The effect of participation in cultural activities on migrants integration

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UNITO
Assimilation  France (former colonies)
Integration  Germany (guest workers)
Inclusion

The large majority of the research is on economic integration, integration in the labour market which is perceived as a prerequisite of cultural integration.

In economics
Migrants should have the same opportunities than natives with the same characteristics.

Natives are the benchmark.
• Yit are wage, employment, labour force participation

• Explained

• Xit individual characteristics (measurable) age, sex, education, composition of the family, experience on the job

• and YSMi duration of staying

• And size of the Diaspora
FIGURE 9-4
The Age-Earnings Profiles of Immigrant and Native Men in the Cross Section

Annual Earnings (1970 dollars)

Experience

- Under assimilation
- Over assimilation

Immigrants
Natives

Co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union
Figure 2.1: Activity rates for the population aged 20-64 years, by citizenship, 2019 (%)

Note: ranked on activity rates for nationals. Bulgaria: citizens of other EU Member States, not available. Romania: citizens of other EU Member States and non-EU citizens, not available.

(*) Citizens of other EU Member States: data with limited reliability.

(†) Non-EU citizens: data with limited reliability.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: Ifsa_argan)
Figure 2.7: Unemployment rates for the population aged 20-64 years, by citizenship, 2019 (%)

Note: ranked on unemployment rate for national citizens. Bulgaria, Croatia, Lithuania, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and Iceland: citizens of other EU Member States and non-EU citizens, not available. Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Portugal: citizens of other EU Member States, not available.

(*) Citizens of other EU Member States: data with limited reliability.
(?) Non-EU citizens: data with limited reliability.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: Ifsa_surgan)
Figure 2.23: Employment rates for people with a tertiary level of educational attainment living in cities, by citizenship, 2019
(% share of population aged 20-64 years)

Note: ranked on the employment rate for nationals living in cities with a tertiary level of educational attainment. Data for some Member States are not available for some foreign sub-populations. Citizens of other EU Member States for Estonia, Croatia, Poland and Slovenia: data with limited reliability. Non-EU citizens for Slovenia: data with limited reliability.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: lst_r_erednu)
Figure 4.10: People aged 18-59 years living in households with very low work intensity, by citizenship, 2018

(%)
• Over education
• Large evidence of under assimilation

• Discrimination?

• Variable unable to measure the skill level

• Something else......
Figure 5. Foreign-native differentials in wages and days worked by ethnic groups at increasing experience in the labour market

Log wage differential

Differential in days worked (%)

Venturini A., Villosio C. 2006
Employability = **hard skills** + **soft skills**

Language, culture, ability in communication, in understanding the message of the others, ability in team work

Linguistic distance, cultural distance duration of staying (Contact theory direct and indirect)
• Integration Policies concentrated hard skills on not soft skills

• Sweden policy refugee women transition to labour market

• cultural integration or economic integration
Log weekly wage vs. Years of experience for Stayers, Internal migrants, Immigrants Min and Max language distance.

Strom, Piazzalunga, Venturini, Villosio 2018
• Difference between

• Community linguistically close
• Enclave linguistically far

• Index of Linguistic distance by Adsera Pytlikova 2015
Experience-log wage profiles for foreigners and locals, blue collar males in manufacturing in north west entering in the labour market at age 18 by type of jobs.
Culture values, trust vertical transmission versus horizontal

Participation in cultural activities more emotional value

Consumption of cultural goods

• Passive or active participation different effects, different statistical source

• Content: ethnic, inter or multi-ethnic,
• destination country culture
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive participation (consumption)</th>
<th>Content ethnic</th>
<th>Content national</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bonding</td>
<td>Bridging</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active participation</td>
<td>Bonding</td>
<td>Bridging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Migration and cultural goods

• V. Ateca Amestoy
  • budget constraint for leisure consumption in time and money
  • Cultural goods are many and different in costs and constraint in general
  • For natives education plays a role

• TECHNICAL ACCESSIBILITY
• Migrants and cultural goods

• Different culture

• What makes migrants different from natives

• CULTURAL ACCESSIBILITY
**Accessibility of cultural goods** in the destination country for migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CULTURAL PARTICIPATION</th>
<th>MEDIA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Museums</td>
<td>Theaters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monetary cost</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attention</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informational content</td>
<td>difficult</td>
<td>difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic barrier</td>
<td>medium</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural distance</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tecnical accessibility  equal for native and foreigners

Cultural accessibility

acculturation phase (Berry, 1975) varies with the time spent in the destination country and varies with destination country policies and history, learn how to interprete the action of people

cultural etherogeneity (more permanent barrier)
- technical accessibility  (employment wage, time number of children.....)
- acculturation phase of the cultural accessibility  (Year Since Migration, intention to stay...)
- acculturation heterogeneity of the cultural accessibility (Nationality, Linguistic distance, religion..)
• In the research with my colleagues E. Bertacchini and R. Zotti using the special survey on Income and Leaving conditions of Foreigners in Italy 2012 with 15,000 observations studied the characteristics of the demand of cultural goods of migrants.

