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1
Transcultural Europe: An Introduction to Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe

Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou

Europe at the eve of the twenty-first century

The debate concerning European cultural policy – or what we prefer to call cultural policy in a changing Europe – came very much on to the agenda in the 1990s, in the context of what we may regard as a significant cultural turn in EU discourses. There was the sense at that time that the project of European unification could only move forward on the basis of a new kind of European cultural imagination. There were two directions in which the debate was to move. The first was in terms of the construction of a pan-European cultural space, and the possibility of creating a common European culture and identity. This integrationist agenda was associated with the enlargement of European cultural markets and spaces, as, for example, in the media policy for 'television without frontiers'. The other direction in which thinking moved was towards a new regionalist agenda, with the slogan of a 'Europe of the regions', with the emphasis being put on the idea of Europe as a rich cultural mosaic, and on the idea of 'unity in diversity'. At the heart of the unfolding debates, along both of these lines of thinking, was the issue of national cultures, which have, of course, been the primary frame of reference in which cultural policy agendas have been elaborated in modern Europe. How, it was being asked, might cultural policy now be re-framed in a context in which national objectives were no longer self-evidently the 'natural' priority?

A challenge was thus made to the taken-for-grantedness of the old national policy frame in Europe. But the 'Euro' alternatives did not emerge as engaging or convincing alternatives. First, the national frame remained at the centre of the cultural *imaginaire*. The European regionalist agenda really amounted to little more than a more complex version

of the nation-state agenda – a programme for a Europe of the small nations. And the project for a pan-European cultural space represented an attempt to reinvent Europe in terms of an enlarged nation-state – often decried by its critics as a superstate, as 'Fortress Europe'. Second, the idea of Europe and Europeanness that was being put forward was a rather problematical one, grounded in the idea of a European identity deriving from Greek, Roman and Christian cultures. Such a conception was in its nature exclusionary, with respect to both the societies on the Eastern and Southern edges of Europe and the migrant populations that had come to constitute a significant factor in the internal demography of Europe. What were being put forward, then, were essentially proposals for the construction of a small, unitary and defensive European community.

This attempt to re-imagine Europe was flawed. What was being proposed was a cultural agenda that was inadequate to the complexity of what Europe had actually become. A decade on from this discourse of European Union, things have moved on and perhaps there are now new conditions of possibility for re-thinking cultural policy in Europe (rather than a European cultural policy). Now, in the early twenty-first century, the cultural diversity in the continent has become even more apparent. Central to contemporary debates are the issues of transnational flows and migrations across the European space, both regular and irregular. The issue of enlargement is complicating old assumptions not only about potential differences between Western and Central Eastern Europe, but also about the location and boundary of Europe itself. Here the so-called European future of Turkey adds new complexities to the debate.

However, it is not only the contours of the EU that are at stake today but also its substance. Do European governments and citizens want a more political Europe or more of a European market without the politics nor the cultural aspects of integration. And if a European polity is what we aim at, what kind of polity should this be?

The recent political crisis over the French and Dutch referenda of May and June 2005 and the French and Dutch voters' rejection of the future EU Constitutional Treaty is revealing in this respect. Right and left-wing voters and activists seem to agree that the EU has taken the wrong direction, albeit they disagree on their motivations. The right-wing parties argue that more political integration means less control of national affairs, too much diversity, too much flexibility and openness towards migration, a loss of identity and one's own cultural traditions. The Left argues that a No vote is a warning that the EU is taking too

neo-liberal a direction. According to this view, EU discourses and policies place too much emphasis on free competition, the self-regulation of the market, the need for flexible labour and the urge to limit and rationalize welfare services. The partisans of a Yes vote see the Constitution as a way forward that guarantees more political integration, more stability and cohesion within the EU, more efficient institutional mechanisms for European governance. They also argue that, contrary to what the left-wing No voters say, the Constitutional Treaty emphasizes human rights and a set of social and political values that makes the EU stand out as a pole of social justice, security and freedom, an alternative to the US model of excessive individualism and free market competition.

The fervent discussion that has (re-)started about what the EU is and should be and what is the way forward has important implications for the planned further enlargements of the Union. Rumours suggest that even Romania and Bulgaria may see a delay in their planned date of entry (2007), while the issue of Turkey and that of Croatia and the Western Balkan countries are being re-considered. Some politicians argue that part of the No voters discontent comes from the subsequent enlargements of the EU rather than from internal problems. Others argue that the '*Euro teuro*' (the rise in the cost of living after the introduction of the common currency), unemployment and the crisis of the welfare state are the main citizens' concerns rather than cultural or identity issues related to further Eastern enlargements.[1]

In any case, one thing is clear, Europe looks a more complicated place than its elites would have thought less than a year ago, when they approved the text of the Constitutional Treaty. It now needs a cultural imagination adequate to this complexity and the new challenges of the future.

