ABSTRACT

Title of Document:	PRACTICING LOCAL CULTURE AS A VEHICLE OF INTEGRATION? CREATIVE COLLABORATIONS AND BRUSSELS' ZINNEKE PARADE. (FR: LA COLLABORATION 'CRÉATIVE' COMME FACILITATEUR DE L'INTÉGRATION? LA ZINNEKE PARADE DE BRUXELLES.)
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Immigrant integration, and socio-economic cohesion more broadly, continue to be top priorities at many levels of governance in Europe and are long-standing fixtures of scholarly, political and public debate across Europe and North America. Although *integration* and *culture* have been dominant themes in contemporary European and American social science and humanities literatures, their intersections—particularly involving immigrant participation in local arts and cultural activities—remain understudied. Through the use of mixed-methods research, my doctoral thesis addresses how participating in such creative activities serves as a vehicle for integration. This topic is examined within the context of the European capital city-region of Brussels, and provokes further inquiry into the role of place in integration and identity-making particularly within a context in which there is no universal or normative local identity.

With the onsite support of local experts, artistic and cultural actors and the public at large, I examine the 'creative collaboration' of Zinneke Parade 2010—a biennial socio-cultural and urban project with origins in the Brussels 2000 European Capital of Culture Programme (ECoC). Though politicians and community organizers frequently cite Zinneke as an exemplary project of the Brussels-Capital Region, to date, no formal study has been conducted neither into its role in bridging many of the city's socio-linguistic, spatial and economic divides nor into its role as a source for building local networks, social, cultural, economic or otherwise.

Finally, this work is unique in its treatment of migrant and ethnic minority identity representations in an explicitly non-ethno-cultural event. In its biennial parade, Zinneke purposefully does not re-present separate ethno-cultural pasts, but instead reflects the identities of collective and creative efforts of today's local Bruxellois. Fielded throughout 2010 and early 2011, in-depth interviews, combined with short as well as detailed questionnaires, form the basis of data which I have collected to answer the question: Does practicing local culture facilitate integration?

PRACTICING LOCAL CULTURE AS A VEHICLE OF INTEGRATION?

CREATIVE COLLABORATIONS AND BRUSSELS' ZINNEKE PARADE.

By

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PREFACE

Reception Desk Attendant: "Are you a member of the *Francophone* or *Nederlandstalige* Community?"

As an outsider and newcomer to Brussels, my first 'rich moment' of fieldwork came soon after I moved to Belgium in January 2010 to conduct my dissertation research. Rich moments are those instances in which the researcher expresses an "ah ha" or a "that's weird," gaining valuable insight into the research setting which in turn informs a better (more site-relevant) formulation of the research question and subsequent analysis.

Thanks to the organizers of Zinneke Parade, I was able to attend an ostensibly public (though 'invitation only') presentation of the newly unveiled *Plan culturel pour Bruxelles* (*Cultuurplan voor Brussel* in Dutch), a collaborative plan by Brussels' socio-cultural actors and institutions including academics, NGOs and local artists among others, to unite the oft-divided cultural scenes and spaces of Brussels.

When I arrived at the entrance of the *Parlement bruxellois* (*Hoofdstedelijk Parlement*) building, I was quickly directed to check in at the reception desks (plural). Noticing no outward difference between the two adjacent tables, I chose the one closest to the entrance and greeted the attendant with a standard '*Bonjour Monsieur*' in French. He responded with a quick *Bonjour* of his own, followed in French by the question: "Are you a member of the French or Dutch-speaking Community?" I hesitated thinking that I was neither a native French nor a native Dutch-speaker, so…how could I answer this? In a sort of guessing voice, as if attempting to provide the 'right' answer, I said, "*Francophone?*" With this response, the man gestured directing me to the woman sitting to his left for only she had the list of *francophones* attending today's presentation; he maintained the list of *Nederlandstaligen* (Dutch-speakers). We non-native speakers of either of Brussels' two official

languages would have to choose to identify with only one in order to, quite ironically, be permitted entry to a presentation on efforts to unify Europe's linguistically-divided capital city!

Like the country as a whole, Brussels has long been split along linguistic, cultural and political lines readily observed in the divisive discourse and institutionalized 'language border' (*frontière linguistique / taalgrens*) that separates today's 11 million Belgians and their language-based communities.

Thus was my first personal experience with this contextually-important language divide that would continue to surface as a recognizable theme throughout my Brussels-based fieldwork.

As time passed, I would also develop a much better understanding of the diversity of meanings of the terms 'community' and 'integration' in the Brussels (and Belgian) contexts—where, for example, *communauté* (*gemeenschap*) not only may denote 'togetherness' and 'shared experiences or values,' but also separate policies and directives put in place to preserve French and Flemish mono-cultural identities. (The implications and complexities of 'community' and 'integration' in the Brussels context are discussed further in Chapter 5.)

I think one of the most striking elements of Brussels is the plurality of languages spoken on the streets and yet the dominance of French (and commensorate absence of Dutch) in most public and private spaces of the city. Though Brussels is officially bilingual, even in a Flemish enclave such as the De Markten-Dansaert area of the city centre or at one of the Flemish Community-supported cultural venues, I have rarely encountered places in Brussels where I only hear Dutch (or hear a predominance of Dutch) being spoken; whereas I can go for days without hearing Dutch spoken in shops or on the streets in several of Brussels' neighborhoods.

Like many other immigrants to the city, I took advantage of the free (!) Dutch language courses offered by the Flemish Community. There, I met long-term Brussels residents and newcomers from Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and South America as well as the occasional Belgian Francophone, all taking Dutch language courses to expand their professional and local job prospects, for familial reasons and so on.

Also like the over 325,000 non-native Bruxellois in the Brussels-Capital Region—and not counting the thousands of Walloons (French speakers from the southern Belgian region of Wallonia) and Flemish (Dutch speakers from the northern Belgian region of Flanders) living there—my identity is temporal and situational; the length of time spent in the field, and the conversations and settings in which I found myself, both reflect and shape this identity. The more time I spent in Brussels, the more my status shifted from a foreign researcher (a.k.a., short-term sojourner; a.k.a., outsider) studying an unfamiliar setting from the outside in; to that of a Bruxellois living, working, interacting and moving around and learning *my* city. My attitudes and practices have reflected this shift—sometimes back-and-forth—between 'outsider' and 'insider' as I continue to move farther away from the curious observer (and newcomer) to the invested participant (and resident) of the local, of Brussels.

My local identity has been constantly concretized by: (1) my required participation in the activities of the local, such as filing Belgian taxes, acquiring a local health care provider (*mutuelle*, *mutualiteit*), registering in the commune where I live, signing a lease; (2) by participating in the unrequired but common activities of getting a local mobile phone and number, getting a local public transit card or obtaining a preferred shoppers discount card; and (3) by frequenting local hangouts, shops and public spaces, joining local sports clubs, receiving mail and newsletters of local goings-on

and recognizing now familiar faces of local merchants and neighbors who more and more engage me

(and I them) in regular albeit usually brief conversations about the local.

Joe Costanzo
Brussels
August 2012

DEDICATION

This work, and so much more, is dedicated to the life and memory of Chiara Capoferro (1970 – 2010).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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"[T]he arts are essential to human survival because they serve the function of integrating different parts of the self and integrating individuals with each other and their environment." (Turino, 2008, p. 12)

CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION: Researching Socio-Cultural Belonging in Brussels.

I. INTRODUCTION

Immigrants are participating in the cultural production of European cities. This statement reflects a current reality where immigrants are increasingly involved in the construction of a dynamic and evermore multicultural Europe. As individual and institutional actors and spectators—from impromptu jam sessions to city festivals to performances involving world-renowned professional dance troupes—their participation in these cultural scenes and spaces serves not only as an outlet for their creativity, but also, for some, as a facilitator of their and others' integration into local society. Using the case study of Brussels' Zinneke project, and based on short and detailed questionnaires as well as in-depth interviews, my doctoral research explores the role that participating in local cultural projects plays in the process of integration in contemporary European urban society.

This research took place in 2010 and 2011 within the context of national, European and global crises. 541 days after national elections were held, Belgium was finally able to form a national government—a less than distinguished world record among modern societies. During this same period, Europe struggled (and continues to struggle) with its union within a global economic crisis and faces uncertainty and increasing unemployment in multiple Member States. For some, this ongoing crisis has called into question the very viability and desirability of such a union. On the global scene, revolutionary changes and demands for change have clamored in the Middle East in the so-called Arab Spring. Commentators, EU officials in Brussels and heads of state debate its implications for Europe amidst the growing popularity of

nationalist parties across the Old Continent while making public declarations of the *absolut gescheitert* (utter failure) of state policies of multiculturalism.

Across North America and throughout Europe, when discussed at the local level, immigration debates quickly turn into disagreements over the challenges of one-way (migrant-to-host country) integration, problems of social and economic exclusion, human rights protections, and issues of community cohesion and transformation—within a context of neo-assimilationism, argues Martiniello (2011).

II.   FRAMING THE ROLE OF THE ARTS AND CREATIVE PARTICIPATION IN INTEGRATION

Generations of scholars have conceptualized and operationalized *integration* and (cultural) *participation*, and, occasionally, have linked the two to study immigrants in countries of settlement, focusing on ethno-cultural expressions that, for a brief moment, celebrate and re-present traditional notions of foreignness in their dress, music, cuisine and so forth as reminders of the way things were (or are perceived still to be) in a distant homeland.

Thanks to the recent contributions by DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010) and Spangler (2007) among others, we are beginning to heed the call of Menjívar (2010) for more cross-disciplinary work between migration and cultural studies, and are studying immigrants not as passive spectators of the arts or performing 'immigrant art,' but as instrumental participants in the shifting forms of creative expression and in changing the political and public discourses of 'the migrant' and of local identities. For many, such creative spaces and 'meeting-encounters' (*rencontres*) serve as a place without *a priori* social and economic personal value, exposing local residents to each other's differences, valuing individual abilities and interests,

creating collaboration through tension and discussion, allowing human error and generating social, psychological and economic benefits for those involved.

Further, I suggest that the scholarly literature to date, and integration research in particular, does not fully consider these collaborative socio-cultural projects nor are they contextualized within their urban settings, such as those of Europe's capital city.

For my research, the socio-cultural project of Zinneke takes place and is contextualized in Brussels where there is neither a single integrating culture, a universal or normative local identity nor a prevailing discourse on what it is to be Bruxellois, and, therefore, no unique identity to which immigrants are expected to adhere. (Of note, my study also shows that among non-migrant background Bruxellois there is no consensus on defining a Bruxellois identity.) From this, I suggest that 21st Century Brussels is a space in which a new typology of (urban) integration is emerging, one without a unique official policy or universally-recognized public notion of Bruxellois-ness except for that of the Zinneke—the "mixity of origins" of Brussels' residents.

What follows in the chapters ahead is a study of how participation in a local socio-cultural expression—the Zinneke project[1]—facilitates integration not only for those of migrant background but also among (all) local residents for whom the activity is intended.

My work moves the previous research forward on several fronts and investigates integration 'from below' where local-level participation in the arts and cultural scenes may not

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[1] Though formally known as 'Zinneke Parade', I have elected to refer to the entire 2-year preparatory process (and its activities), plus the parade itself, as the Zinneke project (or simply 'Zinneke'), and the parade day event alone as the Zinneke Parade.

only facilitate integration, but may also compliment or even substitute for national-level (or in the Belgian case, Community)-level integration policies. Furthermore, I introduce and explore the notion of 'creative collaboration' (emphasizing the collective aspect of participation).

Also, as described in detail in Chapter 2, where most previous studies on migration and culture have examined the political meaning of cultural participation or the case studies of the 'ethnic' expressions of migrants or other minorities, using the case of Brussels and its Zinneke project, this study investigates the application of 'creative collaboration' in a non-ethnically re-presentational event and its preparatory process.

Also differentiating my work from previous works focused on individual (person)-based identities is how Zinneke is spatially and socially-tied to place and not to any one particular person-based group other than that of the local—the *quartiers* and the city-region of Brussels. Therefore, what becomes meaningful and of interest in this study is the importance of human and spatial relationships, of the interaction between the specificity of the place (Brussels), the event (the Zinneke project) and the people involved (Bruxellois).

III. THE FESTIVAL, THE CITY AND THE PEOPLE – BRUXELLOIS AND EUROPEAN

"There is no doubt that festivals are fast becoming a defining feature of city life in Europe in the twenty-first century, and understanding their nature and their potential impact is now more pressing than ever before." (Küchler, Kürti, & Elkadi, 2011, p. 1)

Though my interest is in the entire process including the moments before, during and after the socio-cultural event itself, Silvanto and Hellman (2005) capture well the potential of what a city's 'festival moment' can be for its spectators, participants and for the city:

The festivals create a fertile ground for the birth and spread of new ideas, innovations, and cross-cultural activities…**Festivals influence people's idea of a city. They provide many points of identification and contribute to the birth of non-mainstream urban identities. They consolidate subcultures and create togetherness** among amateurs of a common field. At their best festivals culminate in a 'festival moment', creating a momentum born of dramaturgical excellence and high quality content, a powerful experience bringing together audience and festival performers and organisers. (Silvanto & Hellman, 2005, pp. 5-6, emphasis mine)

The Zinneke Parade offers this potential for (at least some of) Brussels' residents and has reintroduced the term 'Zinneke'—the mixed breed (*bâtard*) or multicultural origins of its residents—into public discourse and, unlike Silvanto and Hellman's unique 'moments', I argue that Zinneke acts as a near perpetual source of creative collaboration within and across Brussels' neighborhoods. Its impact? Case-by-case, measurable and immeasurable, individual and institutional, widespread and localized, long-term and immediate. Similar to the challenge of constructing a specific definition of *Bruxellois*, the impact of practicing local culture resists being reduced to a single, community-specific or geographically-situated experience.

Throughout my field research, I have found that by its deliberate act of providing opportunities for innumerable *rencontres* ('meeting-encounters'), Zinneke's creative collaborations offer Brussels an alternative, yet officially endorsed, forum to validate the qualities of each individual while collectively exploring and creating new identity forms of a pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-dimensional Brussels. As described in Chapter 3, this optimism and openness, stimulated by Zinneke, exist in tension with a very real public policy

infrastructure that is steadfastly committed to the preservation of unique (and separate) language-based communities and their identities.

Finally, participating in such *local* (i.e., place and not language-based) socio-cultural projects provides the Bruxellois of migrant background with identities beyond those of 'immigrant,' 'minority' or 'outsider'; and does not force them into a single—Francophone or Flemish—community.

IV.   CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN BRUSSELS

As a multicultural, officially trilingual (Dutch, French and German) and multi-layered federal state, and as an immigrant-receiving nation with a colonial past, Belgium is an intriguing setting in which to study cultural participation and integration.

As its capital city—one of the most ethnically diverse of European cities—the seat of Europe's institutions; and as a leading European center of visual and performing arts, Brussels embodies the challenges and possibilities of diversity facing many urban centers today, itself a complex intersection of mono-, multi- and euro-cultural spaces both discursive and territorial.

Further, the cultural projects and policies of Brussels are directly impacted by a structurally-imposed language divide between Belgium's French and Flemish Communities. Some projects, such as Zinneke—a biennial socio-cultural urban project of 'intensive collaboration' over two years—simultaneously reflect and reject this structural fragmentation of culture in their efforts to foster participatory, collaborative and creative projects by and for local people.

As for the geo-political structures of the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR), multiple authorities intersect, overlap and collide in the public operations of the city-region. Created as a distinct region and regional authority in 1989, the BCR refers to the city of Brussels plus 18 other neighboring municipalities, each with their own governing bodies which, themselves, though sharing the same geographic jurisdiction, are divided by the capital's two official languages—French and Dutch—and serving their respective citizenry also divided along these language lines.

In terms of setting immigration and integration-related policy, the Federal State is responsible for migration policies, such as admissions, whereas the French and Flemish Communities set the policies and programs for the "integration of foreigners and emancipation of ethno-cultural minorities" (European Commission, 2011) since the 1980s. With the creation of the Brussels-Capital Region, the French Community Commission (*Commission communautaire française*, COCOF) and the Flemish Community Commission (*Vlaams Gemeenschapscommissie*, VGC) became the designated authorities over integration policies and programs in Brussels. These communitarian structures also have the primary authority in setting the cultural policies, programming and funding for all residents of the Capital Region.

Like many other European cities, the demographic trajectory of Brussels has been dominated by international migrations, internal mobilities coupled with increasing life expectancies and declining fertility rates among so-called 'native' (autochthone) populations.[2]

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[2] Such terminology—the dichotomous *autochtoon* (native) and its antonym *allochtoon* (foreign)—though common in Dutch (Netherlands) and Flemish (Belgium) discourses, remains absent from most written and oral discourse on immigrants and integration in France and French-speaking Belgium.

Further, with 1.12 million inhabitants in 2011, the Brussels-Capital Region has experienced a steady rise in overall population size over the past decade and, like other sizable European metro areas, the population composition continues to change and is highly influenced by internationalization. Particular to Brussels, however, has been the significant Europeanization of the city-region's spaces and resident population owing to its special role as the institutional capital of the European Union and to the related and sizable increase in the number of Member States admitted into the Union since the early 2000s—12 new countries since 2004. (See Figure 1.1. European Union Enlargement: 1957 to 2007for an idea of the territorial growth of the European Union since 1957.)