The average probability of No consumption is 80%

• The technical accessibility variables are not dominating while the cultural accessibility both with the acculturation phase and the cultural heterogeneity dominate.
Fig. 2-c

Predicted probabilities for Cinema

- Bangladesh
- China
- India
- Morocco
- West Africa
- Tunisia
- Egypt
- Macedonia
- Philippines
- Romania
- Algeria
- Peru
- Moldova
- Poland
- Ukraine
- Ecuador
Fig. 2-d

Predicted probabilities for Concerts
Fig. 2-b

Predicted probabilities for Dancing venues

[Bar chart showing predicted probabilities for dancing venues in various countries, with bars for India, China, Bangladesh, Tunisia, Morocco, Philippines, West Africa, Macedonia, Egypt, Romania, Albania, Moldova, Poland, Ukraine, Ecuador, and Peru, arranged from left to right with increasing height.]
Fig. 2-a

Predicted probabilities for Sport events
• Problems:
• Special surveys Large data set but just one year
• Able to study the demand of Cultural goods, not to study the effects

• Employment  Consumption of cultural goods
• Large data set but just one year
• Able to provide results for the demand of Cultural goods not to study the effects

To study integration, a panel is needed to eliminate the individual heterogeneity with the individual fixed effect and able to isolate the effect of consumption of cultural goods and eliminate the cultural heterogeneity.
• To find a link between consumption of cultura goods,

• creation of soft skills which favour empoyment and wages

• Different dataset are needed with a time dimension,

• In which we can find not only a correlation but causality

• Experiments weaknesses: small numbers but causality

• Provide indication for the integration policies on what should be prioritized cultura integration or economic integration to favour migration
Andrea Ricci tomorrow will survey the researches on the **effects of active participation in a chorus** on many dimension

Thanks

See you tomorrow
21st century migrants in Europe: cultural policy challenges

Yudhishtir Raj Isar

“COCUMINT” Satellite Seminar
Jean Monnet Chair in Migration Studies
Università degli Studi di Torino
16 April, 2021
What this talk is not mainly about...
MIGRANTS?
WHAT ABOUT THE METICS?

From Greek *metoikos*, literally "one who has changed his residence," from *meta* "change" + *oikos* "dwelling," from *oikein* "to dwell".

A resident alien in any ancient Greek state, including freed slaves... In Athens, they occupied an intermediate position between visiting foreigners and citizens, having both privileges and duties.
‘CULTURE’ MEANING 1: WAYS OF LIFE
MEANING 2: THE ARTS AND HERITAGE
SUMMARY

1. Policy challenges of cultural diversity
2. A panoply of possible policy stances
3. Diversity policy: contexts, domains & principles
4. Glimpses of ‘intercultural’ approaches
1. THE POLICY CHALLENGES

Time-space compression has led to:

- ever-increasing mobilities and flows (many coerced)
- mixings, interpenetrations & hybridities

increasing heterogeneity poses new policy challenges
THE ‘DIFFERING DIVERSITIES’

- Sub-communities (Welsh, Scottish, Québécois).

- Autochthonous: ethnically marked minority communities that are the results of earlier movements of peoples.

- Diasporic and migrant cultures of displaced peoples, involving mobile cultural networks.

- Indigenous cultures that typically contest national mappings of the relations between people, culture, history and territory.
THE ‘DIVERSITY’ IMPERATIVE

- The broad agenda = recognition and revaluation of all forms of difference formerly placed outside dominant social and cultural norms.

- Yet specific issues are associated with the claims to difference associated with the international movement of peoples – today, migrants and refugees.

- These claims can challenge and crack open the basic grammar of national cultures and often involve forms of difference tangled up with racism and colonialism.
POTENTIAL BENEFITS

- Cultural diversity can enhance and vitalise collective life.
- It can promote constructive interactions among people of different cultures, allowing each culture to be regenerated.
- It can be aesthetically enriching.
- It can widen the range of moral sympathy and imagination.
- It can encourage critical self-reflection.
- It can boost economic and social creativity/innovation.
But it also generates anxieties...

- Ever-deepening doubts about who exactly “we” and “they” are...

- Anxieties about access to state-provided goods, e.g., housing or health-care, that is often directly tied to who “we” and “they” are.

- Anxieties about increasingly large-scale movements of people, when new rewards or risks attach to ethnic identities, or when existing networks of social knowledge are eroded by rumor, terror or social movements.

- ‘Moral panics’ about immigrants.
Fear, rage and incomprehension...

‘...fear of what the Other (=the immigrant) might to do you, rage at what you believe the Other has done to you, and incomprehension of who the Other really is’
THE TWO KEY CHALLENGES

❖ How to reconcile *difference* and *commonality*?

   – [Particularly in societies which heretofore have been – or have represented themselves as – homogeneous]

❖ How to envision ourselves – our ethnic group, our town, our ‘nation’ – as a civic community?
POSSIBLE POLICY STANCES

1. Assimilationist
2. Proceduralist
3. Civic assimiliationist
4. The *Millet* model
1. ASSIMILATIONIST

- Ignores diversity and its imperatives

- Based on the conviction that any stable political community has to have a homogeneous national culture, i.e., shared values, ideas and social practices

- This position no longer seems possible today
3 INTEGRATIVE STANCES

2. Proceduralist
3. Civic assimilationist
4. The *millet* model

None of these 3 stances can reconcile unity and diversity in a fully satisfactory way
2. PROCEDURALIST

- The state should only set out minimal rules about cultural differences since these are incommensurable and beyond the scope of public action.

- Social peace requires the state to be neutral: in order to maximize political unity, it must ignore cultural differences.

