Cairo, Casablanca, Paris, Lille and Rotterdam, to which Rotterdam attached a cultural dimension of exchange between arts networks. (Interview Timmers, 28.3.03)

International festivals have also acted as a catalyst for culturally diverse work, often starting out as purely international, but then promoting multicultural work. Kunsten Festival des Arts started out wanting to open up as Brussels as the capital, not only of Flanders and Belgium, but of the European Union to international artists, and from showcasing foreign talent, embarked on various attempts, some more successful than others at growing and harnessing local multicultural talent. Dancas na Cidades is working towards activating its relations with local immigrant dancers and choreographers, and FITEI, the international theatre festival in Oporto could enhance opportunities for immigrant actors and nascent companies if it, too went in a similar direction. The initiative has to come from the big festivals that have the funding and organisational resources to open up, or from city councils which give their backing to independent initiatives. The cultural diversity festival set up within the *fiesta* of La Mercé, in Barcelona is an attempt by the city's cultural department to diversify the major popular festival.

The decibel Performing Arts Showcase run in association with x.trax is a venture by the Arts Council of England into direct promotion of minority ethnic artists, through a trade fair with producers, promoters, programmers, agents, funders and media. But the *Noves Veus* (New Voices) Festival of Intercultural Theatre Sales put on by a small voluntary group, Sales Alternatives de Barcelona, show that even with limited resources but vision - in this case imaginative use of alternative spaces - it is possible to create openings for multicultural artists even where there is no structural support or political incentive.

International networks have stimulated intercultural collaborations and a sharing of problems and practice that provide support that is lacking in a hostile or indifferent national context. The EU funded multicultural Comedia network, involving Parc de la Villette in Paris, Nes in Amsterdam. WUK in Vienna, Institut de Cultura, Barcelona and ACTO in Esterreja, Portugal have experimented with workshops leading to performances and international co-productions which are shown in the respective participants' cities, as well as conferences, discussions and many reports. It has the potential of creating a dense European-wide distribution network for multicultural and intercultural performing arts. The Danse Bassin Méditerranée (DBM) funds contemporary choreographic works involving artistic collaboration between different countries in the Mediterranean region or creation in another than the dancers' own. It includes countries of North Africa and the Middle East as well as southern Europe - for example their next dance workshop will be held in Amman, in Jordan. (Questionnaire, Gerardo Ventura) This network can build on

Mediterranean affinities in dance and bodily expression to raise the artistic profile and popular esteem of other cultures within southern Europe, as Danças na Cidades is doing for African and Latin American dance in Lisbon.

Danças na Cidades is pioneering new postcolonial cultural relations with the South, reflecting on the practical and aesthetic questions of what an equal relationship entails. In Italy, the international cultural relations with Africa being established by Teatro delle Albe, Maschere Nere and Koron Tlé are simultaneously social and artistic, and migrant-led. They express a desire of the migrant actor to retrieve something of their culture that they have rediscovered in Europe and to take that knowledge back to share with the people, as well as creating opportunities for marketing African performance in Europe. Such critical reflection on post-colonial international cultural relations through practical artistic collaboration with the immigrant's country of origin goes beyond giving established artists occasional access to the European market. The process of long-term collaboration and exchange which leaves something behind in the South requires a commitment to equalising relationships and transfer of resources which is not a marked feature of either discourse or practice of international cultural relations in Northern Europe.

The key determinant of the strength, vitality and consolidated presence of culturally diverse performing arts, apart from the level and duration of migration and citizenship entitlements, is the role of more established theatres and dance companies in nesting and nurturing young minority artists and companies. Nes in Amsterdam offers rehearsal space, help with funding and training, programmes them on its stages and bears the marketing and publicity costs. The multicultural programmer, Laurien Saraber, who they have appointed jointly with five other theatres, actively scouts for culturally diverse talent and works as an intermediary between young unknown artists and the theatres. (Interview Laurien Saraber 31.3.03)

The Theatre Royal, Stratford plays a similar role for young black writers, actors and street dancers, as Tara Arts has for Asian actors, comedians and writers. It is noticeable how the companies which have already succeeded take responsibility for the future of the sector. Abdulaziz Sarrokh dedicates time to training hip hoppers from the street, not because he needs to find recruits for his company, but because of the waste of talent he sees. (Interview Sarrokh, 19.6.03)

#### IV. Problems and Policy Responses

Racism remains the generally unacknowledged barrier to cultural diversity in the performing arts. At an individual level it reveals itself in the absence of work for black actors as a lead Angolan actor in Lisbon recently summed it up:

*In general if you get work you end up playing the butler or the workman...As an African, you immediately encounter an Iron Curtain. (Cited in O'Mahoney, 13.9.03)*

Numerous artists interviewed recount individual experiences of racism – 'blacking up' in Rose Bruford College which Paulette Randall organised a mass protest over, Sonia Aimiumu being derided by fellow students for her foreign accent, typecasting of black actors as racial stereotypes which leads Modou Gueye to turn down roles in Italy.