Figure 1.1. European Union Enlargement: 1957 to 2007
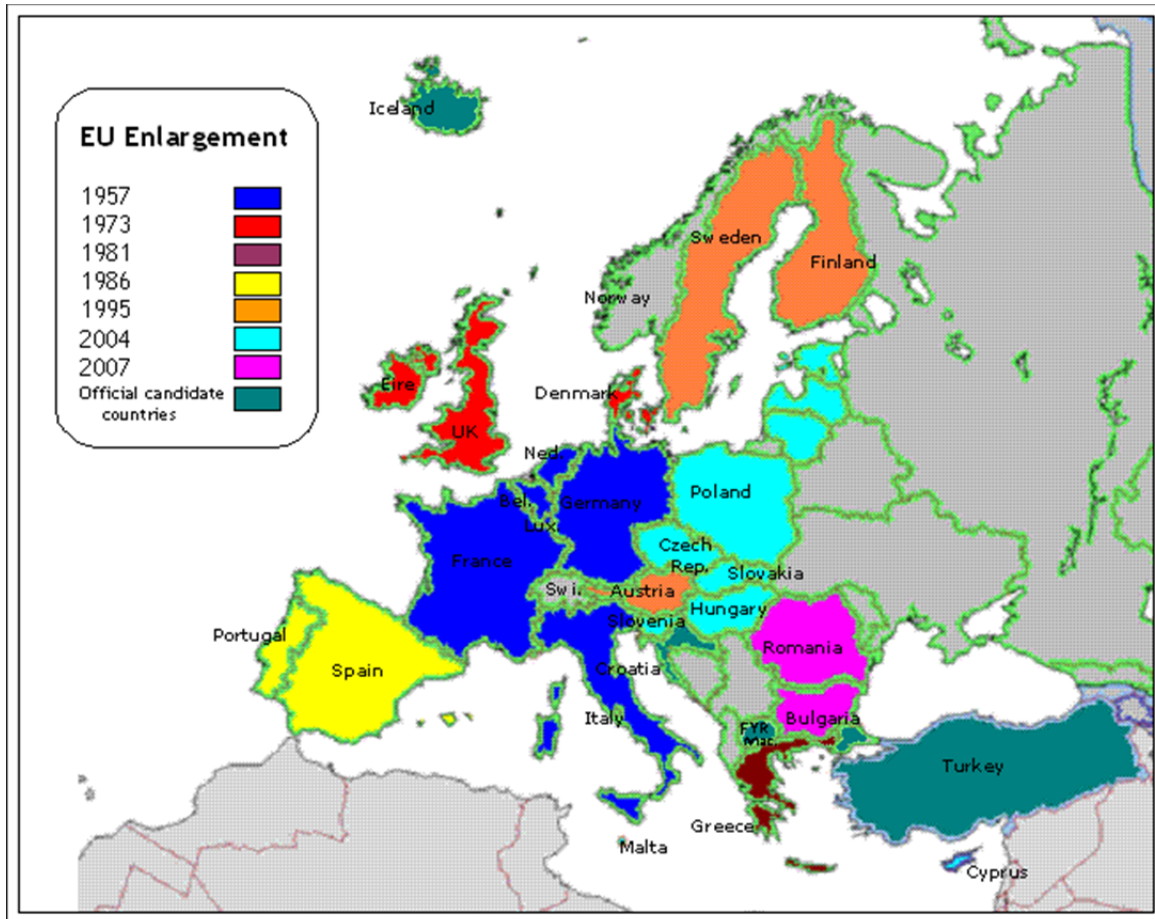
Source: www.civitas.org.uk/.

V.   STRUCTURING THE DISSERTATION

I have organized the dissertation as follows:

Chapter 2 details the cross-disciplinary and transdisciplinary research covering

participation, integration, ethnic and migrant involvement in arts and culture, spectacles,

culture as urban policy and so on. (Here I am distinguishing between *cross-*, or *inter-,* and *trans-*

disciplinarity where one refers to the crossing of content boundaries towards a common

research goal (*cross-*) and the other (*trans-*) combines this with a participatory approach,

involving both academic and non-academic actors.)

Chapter 3 introduces and explains the research settings, including the complexity of managing culture in the Brussels-Capital Region, placing immigrant and ethnic Bruxellois (and their participation in artistic and cultural scenes and spaces) into context with the evolution and recent history of the Zinneke project, plus its origins in the broader Brussels 2000 European Capital of Culture program. Though Zinneke has been covered extensively by various print, radio, visual and online media outlets and discussed in numerous professional and public meetings, my doctoral thesis represents the first formal study to date into its implications for Brussels and its residents of both migrant and non-migrant origins.

Chapter 4 lays out the mixed-method research design implemented and primary data collection fieldwork carried out between January 2010 and February 2011, the key period in which to study Zinneke 2010, its final preparation, implementation, and post-parade closeout and evaluation. Further, discussed in this chapter, my data collection consisted of three procedures: (i) fielding short, structured questionnaires of participants and spectators during the 2010 Parade on 22 May 2010; (ii) administering detailed, formal questionnaires to a sub-sample of Zinneke Parade 2010 spectators and participants plus a sample of artists and other cultural actors and officials in Brussels over a two-month period; and (iii) conducting in-depth, semi-structured personal interviews with local researchers and cultural actors among others.

Organized by the major themes of research interest, namely, creative collaboration, integration and identity and situated in Brussels, I present and explain the findings from my primary data sources in Chapter 5; an explanation of the study samples and their selection is also provided in that chapter.

Finally, in Chapter 6 I discuss the meaning of these findings, detail their (academic and policy) implications and add 'creative collaboration' for consideration in urban development (planning) and migration literatures and practices that examine strategies for improving metropolitan governance in spaces of increasing mixity and difference.

As with any such undertaking, this research is situated in a particular time and place—2010-2011, Brussels, Belgium. As discussed elsewhere, the particularities of this period of political uncertainty in a linguistically divided city and country provide a stimulating backdrop to conduct research on integration (and social cohesion and identity as well).

CHAPTER TWO. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE(S) AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:
Crossing Literatures and Constructing Local Creative Practices.

I.   INTRODUCTION

"…participating in artistic events helps to promote active, participative citizenship."
(Everitt, 2001, p. 64)

Previous writings across the social sciences as well as those of planners, artists and other cultural actors have answered particular aspects of the question into the societal impact of culture and its practice and of immigrants (and ethnic minorities) practicing culture. The works of scholars in the social sciences, humanities and urban studies join practitioners of planning and of cultural programming to examine the role of artistic and cultural initiatives and policies in ever-diversifying cityscapes.

Though this chapter does include a discussion into the recent historical evolution and developments of the notions of integration, multiculturalism and related terms, the main purpose of this literature review is not to revisit the many studies which have addressed the *separate* issues of 'integration,' 'culture' or 'participation' in their various forms. Instead, where my research enters the discussion, and on whose literature I primarily build, are works at the crossroads, those works which "talk across disciplines," paraphrasing Brettell and Hollified (2000), and particularly those that treat the intersections between culture and migration.[3]

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[3] For a thorough treatment of 'integration' in the US and other contexts, the following resources are recommended: Portes and Zhou (1993): segmented assimilation; Alba and Nee (2003): preservation of ethnic uniqueness; Sarap (1986): multiculturalism; Taylor (1994): politics of equal dignity, of difference and of recognition; Berry (1974, 1984, 1997, 2004): interculturalism and (psychological) acculturation; Bhabh (1984): cultural hybridity; Rumbaut (1997): linear and non-linear processes of adaptation; Friedenberg et al. (1998):

Further, as researchers investigate links between culture, migration and urban studies, so too do local actors, planners and city officials look to culture as a strategy for urban (re)development and to address (or at least mitigate) some of the challenges of contemporary cities.

The following review reflects the reality that the intellectual and practical engagement currently underway in the area of arts and culture is not limited to academia. A review of the literature, therefore, not only includes the works by academics for academic audiences. Complimenting these works are those of practitioners (planners, community organizers, artists and others) working in communities where 'creative participation' (culture) is practiced personally and locally.

II.   DISCUSSION AND EVALUATION OF RELEVANT WORKS[4]

> "Together with religion, art constitutes the most effective means to address transcendent questions, articulate political discourses, and shape personal and collective identities." (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010, p. 7)

Though universities increasingly emphasize cross-disciplinarity in their curricula and in their research agendas, most academic work remains steadfastly in separate canons (theoretical frameworks, research designs and practical applications). However, the study of

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frameworks of belonging; and Myerhoff and Simic (1978): states of interaction and continuity, dynamic dimensions.

[4] When considering the comprehensiveness of literature it is important to recognize the omission of works published in foreign languages. Though I consulted some Spanish, Italian and Dutch-language sources, the primary references for this literature review were in either English or French. Unless otherwise noted, potentially important works unavailable in either of these two languages will not be reflected here.

immigrant integration is, by nature, a cross-disciplinary undertaking requiring cross-disciplinary

and transdisciplinary approaches—the latter implying the involvement of *non*-academic actors.

In her assessment of the current state of the discipline of Sociology, Menjívar (2010)

talks of the benefits gained when migration researchers also engage the literature of social

movements, political and civic participation and cultural studies.

To reflect the cross-disciplinarity and inter-relationships between migration

(integration) and cultural studies, urban policies and so on of previous works, in Figure 2.1, I

present these relevant studies around five interrelated and overlapping themes: (a) Arts and

culture; (b) Participation; (c) Integration, cohesion, identity and belonging; (d) The city, the local

and the urban; and (e) Urban, economic and cultural policies and structures. In their treatment

here and elsewhere as producers and consumers of research we should be mindful to avoid

rendering these themes artificially exclusive and independent, and I make an effort here to

note the mutual inclusiveness of such terminology and its usage where applicable.

Figure 2.1. Conceptual Organization of Literature

Group	Theme	Elements
The Practice of (Immigrant / Ethnic) Culture and its Meaning	*Arts and Culture*	Spectacles and performances: festivals, parades, carnivals
		Other artistic and cultural forms: music, sports, 'high' and 'popular' arts, participatory and non-participatory arts, holidays, literature, theatre, dance
	(Individual, Institutional, Collaborative) Participation	Artistic and cultural events
		Spectators, participants and organizers
		Interactions (among people, events and spaces in time)
		Other participatory forms and actions: political, social, collective moments, protests
	Integration, Cohesion, Identity and Belonging	Immigrant integration
		Social, economic and spatial cohesion
		Identity and belonging
		'Publics' (producers and consumers of culture)
		Citizenship
		Ethnicity and minority diversity
		Other forms: youth, representation, transnational
Culture as Urban Policy	*The City, Locality and Urban*	Place (City)-specific (characteristics and history)
		Local (including *quartier* and sub-city levels)
		Other urban and public spaces
	Urban, Economic and Cultural Policies and Structures	Cultural (multicultural and intercultural) policies
		Urban / economic development strategies
		Role, influence and structures of the State
		State-sponsored incentives: funding, subsidies and awards

A.   Academic Literature

"…expressive behaviors, including art, have constituted a potent instrument to maintain distinct

identities, salvage integrity, and negotiate inclusion into the host society."

 (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010, p. 3)

As recent as 2010, scholars have called for more cross-disciplinary research in the areas

of migration and cultural studies. (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010; Menjívar, 2010)

Before we can march forward with a discussion linking migration (integration) and

culture, and the practice of culture by migrants, we must first layout the groundwork laid in

previous scholarly works establishing the need for such work.

1.   <u>'Integration' and 'Ethnic' Studies in Europe</u>

"The very best continental European work has focused on…informality or non-institutionalized

forms of social organization." (Favell, 2010, p.395)

The recent *Selected Studies in International Migration and Immigrant Incorporation*, an

edited volume by Martiniello and Rath (2010), presents a collection of theoretical works that

"have had an impact on research in Europe or reflect a European perspective on international

migration and immigrant integration." This volume serves as a comprehensive resource into the

origins, development and state of play of contemporary thinking and approaches to the study

of immigrant integration within Europe where increasing social scientific interest into migration

and ethnic studies has been a relatively recent (since the 1980s) phenomena owing to "the

structure of European academic research" and the dominance and importation of American

perspectives (and theoretical constructions) in this field in Europe. (Martiniello and Rath, 2010)

From their introductory chapter, the editors discuss the current public, political and intellectual framing of migration (and the integration of immigrants) as a 'problem' of security, criminality, environment and public health; coupled with a veritable "intellectual and political panic" regarding Islam alongside some more 'positive' approaches to migration and multiculturalism. The authors further describe that historically, migration and ethnic studies have suffered from a lack of interest, an "intellectual emergency" and unfavorable "social conditions of production" on the part of social scientists in Europe. Despite this, the authors argue that "migration and ethnicity have become key issues in the social analysis of contemporary Europe".

For individual researchers undertaking social studies into migrant integration, the authors-editors question and caution the portability of the basic (and highly employed) concept of 'ethnicity' from the U.S.—a country "that has always conceived itself as an immigrant country"—to nations where migrants have historically been viewed as temporary laborers. In their efforts to fight against the risks of such "fascination" for and simple appropriation of American-based concepts in migration and ethnic studies, the authors argue for expanding transdisciplinary and research-based networks throughout Europe and the world.

Elsewhere, regarding immigrant integration studies in Europe, often "distorted" by the strong reliance on cases in Britain, France or Germany, Favell (2010) questions the 'nation-state-society' paradigm—the "root of modern western society's conception of itself"—as being "sufficiently appropriate" to study the "evolving relationship between immigrants and their host context", particularly when faced with globalizing "nation-state-transcending" 'transnational' actors and organizational forms.

Favell describes the notion of 'integration' within the nation-state-society paradigm as being one of "a collective goal [longer term goal and consequences] regarding the destiny of new immigrants or ethnic minorities". Here, integration is not only limited to a societal goal, but also implicates (if not requires) government involvement in achieving such goals. He also suggests that multiculturalism, like integration, though a public policy of some nations, may be a de facto reality, one that is not necessarily dependent upon "'multicultural' policies or institutions of the state." (p.374)

In speaking of the terminological evolution in the U.S. context, the author suggests that 'integration' has been…

> [M]oved away from its discredited links with desegregation over black/white public relations in the 1960s to a more European-looking concern with the cultural and social absorption of diverse new populations that have grown dramatically in the US since the opening up of immigration laws in 1965. (Favell, 2010, p.376)

Comparing the terminological preference for 'integration' over 'assimilation' in Europe, Favell points to the "deeper concern" in Europe with questions of "historical continuity" since the second world war, about conceiving of the forms and structures that can "unify a diverse population", to "'nationalize newcomers".

Favell further helps us (in the United States) to understand these distinctions and the European contextualization of their formulation (preference and use) in that Europe is institutionally constructed on "**bounded notions of specific territory** and the constant self-distinction of 'indigenous', **culturally 'unique' populations** constrained to live alongside very close, and troublesomely similar neighbours." (p.377, emphasis mine)

Noting the contributions of "scholars of transnationalism" in particular, Favell argues

not only that we should question the prevalence of the 'nation-state-society' paradigm for the

reasons previously mentioned, but also devote rigorous scholarly attention to the emergence of

"non-nation-centered structures of social integration" or even to the 'deterritoralized'

networks of integration—"sources of collective power outside state structures" (p.394)—where

transnational, global as well as regional and within-country (sub-state and local) individual and

institutional actors organize different or alternative forms of (social) integration.

In terms of the local as settings for alternative (non-nation-state-based) forms of

integration, Favell stresses the "need to recognize these **city-embedded activities as emergent**

forms of social organization – and hence social power largely unstructured or not incorporated

(in formal or informal terms) by the state...pointing towards a new type of multi-ethnic culture

in Europe". (p.395-6, emphasis mine)

2. <u>Multiculturalism in European Cities</u>

Tracing the European experience with immigration and its philosophical, political, public

and (social) scientific thinking since the end of World War II, Rex and Singh (2003) lay out a

conceptual framework to produce a general theory of multiculturalism. Until recently,

multiculturalism in Europe has been "discussed as a positive feature of national societies and

cities." The diversity of nations and of urban areas has been highlighted, even featured in the

cultural offerings of cities. Despite some politicians' rhetorical disparagement and efforts to

dismantle the policies and programs of a multicultural Europe (notably, David Cameron and

Angela Merkel) as "endangering the unity of society" (Rex & Singh, 2003), the European

Commission continues to promote the diversity of European cities through their Capitals of Culture programs. (Discussed fully in Chapter 3.)