- Since the state doesn’t impose in any way on individual choice it in fact facilitates cultural diversity.
Proceduralist

- But in reality, with many diverging ideas of the good, the right and the true, is it ever possible to reach consensus on common values?

- The State can’t help but make value choices; it is illusory to think that the State can remain value-neutral.
3. CIVIC ASSIMILATIONIST

- The political community must have a shared culture, but this does not have to pervade all spheres of life: values and practices in the public sphere are what count.

- Under the umbrella of this shared public culture, people in the private sphere are free to make their own cultural choices.

- Public sphere = uniformity/private sphere = diversity.

- Unity is guaranteed in and by the public sphere, which defines the limits of allowable diversity, while allowing private sphere diversity.
Civic assimilationist

- But is the distinction between the public and private realms always clear?

- Any political culture is the product of a history – it can evolve considerably in terms of values, symbols, public rituals, etc.

- **A monocultural public sphere inevitably hampers the expression of difference, even in the private sphere, because it necessarily exerts an assimilating force**
4. THE MILLET MODEL

- Recognizes that people are *embedded* within cultural communities

- The state is a legal and administrative mechanism with no moral status as regards cultural behaviour

- *The state must therefore ensure the flourishing of different cultural communities and protect their autonomy*
The *millet* model

- It worked in the Ottoman Empire in which there was no public sphere and non-Muslims were second class citizens.

- If applied today it could ‘freeze’ religious and other forms of belonging.

- Would exclude *multiple* belonging.

- Not viable in a culturally globalized world.
3. POLICY CONTEXTS, DOMAINS & PRINCIPLES

4 ‘contexts’:

1. *Civic* = the cultural rights and entitlements awarded to different cultural streams

2. *Administrative* = how people belonging to such cultural communities are dealt with or given agency themselves

3. *Social* = the social objectives linked to cultural planning

4. *Economic* = how cultural communities access infrastructure and resources for the production of cultural goods and services
5 POLICY DOMAINS

- **Policy for the diversification of the public sphere:** both “mainstream” cultural and media institutions and different public spheres as vehicles for cultural expression and debate.

- **Policy attuned to social dynamics:** to enable cultural/social minorities maintain active involvement in their original cultures give them the resources to do so.
5 POLICY DOMAINS

- Policy for cultural markets: regulation of the conditions in which such markets operate (to enhance the social dynamics for diversity that emerge out of the community life of different cultural groups and the relations between them)

- Everyday life: cultural differences inform artistic and media preferences and are also knitted into the fabric of everyday life; issues of IP

- Assessment and evaluation: quantitative and qualitative
POLICY PRINCIPLES

4 key principles:

1. Give people equal opportunities to take part in the full range of activities that constitute ‘culture’ in the society in which they now live

2. Recognize that people should be given the means of leading their own expressive lives without being required to change their cultural affiliations/identities
POLICY PRINCIPLES

4 key principles:

3. Nurture the sources of cultural diversity

4. Promote ongoing interactions, so as to ensure that cultural identities are formed and re-formed in ways that will favour a continuing dynamic for diversity.
Critiques of ‘multiculturalism’

- Depoliticises or aestheticizes economic and/or social differences (= inequality) through the cosmetic celebration of cultural diversity

- Reifies and essentializes differences at the expense of their mixing and intermingling
Critiques of ‘multiculturalism’

- Manages relations between cultures as separate from one another instead of promoting *convivencia*.

- Recognizes or celebrates different cultures, but doesn’t promote an ongoing dynamic through which diversity is continuously produced.
4. ‘Intercultural’ approaches

In the public realm:

- Welcome the contributions of different cultures and support them
- Expand the notion of ‘heritage’ (in public institutions such as museums)
- Set up institutions that favor encounters between different cultural groups
- Ensure adequate representation – this may require ‘affirmative action’ (public visibility is very important)
The Intercultural City

Two key rationales:

***Shared existence and solidarity***: ‘only when people meet and mix in everyday life can they get to know and understand the needs and feelings of others and those ‘moral sympathies for the other; on which a shared civil life can grow’

***Cultural renewal and innovation***: innovative ‘mixes’ that can challenge the reigning paradigms of dominance, inclusion and exclusion’, the often racialized segregation of urban space

The Intercultural City

- Cultural boundaries are in a permanent state of flux and remaking

- Hence promote communication across these boundaries, between ‘majority’ and ‘minorities’, ‘dominant’ and ‘sub’, among localities, classes, faiths, and genres

- The need for initiatives that enable different cultures to intersect, to ‘contaminate’ each other and hybridise...
The Intercultural City…

*Reshaping of the public sphere* as a space of diversity, rather than as a pre-existing whole into which people are ‘integrated’

This will entail public debate, frictions, confrontations and mediations…
An architectural example

https://www.akdn.org/architecture/project/superkilen


A possible epilogue

Three axes for an EU public policy agenda (2002):

a) the educational

b) the social

c) the communicational
For a public agenda

Three axes:

a) the educational

b) the social

c) the communicational
For a public agenda…

The educational axis

- Encourage and develop critical reasoning in the humanities and the social sciences, particularly history teaching
- Encourage initiatives to promote knowledge and understanding of cultural variety
- Promote public encounters and debates that address the issues and challenges of cultural diversity *per se*
- Promote encounters and debates on themes such as democracy, human rights, gender equity, secularism and religion
For a public agenda...