This book aims to address key issues in the cultural configuration of the European space, taking account of the new cultural policy questions opening up in the changing European space. It will look at the recent developments that are complicating the cultural realities of contemporary Europe. Our intention is not to provide a survey of what is happening across the European space, but to try to pick up on what seem to be new and interesting developments, where possibilities might exist for pushing forward cultural policy thinking. We therefore emphasize the transcultural flows within and between some major European metropoles (for example Berlin, London and Paris), the rather closed realities of other European capitals (like Rome or Ljubljana) as well as new cultural trends emerging in cities both at the heart and at the periphery of Europe (for example Vienna and Belgrade). We question the relationship

between cultural diversity, cultural policy and immigration; we try to highlight its national limitations as well as its transnational dynamics.

Our aim is to critically address the way in which cultural policy has evolved until now, and also to develop new conceptual and theoretical perspectives for thinking about cultural change and complexity. Of course, the term cultural policy itself is ambiguous, since it is not self-evident what precisely the notion of 'culture' encompasses, especially if one regards some of the 'false friends' which appear in seemingly synonymous terms in translation (for example German 'Kultur' or French 'culture' or also the ambiguity of the Greek language on this matter as the terms 'Πολιτισμος' (politismos) (which literally means civilization) and 'Κουλτουρα' (koultoura) are sometimes used interchangeably. As will become clear in the discussion of the various chapters, our understanding of cultural policy takes the very broad definition of the term in the English language, whereby it addresses not only policies directed at the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement, but also those policies which affect the way of life of a group or groups of people in Europe. Cultural policy in a 'transcultural Europe' therefore engages not only with questions of artistic expression made possible as a result of the confluence and flows of diverse populations, but also with questions of their coexistence in the geo-social spaces of European society. This book is innovative and aims to provoke discussion about the way forward for cultural policy in Europe.

The innovative nature of the book derives from a number of aspects of our common approach. As opposed to conventional approaches that take as their frame of reference the nation-state and national cultural policy, this book sets out to address questions of cultural policy from an urban and metropolitan perspective. It does so by combining theoretical approaches with detailed studies of a wide range of policy documents. It also draws on interviews we conducted with policy-makers, and with many of those people who are the agents in the cultural life of European capital cities: artists, art promoters and media professionals. What we argue is that the city provides an arena in which to think about and experience cultural policy on a more complex and complicated basis. Cities are places of cultural encounter, in which issues of cultural and intercultural relations are posed more intensely.

We are concerned very centrally with the issue of cultural diversity, and have as a core concern the significance of migrant populations living in European cities. This includes consideration of post-colonial migrants, but also the new global migrants that began to arrive in significant

numbers in the 1990s. Rather than focusing only on the European Union, this book also seeks to address the relationship between Western and Eastern Europe, which has been a relation of cultural inequality, but one that is potentially being recast in the context of EU enlargement.

Whilst we aim to contribute to policy thinking in the wider Europe, we are also seeking to develop a more reflexive approach to policy – an anthropology of policy-making – both at the transnational level (for example through looking at the workings of policy 'machines' like the European Commission and the Council of Europe) and at the local level of municipalities and regions.

We are concerned with culture, not as something static and grounded in a particular location, but as a mobile and dynamic phenomenon. The concept of *nexus* is used to invoke the complex and varied kinds of interactions that are occurring between places and social groups, which go beyond the national framework of territory and policy-making.

Our aim in this introductory chapter is to establish the contemporary context for this book by discussing a number of issues that are related to cultural policy in Europe today. First, we shall briefly comment on the crisis of multiculturalism that seems to dominate public and political discourses in both 'new' and 'old' immigration countries. Second, we shall discuss the emerging politics of securitization, of securitization of migration, in particular, and its repercussions on a policy and politics of cultural diversity at the national and European level. Against this background we shall discuss, in the third section below, the transnational and transcultural realities that exist and even thrive in several European cities. We shall thus highlight the opposing tendencies that characterize culture and cultural policy in Europe today. The chapter will conclude with a brief presentation of the contents of this volume.

The crisis of multiculturalism[2]

After the relative prominence of theoretical debates and developments surrounding multicultural citizenship and policy in the 1990s, we witness today a change of direction. The governments of several 'old' immigration hosts like the Netherlands, Britain or France are tempted to adopt assimilationist approaches as a best way towards integration, to counteract what they perceive as a (relative) failure of their former multicultural policies. New hosts such as Italy and 'older' hosts such as Germany or Austria that did not consider themselves as immigration countries find it even harder to adopt a multicultural approach, even if political elites recognize the need to integrate immigrants as citizens.

As a political ideal, multiculturalism means 'equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance'. Multiculturalism in general is defined in terms of public acceptance of immigrants and minority groups as distinct groups or communities, which are distinguishable from the majority with regard to language, culture and social behaviour; and which have their own associations and social infrastructure (European Commission, 2003). Multiculturalism implies that members of such groups should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values. It is this combination of recognition of cultural diversity and measures to ensure social equality that is the essential feature of multiculturalism. Importantly immigrants are perceived as active participants in consolidating multicultural processes.