In their work on framing a theory of multiculturalism, the authors detail the "evolution of social policy and of political institutions" in the post-WWII Europe, and lay out three basic "European responses" to immigration since that period: assimiliationism, the *gastarbeider* (immigrants as temporary laborer) system and multiculturalism. (Rex & Singh, 2003)

Ultimately, on the grounds of implementing a successful plan for today's diverse societies, the authors argue that a "viable multicultural policy will be one that recognises conflicts of ideas and interests between different groups and considers the way in which such conflict can lead to negotiation and compromise." (p.15)

3. <u>Interculturalism and Interculturality in Europe: Living together in diversity, with greater ease</u>

Separately, the term 'interculturalism' has been readily associated most notably with the diversity ('multiculturality') of the local, namely, cities/urban areas. (Balbo et al., 2012) The authors write:

The intercultural city is a city where **differences are perceived but merge on the basis of equal respect**, thus generating a **new urban imaginary** through a **collectively accepted** use of space where **equivalence of differences** is acknowledged as the starting point for a **new sense of belonging**. (p.10, emphasis mine)

Here, the underlying premise is one where cityscapes are unquestionably multicultural; where intra-urban differences in culture, class and so on exist. The idea behind interculturalism is one of the (positive) possibilities of managing (if not maximizing) these differences (tensions and

conflicts) as almost natural sources of innovation in the construction of new urban spaces and new urban identities.

In defining 'interculturality' (and later 'interculturalism') the Coucil of Europe (2011) contrasts the concept with other European integration strategies:

Rather than ignoring diversity (as with guest-worker approaches), denying diversity (as with assimilationist approaches), or overemphasising diversity and thereby reinforcing walls between culturally distinct groups (as with multiculturalism), interculturalism is about **explicitly recognising the value of diversity** while doing everything possible to **increase interaction, mixing and hybridisation** between cultural communities.

(Council of Europe, 2011, emphasis mine)

Further, from this definition, the Council contrasts interculturality with multiculturalism, the latter being viewed as problematic for having "provoked rivalry" (conflict) and "unwittingly increased ethnic ghettoisation" (separation), whereas the former is constructed on notions on "open" (public) and "inter-cultural interaction and mixing". (Council of Europe, 2011)

Stated differently by Wood and Landry (2008), "[t]he creative challenge is to move from the multicultural city of fragmented differences to the co-created intercultural city that makes the very most of its diversity." (p.14)

As exemplified with the Intercultural Cities joint project of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, such 'intercultural initiatives' represent some current (and positive) policy efforts at supranational levels—with commitments by state and local actors—as well as artistic and cultural (Delhaye, 2008) and further urban transformations at local (city and city-

region) levels as viable sources of cross-community dialogue, action and planning. (Wood & Landry, 2008; Luatti, 2006)

Further, these efforts by the Council of Europe and European Commission have been made successful through their partnerships and consultations with academic communities across Europe. Local experts have conducted a number of studies providing sound research evidence in several cities to support the 'intercultural cities approach' put forth by the Council and its supporters.

We now turn our attention to the review of scholarly works on participant diversity in artistic and cultural activities and events.

4. The Practice of (Immigrant / Ethnic) Culture and its Meaning

"The relationship between public performance and the construction of cultural identity is a well-established one." (Spangler, 2007, pp. 63, note 18)

Everitt (2001) opens with the question: "In what sense can it be argued that the arts help to promote active or participative citizenship?" (Everitt, 2001, p. 64) He speaks of the role of 'creative participation' wherein individual actors as well as institutions, such as art councils and civic society organizations, collectively engage in creating artistic and cultural projects.

As shown throughout this chapter, the academic and practitioner literatures are replete with examples of how and why the arts and culture (in terms of policies, projects and diverse public participation) are being practiced by different residents of today's cities.

a. *Which publics and which art forms? Producers and consumers of culture*

What of the diverse publics of the arts and cultural scenes? Who participates in the arts, as spectators, as artists (professionals and amateurs both) and as directors and funders of artistic and cultural institutions? In recent years, researchers and cultural actors in both North America and Europe have been rigorously attempting to answer (and to devise improved measures towards answering) some of these questions. (Bellone, 2008; Delhaye, 2008; Rosenstein, 2005; Minne & Pickels, 2003)

In her report, *Diversity and Participation in the Arts*, Rosenstein (2005) highlights the shortcomings and need for better data on the participation of non-Whites in the (public) arts and cultural projects of the United States. She seeks to not only improve population coverage in data on the arts, but also to better reflect the diversity in artistic and cultural forms in the United States. One of the shortcomings found by Rosenstein is in the restrictive focus of most national surveys of cultural participation, such as the National Endowment for the Arts' Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA).

Given the current SPPA coverage of such artistic forms—historically associated with high socio-economic status (SES)[5]—Rosenstein finds no surprise that "[e]ducation is the most powerful social predictor of arts participation as measured in the SPPA." (Rosenstein, 2005, p. 2) Other studies into the composition of artistic audiences in Brussels corroborate Rosenstein's findings for the United States. (Bellone, 2008; Minne & Pickels, 2003)

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[5] Earlier works, such as Dimaggio and Useem (1978), found similarly high SES among museum visitors and audiences of the performing arts.

By comparing the national SPPA data with a Santa Clara County (California) study, Rosenstein (2005) shows that narrow definitions of arts and culture systematically overstate the percentage participation rates of Whites while understating that of non-Whites who more regularly participate in other art forms. Further, Rosenstein points out the other element absent from such data collection and findings: the exclusive focus on 'passive attendance.' "The SPPA's primary measure of arts participation is audience <u>attendance</u> in traditional arts institutions." (Rosenstein, 2005, p. 2, emphasis mine) Further, this restriction is not uniformly biased across ethno-racial groups and omits 'active attendance' (participation through attendance) where clear lines between spectator and participant are blurred or have a negligable meaning to those involved. The contribution of Rosenstein builds on the earlier works of Dimaggio and Useem (1978) who also looked at the composition of artistic and cultural audiences. Also, Rosenstein calls to mind Augusto Boal's notion of the 'spect-actor' (1974) within the Theatre of the Opressed movement of the 1960s—a theatrical method itself based on Paulo Freire's (1968) book, *Pedagogia do Oprimido (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*)* where the wall between audience and actor has been deliberately distorted or removed.

According to Rosenstein:

A growing body of field-based research suggests many Hispanics and people who aren't white engage in 'participatory' arts practices, where creative activities are shared and set in nontraditional venues like community centers, homes, libraries, and schools [...] immigrants reported relatively high levels of participation in such activities as shared dancing, singing, and instrument playing. (Rosenstein, 2005, pp. 2-3)

Later, Delhaye (2008) would study the structural barriers to entry of immigrant and ethnic minority artists in the traditional, Western art forms and institutions of the Netherlands. Delhaye's findings recall Dimaggio and Useem (1978) as well on failed efforts to democratize culture in the United States due to "elite resistance to democratization and to entry problems facing nonelites." (Dimaggio & Useem, 1978, p. 195)

What of immigrants and ethno-racial minorities' self-perceptions via these artistic (creative) activities? Rosenstein explains that self-perception as artists varies across ethnic groups. Interestingly, she finds that "[t]here is also a clear difference in attitudes about artistic or creative engagement, with foreign-born Hispanics much more likely to consider themselves artists than those born in the United States." (Rosenstein, 2005, p. 3)

Even the American Planning Association (APA) has taken notice of these more 'informal' and participatory art forms, and adds spatial diversity (more and more varied public venues) to this list. The APA describe a Chicago-based study by Wali et al. (2002) that highlights the importance of these informal arts— including the presentation of arts activity in easily accessible and familiar spaces such as parks — in developing artists and audiences. Boundaries of age, ethnicity and socioeconomic status are more easily bridged in the informal arts than in established venues such as symphony halls, opera houses and theaters. (American Planning Association, 2011)

Whoever the audience or whatever their level of involvement, Everitt (2001) suggests that one of the benefits of participating in such culture events and spaces is that they offer "the chance to come together with others to create or participate for collective benefit and enjoyment." (p. 67)

b.   *Ethnic art and ethnicity in art: Identity-making*
"Immigration and art have thus become key elements to understanding life, culture, and creativity in contemporary America." (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010, p. 1)

In terms of immigrant and immigrant-origin involvement in local 'public' (*publics de proximité[6]*) performances, few works have yet taken a comprehensive look at the bridge between arts (culture) and migration studies. (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010; Salzbrunn, 2007)

DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly's (2010) *Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States* is an edited volume analyzing the contributions of immigrants and their descendants to art and culture in the United States. Cross-disciplinary in both the scholarly backgrounds of the authors and in the modes of artistic expression of the populations being discussed, such as poets, musicians, playwrights, and visual artists, this work combines in one place, what has heretofore been scattered across several works and disciplines to show not only the importance of arts and culture to immigrant communities, but also the various roles played by the arts and culture in facilitating immigrant participation in broader American society and in helping to (re)define how that society looks and will look.

In that same year, Menjívar writes that these creative expressions are "potent sites where immigrants negotiate new identities and inclusion in the new society..." (2010, p. 17)

In a European context, Salzbrunn (2007) considers festive events as "platforms for the negotiation of inclusion/exclusion and transformation processes within migration," and

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[6] Marianne Lanavère interviewed by E. Lequeux, *Le Monde* (2011).

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examines their "integrative impact" within the context of migration. (p.3) Here, she argues for a

local, event-based approach instead of research (and policy) driven by ethnic, socio-cultural and

other group-based categorizations, and concludes that questions about integrative impact are

best answered "in a local context with its specific political, social and economic living

conditions." (Salzbrunn, 2007, p. 17)

c.   *Festivals, carnivals, parades and performances*
"... festivals represent excellent opportunities for groups and individuals to engage in the politics
of identity." (Bramadat, 2001, p. 12)

Among participatory and public events, the street festival, carnival and parade are

recognized for: (1) their celebratory nature; (2) their temporaneity; (3) whether true or not,

their perceived apolitical and non-confrontational tone; and (4) their socio-economic equalizing

quality—in the words of Bakhtin (1984):

[A]ll were considered equal during carnival. Here, in the town square, **a special form of**

free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the

barriers of caste, property, profession, and age…**These truly human relations** were not

only a fruit of the imagination or abstract thought; they **were experienced**.

(p.10, emphasis mine)

These events are very often State-supported in terms of having the right to assemble in public

spaces, and/or are marked by explicit State sponsoring made visible through official

participation or by the use of symbols or banners at the celebratory sites. For 'ethno-cultural

spectacles,' such as New York City's Puerto Rican Day Parade (Herbstein, 1978), Toronto's

Caravan (Bramadat, 2001) or London's Notting Hill carnival (Arnaud, 2008a, 2008b), there is the

added re-presentation of origins and traditions (often expressed through foods, dance, costumes and so on from the 'old country'.)

What is an 'ethno-cultural spectacle'? According to Bramadat it is:

[A]n organized event in which a group represents itself both to its own members and to non-members…to the extent that they are highly dramatic, entertaining, and (in a literal sense) extraordinary; that is, these are special occasions or periods in which audience members are expected to be engrossed and often entertained by a demonstration of some aspect of a community. (Bramadat, 2001, p. 2)

Important here is the proported uniqueness of an ethnic identity or group placed visibily at the center of the spectacle.

In his article on festive spectacles in Canada, Bramadat (2001) provides a rich source of reflection on how to perceive, study and understand their role and potential impact in the lives and identities of Canadians, especially among visible minorities including immigrants. Encapsulating the many meanings of participating in ethno-cultural spectacles, and clearly invoking the earlier work of Bakhtin (1984) on such elements of the carnival as its "temporary suspension" of societal roles, Bramadat writes:

Such events create their own **temporary power microcosms** in which the rules that govern society the rest of the year are suspended and a different system of social status and prestige comes into effect in which the relative newcomer might be better situated. Second, **the very act of organizing an ethnic cultural spectacle** ensures that ethnic identity per se will remain a salient issue for the foreseeable future. Third, festivals allow members of ethnic minorities to determine or influence the ways they will be

understood, in a general sense, by outsiders... Fourth, cultural spectacles also **represent local efforts to reinterpret** the style and format of commercialized (and largely American) public events. (Bramadat, 2001, p. 1, emphasis mine)

He also details the broader scope of such events by including the preparatory planning period and the special relationships which form out of participating in an event's planning:

[F]or an event to be a spectacle in the first place, many people have to work long hours before, during, and after the festival (often for no remuneration). Predictably, people involved in this intensive and often stressful work…often **form bonds of solidarity** not unlike the kinds **of attachments** formed by medical students during medical school, restaurant staff during busy periods, and actors during a demanding production. Within these contexts, not only is solidarity generated, but so too is a kind of **alternative social structure** which may be quite distinct from that in which participants are involved during the rest of the year. To borrow a concept from the anthropologist Victor Turner (1969), **spectacle periods** may be understood as liminal phases during which **people are temporarily freed from their usual social network and position**. (Bramadat, 2001, p. 3, emphasis mine)

For Bramadat, self-assurance, well-being and confidence-building come from partipating in these spectacles, affording the participant an unique opportunity to (even if only temporarily) step outside their limits, usual identities and roles to become "minor celebrities".

These re-presentative spectacles carry an important identity-making role for Bramadat. As he suggests, cultural spectacles are backdrops for dialogue about group and individual identities, and as for who and how people participate, "[g]roups and individuals thought to be

(or who think of themselves as) marginal with respect to the so-called dominant ethos participate in distinct ways in this dialogue." (Bramadat, 2001, p. 4) When taking this into the dialogical convergence of the spectacle and the self (and identity of the self), "[here] we will assume the validity of the notion that **identity emerges out of dialogue**, and that such dialogue is evident in cultural spectacles." (Bramadat, 2001, p. 5, emphasis mine)

Bramadat muses on the plurality of identities expressed or possibily encouraged by participation in such spectacles and the potential among minority groups to engage and change their perceived identities and those of the majority. (The success of minority groups to do this on a national scale will be discussed later in Sharaby's (2010) account of the *Mimouna* holiday celebration in Israel.)

Speaking of the Canadian case in particular, but reflective well beyond Canadian scholars and the Canadian context alone, Bramadat notes a general lack of research into cultural spectacles and into their impact. His research remains primarily descriptive, as a starting point in the conversation about the impact of practicing culture through ethnic-identified expressions.

If the ethno-cultural spectacle offers groups the chance to (re)create and (re)shape their own identities depending upon what and how they choose to re-present themselves, what about non-explicitly ethnic spectacles which communicate national or local traditions wherein there is no intended expression of ' foreign', 'minority' or ethnicities (read: non-'native' ethnicities)?

Bramadat's (2001) investigations into ethno-cultural spectacles and identity-making are extended and contrasted with Spangler's (2007) study of immigrant and ethnic minority

involvement in the 2004 Bloomsday Festival in Ireland. Now celebrated internationally, Dublin's annual Bloomsday Festival commemorates the life and work of Irish writer, James Joyce, with a series of events revisiting his novel, *Ulysses*.

During the 2004 Festival, participants performed an hour-long street performance of *The Parable of the Plums* (the 'Aeolus' episode of *Ulysses*) "[f]eaturing eight-foot tall puppets, live music, and Asian, West African, and Irish dancers, […] the largest Bloomsday observance ever with 170 performers and several thousand people in the audience." (Spangler, 2007, p. 47)

With this example of immigrant and ethnic minority performers being integrated into the quintessentially Irish celebration, Spangler stresses the importance of moving beyond mere recognition and re-presentation of migrant traditions towards their representation as 'one of us,' as "indigenous Irish".

> It [the performance of *The Parable of the Plums*] invited people of color to participate in a theatrical representation of one of Ireland's literary treasures, a performance of which is inevitably **a demonstration of Irish identity**, and in so doing, it symbolically conferred equal citizenship upon them at a time when many are struggling for equal rights. It demanded that **Ireland's migrants and refugees**, often seen as foreign interlopers, **be recognized for what they actually are: unquestionably Irish**. (Spangler, 2007, pp. 60-61, emphasis mine)

By the incorporation of Spangler's "people of color" into this Irish tradition, he shows how arts and culture advance the argument to expand European-ness and migrants' participatory role in this evolving discourse. (Spangler, 2007) Spangler argues for an increase in such depictions in artistic productions where most currently portray roles reinforcing their status as outsiders or

foreigners. "What is needed now are images of the former migrant at home in Ireland, depicted

not as a sympathetic outsider but as indigenously Irish." (Spangler, 2007, p. 60)

In his 2008 book *Réinventer la ville* (Reinventing the City), Arnaud analyses two

manifestations festives minoritaires ('minority festivals'): the Notting Hill carnival (U.K.) and the

Biennial (Hip-Hop) Dance Parade of Lyon (France) and examines the transformation of these

minority cultural festivals from marginal minority events and re-appropriations of public spaces

to established central celebrations "recognizing the differences" of the city and its urban

dwellers. (Arnaud, 2008b)

Arnaud (2008b) contextualizes the origins of the Notting Hill festival in London within

the tense relationship between the Caribbean-origin immigrants and the predominantly non-

immigrant local population. Equally, the author discusses the redefinition of art itself

throughout the transformative process of these festival events. Within the context of high

levels of local unemployment, art takes on the mission and meaning of a *lien social* (a social

unifier) wherein 'spectacular' forms (like those found in Bramadat, 2001) become a means of

reconciliation and cohesion among different cultural and ethnic groups. (Arnaud, 2008b)

Overall, for Arnaud such festivals themselves are cast as urban cultural movements

(mobilizations), as contributors to, if not facilitators of, cohesion and collective identities and

shared experiences; as informal, solidarity-building, identity-reaffirming networks providing

cultural capital to urban youth of immigrant origin (*issus de l'immigration*). (Arnaud, 2008b)

This gain in *cultural capital*, as Bourdieu (1986) would likely describe it, benefits the

individual after an extended period (time) of their own investment (experience) within an

inherited system in which their gains have been acquired. Their ongoing exposure to

(participation in) such urban cultural movements nourishes the participants' cultural capital as well as social capital—a "durable network of…mutual acquaintance and recognition…the backing of the collectivity-owned capital." (p.51)

On the importance of the collective dimension of participating in such cultural events, Arnaud suggests that they offer a cultural vernacular beyond so-called 'popular' or 'ethnic' culture, and that artists themselves serve to regenerate social ties and to stimulate creativity among marginalized populations. Further, through their work artists engage in (re)mobilizing the local population's cultural resources in the development of the city.[7] The importance and utility of this notion is in its tie to the local social and geographic settings from which resources are drawn and from within which (collective) identity is constructed.