*The social axis*

- Encourage action-research projects in which civil society actors explore issues such as income inequality, discrimination in housing, etc.

- Encourage the artistic/ cultural expression of immigrant cultural groups while discouraging closure on their part.

- Establish meeting platforms (*espaces de rencontre*) that have symbolic significance for different cultural groups.

- Provide facilities, in particular ICT, for artistic creation.
For a public agenda...

The communicational axis

- Encourage the provision of accurate information about all the actors involved

- Sensitize journalists on the consequences of cultural heterogeneity – these could include highly contested topics – as well as the cultural sensitivities of different cultural groups

- Encourage the discussion of such issues in the media, particularly at the local level

- Encourage the dissemination at local level of information that promotes the recognition of cultural diversity and pluralistic values
The Benefits of Singing in a Choir on Wellbeing: A Survey

Andrea Ricci for the «BAC project»
University of Turin
Summary

1. Aim of the survey

2. State of the art

3. Studies on the effects of group singing on social bridging and bonding

4. Multicultural choirs

5. Conclusions
Context

• Choir ensembles, group singing and wellbeing

• Multicultural groups

• Active participation

• Migrants’ integration through the consumption of cultural goods
Aim of the survey

1. Best methodologies or tools to measure group singing impacts and effects

2. Links between the outcomes of group singing and the success of foreigners in entering the destination country’s labour market

3. Investigating how participation in group singing activities might help tailor individual capacities and skills

4. Solid empirical bases for integration practices
State of the art – 1

Vast body of literature about choirs, group singing and their effects on wellbeing

→ Several literature reviews have been carried out previously but they mostly concern music (listening to music in particular) as therapy for severe diseases (Alzheimer, Parkinson, etc.)

→ Strong evidence on the correlation between choir/group singing and wellbeing, but:

1) Heterogeneous ‘tools’ for measurement

a. Psycho-physiological indicators
b. Subjective indicators
c. Psycho-social indicators
State of the art – 2

2) Diversity in samples

- Limited numbers;
- Countries involved;
- Duration of the experiment;
- Composition of samples by gender (predominantly women)

3) Detailed analyses of treatments are lacking → Difficult to draw precise conclusions
a. Psychophysiological indicators - 1

We referred to ‘Psychophysiological indicators’ as the class of tools capable of registering all those brain responses to a specific stimulus, particularly singing practice with other people.

→ automatic responses an individual is not able to control, affecting his/her unconscious-driven behaviour and perception of her/himself and of society.

• **Mainly quantitative indicators** using perceivable or measurable changes in some features and functions of the human body

• Instruments employing **empirical tests** (often typically medical, such as the blood-cuff pressure measurement) as proxies for other types of change, more challenging to evaluate, such as stress, pain level or hormonal-induced feeling of wellbeing.
## Psychophysiological indicators – What indicators should we search for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saliva sample</td>
<td>Oxytocine</td>
<td>“a hormone that is associated with stress reduction as well as social bonding” (Kreutz 2014:52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cortisol-DHEA ratio</td>
<td>During group singing the cortisol-DHEA ratio decreases: better immunological response of the body (stress reduction factors).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pain threshold</td>
<td>β-endorphins</td>
<td>An increase connected with group singing or chorus activity enhancement in social bonding capacities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood draws</td>
<td>Oxytocine and ACTH</td>
<td>Synthesis and release of cortisol (stress hormone)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Psychophysiological indicators – previous studies

• Use of proxies (simplification);

• Wellbeing is slightly increasing thanks to group singing, but always coupled with other activities (chatting, singers vs. non-singers; dancing, praying, etc.);

• Samples with different backgrounds

• Experimental conditions not always comparable;

• No direct measure of positive behavioral consequences

• **Small numbers!**
b. Subjective indicators

We define as ‘subjective indicators’ those tools which help us interpret cognitive processes the individual unconsciously activates in the elaboration of the self and steer the representation the individual builds around himself, inevitably involving the spheres of the wellbeing and self-esteem.

• Mainly qualitative indicators

• Large number of measurement tools ➔ some examples:
b. Subjective indicators

1) **Standardized mood/emotion scales** (Zentner and Eerola 2010)

**PANAS** *(Positive Affects and Negative Affects):* Watson, Clarke, et Tellegen 1988; Watson & Clark, 1994

**Likert Scale, with variations** *(5- or 7-point scale: Clift and Hancox 2001, Van As 2009, Keeler *et al.* 2015, Jackson *et al.* 2010);

b. Subjective indicators

2) Non-verbal Evaluation tools (Zentner & Eerola 2010)

- Visual Analogue Scale (VAS; Dauphin et al. 1999, Gould et al. 2001);
b. Subjective indicators

- Useful measurement indicators for example with individuals affected by autism and other severe diseases, affecting speaking abilities

→ Potentially interesting uses with migrants to overcome language problems?
b. Subjective indicators

2) Non-verbal Evaluation tasks (Zentner & Eerola 2010)

Pictorial Inclusion of Self in Others (IOS; Aron, Aron, and Smollan 1992)
c. Psychosocial indicators

With the label **psychosocial indicators** we refer to those instruments which focus mainly on individual features oriented at carving out a social space in which people could feel comfortable. This series of indicators wants to assess if the beneficiaries of the experiment may feel an active part of society and, moreover, he/she has the ‘right coordinates’ to construct positive relationships within the community.