Multiculturalism debates and measures have already been developed in some European countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK since the 1970s. During the 1990s, theoretical debates about multicultural citizenship and multicultural policy developments have become prominent in most European countries as well as in the United States, Canada and Australia. However, at the turn of the twenty-first century, multicultural approaches to citizenship experienced a downturn.

In Britain, as Kiwan and Meinhof show in this volume, the terms in which the debate is cast are often disputed and contradictory, with multiculturalism and cultural diversity in some contexts being used as synonymous or, in others, as distinctive models. In spite of this general acceptance of a British multicultural model, the need for a review and appraisal of immigrant related policies became apparent already in the late 1990s. The Runnymede Trust produced several reports which warned of widespread Islamophobia which could undermine the future of a multi-ethnic Britain (Runnymede Trust 1997, 2000, 2004). The idea that Britain is a 'community of communities' has been reiterated, seeking to ascertain not only individual rights and liberties, but also recognizing group cultures and collective rights.

More recently, the multiculturalism debate has been re-opened with regard to the role and policy of the state towards arranged or even forced marriages between minors and towards the establishment of faith schools. Obviously answers to such claims and the implementation of related policies are not simple matters. The overall debate in Britain has also raised for the first time the issue of a minimum cultural integration of immigrants in British society, considering, for instance, the question of language fluency.

Similar debates about the basis of immigrant integration have been taking place in France in the same period. These debates have been going on for more than a decade, triggered initially by the famous 'headscarf affair' in 1989. More recently, the debate has become particularly heated after the passing of a law banning the use of ostentatious religious symbols in public places (public schools in particular) in March 2004, as well as the establishment of the *Conseil Français du Culte Musulman* (CFCM) in April 2003 as a means to give institutional legitimacy to French Muslims (Kastoryano, 2005).

In Germany, on the other hand, while multiculturalism still remains a highly disputed option for migrant integration, several steps have been taken in recent years to encourage the socio-political integration of long-term immigrants, relaxing the rules of naturalization and acknowledging that Germany is indeed an immigration country. These changes started in the year 2000 with the new law on citizenship, were followed by a new bill on migration that was voted in 2002 but later annulled by a Constitutional Court decision that judged it unconstitutional.[3] Recent studies on the implementation of naturalization policies show that Turks are the group most willing to naturalize by comparison to other large immigrant groups like Italians or citizens of former Yugoslavia (Diehl and Blomm, 2003). However, Schiffauer (2005) shows that national authorities exert a high level of discretion, for example, in excluding from citizenship individuals who have been active in Muslim organizations, regardless of whether such organizations were legal and moderate in their political orientations.

The landscape is gloomier in Austria where the rise of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) during the last decade, the political dominance of this party in Southern Austria, and many incidents of xenophobia and racism have left little room for the emergence of a multiculturalism debate and policy approach. On the contrary, migration is now managed through seasonal labour schemes that are allowed to deviate from the normal labour laws of Austria. Immigrant integration as a policy has become a controversial topic despite the rich multicultural environment of Vienna (Jandl and Kraler, 2003).

In European countries, where migration is a more recent phenomenon, such as in Italy and even more so in Slovenia, multiculturalism has yet to take roots as a concrete policy approach. Italian political elites have recognized that immigrants are there to stay and need to be integrated. Related discourses in the media and among political and religious elites have concentrated on whether immigrants should be given the right to vote. While several Italian regions enable immigrants to vote in local

and regional elections, others do not. The issue of immigrant voting in national elections remains a taboo. At the same time, naturalization policies are very restrictive (Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 2005). Debates have also developed with regard to religious freedom and the respect for religious diversity. While these principles are clear in theory, they are harder to follow in practice. It remains a contested issue whether Muslims should be enabled to establish proper mosques rather than informal places of worship (Triandafyllidou, 2005b).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, multicultural citizenship debates appear to experience a decline or at least a reorganization as, on one hand, the drawbacks and weaknesses of established models (like the French or the British) have become obvious, and, on the other hand, 'new hosts' are still very hesitant to embrace a multiculturalism policy approach. This turn away from multiculturalism and towards civic and cultural assimilation models has been triggered not only by national factors (increasing migration and asylum flows, related moral panics in the media, ineffective integration policies, alienation of immigrant populations, the rise of extreme right-wing parties) but also by international ones, notably through a generalized concern of Western countries with security. This security debate clearly identifies the enemy that endangers 'our' security, namely the 'international terrorist actions' of 'Muslim fundamentalists'. In the following section, we shall consider briefly the main features of this 'security first' approach that has dominated European policy and politics during the past few years.