In an earlier study of the Notting Hill carnival, Cohen (1982) notes the immigrant and ethnic minority involvement in leadership and audiences in the carnival's early years, and describes it as "local, small in scale and poly-ethnic under essentially white leadership," but grew into a national event "almost exclusively West Indian in leadership, in artistic conventions and in attendance." (Cohen, 1982, p. 24)

For Cohen, celebratory events, such as Notting Hill, are symbolic spaces of "both alliance and enmity, both consensus and conflict, at one and the same time" where different interests and forces are contested, but where the majority of the minority immigrant ethnic populations perceive themselves as integrated and integral parts of the larger society. They are spaces of tension between maintaining the hegemonic, status quo and oppositional forces and re-

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[7] Translated from personal conversations with and notes by Fatima Zibouh (2011).

presentations. (Cohen, 1982) Whether contested or not, integrated or not, Erel's (2010) treatment of Bourdieu's cultural capital in the migration context maintains that the act of migration itself creates mechanisms of mobilization, enactment and validation for the cultural capital of migrants in receiving societies.

In another example of how marginalized groups and celebrations have moved from the periphery to the mainstream center in recognition (and support) of the State and broader publics, Sharaby (2010) recounts the story of how North Africans gained a place in the cultural mainstream of Israel for their traditional ethnic *Mimouna* holiday. In contrast to London's Notting Hill, the shift was from a local, mono-ethnic holiday to a national pan-ethnic celebration by North Africans and others as participants, organizers, promoters and sponsors. What of the political and cultural settings in which such events take place and take hold? Sharaby's story of deliberate actions and resulting recognition of these North African migrants through their ethnic *cum* national holiday exemplifies the impact not only on the minority event and people, but also "in the absorbing framework itself". (Sharaby, 2010, p. 5)

> From the cultural aspect, the influence of the Mimouna thus surpassed the framework
> of a day of celebrations. It became part of the 'civil religion' in Israel, and as such
> participated in determining the cultural norms in the country. (Sharaby, 2010, p. 22)

Sharaby attributes the successful transition of the Mimouna holiday into mainstream Israeli society and consciousness to: (1) the political mobilization and direct involvement of immigrants in the transition from the local to the national stage; and (2) a weakening of the hegemony of Israeli society—a diminished State role in identity-making. (Sharaby, 2010)

Suggested by Spangler (2007), and made clear by Sharaby (2010) and Dimaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010), is the potential of these ethnicity-based traditions to give rise to new hybrid cultures, new cultural norms and new cultural identities.

To this broader discussion of identity-making (State-based, ethnic or otherwise) Sharaby (2010) introduces the notion of 'syncretism' "a mixing of different traditions and the creation of a new culture, which differs from the migrant/non-migrant cultures of origin." (p.6) More precisely, Sharaby (2010) distinguishes between a "syncretism from below" (within the migrant populations) and "syncretism from above" (within the dominant population) resulting in compromise and, in Hall's (1999) words, a "multicultural drift" resulting from an increasing visible presence of ethnic minorities in all aspects of social life "as a natural and inevitable part of the 'scene'." (Hall, 1999, p. 188)

Further, Sharaby shows the importance of interacting with the public sphere and the many players involved in setting and sanctioning art and culture, including festivals and holidays. "Because all parties benefited from the celebrations, there was active movement of tens of thousands of people from all public strata and public figures from the centre to the periphery. Thus, the periphery turned into the centre both physically and symbolically, and even declared itself as such". (Sharaby, 2010, p. 21)

Turning to the realm of artistic performance, namely music, Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) examine the current literature on culture as political expression and participation produced and consumed by immigrant and ethnic minority populations, in part, in reaction to their portrayal and perception by the broader population. Reiterating the common historically-held perceptions of immigrants as mere non-politically active workers as told by Bousetta, Gsir

and Jacobs (2005), Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) write that immigrants in Europe have been even less expected to "be interested in culture and arts, especially as producers and artists", to be producers and artists in the 'native' traditions or in the making of a new Belgian, European or Western culture. (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, p.1192)

What of their active participation in culture? Is there a clear deliniation between audience, attendee, passerby and participation? Similar to Bramadat's work on cultural spectacles, and Boal's earlier notion of the ' spect-actor,' Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) explain that the literature on music reveals a dialogue between audience/listener (spectator) and performer/musician (participant). In terms of the participatory interactions between musician and audience member, "...the political significance of music belongs both to the process of production by the artists and that of reception by the audience". (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, p. 1197) Further, in citing Bennett (2000), the authors link music and its audiences to notions and negotiations of identity and its implications for group identities:

> For cultural theorists and sociologists, Bennett continues, the meaning of music is 'a product of its reception and appropriation by audiences' (2000a: 1812). Music is accordingly a process through which groups negotiate their identity with others.
>
> (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, p. 1193)

On the importance of sharing a simultaneous cultural moment, Martiniello and Lafleur turn to Eyerman (2002) finding that although music is "central to getting the message out, to recruiting, [.] **collective experience is the core of collective identification/identity formation** (2002: 449)." (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, p. 1198, emphasis mine)

From Plato's Greek antiquity through today, the authors detail the long-standing social role played by music to organize and bring society together: "It gives a reassuring feeling to individuals by binding them through common emotions that are stable over time." (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008, p.1194) Like Bramadat before them, ethnic cultural spectacles (including musical performances) are suggested to play an important role in self expression and affirmation of individual and group identities. The unifying messages, signals and collective associations, however short-lived, are found to be identity *makers* and identity *markers* in the creative dialogue between 'producer' and 'receiver' perhaps because of the essential nature of arts on "human survival… serv[ing] the function of integrating different parts of the self and integrating individuals with each other and their environment". (Turino, 2008, p. 12)

Widening the scope to collective movements in general, Fillieule and Tartakowsky (2008) write that even in short-term (temporary) collective actions, such as protests or marches, a sense of community or feeling of group identity can form quickly—for both participants and spectators—given the general enthusiasm of the group, and perhaps the ritualistic and ceremonial signals and symbols that accompany the gathering at the moment it takes shape. In fact, the researchers find that the socializing effects of individual participation can vary enormously, emerging during the course of public performances and from face-to-face (individual) interactions and brief encounters which are at the heart of individual effects of participating in such events. What remains a challenge to measure, and is often overstated (overestimated), is the degree of unanimity, "*consensus idéologique*", of this sense of belonging and identity. (Later, Dimaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010) will reiterate such variety of effects of participation in their edited work on immigrants and art in America.)

In terms of the participation in political expressions (overtly or not), music, and arts and culture in general, serve many instrumental purposes, from discursive recourse and expression of discontent with the status quo, to expressions of solidarity and pride. The chosen form of expression depends as well on the economic and social resources available to the immigrant group or the ethnic minority (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008), and as will be shown below, institutions set the programming of many European cities' 'high art' scenes impacting who participates in these recognized cultural offerings.

d.   *Cultural institutions*
"…because [immigrant artists'] only opportunities for sponsorship often come from community-based nonprofits, critics and impresarios may for that reason assume that their work is 'educational,' or 'social,' rather than 'real art.'" (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010, p. 10)

Delhaye (2008) puts forth a comprehensive review of the evolution and politicization of immigrant and ethnic ("new Dutch") involvement in the arts and cultural scenes of Amsterdam set against a changing national discourse and cultural policies (including arts funding) in the latter decades of the 20th Century.

In the Netherlands, policies on culture and immigrant integration overlap where the country has undergone profound changes in the ethnic composition of its residents in recent decades. Diverse policies to embrace, mitigate or obstruct these transformations can be found in the political discourse and policies of culture as well as of integration.

Fundamental to the lack of involvement and non-representativeness of the new Dutch in the arts and cultural scenes of Amsterdam, Delhaye notes the evolution of national cultural

policy emphasizing 'minorities' then later 'diversity' in terms of art and art work representation as well as in arts funding, in cultural institutions' missions and in reaching a broader public.

Using the city itself as the unit of analysis, Delhaye (2008) examines the organizational structures (institutions) of art and culture as well as the cultural policies of Amsterdam, focusing her study on 'high art' forms, the visual arts and theatre in particular.

Within the context of the mass and diverse migrations since the 1970s, Delhaye (2008) talks about its impact on the Dutch artistic and cultural scenes as migrant-origin artists and audiences of diverse cultural backgrounds make up a significant segment of the Netherlands' "new cultural citizens," making "claims for inclusion". (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1302)

In terms of the cultural institutions where immigrant and ethnic minority artists attempt entry (inclusion), Delhaye finds that structures either facilitate and permit entry but segregate (via the label of 'immigrant' art) or they block entry altogether.

Previous reflections have been made about the closed and exclusive nature of Western art scenes (and their enumeration) in Rosenstein's (2005) work on non-White artists and audiences in the United States. Similarly, Bramadat (2001) comments on this in his investigation into Canadian spectacles and festivals. Delhaye (2008) reiterates this point in terms of the Western art scenes and the power held by cultural and artistic institutions that promote and fund these spaces and works:

> By entering the field of high art, artists or institutions are subjected to complex
> procedures of selection, valuation and canonisation by many different gatekeepers.
> These gatekeepers have the power to make newcomers visible or invisible, to include or

to exclude them, to put them centre-stage or to relegate them to the margins.

(Delhaye, 2008, p. 1303)

As an important reminder of the evolving discursive tone and meaning of 'foreignness,' Delhaye (2008) provides an instructive historical analysis, finding that the many foreign artists of the 1960s and 1970s "did not feel divided on the base of nationality or cultural background. Being 'foreign' was not an issue at that time (López 2002: 141)". (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1310)

The entry of the notion of *allochtoon*[8] or 'foreignness' into Dutch policies of culture and of integration in the 1980s heralded a change within the country's political and cultural climate. "'Foreignness' became a pervasive dividing principle socially and culturally". (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1311)

The 1983 Minorities Policy (*Minderhedenbeleid*) assumed that "fostering migrants' own ethnic identity would stimulate emancipation and enhance integration". (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1305) Instead, the official designation would become a stigma where, once branded 'allochtoon,' artists were relegated to alternative art circuits or marginal exhibition spaces. What has emerged is the implied incompatibility of foreignness with pre-existing *autochtoon* ('native') norms where 'immigrant' and 'immigrant art' become codes for non-Western, non-European-origin art and artists equated with primitive status and skill.

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[8] According to the Dutch *Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek*, the term *allochtoon* refers to anyone born outside of the Netherlands or who has at least one parent born outside of the Netherlands. (Author's simplified translation of official definition found on the CBS website, http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/toelichtingen/alfabet/a/allochtoon.htm.

As part of a European-based migration research network's (IMISCOE[9]) work on Liège (Belgium), Zibouh and Nikolic note the lack of current information about immigrant involvement in the *Liègeois* art scene (both as artists and as audiences) citing a general lack of such information or any coordination of such information within the institutional network of artists across the country's French-speaking Community, including Brussels. (Zibouh & Nikolic, 2011, unpublished)

Certainly research into arts and culture is not limited to academia. A literature review on these issues, therefore, must include not only the works of academics for academic audiences. Complementing the aforementioned studies are those of practitioners (planners, community organizers, artists and others) working in communities where 'creative participation' is experienced immediately and practiced locally. Finally, the notion of (creative) participation has research applications in social sciences as a methodological approach to observation and, in urban planning and collective mobilization literatures, as forms of public (citizen) democratic involvement in public institutional decision-making processes. As discussed later in this chapter, 'creative participation' (then 'creative collaboration') here is based on the artistic conception articulated in Ascott (1966/67).

5.   Culture as Urban Policy

This next section of literature ties the arts and cultural sector to State policies (including Belgium's Regional, Community and local policies and programs) where culture and cultural

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[9] IMISCOE stands for International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion and is a European-based network of scholars studying these and related issues. www.imiscoe.org.

policy are linked to physical planning and the economic and social policies of the city to

promote integration, cohesion and identity construction through active participation in civil

society.[10]

A frequent writer on topics of arts, culture, cultural policy and the economic

development of North American cities, Grodach (2011) examines the social role of art spaces

finding that they "function as a conduit for building social networks that contribute to both

community revitalization and artistic development," and that with the planning literature, there

has been a "growing recognition of the role that the arts and artists play in economic and

community development". (Grodach, 2011, p. 74)

In terms of the arts and urban development, in his book, *Cities and Cultures*, Miles

(2007) describes the relationships between cultural projects <u>and</u> urban policies and cultural

projects <u>as</u> urban policies. As for the role of culturally-based initiatives in cities, Miles sees them

as meaningful ways of promoting solidarity across sometimes competing interests and diverse

groups towards a common (policy) goal with implications well beyond the particular event,

space or moment—as previously observed by Sharaby (2010), Spangler (2007) and Bramadat

(2001) among others, regarding celebratory spectacles and festivals. Miles (2007) also cautions

that although such cultural provisions are potential sources of cohesion they are not cure-alls

for urban problems such as poverty, poor housing or discriminatory labor practices faced by

immigrant ethnic groups.

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[10] For related discussions on the role of the State in integration policies, see Menjívar (2010) and Alba and Nee (2003).

Examples of culture as urban policy are found on both sides of the Atlantic. Concluding

that governments should direct more resources toward "fostering creative participation by

citizens", Everitt (2001) makes clear that "[a]t the local level many large cities, such as Glasgow

and Birmingham, have made culture a leading priority as part of a strategy of 'city imaging'".

(Everitt, 2001, p. 66) (A recent work by Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011) confirms this 'city

imaging' strategy for Stockholm and Warsaw, particularly in the use of festivals to "re-imagine

urban space and reshape urban identity".) (p. 392)

Everitt (2001) argues for a redirection of resources to community-based arts and local

arts projects where the benefits to community development are tied to individual

empowerment which comes from the creative participation of the citizenry. He remains critical

of the use of 'culture' and cultural policies by the State for the development of civil society. In

echoing Myriam Stoffen's[11] concern about the institutionalization of culture in Brussels, Everitt

(2001) maintains that "…public subsidy of the arts in the United Kingdom has not directly

promoted active or participatory citizenship in its political definition" (p. 66), but instead that

culture-based legislation has turned private citizens into "state-approved functionaries",

removing the creativity and, therefore, the related benefits that come from citizens

participating in artistic endeavors. Everitt offers some solutions by defining a role for the State

in the field of arts and culture promoting the goals of civil society while not intruding on the

cultural expressions of the people themselves—"support them without smothering them".

(Everitt, 2001, p. 68) Everitt's solution: subsidy without direct involvement in operations. (Apur

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[11] Myriam Stoffen has been the Director of Brussels' biennial Zinneke Parade since 2005. This statement of her opinion comes from personal interviews conducted during my fieldwork, discussed in Chapter 5.

(2011) will report another form of "investing without invading" to be implemented in Paris

some ten years later.)

City planning offices encourage a range of artistic projects by providing or authorizing

the use of public spaces for the arts, or conversely, they discourage such projects by restricting

or prohibiting the use of such spaces. As APA (2011) shows there are numerous examples in the

use of urban spaces across America to not only promote creative participation in the arts and

culture, but also foster long-term relationships between communities and arts, and combine

public arts with notions of shared community identities.

Public spaces, such as parks, have also been identified as places for (public) culture.

These "democratic spaces of the city" act as settings for parades, cultural celebrations and

musical events. "Parks can be a vital place for the cultural expression of a community and a

city." (American Planning Association, 2011)

As for economic incentives behind the support of local governments towards cultural

programming, in his piece on the increasing importance of the arts and sports in local planning

and development policies, Arnaud points out the specificity and role of the local in identity-

making as "a project in transition, based on **cultural blending** and influenced by local

development and economic efficiency **rather than the regeneration of cultural heritage**".
(p. 441) (Arnaud, 2008a, p. 441, emphasis mine)

In restating Everitt (2001) and Stoffen (personal interview, 2010) on the

institutionalization of culture, Arnaud contends further that there is an important role being

played by 'cultural intermediaries,' which for Arnaud have supplanted cultural movements

themselves in the reassertion of urban identities. These intermediaries "hold institutional posts

and who try to mobilize, convert and update the identity, the sense of belonging and the reasons for commitment that a situation of marginalization produces". (Arnaud, 2008a, p. 441) Furthermore, from his study of the deliberate efforts by French and British governments to develop artistic and sport initiatives for ethnic minorities, Arnaud (2008a) finds that States have realized and capitalized on the unifying forces of culture to "contribute to a common urban interest". (Arnaud, 2008a, p.431) And, echoing Everitt (2001) and Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011), Arnaud suggests that there is a conscious effort by local government actors to use culture as a development strategy in efforts to "try and create a sense of belonging, of unity, beyond social divisions and conflicts". (Arnaud, 2008a, p. 431) (This point will also emerge in the works of Sharaby (2010) and Dimaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010) as to the transformative nature of culture; cultural norms are changing because the people involved in declaring those norms are themselves changing.)