- Scales, questionnaires, indexes, and methods of analyses, **mostly qualitative**
- Instruments proceeding hand in hand with the development of subjective indicators, but **differentiating in aims, methodologies and objectives**
- Important convergence towards the concept of ‘**social bonding and bridging**’ activities
A little clarification...

We start from solid empirical measurement indicators

We want to cast light on the measurement of impacts and effects multicultural choirs have on people

In particular on social bonding and bridging effects multicultural choirs can release in participants
Studies on Social Bridging and Bonding effects of group singing

**Def. Bridging effect:** “[bridging effect] affects the social capital describing connections that link people across a cleavage that typically divides society (such as race, or class, or religion). It is associations that ‘bridge’ between communities, groups, or organisations” (Claridge 2018)

**Def. Bonding effect:** “[bonding effect] affects social capital within social groups and is characterised by dense networks with people feeling a sense of shared identity and belonging” (Claridge 2018)

(see Claridge 2018, Putnam 2000, Granovetter 1985, Ramos-Pinto 2012, etc.)
Studies on Social Bridging and Bonding effects of group singing

A number of specific methodological tools developed for this aim:

• **Sense of Community Index** (Schuff 2014, Krafona 2014, Flaherty, Zwick, and Bouchey 2014)


• **General self-efficacy scale** (Romppel, Herrmann-Lingen, Wachter, *et al.* 2013)

• **Mindful State Questionnaire** (MSQ, Baer, Smith, & Allen, 2004, Lynch and Wilson 2018)
Studies on Social Bridging and Bonding
effects of group singing

What strikes us as evident is that:

• Samples are small, with very limited numbers

• Interventions are tailored upon specific groups and needs

• Groups are always homogeneous, little attention on different backgrounds
Multicultural choirs

• What about indicators? Which are the most useful for this kind of application?

We have to consider relational and self-esteem effects (Indicators type b – c) for analysing the theme (foreigners and integration) but we need to use the methodology involving psychophysiologica, subjective and psychosocial wellbeing

→ hybridation!

• What are we searching for?

1) Better understanding of general effects (a lot of surveys and studies but lack of differences in results)
2) Need for easier wellbeing scale and more in tune with the ‘audience’
3) Overcoming communication barriers
Multicultural choirs: tips for understanding them better

1) Different strategies (from Daykin 2020)
   - Enhancing biochemical tests,
   - Updating subjective wellbeing indicators

2) Diversity-oriented indicators → Multicultural choirs as a vehicle for integration
   - Favouring non-verbal evaluation tools (to liberate and rely on extra- or non-linguistic communication)
Conclusions

→ Studies result less and less effective in approaching the theme we investigate around [multicultural choirs and integration of migrants]

→ Closer attention is needed for studies of multicultural choirs highlighting strengths and limits and triggering new fields of interest (e.g. Little attention given so far to choir contents and repertoires)

→ Contamination imperative, but adaptive..

→ Conceiving the choir as a way fo learning the language and improving both soft and hard-skills through social interaction
Contacts

For more information about the survey of clarifications, please contact me at

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A Research Program for the Study of Immigration and Cultural Participation

Tally Katz-Gerro

Paper prepared for presentation at the Consumption of Cultural goods for Migrants Integration, Satellite Seminar Jean Monnet Chair European Migration Studies, April 15, 2021
Motivation

• Why study migration?

• Why study cultural participation?

• Why study migration and cultural participation together?
Why study migration?

• The integration of immigrant minorities is one of Europe’s and OECD countries’ most important challenges

• Geographic and cultural gaps between sending and receiving countries are widening

• A differentiated approach to vulnerable migrants, first generation, second generation, by country etc. is required

• A complex evaluation of migrant integration that does not rely only on economic indicators is required
Why study cultural participation?

Because of its central role in shaping inequality:

• Established scholarship shows that cultural consumption, participation, tastes, attitudes, and aesthetic dispositions are stratified and contribute to the production or reproduction of inequalities

• Central role for culture in shaping social structures, driving social hierarchy, and cross cutting major social cleavages

• Cultural stratification = the relationship between cultural consumption patterns, the competencies they bring with them, and structures of power and inequality in society
Why study cultural participation?

Because of its central role in influencing social cohesion:

• Cultural participation is a process by which social groups move from the margins of society to the center, in order to participate more fully in social life through the removal of symbolic barriers

• A major aspect of such participation involves taking part in culture and developing a meaningful relationship with culture and the arts

• Such a relationship is responsible for persons becoming more socially adaptable, better informed, and better integrated into the wider society
Why study cultural participation?

Because of its centrality to policy:

• From the point of view of cultural policy, cultural participation is a final stage in the cultural cycle that includes the production and consumption of cultural products, symbols, and experiences by cultural producers and cultural consumers, a topic that has received much attention in recent years.

(e.g., at the EU level, see https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework_en)
Why study migration and cultural participation?

• Economic and **cultural isolation** puts migrants at risk of becoming permanent **second class** residents/citizens

• There is a focus on measurable differences in economic outcomes (e.g., wages or employment opportunities) that does not afford for **cultural explanations**

• Cultural participation, knowledge and competences provide skills that are **transferable** to other realms such as the labor market (Thomas 2018), or the educational system (Davies and Rizk 2018)

• European societies are faced with increasing **diversity** leading to new conditions for **social cohesion** and **government response** to public concerns

• Legal migration can help address economic issues of an **ageing population**, longer life expectancies and a declining working-age population
Migration scholarship has been allergic to culture

- We need more consideration of micro-level or macro-level explanations for international migration that take culture into account.