'Security first'

The crisis of multiculturalism outlined above comes at a time of heightened security awareness as a result of the September 11 events in New York and their aftermath. This upsurge of international terrorism has led to the increasing securitization of migration agendas. Even though suspected terrorists are apparently to be found among the educated, middle-class, legal immigrants – the 'good' kind of immigrants that Western societies and economies have been competing for in the past decade – the argument of terrorism is now used in the policy debate to justify tougher controls of migration in general. Such controls violate – in the name of security– basic individual rights of EU citizens and third-country nationals alike. Nonetheless, there is little evidence that undocumented migrants that illegally cross the borders of EU member states and work in their shadow economies,

gradually settling down and eventually regularizing their status, are among the suspects for highly sophisticated terrorist attacks of the 9/11 kind.

Migration issues are often linked to a sense of 'threat'. In immigration countries, migrants are seen to pose a threat to 'our' jobs, income, culture, public order and lifestyle. Indeed, in migration debates migration is often represented as a challenge to the welfare state of the receiving society and as a threat to the national culture and public order. In sum, migration is defined as a 'danger' to society (Bigo, 1994, 1996). This sense of threat that accompanies migration is perhaps inherent in the nature of national states and societies where ethnic and territorial boundaries must coincide. Migrants are an 'abnormality' for the national order (Sayad, 1991). The current upsurge of international terrorism and the related security debate has conveniently built upon the former 'threat' discourse related to migration, establishing a link between migration, international terrorism and 'our' sense of security.

It is publicly convenient to dramatize the link between international migration and security. Such a link offers holistic explanations to two complex societal issues. Migration is a multifaceted phenomenon with important social, economic, cultural and political repercussions for both the sending and the receiving societies. International security, and its main enemy, international terrorism, are equally complex issues because they require deep knowledge of global and regional politics, of specific sub-cultures that characterise terrorist movements and an understanding of the conditions that may act as a catalyst for potential terrorists to become actual perpetrators of terrorism acts. However, as both international terrorism and migration involve the crossing of state borders and the juxtaposition between what is 'ours', well-known, familiar and what is 'out there', alien to 'us', unfamiliar and often opposed to 'our' way of life, a link between the two appears nearly automatic. Thus, international migration becomes ultimately a security matter.

Security has become not only the nodal point where international terrorism and international migration meet, but also the primary concern of governments. Security acquires a meaning when it is contested or threatened. It involves, by definition, the recognition of a threat and of a threatening 'Other'. In the post-Cold War context, when the dominant threatening Other, the 'Eastern bloc' has been dismantled and economic and political cooperation has replaced the armaments' competition, 'the West', and Europe in particular, have been left without important threatening others against whom to reassert their sense of identity and security.

The 9/11 events have offered a convenient and compelling solution to the lack of significant 'Others' (Triandafyllidou, 1999). Immigrants, and in particular Muslim immigrants, have become the main suspects of internal and external 'threat'. In political and in media debates a self-evident link has been constructed, which connects the Taliban, bin-Laden, Saddam Hussein, his followers and a few other extremist Islamic organizations with one another, and at the same time all or some of these 'extremists' with international migration in general.

The new Others have not only been found in distant countries like Afghanistan or Iraq. Some of the new threatening Others – suspected members of the Taliban militia – were identified as British citizens or legal residents in France or Germany. Their suspected collaborators have been intercepted in Spain, Italy and France. Thus, the link has not only been 'proven' true but it also provided a convenient rationale for disapproving of multiculturalism and immigration. Hence in public and media discourse, Muslim immigrants and Muslim citizens have been conveniently demonized. Many problems and challenges are thus subsumed in a Manichaean view of the world which polarizes 'good and innocent (Western) victims' and 'bad and dangerous Muslim perpetrators'. In any case, the 'problem' lies with 'them', the 'Muslims', and not with 'us'.

Threat and the control of threat, the reestablishment of security and order are powerful sources of cohesion within society. Especially when fear is objectless and vague, and when genuine links between migration and international terrorism, ethno-national conflict, drug trafficking, organized crime are hard to document. Hence politicians can make bold statements without proving them, but equally without having to face counter-evidence.

In this securitized context, it is often forgotten that migration and transnational links of the diaspora communities have important positive socio-political and economic effects: they contribute to the economic and political development of both sending and receiving societies. They usually play a positive role in the host-country economy by easing labour shortages and contributing to overall growth, while they also send remittances to their country of origin. Moreover, while they may act as remote agents of political modernization in their countries of origin, they also contribute to the host society through their civic and cultural associations as well as their political mobilization for rights or against discrimination. Most importantly for our interest in cultural policy here, transnational diasporas are homes to some of the most imaginative and inventive forms of art. They contribute not only to

the development of new artistic expressions but also provide for new forums for the cultural expression of immigrant citizens and denizens alike. Such forums and cultural activities, as the research presented in this book suggests, often exist in spite of, rather than thanks to urban or national cultural policies. The latter continue to categorize art by migrant artists as socio-culture, which is not respected for the intrinsic artistic value which is reserved for the high art of 'natives' or 'world music' stars from overseas. In the following section, we shall consider some of the main features of European capital cities today and of their transnational realities that open new spaces for cultural expression.