Moreover, culturally-based development strategies have officially (and unofficially) been implemented in many cities. In Amsterdam, and elsewhere, at a minimum such plans seek "enlarging and broadening of the artistic public and engaging in art education". (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1309) Often the underlying belief and objective of these goals is the promotion of a community identity and belonging, a commitment to the broader civic plan (explicit or not) of society.

Additionally, local governments also support public spectacles to monitor the success of their policies. Using the case of ethno-cultural spectacles, Bramadat (2001) argues that festivals can act as performance indicators of current government policies in realms such as cohesion and diversity. Later Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011) use the Stockholm Culture Festival and

the Novvy Kercelak Fair in Warsaw to examine how urban festivals are used to market their host cities as distinct (and profitable) "experience spaces".

Discussed later in this chapter, in the case of the Brussels city-region a Cultural Plan for Brussels (*Plan culturel pour Bruxelles, Cultuurplan voor Brussel*) was released in 2009, not by Belgian officials, but by the many cultural and artistic networks and other institutional and individual actors in direct response to the lack of a cohesive government plan for culture in the Brussels metro area. (Costanzo & Zibouh, forthcoming; Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009)

6.   Planning for (and with) Immigrants as Residents

Until recently, the contribution of urban planners to the immigration (and integration) discourse has been limited. Previously in the planning literature, mention of immigrants and immigration has mainly appeared in broader discussions of multicultural planning and "cities of difference". (Sandercock, 2008, 1998)

Discussed in Delhaye (2008) (and here in Chapter 3) and found in the cultural and social cohesion policies of Brussels immigrants and non-majority ethnic groups are incorporated into broader cultural policies of more and more cities, and this is reflected in planning and planning-related literature.

Though a recent arrival to these discussions—relative to the social sciences—urban planning has seen increasing attention to issues concerning immigrant (and non-'native' ethnic) residents. In 2008, Chaudhury and Mahmood (2008) and Irazábal and Farhat (2008) make noteworthy and needed contributions to the planning literature by giving voice to immigrants

and ethnic minorities. In their work, these authors are quick to note the lack of attention to local residents of immigrant and ethnic minority backgrounds. In referencing a 2004 work by Goonewardena et al., Chaudury and Mahmood (2008) comment that, "[i]n general, city planning and housing in North America are lagging behind in being responsive to the increasingly culturally diverse populations of the cities." Like Sandercock (1998, 2000, 2003) before them, these authors call not only for more attention to be paid to immigration and cultural diversity, but also for greater "civic participation of ethnic communities in municipal government and regional public policy decision-making processes". (Chaudhury & Mahmood, 2008, p. 3)

Culture and integration intersect and mix in urban settings and in local urban, cultural and integration policies. Delhaye (2008) concludes that intentions to promote the integration of migrants and ethnic minority artists have led to cultural policies "geared towards 'target groups' [which] unwittingly promoted cultural segregation within the art field". (Delhaye, 2008, p. 1311) In the Dutch case, Delhaye (2008) writes that the Dutch Secretary of State in the late 1990s, Van der Ploeg, led the charge for change in Dutch cultural institutions, advocating an improved standing of non-Westerners in cultural institutions and advisory boards in the Netherlands. Commissioned as Amsterdam's first 'Cultural Commentator,' Trevor Davies was tasked with assessing the state of the city's culture, its programming and institutions. In short, "Amsterdam is loosing [*sic*] its leading position in the cultural field." (Davies, 1999, p. 7) Cited in Delhaye (2008), the Davies report (1999) criticized the city for its overly centralized and institutionalized structuring and for funding artistic works from only a few main (and mainstream) centers neglecting the growing diversity of backgrounds and interests of

Amsterdam's youth and the many informal art forms and artistic initiatives not included in these selected centers of 'high art.' (Delhaye, 2008)

The 2008 and 2011 works of Delhaye inform about the unforeseeable impact of policies, such as the 1983 Minorities Policy, on immigrants, 'immigrant art,' and immigrants' involvement in the arts and their broader integration into Dutch (Western) society. As Salzbrunn (2007) argues for a non-group based approach in her work on culture and its "integrative impacts," Delhaye (2011, unpublished) finds that 'positive' and explicit policy targeting of immigrants and ethnic minorities has proven to be detrimental to their involvement in the arts, to their integration and to the perception of their integration in Dutch society. The 1983 Minorities Policy was aimed at "integration with the preservation of one's own cultural identity and thus encouraged ethnic groups to establish their own cultural and artistic circuits". (p. 10)

B.   Contributions of Urban Projects: Selections from the practitioner literature

"The cultural sector…plays a central role of citizen integration in cities."
(Author's translation of Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009, p.26)

Given the near constant media and political discourse that allege the 'death' of multiculturalism in Europe[12] and that deride efforts promoting 'living better together' (*samenleven beter*; *mieux vivre ensemble*)—the language of official social cohesion strategies of Belgium's Flemish and French Communities—practical applications of scholarly works on

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[12] In 2010 and 2011 respectively, the current German Chancellor, Angela Merkel and British Prime Minister, David Cameron, have publicly stated that multicultural programs and policies in their countries have "utterly failed".

migration could perhaps be no more important than in the area of immigrant integration and social cohesion. What follows is the review of selected applications and perspectives attempting integration through creative participatory (cultural) projects in urban settings.

The role of arts and culture as a cohesive force in cities and local communities continues to be the subject of much scholarly work as well as many projects carried out by city planning offices (Apur, 2011), NGOs and community organisations in Europe and in North America. (Duplat, 2011; Anna Lindh Foundation, 2010; Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009; Maytree Foundation, 2009)

In his recent work on 'cultural democratization' ("*la democratisation culturelle*"), Jean Hurstel (2009) suggests that we are at the beginning of a new cultural urban movement involving participatory and artistic expressions by broader and more varied publics.[13] Specifically, several cities in Europe and North America have investigated or implemented projects which broaden the notion of 'public' in the arts and culture as a means of encouraging cohesion and participatory citizenship.

For its second investigative report into the cultural actors and spaces of Paris, Apur (2011), the planning agency for the City of Paris, interviewed numerous individual actors and institutions involved in the city's cultural planning. Their report reaffirms the role played by culture in reinforcing city cohesion, further suggesting that culture also plays a role in

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[13] Hurstel is the Founder and Chairman of Banlieues d'Europe, a "resource centre of cultural and artistic innovation in Europe" and leads a network of cultural actors, artists, militants, social workers, local councilors and researchers whose objective is to escape from the limited view of and engagement in arts and culture by exchanging practices and information that valorize cultural action projects for everyone, including people in deprived neighborhoods and in excluded communities. (Author's translation of Banlieues d'Europe, 2011)

combatting social inequality. Among the specific initiatives cited in their report, La Biennale de Belleville[14] uses cultural practice as a vehicle, a way to "invest without invading" neighborhoods by recognizing their rich and varied cultural traditions; and a chance to "revisit the migrant past of the neighborhood".[15] (Apur, 2011, p. 29) Reminiscent of Salzbrunn's (2007) previously mentioned work in both New York and Paris, the Biennale project combines broad partnerships, public participation and is a reflection of <u>local</u> traditions, united not by their ethnicity, but by their neighborhood within Paris.

In 2003, La Bellone, a francophone cultural and artistic center in Brussels, in collaboration with the Vlaams Theater Instituut (Flemish Theater Institute), commissioned research into the mapping of the artistic scene of Brussels—a 'geography' of the arts scene of the capital city. The study authors concluded that there was an overall lack of knowledge about the public(s) attending arts and cultural events in the nation's capital. (Minne & Pickels, 2003)[16] In other works on Brussels' art and cultural publics, cited among the missing publics are the 'Eurocrats' and related workers—those employed by the European Union institutions plus related workers in NGOs and lobbying organizations—as well as immigrants from the newer EU member states including Poland. (Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009; Corijn & Vloeberghs, 2009; Jacobs, 2007)

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[14] Belleville is a multiethnic neighborhood of Paris.

[15] Author's translation of a quotation by Patrice Joly originally published in *Le Point* (Audran, 2010).

[16] The question of publics in culture is comprehensively addressed by Donnat and Tolila (2003).

Also in Brussels, despite the separate cultural agendas set by the French and Flemish

Commissions and their history of non-cooperation, some recent progress has been made

towards creating a unified cultural agenda.[17] (Costanzo, 2011)

In a first-of-its-kind, comprehensive Cultural Plan for Brussels (*Plan culturel pour*

Bruxelles / Cultuurplan voor Brussel) two key cultural institutions—representing the interests of

both Flemish and French-speaking communities of Brussels—are promoting the notion that

culture is not only useful but is "an essential tool of empowerment and of social cohesion".

(Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009, p. 19)

Building on Brussels being named a European Capital of Culture in 2000, the joint

Community Cultural Plan is a 5-point strategy consisting of 34 recommended actions to

promote a more local (territorially-based) approach to cultural planning, and to encourage

broader public participation towards a more representative "citizen's debate about the city"

("*débat citoyen sur la ville*"), inviting both public and private actors to join in setting the cultural

vision of the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR). For the Plan, the authors, speaking on behalf of

hundreds of artists, cultural actors, researchers and activists, defend the idea that culture is an

integral part of the urban reality and its construction. (Author's translation of Brussels

Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à Bruxelles, 2009, p. 4)

Confirming the findings of Cohen (1982), Rosenstein (2005), la Bellone (2008) and

Arnaud (2008b) regarding the question of who currently participates in and represents arts and

culture, the Cultural Plan stresses that "[o]n average, the group participating in public artistic

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[17] More discussion on the complex structure of cultural policies in Brussels can be found in Chapter 3.

and cultural offerings remains composed of educated, middle-class 40 year olds". (This 41 year

old, educated, middle class author's translation of Brussels Kunstenoverleg & Réseau des Arts à

Bruxelles, 2009, p. 18)

Finally, currently in Toronto and Auckland, artistic and cultural projects involving

immigrants are being examined for their potential as strategies of cohesion and integration at

the local level. *Cities of Migration*, a web-based learning exchange, which seeks "to improve

local integration practice in major immigrant receiving cities worldwide through information

sharing and learning", hosted a recent webinar: "Raising the Curtain on Cultural Diversity:

Integrating Inclusion into the Arts". These art projects of Toronto and Auckland are found to be:

> …successful strategies for **community engagement**, creative mentoring, and **promoting**
>
> **immigrant integration through the arts**. These are innovative ideas about how music,
>
> performance and new literary voices are **building stronger communities through the**
>
> **arts and changing the way we see ourselves in the city**. (Maytree Foundation, 2011,
>
> emphasis mine)[18]

III.   CONTRIBUTING TO THE LITERATURE: Immigrants Practicing 'Local Culture' in Brussels

In simplest terms, the basic research question guiding my thesis work is: What is the

impact of 'practicing local culture' in immigrant integration?

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[18] In addition to the Maytree Foundation, other related foundation work includes efforts by Anna Lindh seeking to "[c]reat[e] spaces for expression and social participation in urban contexts". (Anna Lindh Foundation - Cities and Migration, 2010)

Unlike previous research on the topic of immigrants and the arts or on culture and cities, this question links together three elements:

(1) Immigrant involvement and diversity in the arts and culture;

(2) Culture as a facilitator of immigrant integration; and

(3) Local, non-ethnically representational creative forms.

In short, the interest here is in the link between the arts, immigrants and the local, in 'practicing local culture' which may reinforce existing or create new ties (and identity links) to *place* and not explicitly to *ethnicity.* For my thesis, I have selected Brussels and its Zinneke project as case study. Zinneke is a socio-artistic and urban project (a *projet de ville*) where belonging (membership and right to participate) is geographically (locally) tied—more so than ethnically, linguistically or otherwise—through a local, non-ethnically representational creative form.

Through my research I attempt to shed light on selected questions which flow from linking the three elements mentioned above, including:

(1) What does 'integration' mean in a divided city like Brussels?

(2) How important are the arts and culture in building cohesion, identity and social ties?

(3) How representative are arts and cultural scenes of the local population? Who participates in the arts and why?

(4) In what local forms of artistic and cultural expression do immigrants and immigrant-origin people participate?

    (a) How do Brussels' 'publics,' particularly immigrant and ethnic-minority groups, see Zinneke? (As accessible, representative, meaningful?)

For the quantitative analysis and in a format more akin to hypothesis testing, my work

questions whether artistic expression impacts immigrants and immigrant-related discourse

along the lines of Dimaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010). That is to say:

- imprinting alien or destabilizing experiences with meaning;

- facilitating new forms of sociability that bring immigrants into contact with

   material and human resources; and

- reconfiguring personal and collective identities. (p. 7)

A.   Linking Three Elements

1.   <u>Immigrant Involvement and Diversity in the Arts and Culture</u>

As discussed earlier in this chapter, previous research by academics and practitioners

alike has examined cultural institutions, publics and policies (both of culture and integration),

however, scant primary research exists of immigrant and ethno-racial minority actors in the arts

scenes in European cities where immigrant and ethnic minorities make up the audience,

participants and organizers of artistic and cultural events, both ethno-cultural and not.

These earlier works have each made a contribution, either direct or indirect, in response

to these questions. Some works discussed here have looked at the role of arts and culture in

the broader sense of belonging and cohesion; others have examined particular ethno-cultural

celebrations and local initiatives and their role and evolution of recognition and prominence;

and still others have seen how the arts and cultural sector, its actors and its expressions are

more and more identified in the strategies of urban development.

These works have been shown to provide a wealth of information into the conceptualizations, applications and implications of artistic and cultural practices often involving immigrants (and ethnic minorities) in cities across Europe, North America and elsewhere.

2.   Culture as a Facilitator of Immigrant Integration

Though their research contexts—setting, time, approach and researcher—are distinct, one of the main questions posed by Dimaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010) mirrors my own: "what is the role of the arts in the adaptation and assimilation process of immigrant communities?" (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010, p. 3) Their book reflects a major step forward in exploring immigrant integration through art in the U.S. context. My work is an answer to their question adding the components of both the non-ethnic and the local specificity of cultural practice in Europe.

My work moves the scholarship forward on several fronts and investigates integration 'from below' where local-level participation in the arts and cultural scenes may complement or substitute more formal integration strategies. (This is discussed further in Chapter 6.)

3.   Local, Non-Ethnically Representational and Contemporary Cultural Expressions

"Very often the subject of the festivals is the local community itself; and when this is the case, the emphasis of the event is often directed to the community's past or its history." (Selberg, 2006, p. 297)

Though recent contributions to the literature have begun to inform us about undercounted Hispanic participation in the arts (Rosenstein, 2005), arts in selected U.S.-based

immigrant communities (DiMaggio & Fernández-Kelly, 2010), multicultural events in Europe and Canada (Arnaud, 2008b; Bramadat, 2001) or structural barriers to entry in traditionally Western cultural domains (Delhaye, 2008), there are still few works about immigrants as cultural actors in the arts (especially as artists, organizers and audiences) beyond 'multicultural' and 'ethnic'-specific events or 'immigrant' artistic expressions. My work responds to Menjívar's (2010) call for much-needed cross-disciplinary work between cultural and migration studies answering Dimaggio and Fernández-Kelly's question in the particular case of Brussels, the capital city of Europe.

Borrowing the term from Bramadat (2001), the literature on spectacles and other art forms has a particular 'ethno-cultural' focus. Further, each of the works cited here includes an overt ethno-cultural re-presentation of either the local 'native' population or national 'native' tradition (like Ireland's Bloomsday) or of local ethnic group (native or not), such as in Toronto, London, New York, Israel and so on.

My interest, and the focus of this thesis work, is on the <u>non</u>-ethnically representational spectacle. In other words, on events that, instead of re-presenting a history of a people, culture or place, they are born out of the people and culture in place today—a (temporary) contemporary expression of local diversity. For such an event, like Brussels' Zinneke project, traditions, origins and ethnically-tied identities are certainly visible—in the crudest sense, in the skin color and headdress of its participants—but are not (at least not purposefully) re-presented, recognized or recognizable. Instead, the emphasis is on creating and presenting (not <u>re</u>-presenting) the local as it is lived and expressed by current residents in the real-time moments (upwards of two years) before and on Parade Day. This research hopes to answer

how identities are being created and transformed by such events particularly among immigrants and ethnic minorities.