- We need more consideration of the cultural elements that immigrants abandoned or adopted.

- The shift “beyond the melting pot” to “salad bowl” or “glorious mosaic” also meant that culture is largely subsumed under “ethnicity.”

- However, “culture” is not only a set of shared, discrete, and coherent values that explain behavior but instead it is a set of skills, habits, styles, and know-how that are the tools with which we live by.

- During periods of flux or “unsettled lives” individuals establish new styles and strategies of action.
A multi-layered depiction of migration and cultural participation

• For migrants, socio-economic life and participation in culture (identity) are long-term products of the continuous interaction between sending and receiving country influences.

• The incorporation of individuals into nation-states and their enduring transnational connections are not necessarily antithetical to one another.

• Transnational connections include dispersed networks of family, compatriots, or persons who share a religious or ethnic identity, ideas, practices, and resources.

• It is important to look at the local or regional level and the global level and not only at the national.
A multi-layered depiction of migration and cultural participation

Research should consider three groups of actors:

1. The migrants

2. Those remaining in the sending areas

3. People already living in the recipient locations
A multi-layered depiction of migration and cultural participation

The conflict between assimilation and separation occurs in the following sites:

1. Choice of location and enclave size (economic condition)

2. The local population’s reaction to migrants (political culture)

3. Workplace interaction

4. Links to the country-of-origin
A multi-layered depiction of migration and cultural participation

Culture and identity play a central role in understanding migration as an economic phenomenon, but what about them matters?

1. Shared beliefs

2. Symbols

3. Cultural competencies

4. Cultural tool kit
A multi-layered depiction of migration and cultural participation

The cultural toolkit can be translated to:

1. **Language** which is central for educational attainment

2. **Cultural discrimination** against individuals with a culture that is different from that of the majority group and maintains a different lifestyle. The size of a minority group can offset the negative effect of cultural discrimination

3. The level of **cultural consumption** on the part of migrants is frequently interpreted as an indicator of their **integration**
Migration, cultural participation and state policy

The state seeks to provide fundamental rights in the realms of health, education, work, and social security...

But cultural rights are also an integral part of human rights
Migration, cultural participation and state policy

“...all persons have the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice and conduct own cultural practices...”

1948 universal declaration of human rights, 2001 UNESCO declaration on cultural diversity, 2001 international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights
The state and merit goods

- Goods and services that the government feels that people will under-consume

- and which ought to be subsidized or provided free

- So that consumption does not depend primarily on the ability to pay for the good or service

- Generates positive externalities - where the social benefit from consumption exceeds the private benefit
Why is cultural participation a merit good?

Cultural participation provides skills that are transferable to other realms:

• Important for upward mobility (Bourdieu 1984)

• increases employability (Erickson 1996)

• helps to reinforce the self-confidence of individuals and communities (Lamont and Molnár 2001)

• affects educational attainment and performance (Sullivan 2001)

• shapes social networks (Lizardo 2006)

• provides outlets for the expression of cultural diversity (Katz-Gerro et al. 2009)
Why is cultural participation a merit good?

• In a global economy that is driven by knowledge and ideas, cultural competency is a necessity (Cicchelli et al. 2018)

• Cultural participation contributes to community vitality (Wilson and Mantie 2017)

• Cultural participation contributes to wellness and healthy aging (Alderson and Katz-Gerro 2016)
Culture as a merit good

• Culture became part of state policy in most western countries in the 1950s

• Cultural policy is what governments choose to do or not to do in relation to culture

• Abundance of research on educational policy, health policy, etc. but little on cultural policy
Cultural participation and social policy

Two policy objectives are emphasized:

• Protecting and developing cultural activity *(production)*
• Providing citizens with equal access to it *(consumption)*
Evolution of cultural policy

• A limited definition of culture fitting for public financing and based on a concept of democratization of culture

• Gradual decentralization; increasing disparity in aims; challenge to the initial universalist, top-down model

• Challenge of cultural hierarchy; increased influence of market forces and entertainment culture; tension between heritage and creativity

• Cultural policy is justified on the basis of contribution to economic growth

(Menger 2010)
Decentralization: National and local policy

• Growing involvement of local players who question the definition of culture to be supported

• Local authorities increasingly broaden the definition of culture they are willing to fund, linking it to diversity and re-evaluating popular culture

• In some countries, local and regional governments play a larger role in delivering cultural goods and services
The EU funded “European Creative Districts” supports a transition from a traditional economy with strong “heritage” and cultural identity value to a sustainable and innovative economy.

This includes an emphasis on creative industries, culture, and craft.

But also on creating a demand for the services of creative industries companies or organisations with a view to boosting their role as a catalyst for regional development.
Heritage vs. Creativity

• A definition of culture as creativity means that it is viewed as a resource for the economy

• Cultural policy becomes an “industrial” policy

• Policy of culture and the arts becomes evidence-based, subject to measurement of contribution to economic and social development

• This new sectoral identity of public action has been adopted in Denmark and in Sweden (the strategy was entitled *Culture and experience economy*, 2003) in the Netherlands (*Our creative potential*, 2005), the German Länder, in Lithuania and in Poland
Back to: Why study migration and cultural participation?