European cities and transnational spaces

Against this rather bleak background of multiculturalism policies in crisis and an emphasis on security issues at national level, a more careful look at large European cities reveals a different situation. Although the situation can be very uneven from one city to another, transnational networks are nevertheless developing and even thriving. These new flows and networks challenge and disrupt national discourses of cultural homogeneity which insist that many groups of 'outsiders' have to assimilate to a dominant 'insider' culture.

At the centre of our project on which this book is based, stood the premise that cities provide better cognitive tools than nations for re-imagining the new interdependencies and flows of contemporary societies. They also provide empirical evidence for the ways in which the possibilities of living with others can be seen as an opportunity for encounter, rather than purely as a threat to security and dominant orders.

A global city like London (Sassen, 1999; Asu Aksoy, this volume) is a case in point. London is a centre for important flows of commodities and people that transcend urban and national territorial boundaries, turning it into a cosmopolitan city. Both of Aksoy's chapters in this volume point to the cosmopolitan reality of contemporary city life. In her chapter on London she shows how transnational media and world cultural events cater for and express the needs of London's diverse people. These are no longer to be limited to traditional bounded communities, but take the form of transnational and fluid groups that combine home-country orientations with host-country experiences, creating an overall openness towards new forms of cultural identity and expression. In a further chapter focusing on migrant networks in general and Turkish networks in particular, Aksoy sees a new form of sociality developing which link

family networks with broader networks of business, information, religion and politics.

The chapter by Ulrike Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou on transnationalism and their analysis of African migrants in Europe show similar processes in action. Their research as well as that by Kiwan and Kosnick underwrites the cosmopolitan nature of Paris as a capital city. To understand the complex nature of the artistic creativity of transnational musicians from Africa in Paris, and the transnational networks which underpin their professional musical careers, the authors introduce the new concept of 'transcultural capital'. By this they reference a particular blend of social and cultural capital in these migrant musicians' lives, which has positive economic consequences. Paris like London is thus characterized by a thriving scene of world cultural events, transnational media, and important cultural flows among its Maghrebi and African diasporas that build links with other European cities such as Berlin, Vienna or Rome.

Kiwan and Kosnick's chapter on Berlin and Paris addresses both the opportunities of the city for artistic creativity, but it also problematizes the different policy contexts for post-migrant cultural production. Here they see a division into 'ethno-culture' on the one hand, and 'high culture' on the other. They argue that at the institutional level of cultural policy it is implicitly presumed that non-'white' immigrants will, above all, engage in cultural or artistic projects which are tied to the notion of ethnic and social identities, and do not qualify as 'serious' cultural contributions of artistic value. Similar problems are registered in the other cities where the large and economically profitable 'world music' events often exclude immigrant musicians.

The chapter on urban cultural policy in Rome by Ankica Kosic and Anna Triandafyllidou in this volume presents a rather disappointing situation in the Italian capital where immigrants are marginalized both as cultural producers and consumers. However, some artists testify to transnational exchanges and flows that bring African and Maghrebi artists from Paris to Rome in search for better work (and legal stay) opportunities. Similarly, some of the immigrant artists based in Rome long for the openness and cosmopolitanism of Paris that would give them many more chances to survive and develop their skills.

There is evidence of transnational flows in Belgrade and Ljubljana as well, despite the recent experience of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the war and embargo that Serbia experienced until recently. Indeed, the alternative and underground transnational scene in these two cities is characterized by the very specific history and recent experience of the

Balkans. Migrants come from places that were once part of the 'home country', notably Yugoslavia. They are now re-imagined as aliens and migrants, but the cultural flows and networks remain active so that new forms of cultural expression like turbo-folk are emerging (see the chapter by Nikola Janović and Rastko Močnik, and also the chapter by Milena Dragićević Šešić and Sanjin Dragojević in this volume).

Thriving transnational realities are also observed in Berlin despite the 'whiteness' of urban cultural policy (see Nadia Kiwan and Kira Kosnick in this volume). The relative lack of immigrant integration policies in Berlin has not prevented the establishment and development of immigrant artists, nor the opening up of transnational flows and exchanges with Turkish artists and record companies and ethnic media networks in Istanbul and London. The same is true for Vienna, where alternative forms of cultural expression also develop, despite the 'whiteness' of cultural policy that labels immigrant cultural activities as matters of social integration.

In sum, a closer look at the urban realities across Europe reveals a more encouraging landscape where immigrants, while busy making ends meet, also develop new forms of cultural expression that transcend the boundaries of the national or the ethnic and create new types of artistic expression, new cultural and commercial networks for art products and eventually new realities of cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism. These realities may not affect the large majority of the urban city dwellers, nor the majority of immigrant populations in European capital cities. They are, however, developing and dynamic, despite the perceived crisis of multiculturalism, the security emphasis in migration policies and the overall 'crisis' of the European project.

This book offers a fresh look into these realities from a cultural policy perspective, that aims at being complementary to more mainstream sociological perspectives regarding immigrant social and economic integration, immigrant civic or political participation, and/or specific activities of political or economic transnationalism such as voting and lobbying in the home or host country or sending remittances back to the country of origin.