The previous pages of this chapter reflect how the scholarly literature emphasizes an 'immigrant story' or cultural diversity expressed through arts and culture, events which reinforce uniqueness and difference of particular groups. Unlike Zinneke, these are celebrations of 'overt' multiculturalism—'their' music, expressions, etc. Here, I am interested in the impact, intended or not, of participating in the arts and culture on immigrant inclusion in the discourse of local identity (being Bruxellois), identifying with or attempting to find a proper identity or (creative) place in Brussels.

What the recent works of DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010) and Spangler (2007) suggest is that immigrants and ethnic minorities and their art are not merely re-presentations of their migration histories, but also are part of the current local discourse, influencing identities and expressions, sometimes behind the scenes, not as 'immigrant artists' (read: artists of immigrant origin who create (only) 'immigrant art'), but as artists full stop, or cultural actors as organizers and audiences.

Also differentiating my work from previous works focused on particular person-based identities is how Zinneke is spatially and socially-tied to a place, Brussels (and to Belgium), and not to any one particular person-based group other than that of the local. Therefore, what becomes meaningful and of interest in this study is the importance of human and spatial relationships, of the interaction between the specificity of the place (Brussels), the creative act/event (Zinneke Parade) and the people involved (Bruxellois).

Further, as fieldwork was carried out during the five months before (the pre-event planning stage) and five months after (the evaluation, reflection and closeout stage), the work is not limited to the time of the public event, 22 May 2010, but also includes the planning process around Zinneke Parade, its workshops, public hearings and other activities held throughout.

Additionally, this research does not deny the role of the migration experience expressed through explicitly ethno-cultural events or, more broadly, through re-presentations of ethnic and cultural heritage. Instead I examine the role of non-explicitness (non-representational) expressions in creating local identities, irrespective of linguistic, national or other identity markers.

Though not explicitly expressed through Zinneke, one could also study the additional interaction between the cultural practices in places of origin and settlement in the creation and the experience of art and culture. (This transnational element of culture is beyond the scope of my thesis.)

Finally, my work moves the literature forward exploring the role that cultural participation itself plays in the integration of immigrants at the local level. In the case of Brussels, integration and cultural strategies are divided and notions of Bruxellois-ness are not universally defined or shared. (Discussed further in Chapters 3 and 5, respectively.)

In the next two chapters, I provide an introduction into the complexities and challenging of governing contemporary Brussels, its cultural initiatives and integration policies and its diverse resident population, and layout my plan for conducting research on culture (creative collaboration) and integration in Brussels.

B.   The Individual as a Unit of Analysis

Direct engagement with the individual as a unit of analysis provides insight into the experiences of people themselves and their interactions with and perceptions of arts and culture, particularly relating to cohesion and integration. As shown, individual artists as well as individual cultural actors more broadly (audiences, participants and organizers) have been frequently omitted from previous works and were rarely included in the data collection of these studies (Delhaye, 2008; Spangler, 2007; Bramadat, 2001) or only identified as audiences (spectators). (Rosenstein, 2005; Dimaggio & Useem, 1978)

As Fillieule and Tartakowsky (2008) describe in their work on the methods of analyzing protests and social movements, there are numerous studies into the socializing effects which come from the act of participating. "Individuals are constantly negotiating meanings born from interaction with others." (Fillieule & Tartakowsky, 2008, p. 125) Particularly in the artistic realm, Rosenstein (2005) and Fillieule and Tartakowsky (2008) show that ethnic group and individual experiences can vary greatly in both expression and meaning.

My thesis research builds on works by Delhaye (2008) and others who focus on the institutional structures and policies and less on the individual people (cultural actors) themselves. For my work, cultural institutions and policies, including policies of integration, provide the necessary backdrop but are not the center of inquiry.

With a focus on spectators and attendees of art and culture, their report (Bellone, 2008) attempts to answer some of these questions: The questions of who attends and why of audiences to artistic and cultural events in Brussels. As Zibouh and Nikolic (2011, unpublished)

have expressed elsewhere, little research has been done on the actors and participants in the arts across professional and amateur projects and spaces within French-speaking Belgium. Even less is known about the immigrant and ethnic origins of the so-called 'mythical public' (*public fantôme*). (Minne and Pickels, 2003, used this term to refer to the general ignorance by arts venues of who attends their performances.)

As Rosenstein (2005) shows, often 'high arts' (such as visual and theatrical) are the exclusive focus (Delhaye, 2008; Bellone, 2008) representing the 'whitest' art forms and manifestations unlike the participatory (and local-oriented) arts and cultural initiatives also included in my thesis work presented here.

Whereas Delhaye (2008) focuses her analysis on 'high art' institutions and related cultural policies, La Bellone studies and samples spectators attending dance and theater in Brussels and then obtains the *réaction du secteur* (cultural sector's response) represented by 50+ professionals through three workshops of cultural actors from 'prominent' institutions and from dance and theatre patrons of selected venues to better identity and understand their public(s). Missing from La Bellone's study is information on participatory art forms and the voices of artists themselves. (As discussed earlier in this chapter, Rosenstein, 2005, argues that this is missing as well from survey data on the arts in the United States.)

Additionally, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, I have elected to focus on cultural participants of migrant background relative to those of non-migrant background—instead of a particular ethnic group. As is discussed in Chapter 4, non-participants in cultural activities are also included in this study, and, like participants of non-migrant background, they act as a reference category for those of particular focus already mentioned above.

Further, as described in the findings presented in Chapter 5, a main reason people cite

to join or attend activities (Zinneke and other cultural activities for example) is because a family

member or friend participates or is attending. However, I suggest that the integration

experience consists of individual trajectories (histories and personal experiences often involving

even driven by other people) that occur as a result of the combination of numerous individual,

family, community (group)-level factors, such as age-period-cohort effects (how old a person is

when various events occur at certain points in time) and various forms of capital—social,

economic and cultural.

C.   Conceptualization and Operationalization of Key Terms[19]

1.   <u>'Integration'</u>

"…there is an apparent interaction between population-level and individual-level factors in
contributing to psychological adaptations." (Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 318)

'Integration' has been thoroughly investigated in the academic literature, has been

conceptualized as 'assimilation,' 'incorporation,' 'cohesion' and so on; and operationalized as

types and rates of political participation, degrees of local language proficiency, residential and

occupational proximity to 'native' populations, psycho-social senses of belonging and identity,

and perceptions of spatial membership, possessing shared attributes, experiences, beliefs and

so on. My work adds 'creative participation'—which I reformulate as 'creative *collaboration*' to

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[19] As discussed in Chapter 4, the operationalization of these concepts, including notions of identity, belonging and
community, is carried out primarily via short and detailed questionnaires as well as in-depth interviews. The
findings from each will be discussed in Chapter 5.

emphasize the collective act of practicing something artistic or cultural—to the list of quantitative and 'quantitized' indicators of integration.[20]

Of particular interest is the potential for integration via cultural practice and the intersection of integration with artistic expressions emphasizing the geographic (the local) and <u>not</u> the ethnically-explicit creation of culture. Here, as residents of Brussels, immigrants and ethnic minorities are actors in this creative process, of creating the local, Bruxellois identity, or more accurately, identities. Here as well, these Bruxellois 'of migrant background' (*issue de l'immigration*) are participants in a creative collaboration where it is their own Bruxellois-ness and not their foreign-ness (or their ethnicity) which is re-presented in the urban socio-cultural project called Zinneke.

Furthermore, I argue that this work addresses both (1) the <u>perception</u> of what integration of self and others is (or how integration is defined) for study respondents, as captured in the detailed questionnaire and shown in Chapter 5; and (2) the act of 'creative collaboration' as an expression of integration as described by study respondents via in-depth interviews as well as responses to the detailed questionnaire (also shown in Chapter 5). Also, the perception of 'real' integration is an element of integration. In other words, in additional to structural barriers and facilitators—public policies, institutions and macro and micro political and economic climates—both behaviors (actions) and attitudes of self and of others define integration so that one's own sense of belonging or disenfranchisement or one's own belief

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[20] Used by mixed-method researchers like Small (2011), among others, the term 'quantitized' here refers to the rendering of qualitative data (collected) into quantitatively analyzable data.

that others are (or are not) successfully integrated, I would argue, are all part of answering the question of whether integration occurs.

Finally, through this thesis I do not directly engage in the debate on selecting the 'best' term to denote 'integration' among numerous previously articulated here and elsewhere. As is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, I ask study participants (detailed questionnaire respondents in particular) to comment on the term 'integration' and the use of alternate terms providing the reader here with some current opinions about its utility and appropriateness.

a.   *Conceptually 'Localizing' Integration*

"At the dawn of the 21st Century, cities and migration have become even more tightly intertwined…Certain **cities** have replaced regions and even countries **as** cultural, socio-political, and economic **points of reference** both for immigrants and natives." (Gaspar & Fonseca, 2006, p. 73, emphasis mine)

Gaspar and Fonseca (2006) remind us here of the importance of cities in the experience of migrants, of all urban dwellers. With this in mind, I suggest that the urban local reflects a specific context in which the expression of economic, social and cultural forms of integration are tied to place.

Further, as the results presented in Chapter 4 will show, we can argue that in linking identity and integration to place (Brussels)—confirming Gaspar and Fonseca's (2006) link between cities and belonging—"One need not be Belgian to be Bruxellois."

2.   'Culture'

Like 'integration,' the concept of 'culture' has been an object of inquiry by generations of capable scholars in the social sciences and humanities. (Relatedly, the terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' were treated earlier in this chapter.) Following DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly (2010), the treatment of culture here is restricted to artistic expressions via music, dance, visualization found in the formal ('high') and informal ('public' or 'low') visual and performing arts which may explicitly re-present local or distant traditions or be of hybrid (mixed) origins.

Moreover, whether as a collective or individual expression, 'culture' is operationalized here by examining its practice (creating and participating in culture, *'la participation créative,'* through individual-level involvement, ranging from observer (audience) to participant (performer) and organizer, in any number of forms of such artistic expression.[21] Specifically, the concepts of 'culture' and 'practicing culture' are operationalized via a 10-item Short Questionnaire, 63-item Detailed Questionnaire and semi-structured interviews, discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Another important contribution of my thesis work, and departure from existing literature, is its emphasis on **non-ethnic** cultural expressions or non-ethnically representational art forms, in contrast to the focus of most works involving immigrants and ethnic minorities in the arts. Specifically, I am studying the Zinneke project, a city and *quartier*-level artistic, cultural and creative expression of local contemporaneity—a dynamic reflection of Brussels today. (The origins and expressed goals of Zinneke are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.)

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[21] Finer distinctions are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.   Ascott's 'Creative Participation' and Costanzo's 'Creative Collaboration'

The often cited term 'creative participation' appears in several works on human

(particularly citizen) involvement in artistic endeavors, such is the case in Brussels. Though not

restricting my work solely to transforming the spectator into Boal's (1974, 2000) 'spect-actors,' I

do use 'creative participation' as articulated by Ascott (1966/67) where artistic endeavors:

> [D]raw the spectator into **active participation in the act of creation**; to extend him, via
>
> the artifact, the opportunity to become **involved in creative behaviour on all levels of**
>
> **experience-physical, emotional and conceptual**. A feedback loop is established so that
>
> the evolution of the artwork/experience is governed by the intimate involvement of the
>
> spectator. As the process is open-ended the spectator now **engages in decision-making**
>
> **play**. (Ascott, 1966/67, pp. 98-99, emphasis mine)

'Participation,' as examined here, includes the range of observational-to-participatory

individual involvement; in the arts and culture as spectator, participant, volunteer, organizer

and so on.

Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) and Rosenstein (2005) explained that the varying degrees

of participation are not simply identifiable (nor experienced) as spectator or artist, as 'active' or

'passive,' but instead are more often experienced as a range, particularly among immigrants

and ethnic minorities. In my work, the degree and type of 'participation' conceived by the

individual is revealed by the study respondents themselves through their responses to

questionnaires and interviews discussed in Chapter 5.

Though the spectacles discussed in the literature above are temporary events in the

sense of their public staging, Bramadat (2001) reminds us of the importance of the planning

period in identity-making and solidarity-building among those involved. As explained in the next chapter, Brussels' Zinneke Parade is designed as a continuous artistic urban project with "intense collaborations" throughout its two-year planning cycle. In other words, creative participation there is on-going in various forms where new 'spectators' continuously join Ascott's aforementioned "feedback loop" in the evolution of artwork and experience and deepening engagement in "decision-making play".

Recently scholarly works in Europe have increasingly focused significant attention on immigrants and local minorities as socio-cultural or artistic actors or organizers. (Costanzo & Zibouh, forthcoming; Küchler, Kürti, & Elkadi, 2011; Hurstel, 2009; Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008; Delhaye, 2008; Arnaud, 2008a; Arnaud, 2008b; Salzbrunn,2007; Spangler, 2007)

Finally, whereas in public and political domains "immigrants and their offspring have, for long, been perceived in Belgium as workers and not so much as civic and political actors" (Bousetta, Gsir & Jacobs, 2007), participation among immigrants, immigrant-origin and ethnic minority groups has heretofore been studied in Belgium mostly in terms of formal (and informal) associations and membership, and differences in "active membership" along ethnic lines (Jacobs, 2007; Jacobs, Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004), political actions and involvement (Bousetta, Gsir & Jacobs, 2005), or, in artistic and cultural practices, as political expression (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008). Although some studies (like the Brussels Migration Survey, MIB) include questions on such distinctions, few have examined in-depth the informal (non-political)

associative participation, and particularly absent is such work on immigrant involvement as actors (as artists, organizers and spectators) in the arts.[22]

Building on Ascott (1966/67), I extend the notion of 'creative participation' to 'creative collaboration' to emphasize not only the creative contribution but also the collective act of practicing something artistic or cultural. In Zinneke, these creative collaborations take place in the preparatory process leading up to the and including the public spectacles of each local artistic project (*Zinnode*). This includes the quartier-based workshops, public meetings and in-neighborhood rehearsals through to the gathering ('*rencontre*') of all 25 Zinnodes in the city center on Parade Day.

D.   Brussels as an (Urban) Research Setting

As Brussels is both the capital of Europe and of Belgium and home to one of the most ethnically diverse populations in Europe, all within a complex and linguistically divided city-region public structure, the particularity of Brussels as a setting for fieldwork is worth noting.

In Brussels (*Bruxelles* in French; *Brussel* in Dutch), competing communitarian (French and Flemish) mono-cultural structures co-exist in a pluri-ethnic urban setting, each governing the arts and cultural sector from within separate government bodies, managing separate cultural policies, centers and initiatives for the capital city-region.

As a federalized system with strong regional and communitarian powers, Brussels' politicians and political structures are divided (by geography and language—French and

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[22] Fatima Zibouh and I address this matter in a forthcoming special issue of *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* on immigrants in the arts and cultural scenes of multicultural European cities.

Flemish) promoting their own (cultural) visions of the Capital Region. Unlike in the cultural arena, where the language-based Communities each set their own policies, the urban planning and redevelopment portfolio of Brussels is in the hands of the Ministry of the Brussels-Capital Region (with a significant role played by the Region's 19 individual municipalities) and is criticized as being fragmented, unnecessarily complex and "devoid of participatory possibilities" for residents. (Groth & Corijn, 2005)

Despite its complex and often perplexing approaches to governance, Brussels remains an exemplar of urbanity in action, what Corijn and Vloeberghs (2009) call a "breeding ground of culture", and I will argue, fosters pluralistic hybridity in the identity-making occurring among immigrants and ethnic minorities.

From the work of Toussaint and Zimmermann (1998) linking cities to urban projects and their role in the 'activation' of urban identities, Arnaud (2008a) writes that

"[a]s opposed to the functionalist and rationalist precepts – inherited from the Modern movement in architecture – that dominated the 1960s and 1970s, the city is now presented like a complex organism, a knot of social networks, a collection of territorial and identity fragments on which urban production must be based. **The role of urban projects is thus to activate urban identities and to make them an essential medium of integration of actors and of the coordination of activities**." (Arnaud, 2008a, p. 431, emphasis mine)

CHAPTER THREE. RESEARCH SETTING(S):
The Multicultural People and Socio-Cultural Spectacles of Brussels.

I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

"L'union fait la force." "Eendracht maakt macht." "Einigkeit macht stark." ("Strength through Unity.")[23]

Recognized worldwide more for its chocolate, beer and *frites* (*frieten* in Dutch) or as the de facto capital of Europe, Belgium now holds the notorious distinction as the country having had the most consecutive days without a functioning national government—18 months after its last federal elections in June 2010 where the Flemish Separatist Party, N-VA (*Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie*) became the largest political party in Belgium. Belgium's regional and communitarian governments remained operational despite the lack of national leadership and political deadlock which appeared to have little impact on the daily lives of the some 11 million Belgians.

The 2010-11 national impasse represents a long-standing divide over language, culture and identity throughout the history of modern Belgium (since 1830—its independence from the Netherlands) where there have been movements to further linguistically separate the country, most notably into a Dutch-speaking[24] North, a French-speaking South and, not to be forgotten, a small German-speaking community near the Belgo-German border.[25] Some of these

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[23] The official motto of the Belgian State in its three official languages: French, Dutch and German, respectively, and translated into English.