• The 2019-2022 *European Commission work plan for culture*, adopted in 2018, sets out five main priorities for European cooperation in cultural policy-making:

1. Sustainability in cultural heritage
2. Cohesion and well-being
3. An ecosystem supporting artists, cultural and creative professionals and European content
4. Gender equality
5. International cultural relations

The culture sector is increasingly a source of job creation, and contributes both to growth in Europe and quality of life for EU citizens. The culture sector is also an excellent conduit for promoting *social inclusion* and supporting cultural diversity
A program for the study of migration and cultural participation

1. Co-produced research with co-researchers from the community

2. Research that involves various stakeholders from the early stages of research design and throughout the project life

3. Creative measures of cultural participation

4. Evaluation of the impact of cultural participation

5. Longitudinal research design

6. Sector specific research design and questions – by immigration status, country of origin, generation, etc.

7. Emphasis on local and regional level

8. Globalization of cultural flows, intersectionality
3. Creative measures of cultural participation

- Forget about the **highbrow-lowbrow** distinction

- **Broaden** the definition of non-highbrow cultural participation (e.g., bowling, board and card games, arts and crafts, digitalization of cultural consumption)

- Acknowledge the ever-changing cultural **hierarchization** of culture that is typical of postmodern consumers (Bauman 2007; Prieto-Rodriquez and Fernandez-Blanco 2000; Taylor 2009; Hahl et al. 2017; Swirski 2017)

- Processes of immigration and **globalization** provide the backdrop for a continuous search for innovation, in which traditional hierarchies diffuse with new forms of cultural capital, so that otherwise socially marginalized groups are able to act as symbolic innovators
4. Impact

• **Economic returns** to cultural consumption may arise because gatekeepers prefer people who are already similar to themselves.

• **Gatekeepers** may treat cultural consumption as a signal of other desirable traits that are valuable to firms, such as intellectual curiosity or creativity (Ridgeway and Fiske 2012).

• Despite broad support for the idea that cultural consumption contributes to the accumulation of economic capital, much of the existing quantitative evidence linking economic resources and cultural consumption remains fragile (Bills 2003).

• Very few studies have quantitatively examined the association between cultural consumption and economic resources; those that have cannot necessarily rule out alternative explanations because they use cross-sectional data.
4. Impact

• In contrast, a great deal of research has documented the economic returns to institutionalized forms of cultural capital, such as educational credentials.

• Without longitudinal data, it will be difficult to document whether cultural consumption is convertible into financial rewards through labour market mechanisms.

• Reeves & De Vries 2019 find that people who consume more cultural activities earn more in the future.

• They are also more likely to experience upward social mobility and to receive a promotion.

• Particular patterns of cultural consumption matter more in some occupations than others.
4. Impact and Intersectionality: Gender, Religion, Religiosity

- Religion is a major social cleavage that should be factored in when studying immigration and cultural participation.

- Religion has a significant impact on consumption, mainly through prescriptions such as the ones in clothing, grooming, art, music, thriftiness, and so on, that believers are expected to observe (Cosgel & Minkler 2004).

- General consumption guidelines serve the essential function of communicating an identity that involves a religious commitment (Uslaner, 2002; Wuthnow, 1989).

- Religiosity affects cultural consumption by setting standards for the intensity of social ties.

- Gender and the division of practices.
Covid19 Project Research Question:

What changes in cultural engagement took place during the time of the lockdown and how did individuals feel about them?
The Survey

• Our team conducted the exploratory survey in June and July 2020.
• We used a snowball method, distributing a short questionnaire through Twitter, Facebook, and Reddit.
• This yielded a non-representative sample of 100 respondents:
  • 49 identified as men, 49 as women, 2 preferred not to say.
  • 30 participants were into their 20s, 26 in their 30s, 15, in their 40s, 7 in their 50s, 17 above 60 years old, 5 did not report their age.
  • 85 participants had a tertiary education (14 years and more).
  • 69 respondents were born in the UK.
  • 65 identified as having no religious affiliation, 17 were Christian, 6 were Jewish, 3 Muslim, 1 Hindu, 3 identified their religion as “other”, 5 preferred not to say.
Three Major Themes

- DECREASE/INCREASE IN
  SOCIAL INTERACTIONS AND
  A SENSE OF TOGETHERNESS
- OPPORTUNITIES VERSUS
  BARRIERS
- TENSION BETWEEN SPACES
Some participants are experiencing a decrease and others an increase in social interactions and a sense of togetherness.

- Respondents who reported a significant reduction in their social interactions shared that due to the lockdown, they “cannot go to work or socialise with friends” (N59, male, 26, tertiary education, white-collar employee).

- Another participant (N12), a woman in her late 20s (tertiary education, no current employment) felt isolated from other people and her culture: “holidays celebrated alone, languages that go unspoken, and always feeling like an outsider in the current country I live in”.

- In contrast to these accounts, others felt closer to their families and people in their immediate environments, such as their neighbourhoods: “the new situation forced people to interact with communities based on local geography, rather than cultural echo chambers across a more dispersed geography” (N47, female, tertiary education, self-employed).

Image credit: Monica Tolia & Moses Ward ‘2m’ (2020)
The themes that emerge from our data point to a division between Brits:
- while some feel a lack in social interactions, others find a new sense of togetherness.
- some identify opportunities in social restrictions, others emphasise the barriers they encountered when trying to consume culture.