Transcultural Europe and cultural policy: urban, transnational and transcultural perspectives

In the last section of this introduction we will give a more detailed account of the structure of the book and its individual chapters. The book is divided into three sections with different though interlinking

perspectives. Part I focuses on cultural policy in Europe, Part II on the city spaces we researched, and Part III on transnational and transcultural connections.

Following on from this introduction, Monica Sassatelli's chapter considers the extent and nature of the Europeanization of cultural policy in constructing a common European approach. One of the aims of cultural policy has always been the fostering of specific identities and thus the formatting of a fully socialized, compliant citizen. Although normally associated with the national level, today this is becoming manifestly relevant both at the local and supranational level. Her chapter shows how this can be envisaged as part of one and the same process, in which local and European – urban regeneration and European identity – reinforce each other. She analyses synergies as well as contradictions through two perspectives: one by reconsidering the state of the art in the current Europeanization of cultural policy, and two through a more specific focus on one of the flagship initiatives of the EU's cultural policy, namely the European City of Culture programme. This programme is itself a sign of the centrality of cities for the cultural scene in Europe. Furthermore, after more than two decades it has undergone several reforms and enlargements following the EU's own development. It thus provides a privileged point of view for understanding the logic, the achievements and the limits of the attempts to achieve Europeanization through cultural policy.

Chapter 3 by Milena Dragićević Šešić and Sanjin Dragojević develops the logic of cultural policy as a means for constructing a unified Europe further by focusing on the nature of the relation between Western Europe, on the one hand, and Eastern and Southern Europe, on the other. As their title 'Real or Imagined Divides?' suggests, Eastern and Western Europe cannot easily be subsumed under the same unifying umbrella. Given the inequality that underpins the East–West relationship, Eastern Europeans perceive a patronizing approach in which Western European institutions are involved in a kind of 'knowledge-transfer' exercise. Artistic and cultural agencies are expected – in very different conditions from those obtaining in Western Europe – to promote market-driven cultural industries strategies; and they are required, also, to promote political and regional objectives, such as conflict resolution and the combat of stereotypes. In such circumstances, the cultural scene in Eastern Europe finds its development considerably hampered and also distorted. This leads to ambivalent feelings towards Western Europe. On the one hand there is optimism about interactions between the two halves of the continent – particularly from those

countries that will benefit from the enlargement process. And on the other there is scepticism, with those countries not about to enter the EU feeling the threat of marginalization and exclusion. The chapter analyses the lines of division running through the larger cultural space of Europe, exploring the imagined nature of what have for so long been experienced as real divides.

The fourth and last chapter in Part I, by Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof, looks at cultural policy from a discourse-analytical perspective, interrogating the very terms in which the debate about cultural diversity and multiculturalism is framed. They argue that the much referred to concept of 'cultural diversity', and its equivalent in French or German, is often evoked as either a synonym for or an advance on the similarly omnipresent term 'multiculturalism'. In many different contexts, where metropolitan (as well as national) cultural policy engages with the relationship between people of different cultural backgrounds in European cities, these terms seem to suggest a progressive, non-racist agenda of cultural coexistence. However, when examined in more detail within the linguistic and pragmatic context of policy documentation and speech at European, national and metropolitan level, these terms become ambiguous, difficult to pin down, as well as contradictory. The chapter draws on key policy documents and political discussions to establish the complex semantic field, and raises the question whether the multiple meanings and connotations of cultural diversity discourses could disguise or even misdirect the discussion about greater transnational coexistence.

With one exception (Chapter 2) all chapters are based on research which we conducted for three years under the umbrella of a European fifth framework project Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to Cultural Policy in Europe (http://www.citynexus.com). Part II of the volume addresses questions of cultural policy from a metropolitan perspective. In what ways, we ask, can the city help us to re-focus questions to do with cultural diversity? We have already referred to these 'city chapters' in the discussion above, but would now like to give a fuller account of the specific chapters on the cities at the centre of our research.

Chapter 5 by Asu Aksoy on London as a cosmopolitan city illustrates the rationale behind our choice of cities as our focal point. Aksoy sees the city as a space for cultural interaction and addresses the issues of what might be new and productive in taking the city as a focus for thinking about cultural diversity. In the light of current discussions around the importance of flows and mobilities for understanding urban

dynamics and on transnational urbanism, the aim is to get at what might be significant in terms of 'good practice' with respect to questions of cultural diversity. Why are some cities culturally productive? Or what makes some cities cosmopolitan grounds for cultural interaction and innovation? Her discussion focuses on London as a particularly valid case study. London's world-openness – that is, its openness to flows and its ability to mediate and translate these flows – is central to its potential as a cosmopolitan model for cultural innovation.