The systemic problem of typecasting has been addressed by establishing independent minority ethnic companies in Britain and the Netherlands, by intercultural companies experimenting with mixed, and in some cases, integrated casting. This has begun to spread to mainstream theatres, in part because of the normalising effect of television which is more advanced in integrated casting, and in part by legislative and funding pressure.

The situation in Germany and Italy remains that minority ethnic actors face ethnic typecasting so they are not selected for their acting ability. The situation in France, Belgium and Austria needs further investigation, but in Portugal and Spain actors are not even in contention for mainstream roles.

Ethnic pigeonholing can continue to dog even established artists. Kully Thiarai was frequently criticised for not doing 'Asian' work, both by critics and fellow Asian artists, although she has always done intercultural work usually with Asian roots. (Interview Thiarai, 15.5.03) This kind of conflict between different temperaments and orientations within the spectrum of multicultural- intercultural theatre gives critics who are fundamentally hostile to work that 'contaminates' traditions, the opportunity to attack the artist for betraying some 'ethnically true' art. Many artists particularly second generation expressed the desire to be treated as artists not as representatives of their ethnicity. As Tanika Gupta has said: 'I'm so fed up with being called an 'Asian playwright.' They would never describe Tom Stoppard as a 'white playwright' or say 'with an all-white cast.' (Cited in Hoggard, 6.4.03.) Established artists also find that

when they attain funding, it is attributed by professional rivals to their ethnicity rather than the quality of their work, as Abdulaziz Sarrokh of HushHushHush has recounted.

Only in Britain is the discourse of institutional racism explicit, because there a judicial inquiry has imposed legal obligations on public institutions to monitor and change their practices to eliminate ethnic discrimination. The importance of this has been to focus not on individual behaviour and blame but on how to root out systemic discrimination so artists with a minority ethnic background have equal access to cultural institutions, equal possibilities of cultural expression and representation, and so can contribute their full weight to the culture. But there have been innovative policies from government bodies in the Netherlands and Scotland as well and more widely, experimental approaches from practitioners addressing these issues.

It is clear from this study that where artists have no citizenship, they have little or no access to established funding channels. However, underfunding of culturally diverse work – both of minority ethnic companies and of intercultural companies which undertake collaborative work is persistent, generic and a major obstacle to artistic development everywhere. Scotland provides insight into the mechanisms of discriminatory underfunding which came to light as there was a clear basis of comparability between a minority ethnic and mainstream festival and political contestation of the funding decision. But it is far from being exceptional, rather that the Scottish process was exposed from the inside. In other cases, artists have noted they have been passed over for commissions in favour of ‘white’ artists when they did not warrant it artistically. These cases are difficult to prove because of the subjective factors involved but the pattern is clear and sometimes an example is emblematic. In the case of Black Blanc Beur, they were asked to train ‘white’ artists, but the show produced by José Montalvaux, from work done with BBB at the bar which interpreted their need to dance was subsidised, while their own work was not. Jean Djemad concluded that it was less challenging or dangerous for the programmers to select the ‘white’ interpretation of their work, rather than their own version.

The predominant mechanism by which minority ethnic artists are marginalised is by the pigeonholing of their work as social/educational/ community or non professional. Even intercultural can be coded as educational and therefore assumed not to be of high artistic quality. The categorisation is not just a critical downgrading, but an institutional division in funding in Germany, Austria, and France, where up till very recently, the social was counterposed to the artistic. As this study shows, this

division has been used to justify lesser funding and marginalisation elsewhere– in Scotland this happened to the Asian Academy of Arts, the Mela and Scottish Carnival Arts; in Flanders Dito Dito and HushHushHush find quality is used against them and at the same time, access to training for young and aspiring minority ethnic artists is very limited, constraining the quality that can be achieved.

In England, the imaginative use of non-cultural budgets to realise artistic ideas, - itself a product of underfunding, can lead to the withholding of artistic recognition because the funding source was designated as social or community, however innovative the idea. Tony Graves highlights this in the critical disparaging of the ‘hip hopera’ he put on also using monies from social inclusion and access budgets such as the European Social Fund with some of the cast drawn from young black unemployed people. In rebuttal of that kind of criticism, he stresses the issue of social-artistic coherence and ownership by the community: “the idea of *orature* – the sense that the work, and the piece and the music and the people, ... the practice and the process aren’t separate, “ so that different sources of funding can then be integrated without losing the artistic vision and integrity of the piece.