Similar findings have recently been reported in several exploratory studies.

Together, these reports allow the portrayal of new opportunities for policy to reshape the way we engage with culture, to ensure the viability of this important aspect of our lives.
Summary

• As the UK is currently under a second lockdown, evidence points to the importance of **accessibility to culture for individuals’ well-being**.

• While some independently found creative ways to connect with their families, friends, communities, and culture, **there is room for governmental responsibility to ensure that cultural engagement will be accessible for all**.

• The last few months have offered an opportunity to observe **what happens to everyday cultural engagement in times of crisis**. From this, we can learn about what culture means to individuals and how to mitigate barriers to engaging with culture in future crises.
In our Horizon 2020 research, we aim to contribute to these goals by identifying the cultural and social preconditions required for the strategic goals of the New EU Agenda for Culture to be realized.

The bottom-up approach of the project will provide insight into multiple, often mutually contradictory, concepts of culture and understandings of societal values of culture among various social groups.

https://inventculture.eu/
Thank You!
Additions from discussants

• Place attachment, urban studies, the importance of physical and geographic space, sub local divisions at the neighborhood level, state support of transnational cultural networks can be an advantage, e.g., Moroccan/Romanian in Italy considered as ambassadors of their cultures

how do we unpack diversity from an economics point of view?
We emphasize long term effects/impact but cultural projects are specific and time limited, how do we reconcile this tension?
Merit good – but which culture will be supported? Heritage or identity? Will it lead to segregation
A program for the study of migration and cultural participation
The position of museums vis-à-vis questions of immigration

What museums must do to get more immigrants through their doors?

• Some museums embracing a social justice agenda, aware that they need to become more relevant for 21st century society.
• His interdisciplinary book argues that museums can offer a powerful, and often overlooked, arena for both exploring and acting upon the interrelated issues of immigration and social justice. Based on three in-depth European case studies, spanning France, Denmark, and the UK, the research examines programs developed by leading museums to address cultural, economic, social and political inequalities. Where previous studies on museums and immigration have focused primarily on issues of cultural inequalities in collection and interpretation, Museums, Immigrants, and Social Justice adopts a more comprehensive focus that extends beyond the exhibition hall to examine the full range of programs developed by museums to address the of cultural, economic, social and political inequalities facing immigrants.
• I found that museums have a unique role to play in providing opportunities for immigrants to learn the language of their host country and to gain employment skills.
• Outreach and volunteering programs with migrants
Jasper Visser, an international change agent, claims that museums and heritage professionals can, in times of increasing migration, become a driving force for building a stronger society.

Visser defines three types of interaction between museums and immigrants:

1. A traditional approach when the theme of migration exists within objects and collections.
2. Migration museums that share awareness about difficulties that migrants face and become the platform for exhibitions, discussions and festivals.
3. the model of participation by migrant communities in museum projects.

He believes that museums can become hubs for social innovation, and heritage workers have unique opportunities and responsibilities whilst working with real issues. Engaging migrants in producing content, workshops and social innovation events in museums is an act of peace-building and shows different perceptions of the problem through arts.
The position of museums vis-à-vis questions of immigration

• How have museums reacted in the last years to migration? Have they silently observed from the “outside” (if there is an outside) or taken part in the debate, invited specialists, curated exhibitions, invented new forms of mediation, re-written their texts, created space for inclusion, co-designed with the protagonists?
• More and more museums are interested in the current debate about migration and its latest epiphany, the so-called “refugees crisis”: there is a proliferation of exhibitions, conferences, seminars, workshops.
• Through this blog we want to document this richness, mainly at European scale (but not only). We want to question the role of museums, their agency, their activism or rather their silence. Despite our personal committment in the field, we try to do it without any parti pris or ideology.

https://museumsandmigration.wordpress.com/

• https://museumsandmigration.wordpress.com/
• https://www.aam-us.org/2016/08/16/museums-and-migration/
• Member States have confirmed their commitment to further developing the core idea of integration as a driver for economic development and social cohesion, in order to better enhance migrants' contribution to economic growth and cultural richness

• Europe needs a positive attitude towards diversity and strong guaranties for fundamental rights and equal treatment, building on the mutual respect of different cultures and traditions

• The proposed actions focus on the following key areas:
  A. Integration through participation
  B. More action at local level
  C. Involvement of countries of origin

• Migration and integration policies rely heavily on high quality statistics for policy formulation and monitoring of results. The EU institutions and the Member States should work together to develop a framework for mainstreaming migration statistics and to improve the capacity to collect and publish statistics on migrants and their socio-economic situation.

• Common indicators will make it possible to assess the efforts in support of integration in relation to European targets in the areas of employment, education and social inclusion and, thereby, to enhance coordination of national and EU policies. The Commission will monitor developments and formulate recommendations, in dialogue with Member States.


https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/culture/overview
European Statistical System Network (ESSnet-culture), a committee commissioned by Eurostat, produced a report on expenditure on culture, cultural participation and cultural industries in Europe (2012):

- There is no European level mechanism to monitor cultural indicators of the Member States, including public expenditure on culture
- There is no robust common definition of culture or of public expenditure
- Lack of a strong foundation for the EU to structure a targeted and effective cultural policy
Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. Cultural Heritage is often expressed as either Intangible or Tangible Cultural Heritage (ICOMOS, 2002).