Cultural innovation and the institutionalization of art lie at the centre of the discussion of Chapter 6 which compares the cities of Paris and Berlin. Somewhat provocatively entitled 'The "Whiteness" of Cultural Policy in Paris and Berlin' Nadia Kiwan and Kira Kosnick argue that in spite of their differences both cities are marked by a division into 'ethno-culture' and socio-culture on the one hand, and 'high culture' on the other. In other words, it is implicitly presumed that non-'white' immigrants will, above all, engage in cultural or artistic projects which are either tied to the notion of ethnic and social identities, and do not qualify as 'serious' cultural contributions of artistic value. The authors see this, for example, in Paris, where cultural associations are encouraged through funding bids to work on issues of migrant memory and life histories – where the artistic is merely a vector for a type of social work. In the city of Berlin, public funding and institutional structures similarly ethnicize the work of immigrant artists. The authors argue that this state of affairs is not as such linked to national understandings of what constitutes culture, but rather is the manifestation of cultural hierarchies and the unmarked 'whiteness' of artistic standards. The result leads to a duality where on the one hand there is high culture, and on the other socio-culture and immigrant cultural expression. Kiwan and Kosnick argue that the divide between high culture and socio-culture which was once mainly a class divide, has now developed into a 'native–immigrant' divide, a duality that expresses itself concretely in both cities in terms of funding as well as spatially. Separate budgets and institutional structures promote an ethnicized view on immigrant cultural contributions which regards them primarily as reflections of ethnic diversity in the context of multicultural integration.

Similar processes can also be found in Vienna and Belgrade, the focus for the next chapter by Martina Böse, Brigitta Busch, and Milena Dragićević Šešić, though the most relevant distinctions here are between private and public-sector policies. More and more tasks and duties in the cultural sector formerly fulfilled by public bodies are being abandoned, or outsourced to commercial bodies. Against this trend, and attempting

to function as a corrective between the public and the private sector particularly at the urban level, the 'Third Sector' came into existence in the late 1960s and early 1970s to respond to civic cultural needs. This took the form of manifold cultural policy initiatives from below in both Vienna and Belgrade, that aimed at promoting the inclusion of different alternative and marginalized cultural forms and activities, including those of migrants. By contrast to liberal market economies, third-sector agencies maintained until recently their preeminent role in both cities for different reasons. While Austria's social market economy increasingly commissioned third-sector initiatives to fulfil public agendas up to the 1990s, 1990s ex-Yugoslavia saw the fostering of independent initiatives within the third sector by the international community.

More recently, the increasing commission of the third sector by the nation-state has been supplemented through the vehicle of European funding programmes such as EQUAL. Two phenomena have occurred in response to this development: on the one hand parts of the third sector defy servicing the nation-state and turn to developing transnational and in particular trans-urban networks that operate outside the private realm and constitute an increasingly important contestant of translateral cultural policies (for example GATS concerning cultural services). On the other, transnational flows of cultural products have developed in a 'grey zone', a space in between that can neither be defined as commercial nor as associative. It has emerged due to legislative measures at the national and supranational level that have affected the circulation of cultural goods. Such informal cultural practices include the mutual exchange of video cassettes, music recordings, printed material, as well as the re-definition of public space for the purpose of cultural activity in Vienna and the self-organization of cultural practices in Belgrade.

The last chapter in Part II, by Ankica Kosic and Anna Triandafyllidou, also looks at cultural policies and the practices of immigrants from top-down and bottom-up perspectives. Their chapter investigates the way in which the local government and related public institutions in Rome address through their policies the multicultural agenda and integration of immigrants. As in other chapters in this volume, they base their analysis on multiple sources such as official documents and reports, as well as in-depth interviews with the main 'actors'. From a top-down perspective they investigate the extent to which local cultural policies encourage the participation of immigrants in the cultural life of Rome. Are there opportunities for immigrants, or are they excluded by the institutional framework of the city? From a bottom-up perspective the chapter also investigates initiatives taken by immigrants themselves.

However, in spite of a growing interest in buzz words such as '*intercultura*' and '*multietnicita*', the overall picture for Rome is still one of widespread marginalization of immigrants, with very limited access to culture as participants or agents.

Implicit in all the chapters is a move beyond the national frame and an awareness of the increasing significance of cultural flows, and of connections between places and across spaces. In Part 3 of the volume this moves centre-stage; here we address the growing transnational dimension in transcultural developments.

Chapters 9 and 10 both combine a theoretical discussion of transnationalism with case-studies of transnational networks. Chapter 9 by Aksoy considers the challenge that the presence of diverse migrant populations presents for Europe – in particular the culture of the European Union, as it developed in the 1990s – if Europe is seen through the prism of the nation-states or the national regions of Europe. Neither of these European models provides an adequate base for understanding current changes, with each furthering anxieties about border, boundaries, insiders and outsiders. Aksoy proposes a different lens which would give a more complex and fluid perspective for viewing the changing European social and cultural order. She proposes to take the experiences of migrants, their networkings and negotiations as a paradigm for a transnational Europe. Migrant networks allow a rethinking of some of the fundamental principles on which national cultures and communities have been based. The chapter finishes with a case study of Turkish migrants in Europe as a particular trajectory for understanding the transformation of Europe into a more cosmopolitan space.