[24] Though regional dialects, pronunciation and word-choice can vary considerably, essentially Flemish and Dutch are the same language. Flemish (*Vlaams*) is an often used term for the language spoken primarily in northern Belgium, whereas Dutch is the term for one of the three official languages of Belgium (as well as the official language of neighboring Netherlands).

[25] Spoken by approximately 74,000 residents of the eastern-most region of Belgium—less than one percent of the total Belgian population, German is also one of the three official national languages of Belgium.

movements have occurred 'naturally' by the local predominance of a given language; some by

the force of law restricting or requiring the use of a given language or languages in a particular

jurisdiction.

It goes almost without saying that Belgium is, therefore, an intriguing setting in which to

study integration. Further, with both a colonial past and strong ethnically diverse present; its

place as the seat of European government; and as a major center of visual and performing arts,

Brussels embodies the challenges and possibilities of cultural diversity facing many cities today,

itself a complex set of spaces (both linguistically and physically-bounded) where integration,

participation and culture intersect.

In the following sections I contextualize this research within the institutional, cultural,

political and demographic settings of Brussels, with particular attention to the divided nature of

the governance of the city-region—as it directly impacts the arts and cultural scenes and spaces

and immigrant integration—as well as the European program under which Zinneke was

founded and the recent past and present role of immigration in Brussels.

II.   BRUSSELS: DIVIDED GOVERNANCE AND SPACES WHERE (INTER)CULTURE INTEGRATES?

"'You see, Brussels is the child of Belgium. It is Belgium, neither Walloon nor Flemish but
Belgian. Brussels is fighting to preserve Belgium. Yet most people in Flanders, as well as in
Wallonia, dislike it.' The Flemings, he explained, don't feel at home there because Brussels has
been, as he put it, 'deculturalized.'" (De Wever, Head of the N-VA, interviewed in the *New
Yorker*, Buruma, 2011)

Since the early 20th Century the city of Brussels—the capital city of the Dutch-speaking

region of Flanders (and the country's capital city)—has been a predominantly French-speaking

metropolis now with some 1.1 million inhabitants—one-tenth of the entire Belgian population. In 2010, the population of Brussels city center was estimated at 157,673; the Brussels-Capital Region, which includes all 19 municipalities, was estimated at 1,089,538. (Centre d'informatique pour la région bruxelloise, 2011)[26]

As for Belgium's capital city, its cultural and educational programs are directly impacted by this quintessentially Belgian language divide. In fact, the ability of Brussels to carry out its tenure as a European Capital City of Culture (ECOC) in 2000 was often troubled by this divide which played out in many debates about how Brussels would be represented to its citizens, to the rest of Belgium and to the world. (More about the ECOC program and Brussels 2000 later in this chapter.)

The challenges facing Brussels during its tenure as a 2000 Capital City of Culture, as well as frustrating the many efforts of the cultural sector to form bi and multi-lingual (multi-community) projects are a reminder of the complexities of the Brussels city-region. For starters, created as a distinct region and regional authority in 1989, the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR) refers to the city of Brussels plus 18 other surrounding municipalities, each with their own governing bodies which, themselves, though sharing the same geographic jurisdiction, are divided by language between French and Dutch serving their respective citizenry also divided along language lines.

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[26] These regional-level estimates are often cited for the Brussels population though a 2.5+ million figure is occasionally used, which includes the Brussels Region (19 *communes*) plus an additional 36 municipalities of Brabant Wallon and Halle-Vilvoorde which surround Brussels and supply thousands of commuters daily into the Capital Region.

A. **Divided and Complex Governance in the Multi-ethnic and Multicultural Flemish-Belgian-European Capital City-Region**

Multiple authorities intersect, overlap and collide in the public operations of the Belgian Capital City. As an autonomous government entity with its own executive office and locally elected parliament, the Capital Region is a recent creation—June 1989—and shares the equal official status of Region, alongside Wallonia (in the south) and Flanders (in the north).

1.   One Federal State – Three Regions – Three Communities – One Capital City

"Title 1. Article 1. Belgium is a federal State composed of communities and of regions. Article 2. Belgium consists of three communities: the French Community, the Flemish Community and the German-speaking Community. Article 3. Belgium consists of three regions: the Walloon Region, the Flemish Region and the Brussels Region. Article 4. Belgium consists of four linguistic regions: the French-language region, the Dutch-language region, the bilingual region of Brussels-Capital and the German-language region." (Author's translation of Cours constitutionnelle de Belgique, 2009)

In Belgium, governance and authority over all matters concerning the Belgian people, institutions, economy, infrastructure and the nation are divided among the federal state, its three geographically-based *Régions* (*Gewesten*) and three linguistically-based *Communautés* (*Gemeenschappen*). (Figure 3.1)

Figure 3.1. Belgium by Community, Region and Its Major Cities
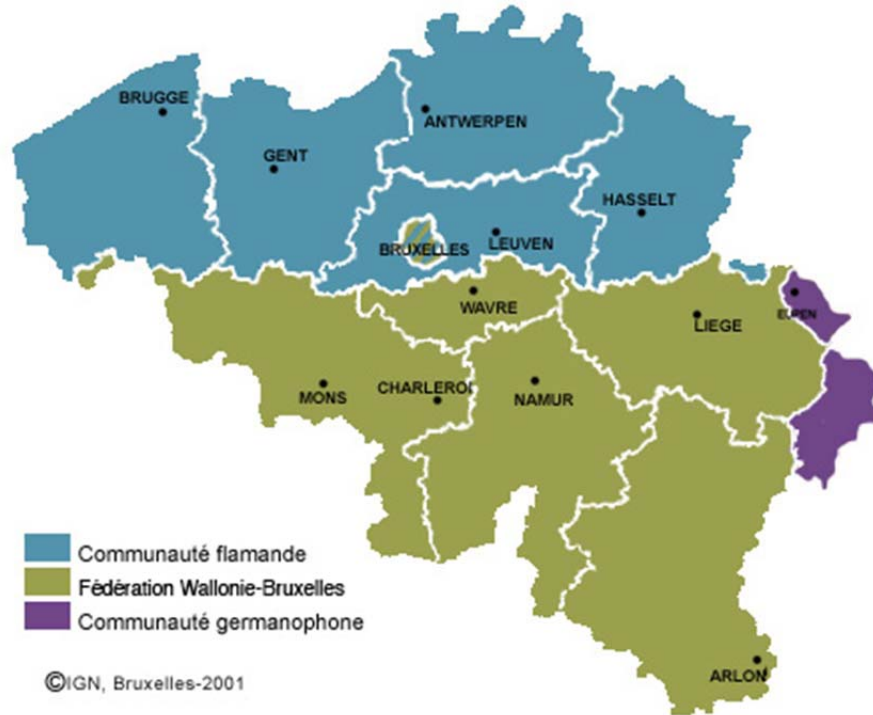
Source: www.federation-wallonie-bruxelles.be/.

In brief, the Federal State (*l'authorité fédérale*) presides over matters concerning the "general interests of all Belgians". These areas of authority include (but are not limited to): the military, numerous protections (e.g., social housing, unemployment, retirement benefits and insurance), the train system, some cultural institutions (notably the Royal Museum of Fine Arts and Royal Library of Belgium) and Belgium's representation abroad (including the official institutions of the European Union); as well as "everything that does not expressly come under the Communities or Regions". (Service Public Fédéral Belge, 2010)

The three Regions of Belgium, namely Wallonia, Flanders and the Brussels-Capital Region, are the competent authorities for territory-related matters, such as urban development, housing, local transport, the environment and even foreign trade. The three

language-based Communities of Belgium (French, Flemish and German-speaking) are responsible for more _individual_ matters, such as teaching, culture, health care and assistance.

In the case of Brussels, three local authorities were established to represent the Flemish and French communities' interests in the country's capital city. The French Community and the Flemish Community maintain special commissions with authority over community (or individual)-related matters concerning Brussels. The French Community Commission (*la commission communautaire française*, COCOF) is the competent authority presiding over French Community matters; the Flemish Community Commission (*de Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie*, VGC) is the competent authority presiding over Flemish Community matters. Finally, the Common Community Commission (COCOM) is the competent authority for community matters not exclusively relating to one of the two communities, namely health care.

In practical terms for residents of the Capital-Region, Brussels' 19 municipalities are often the first point of contact for citizens. (Figure 3.2 shows a map of the Capital Region and its municipalities.) Each municipality manages matters relating to the daily life of the inhabitants of Brussels and its particular communal territory. Each maintains a *maison communale* (*gemeentehuis*)—a municipality's main administrative building or town hall—where citizens and foreign residents alike are registered; where they make use of numerous administrative services and where they vote. Moreover, in the Brussels Region the 19 *communes* (*gemeenten*) play an essential role in local urban governance.

Each of the two officially recognized linguistic communities of Brussels set their own policies concerning certain responsibilities within the territory of the Capital Region (such as culture, education and health care).

Figure 3.2.The 19 Municipalities of the Brussels-Capital Region

1. Anderlecht
2. Auderghem/Oudergem
3. Berchem-Sainte-Agathe/Sint-Agatha-Berchem
4. City of Brussels
5. Etterbeek
6. Evere
7. Forest/Vorst
8. Ganshoren
9. Ixelles/Elsene
10. Jette
11. Koekelberg
12. Molenbeek-Saint-Jean/Sint-Jans-Molenbeek
13. Saint-Gilles/Sint-Gillis
14. Saint-Josse-ten-Noode/Sint-Joost-ten-Node
15. Schaerbeek/Schaarbeek
16. Uccle/Ukkel
17. Watermael-Boitsfort/Watermaal-Bosvoorde
18. Woluwe-Saint-Lambert/Sint-Lambrechts-Woluwe
19. Woluwe-Saint-Pierre/Sint-Pieters-Woluwe

The 19 municipalities of the Brussels-Capital Region

Source: Cited in Costanzo, Zibouh and Nikolic, 2011, unpublished.

2.   Policies to Integrate Foreigners: Immigrant ethnic groups in Belgium

[The presence of immigrants in Belgium has] "made it necessary to hold a debate on the subject of integration policies. Even so, such policies have been late to arrive and have lacked coherence with regard to practical targets and implementation." (Martiniello & Rea, 2003)

During its most recent six-month rotating term as President of the European Union, Belgium placed immigration high on its list of priorities for the second half of 2010.[27] Within the Belgian Kingdom itself—like all matters concerning the State and its people—immigration and integration policies and practices are divided into Federal, Community and Regional level

[27] Since being adopted by the European Council in December 2009, the Stockholm Programme defines the priorities of the European Union in the area of immigration (and asylum). (European Commission, 2011)

competencies where "no Belgian integration policy as such exists but different policy options [are] taken at the different community levels". (European Commission, 2011, p. 21) The Federal State is responsible for migration policies, such as admissions, whereas the Communities set the policies and programs for the "integration of foreigners and emancipation of ethno-cultural minorities" since the 1980s.

In broad terms, there are two main axes of the Belgian integration policy: "the fight against racism and discrimination and specific measures in the fight against unemployment and social exclusion. These axes can be seen as a direct response to the rise of the extreme-right, especially in Flanders, and to riots with immigrant origin youngsters in Brussels." (Rea, 2001 in Hanquinet, Vandezande, Jacobs, & Swyngedouw, 2006, p.61) More recently, Adam (2010) describes the perceived "Brussels problem" of integration as resulting from the country's demographic evolution since the 1980s occuring prior to and coinciding with the birth and early years of a Brussels-Capital Region (BCR) undergoing political, economic and social change.

In terms of Community approaches to integration and integration policy, the Flemish policies had been designed to achieve "full-fledged social participation of newcomers". Here, integration is defined as:

> [A]n interactive process in which the government proposes a specific programme to foreigners, a programme that on the one hand enables the foreigners to internalise the new social surroundings and on the other contributes to an acceptance of the foreigners as full citizens by society, with the aim of attaining full-fledged social participation of these persons. (European Commission, 2011)

Reflecting this emphasis on social participation, the Flemish Community finances migrant

associations, evidenced by the many Brussels-based socio-cultural non-profit organizations and

citizen-participation organizations such as the umbrella migrant organization, Minority Forum.

For their citizens, Belgium's French Community has developed a predominantly

republican concept of integration that downplays the origins and the cultural uniqueness of

immigrants and their descendants. Social Cohesion Plans are developed by the French

Community and integration policies are implemented in seven regional integration centers.

Subsidized by the Walloon (regional) government and instructed to "find synergies with the

local Social Cohesion Plans," these centers promote immigrant integration via "cultural, social

and economical participation". (European Commission, 2011, p. 21)

Figure 3.3 Framework of thought behind Belgian integration policies, 1980s to post-

2000s compares the Flemish and French Communities' policy approaches towards integrating

immigrants in Belgium. As shown, Adam (2010) conceptually organizes Belgium's integration

policies along two axes: from assimilationalist to multicultural (x axis) and from interventionist

to laissez-faire (y axis) showing the recent trends across the Flemish and Francophone

Communities and the Brussels-Capital Region. Adam shows that since Community authority

over integration matters began in the 1980s, the French Community Commission (COCOF)—

which oversees Francophone interests in Brussels—though remaining laissez-faire in its overall

approach, has been guided steadily towards assimilationist thinking; whereas the Flemish

Community has become more interventionist yet more and more divided in its thinking on

integration with the introduction of more assimilationist policies concurrent with the

reinforcement of multcultural strategies. As Adam stresses in her work, there is a growing

emphasis on this new assimilationist-interventionalist approach to integration policy (*une politique assimilationiste interventioniste*) in Flanders. (Adam, 2010)

Figure 3.3 Framework of thought behind Belgian integration policies, 1980s to post-2000s
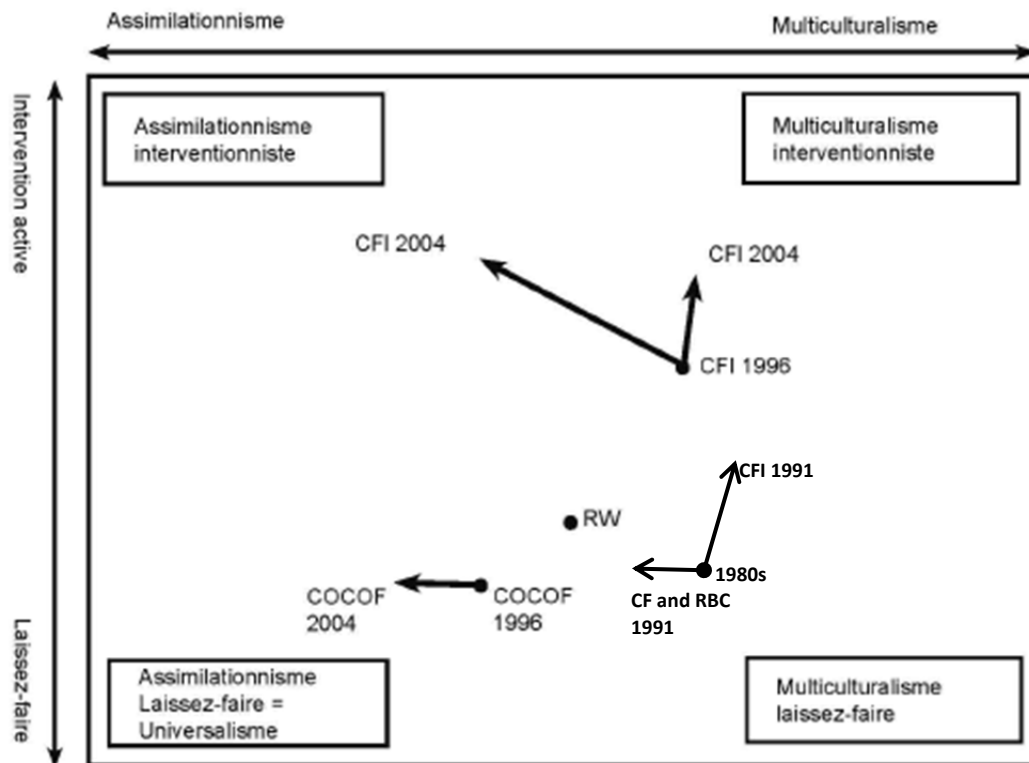
Notes: *COCOF*: French Community Commission; *CFI*: Flemish Community; *RW*: Walloon Region; *RBC*: Brussels-Capital Region; *CF*: French Community

Source: Author's rendering of Adam, 2010 (Tables 9 and 11).