The division of subsidy between many small projects and companies without any strategic priorities prevents any serious commitment to cultural diversity. This criticism has been levelled against the situation in France and Wallonia in Belgium, where there is no focus on ethnic inequality, but it also applies to the Intercultural Affairs Department in Vienna and the cultural diversity budget in Glasgow. The Choreographic Commission within the French Ministry of Culture dispersed a small pot of money among many companies in the 1980s, always excluding the one ethnically mixed dance company, Black Blanc Beur. (Interview Djemad, 17.6.03)

In other cases, in countries where immigrant legal status is insecure, culturally diverse artists labour under the lack of any public subsidy or support. Most Turkish and Moroccan groups in Germany and Austria, MaschereNere in Italy, the groups participating in *Noves Veus* - New Voices in Spain go without, and one can only speculate how many young black theatre and dance groups have been prevented from forming or have gone out of existence because of this exclusion. In Portugal the lack of young migrant hip hop theatre and dance groups is striking given that there is a Luso-African cultural youth movement.

The support for young migrant artists within the sector through collaborative projects of the kind found in England, Netherlands, Belgium is a creative response

from practitioners to sharing their own resources and greater access to funding. The sharing of superfluous slots for performances by bigger subsidised dance companies with small, unsubsidised ones in Italy is an example of mutual benefit. However, these efforts serve to underline the shift in policy that is needed to support new and emergent culturally diverse groups. All those involved in this work reiterate the need for long-term sustained commitment which requires guaranteed, not *ad hoc* funding, and a change in attitude to valuing the process of social-artistic integration and experimentation where the outcome is uncertain. As Abdulaziz Sarrokh of HushHushHush eloquently expresses it in addressing phantom funders:

*"You have 30 years... immigrants are here ...50 years ... and you have changed nothing...and you ask me to change in one year... no! You must give me also time to build up this kind of idea and maybe we have results and maybe not, but we start to do it, and then we talk about it. But not year after year after year. There is something missing in the system."* (Interview Abdulaziz Sarrokh, 19.6.03)

In trying to identify discriminatory mechanisms, prejudiced evaluation underlies discriminatory funding systems. First of all there is the problem of reach. As Laurien Saraber points out in the Netherlands, the only Dutch company dedicated to non-western dance to receive structural subsidy "is predominantly made up of dancers from western countries and with a western training," while the informal undergrowth of non-western and 'fusion' dance, found in Hindustani centres, community centres, flamenco cafés, tango salons, small auditoriums in dance centres, salsa parties and Turkish parties is beyond the ken of funders and critics. (Saraber, Comedia report)

Many companies working with minority communities pointed out that critics do not come to see their work, so they do not act as informed mediators. In cases where critics have attended, Abdulaziz Sarrokh has noted a learning curve over time. The narrow composition of the commissions which allocate subsidy – sometimes ill-informed – as Eva Nunes pointed out in Portugal, sometimes self-interested as Regina Marques pointed out in Italy, is mirrored in their lack of knowledge and exposure to non-western dance cultures. The Dutch moves to broaden the composition of experts on these funding bodies and the work of Laurien Saraber and Rita Lavrijsen as researchers for the Phenix Foundation, in raising critical appreciation of cultural differences and trying to develop intercultural criteria of evaluation aims at a culture change. (Saraber, comedia network report; Lavrijsen R. 2001, 2002 ) As Clare Robertson's efforts in similar direction within the Scottish Academy of Arts show, that

unless this cultural dialogue is accompanied by pressure to redistribute resources, even that culturally sensitive knowledge can be used to disadvantage minority ethnic organisations.

Employing a multicultural programmer as an external advisor, who is a specialist in a multicultural art form, is one way for theatres or dance companies to scout for new talent, and connect to artists in the informal, youth and minority ethnic circuits and communities. Theater Zuidplein's 'demand-led' model of cultural representation of ethnic minorities on programming committees is a more formalised attempt to attune its programming to a diverse public and to draw them to the theatre. Cultuurcentrum Berchem, in Antwerp, attempts a more modest but organic process of developing its intercultural knowledge through personal contact between programmers and the artistic directors of minority arts organisations, seeing a range of culturally diverse performances with them and discussing the work together over a weekly meal. Though these are not panaceas, they all seek to develop intercultural literacy, raising critical appreciation of other cultures and their artistic, cultural and social values in programmers and audiences.