Chapter 10 also builds on experiences and self-understandings of migrants to understand the fluid nature of transnational practices. The authors, Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, introduce a new concept of 'transcultural capital' as a way of appreciating the complex combination of cultural, social and economic capital developed by some of the migrant musicians of their study. The chapter argues against the essentializing of migrant populations as belonging to fixed identity categories. Instead the authors identify diasporic, neo-communitarian as well as cosmopolitan elements in the artists' own discourses and suggest that these represent overlapping repertoires for people's multiple identifications in diverse cultural settings and different everyday life contexts. Instead of stressing the positive or negative aspects of 'diasporic', 'neo-communitarian' or 'transnational' networks, the authors show how these are potentially non-exclusionary resources. Within the cosmopolitan spaces opened up by modern means of communication,

these may be entrenched and diversified in novel ways. Widespread bi- or multilingualism, bi- or multiculturalism, strong transnational ties within and across migrant communities and other novel aspects of many migrants' everyday lives can thus constitute a powerful transcultural capital which maximizes rather than restricts the options for migrant populations. The chapter uses fieldwork and interview data with cultural actors from Africa, especially Malagasy, against a background in Paris where such ties and spaces seem to be readily available.

The final two chapters in the volume and the section foreground the nexus aspect and its cosmopolitan implications. All cities studied were investigated as multiply-layered spaces in their own right as well as through being nodes in so-called nexuses. Hence the cities of Paris, London and Rome formed part of the so-called 'African nexus' allowing for the study of interconnections of its migrant populations. Berlin, London and Vienna were part of the so-called Turkish nexus, whilst Belgrade, Ljubljana and Vienna formed nodes in the Balkan nexus. The chapter 'Nexal Registers: Identity-Peripheral Cultural Industries and Alternative Cultures' by Nikola Janović and Rastko Močnik theoretically and empirically explores the implications of nexal flows of persons, commodities, ideas and tastes. They argue that public policies towards what we consider to be a major dimension of contemporary global processes – what we call nexus flows – seem curiously to oscillate between two poles. On the one hand there is organized brutality against 'illegal migrants', non-citizens, certain stigmatized groups of citizens, and against 'alternative' social practices (or practices of socializing). And on the other there is some awareness of minorities', 'diasporas', 'marginalized' groups, and so on. Only two types of sociocultural practices seem able to mobilize the enormous potential inherent in these processes: certain sectors of cultural industries, and the polymorphous multitude of practices conventionally lumped together under the compendium category of the 'alternative'. Both are largely situated outside the horizon of public policies, and entertain an ambivalent relation to them. The authors analyse the implicit logic that makes public policy approaches miss the vital streams of contemporary history, and investigate the structural conditions of contemporary cultural racism. By contrast, there are alternative socio-cultural strategies and commercial operations that exploit the opportunities created by these nexal flows. If ideological 'maps' still stiffen most public policies and prevent them from moving – then alternative and commercial 'voyages' spontaneously sketch new maps that may help us towards a more adequate orientation.

The last chapter by Kevin Robins concludes the book by offering thoughts on what a cultural policy for European cosmopolitanism might look like. Robins' theoretical account incorporates many of the ideas of previous chapters by examining the limitation of the national frame and stressing the new kinds of connectivity that exist between peoples and places in the European space. Rather than polarizing transnational, global or national perspectives, Robins calls for a creative dialogue between them. His chapter also offers thoughts on how transcultural diversity can be expressed in European public culture. He explores alternative possibilities for cultural policy, taking into account both the city and the nexus dimensions, and the positioning of migrants within these. Robins concludes by setting the scene for a new 'cosmopolitan' agenda for Europe.

Notes

1 For an overview of the European press on the matter, see http://www.europressresearch.com/. See also http://www.robert-schuman.org/ and http://constitution-europeenne.info/ for additional reviews and analyses of the public and political discourse on the EU Constitutional Treaty ratification process. See in particular newspaper articles and commentaries from various EU countries during the week of 30 May–3 June (during and after the French and Dutch referenda on the EU Constitutional Treaty on 29 May and 1 June respectively) and on 18–21 June after the conclusion of the Summit meeting of the EU Council in Luxembourg which called off the ratification process inviting all member states (those that had in the meantime ratified the Constitutional Treaty as well as those that had not) to engage into a 'period of reflection' on the matter. The same Council failed to approve the new EU budget.
2 Earlier discussions on the crisis of multiculturalism and the rise of security concerns in Europe can be found in Modood, Triandafyllidou and Zapata-Barrero (eds) (2005), chapter 1 as well as in Triandafyllidou, A. (2005a).
3 The law was eventually adopted in 2004; however, most of its novel features, such as a point system for new labour migrants to Germany, had been omitted.

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Notes: f = figure; n = note; **bold** = extended discussion or heading/word emphasized in main text.

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