The assumption of many mainstream arts organisations in provincial or rural areas with small or no local ethnic minority population in England, is that cultural diversity has no relevance to them. This seems to pertain in large parts of Europe. In this regard the Arts Council of England has developed a valuable strategy to appeal, on the one hand, to the self-interest of the theatres in diversifying and renewing their audience among the younger generation or dying off, and on the other hand arguing for artistic recognition of the vital themes and forms of expression within the culture. As Phil Cave pointed out, no one says Mozart is unimportant because they are not Austrian. (Interview Phil Cave, 21.7.03)

Transforming programming and diversifying audiences are integrally linked to marketing. Ironically the Arts Council of England researched the ways in which culturally exclusive marketing was missing ethnic minority communities as far back as 1988. Many of the theatres in the study used alternative means – word of mouth particularly in the local market – to reach the Turkish community in Vienna, and the Maghrebin communities in Mantes La Jolie, community 'ambassadors' who were either actors or amateurs – in Theater-an-der-Ruhr, Theater Zuidplein in Rotterdam and Volksbuurt Museum in The Hague. The recent initiative by mayor of London – *Get into Theatre* – a reduced price ticket scheme which attracted a higher than usual response from ethnic minorities, employed a specialist ethnic agency: Media Moguls.

They targetted the ethnic minority press, TV and digital radio stations, leafletted community centres and flyered youth gigs. They highlight the importance of mother and toddler groups, hairdressers and barbers, beauty salons and nail art centres for passing on information in African Caribbean communities and getting people to talk about a show. (Hoggard 6.4.03)

Equally significant is the effect of a low pricing policy - which enabled the Cape Verdean community to enter a conventional theatre space in Lisbon, and has been responsible for the popular mixed audiences at the Theatre Royal Stratford. Culturally attuned marketing in the right places also needs to be tailored to the pockets of minority ethnic communities.

Whilst some knowledge of diversifying marketing has been acquired, very little regard has been paid to the commissioning of new writing from migrant cultures in Europe. As Tony Graves put it in an English context "There are mainstage productions with black cast and black plays but not ever commissions, always an existing play ...so the theatre does not give itself over fully." (Interview Tony Graves, 15.5.03) However, in Britain, many of the culturally diverse writers and directors who have succeeded came up through dedicated young writer programmes, such as the Royal Court's and Birmingham Rep's. There is not only a deficit in Germany, where the writing is emerging without the dramaturges to adapt it or interest from the theatres in staging contemporary culturally diverse work, but also in France, there seems to be a dearth of such work. In part this must be due to the success of hiphop dance and theatre and prevalence of post-modern practice which focuses less on text, more on improvisation and physical movement, but even the innovative theatre of Collectif 12 which works on post-colonialism and contemporary urban culture has not thought of commissioning new work from minority authors. This raises the issue not of cultural demand or access, but of representation within the culture and participating in the cultural dialogue of a society.

Training is another aspect of exclusion which only the Dutch have really begun to address as the drop-out rate of minority ethnic students from drama schools is so high. The collaboration of drama schools with theatres which have successfully worked with and trained young actors from immigrant communities indicates a willingness to acknowledge the problem and to learn how to engage minority ethnic students in a more intercultural way. However, most minority ethnic actors in this study never went to drama schools. They are virtually all, as Mandiaye put it, 'non scuola'. In England, the fees have become prohibitive for entry into drama school

(£10,000 a year - c. ₤15,000) There is no discussion of formal training in relation to cultural diversity – only of training opportunities within theatre organisations.

The most intractable obstacle to opening up the performing arts to diverse cultures is posed by the 'gatekeepers' of the institutions, experts, festival organisers, programmers who overlook or disenfranchise minority ethnic artists. The measures by the Dutch Ministry initiated by Rik Van Der Ploeg and the Arts Council of England to tackle under-representation of cultural minorities on theatre and funding boards, in theatre management, administration and artistic direction through positive action and fast track training with bursaries are having an impact. However, these policy interventions would require serious political and institutional change in other countries to be adopted.

What is instructive from the study is the way that intercultural performing arts have improvised in a hostile or nationally uncondusive environment, with the help of local, regional or international support. The potential of European events such as the Capital of Culture in opening up horizons and creating funding opportunities has been underlined by the study. European funding for the Comedia network has helped to produce a European multicultural collaboration and co-creation, yet the EU's Culture 2000 programme has no commitment to cultural diversity and citizenship objectives.

At local level cities can collaborate with a new kind of theatre that transforms civic space, enabling migrants to participate in a shared experience that values their culture, as Turin has done. They can also foster the kind of artist-led international cultural relations which a number of theatres have pioneered in Italy and Portugal and gain the benefits of exchange.

Debates about multi-, inter- and transculturalism, and the different nuances in different companies are ongoing, and a range of approaches is to be expected and welcomed. The most important issues for the second generation artists are to open up closed institutions and force them to share resources and foster their long term artistic development so their creativity can be brought fully to bear on the contemporary culture of European societies. For first generation and asylum seekers who do not even have secure settlement rights, it is important to create networks and spaces which give them a cultural voice which will enable them to claim their place in society as full and equal citizens.

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