Though the policies of integrating ethno-immigrant groups in Belgium are ideologically and structurally divided, according to a recent report by the European Commission in conjunction with the Belgian Government (2011):

[W]hile the issue is permanently discussed through media reports and public forums (Islamic veils in schools and public services, etc.), the Belgian institutions (Communities

and Regions) in charge of integration of foreigners seem more and more inclined to consider integration policy as an important issue that needs new initiatives and reinforcement of existing measures. (European Commission, 2011, p. 6)

3.   Integration Policies in Brussels

With the creation of the Brussels-Capital Region, the French Community Commission (COCOF) and the Flemish Community Commission (VGC) became the designated authorities over integration policies and programs in Brussels.

a.   The French Community Commission (COCOF) in Brussels: "Better cohabitation in diversity"

Without mention of a particular immigrant group or ethnic minority, the integration policies pursued and decreed by COCOF emphasize the notion of social cohesion ("*cohésion sociale*") wherein everyone has an equal opportunity to actively participate and to be recognized by the broader society. Here the emphasis of the French Community's policies and programs is on countering all forms of discrimination and exclusion through the development of specific *actions communautaires de quartiers* (neighborhood-level action plans organized by the French Community).[28]

Working directly with the city-region's municipalities, as well as other interested non-profit organizations, COCOF has developed local programs to target particularly disadvantaged Bruxellois neighborhoods. Following the French Community's Social Cohesion Decree of 2004

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[28] The author's translation of 'social cohesion' defined by COCOF's Assembly, also cited in Centre pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme, 2011.

(*décret de cohésion sociale du 13 mai 2004*), COCOF attempts to put into practice its goals of socio-culturally diverse and intercultural citizenship and "living better together" in contemporary Brussels. (Centre pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme, 2011)

b.   *The Flemish Community Commission (VGC) in Brussels*

The VGC in Brussels balances the broader policy interests of the Flemish Community with the expression of its local interests in the Capital Region, and maintains an "integration trajectory" on a voluntary basis whereby 'newcomers' have at their disposal (often free) language and social orientation courses. Further, the Flemish Integration Decree of 2009 (*Inburgeringsdecreet)* changed the policy on minorities (*Decreet van 28 april 1998*) into a policy of integration wherein the Flemish government views the changing cultural landscape of Flanders where "living together in diversity" is "a matter of all Flemish people without regard of [*sic*] their origin". The Flemish government also has stressed that integration policy is to be "steered and coordinated by local authorities". (European Commission, 2011, p. 22) (Further changes are expected as the Flemish government continues to work on a new Integration Act.)

As arts and culture (along with education) are the main areas of authority of these linguistic Communities, we now turn to that sector to briefly describe how cultural spaces and institutions are structured and supported in Brussels.

B.   Arts and Culture In and Beyond the Divided Capital

The artistic and cultural spaces and projects of Brussels simultaneously reaffirm and reject the fragmented socio-political system of Europe's capital city and the country outlined

above. In line with contemporary challenges facing a divided Belgium is the fact that its capital

city has neither policy-making nor financing control over its own artistic and cultural matters.

Instead, as discussed in the previous section, such responsibilities are under the authority of the

French and Flemish Communities.

1.   A Long and Rich Tradition of Supporting Art and Culture

"It is an undeniable fact that Brussels is an international hotbed of arts and culture. The city

possesses an impressive cultural network and, moreover, maintains a long-standing and

successful non-profit sector in the arts." (Author's translation of Corijn & Vloeberghs, 2009, p.

234)

Whether it is the annual Brussels Book Fair (*la Foire du livre de Bruxelles*), the Jazz

Marathon, Couleur Café, Museum Night Fever, Zinneke Parade or any of the countless

neighborhood, city and region-wide events featuring local and international talent, Brussels has

a long and rich tradition of celebrating its artistic and cultural past while equally expressing and

experimenting with its artistic and culture present and future. From this perspective,

contemporary Brussels has an extensive and diverse network of artistic and cultural actors and

institutions connected locally, across Europe and worldwide with many international cultural

networks having their headquarters based in Brussels.

Furthermore, the arts and cultural projects and spaces of Brussels are not only

supported politically and financially by the State, but have also been very much part of the

public education (*éducation permanente*) including child and youth educational programs for

decades wherein such education is not only viewed as supporting art for art's sake, but also as

providing the Bruxellois with a broader public good.

2.   <u>Cultural Policy and Management–Divided Governance</u>

"The Brussels-Capital Region is basically the only city in the world without authority over its own cultural agenda." (Author's translation of Corijn & Vloeberghs, 2009, p.238)

Reflecting the intricate authority structure over the Capital Region, artistic and cultural initiatives are supported by a complex government bureaucracy. In simple terms, Brussels <u>as a city</u> has no direct authority over its own cultural agenda. Instead, the cultural portfolio is held separately and exclusively by the French and Flemish Communities which possess regulatory authority over the cultural and educational matters (among other areas) of the capital city and the broader Capital Region. That said, in reality, the Belgian Federal Government, the Regional Authority (Brussels Region), COCOF (French Community Commission), VGC (Flemish Community Commission) and the 19 individual municipalities also influence the decisions and the directions of the city's cultural portfolio.

From this, for the purpose of securing funding, artistic and cultural actors and institutions must strategically articulate their projects as benefiting either the French or Flemish community, <u>not both</u>. In fact, artistic/cultural funding proposals are not permitted to be submitted to both COCOF and VGC simultaneously.

Further, as previously mentioned, no formal agreement in matters of either art or culture exists between the French and Flemish Communities. Interestingly though, each has devised strategies to reach out to (and provide artistic space and funding for) immigrant and ethnic minority groups in Brussels, such as the Espace Magh, a Maghrebi cultural center

financed by the Francophone Community; and the Vlaams-Afrikaans huis, a Flemish-African cultural center, to name but two.

This federally-imposed division between the two Communities further hampers the city's ability to unite as a common creative space or express a common voice or, equally, to portray itself to the outside world as a unified city in terms of its artistic and cultural offerings.

Additionally, Corijn and Vloeberghs (2009) talk of a lack of investment in the arts and culture in Brussels, not in aggregate budget figures per se, but in the focus on "established artistic and cultural institutions" and far less on small-scale projects. In line with the authority over cultural matters in the BCR, the cultural budgets come, by and large, from the separate Communities.

However, with the new century, Brussels was identified as a candidate for the European City of Culture program, bringing with it unprecedented efforts to unite the socio-cultural institutions and artistic actors of the city towards a common urban project.

III.   EUROPEAN CAPITAL (CITY) OF CULTURE PROGRAM

"The European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme has been a significant catalyst for culture-led regeneration." (Griffiths, 2006)

Just as the people and economy of Brussels have been heavily influenced by the presence and expansion of the European Union's institutions and its mobile citizenry, so too have Brussels' artistic and cultural settings been shaped by the city's prominent place in Europe.

A.   Culture as a Means of Empowerment

Officially launched by Resolution 85/C 153/02 of the EU Culture Ministers, and originally

conceived as the European City of Culture program in 1985 by Merlina Mercouri and Jacques

Lang—then, Greek and French Ministers of Culture, respectively—the European Capital of

Culture (ECOC) program is an EU-wide economic redevelopment effort to transform the cultural

base of selected cities with the goal of yielding socio-economic benefits for their residents.

Cities nominated and selected as 'Capitals of Culture' are chosen based on having

fulfilled the following European and city-level criteria:

(1) 'the European Dimension', the programme shall:

(a) **Foster cooperation between cultural operators**, artists and cities from the

relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector;

(b) **Highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe;**

(c) Bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore.

(2) 'City and Citizens' the programme shall:

(a) **Foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings**

and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad;

(b) **Be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social**

development of the city. (European Parliament and the Council of the

European Union, 2006, Article 4, emphasis mine)

Miles (2007) suggests that, through the ECOC program, the European Commission seeks to

stimulate economic development through local, urban cultural programming—a strategy of

cultural tourism—designed especially in cities missed by the so-called global cities phenomenon

experienced by cities like London, New York and Tokyo.

Culturally-based initiatives are used as ways of promoting solidarity across diverse and

sometimes competing interest groups towards a common (policy) goal with a desired impact

well beyond the particular event, space or moment—"…cultural provision has a potential for

democratisation and intercultural collaboration, which may inform other areas of social

formation and power relations." (Miles, 2007, p. 138) This should not mean, however, that

cultural provisions can completely solve the problems raised in Bianchini and Parkinson (1993):

> The participation of disadvantaged ethnic and racial communities in public and cultural
>
> life in European cities is particularly problematic. Many working people belonging to
>
> Asian, African, Afro-Caribbean, Turkish and more recently East European ethnic
>
> communities are trapped in unskilled sectors…They are frequently discriminated against
>
> in housing, education, policing and the provision of other urban services. (Bianchini &
>
> Parkinson, 1993)

Researchers studying festivals and special cultural events have found that they "reinforce social

and cultural identity by building strong ties within a community". (Gursoy, Kyungmi, &

Muzaffer, 2004, p. 173) Moreover, a 2004 study commissioned by the European Commission

found that these culturally-led initiatives have been successful in stimulating both economic

and social growth in the chosen cities. (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004) However, despite this

overall favorable review by Palmer-Rae Associates (2004), Miles (2007) remains skeptical of

such programs noting an important lack of impact assessment evaluations conducted regarding

these cultural programs. His argument about the lack of impact assessments of festivals and

other special events has been echoed by other authors as well. (Küchler, Kürti, & Elkadi, 2011)

Through the vehicle of the ECOC program, promoting the economic development of

selected cities through showcasing their unique cultural offerings and identities, the European

Commission panel selected Brussels as one of the European Cities of Culture in 2000.[29]

B.   ECOC Brussels 2000 : « Ceci n'est pas un festival »[30]

"The Brussels 2000 project was not an effort to create yet another festival, but instead to

increase the awareness of culture in Brussels." (Author's translation of quote by R. Palmer in *La*

Libre Belgique, 1999)

1.   <u>ECOC in Europe's Capital City</u>

In its in-depth coverage of Brussels' organization and staging of events for the 2000

celebration, the EU-commissioned Palmer Study (2004) identified several key aims and

objectives of the ECOC-Brussels project.

Among the aims identified as of highest importance were: social cohesion and

community development and "enhancing pride and self-confidence". Other stated objectives

included: "Encouraging collaborations and synergies between different existing cultural

---

[29] Until 1999, one city received the annual ECOC designation (and associated funding); exceptionally, nine cities
were chosen for the millennial year, including: Avignon (France), Bergen (Norway), Bologna (Italy), Helsinki
(Finland), Cracow (Poland), Reykjavik (Iceland), Prague (Czech Republic), Santiago de Compostela (Spain) and
Brussels.

[30] Paraphrasing the oft-cited title "Ceci n'est pas une pipe." ("This is not a pipe.") of the 1929 work *La Trahison des*
images by well-known Belgian surrealist artist, René Magritte. This quote is taken from the article by Philip Tirard
in *La Libre Belgique*, 9 September 1999.

actors"—something that heretofore has been clearly absent from most socio-cultural initiatives in Brussels to date. (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004)

As part of their multi-segmented economic strategy, the ECOC-Brussels leadership explicitly identified 'democratic participation' and 'cultural diversity' as key themes of their 2000 inaugural event. Brussels' emphasis on diversity included specifically-targeted projects involving selected linguistic and ethnic groups and "socially disadvantaged people". (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004) (Discussed in depth below, Zinneke was conceived as an ECOC-Brussels project to address these themes.)

2.   ECOC-Brussels Leadership

Showing the complexity and diversity of interests in Brussels, to prepare the 2000 program a governing Board of Directors (chaired by François Xavier de Donnea—Mayor of Brussels) was formed in the late 1990s consisting of representatives from the various interests in and authorities of the Capital Region:

- City of Brussels
- Flemish Community
- French Community
- German Community
- Commission of the Flemish Community of the Brussels-Capital Region
- Commission of the French Community of the Brussels-Capital Region
- Other officials of the Brussels-Capital Region[31]
- National Federal authorities
- Selected observers from the private sector and the King Baudouin Foundation[32]

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[31] Absent from the Board were representatives of the other 18 Brussels-Capital Region municipalities.

Robert Palmer, former Director of the 1990 ECOC- Glasgow and co-author of the 2004 Palmer Study, was selected as ECOC-Brussels General Manager in 1997.

3. Early Structural Problems with ECOC-Brussels: The 2004 Palmer Study

Palmer-Rae Associates (2004), self-described "International Cultural Advisors," were contracted by the European Commission to conduct a comprehensive review and evaluation of each of the 21 ECOC and covers the eight cities that hosted European cultural months during the period 1995-2004; city reports were prepared for each of the selected cities, including Brussels.

The 2004 Palmer Study based its findings on interviews and questionnaires from respondents, including politicians, cultural organizations and artists, members of the tourist sector, community organizations and social services consulted through meetings—informal discussion groups, seminars, workshops—visits and media campaigns and other published documents, and included broad aims and objectives, financial information, and successes and ongoing challenges of these programs.

The ECOC-Brussels project, funded in large part through public sources such as the national lottery, was intended to reflect (and to benefit) the entire Brussels-Capital Region.[33] However, the challenges of ECOC-Brussels appear to have begun with the historically disjointed

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[32] Named after the late head of state, the King Baudouin Foundation is a public benefit foundation with a focus on four themes: Social Justice, Civil Society, Health, and Contemporary Philanthropy, http://www.kbs-frb.org/.

[33] Seventy-three percent of the total operating revenue came from public sources. The National Lottery was the largest source at 18.6% or 5.95m euros; 16.5% was from private funds, mainly cash sponsorship, 5.26m euros; the EU provided 300,000 euros in "general support". (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004)

public authority structure in the cultural arena, further frustrated by the decentralized and autonomous regional leadership structure with its 19 municipalities each with their own administration and Mayor.

There exists no common cultural policy between French and Flemish communities; and what relationships exist are mired in a history of non-cooperation. Further illustrating the structural tensions across linguistic lines, there is no single Belgian Ministry of Culture, and as cultural policy is a Community matter, the Region of Brussels has no direct governing authority in cultural matters. Instead, as discussed above, culture is administrated by linguistically-based and separate cultural bodies (COCOF and VGC) each pursuing and supporting their own projects in Brussels.

Despite a generally optimistic tone of the overall Palmer Study (2004), several findings show systemic challenges throughout the planning process of Brussels 2000, from its "over-emphasis" on the theme of social cohesion, to political in-fighting, to lack of representation on its Board of Directors by 18 of the 19 municipalities of the Capital Region. In other words, not all Board members agreed on the initial aims of multiculturalism and recognition of cultural diversity, bridge-building between the linguistic communities, or a definition of culture as participatory and contemporary. (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004, p. 162) Also, as a city-based project, the local Brussels 2000 organizing body did not reflect the regional-ness of Brussels in its vision or socio-cultural ECOC projects. The Palmer Study reported that, "[o]nly the city's central commune was represented on the Board. The other communes [municipalities] of Brussels region felt somewhat left out and consequently not well integrated into the project." (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004, p. 162)

Though open, accessible and participatory processes were key features of the stated

operating plan, according to Palmer Study findings, selected ethnic groups were identified—

along with politicians, children and young people—as "medium priority" audiences by their

study's respondents, whereas highest priority was given to "opinion formers" and "cultural

professionals". Further challenging the notion of democratic participation, in this first year,

ECOC-Brussels projects were estimated to have consisted of 90 percent "professional" projects

(as opposed to "community/amateur" projects). (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004)

The Palmer Study (2004) uncovered doubts among those interviewed as to whether the

social projects would be sustainable and found that, at least in 2000, the social program was

not well integrated into the general cultural program. Here, this prompts us to wonder how the

social goals of integration and cohesion could be achieved among the public at large when the

organizations themselves espousing such beliefs remain unwilling or unable to embrace these

goals internally? (Chapter 5 includes findings which address the impact on institutions through

their participation in such projects, Zinneke in particular.)

Within the social program offerings of Brussels 2000, the Zinneke project would stand

out among Brussels 2000s "multi-disciplinary urban initiatives".

IV.   BRUSSELS' ZINNEKE PARADE

"Zinneke is the name Brussels people give to the small Senne/Zenne river that encircles Brussels,
protecting it against flooding. Zinneke is also used to refer to a stray dog or mutt… some of
which end up in the river. And so we get **Zinneke: meaning one of multiple origin and symbol
of the cosmopolitan and multicultural nature of Brussels**." (Zinneke.org, 2011, emphasis mine)

With its origins as a featured socio-cultural project of the 2000 European Capital of Culture (ECOC) program in Brussels, the Zinneke project reflects an ongoing and 12-year long local commitment to bridge the often contentious social and linguistic divide found in Belgium's capital city-region.

Promoting the bilingual theme of *la Ville, de Stad* (the City), the first Zinneke Parade took place on May 27, 2000 and consisted of "five float processions by choreographers, musicians and stage directors, moving from the outskirts to the centre of town." (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004, p. 152).[34]

From the start, Zinneke was identified as one of the successful ECOC redevelopment projects warranting continuation as a permanent part of the city-region's economic redevelopment strategy moving forward. (Palmer-Rae Associates, 2004) Further, what began as a one-time and temporary event has now become a biennial fixture on Brussels' cultural calendar (www.agenda.be), and is maintained through combined public and private financial support and the dedication of its organizing committee (*l'Équipe Z*) and their individual and institutional partners and volunteers throughout the metro area. (For the 2010 Zinneke Parade there were 25 *Zinnodes*—locally-formed and locally-managed artistic groups of no more than 100 people each—plus 2,300 participants, 217 artists, 204 partner organizations, 300 volunteers and an estimated 85,000 spectators on Parade Day, 22 May 2010.) (Zinneke.org, 2011)

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[34] Translating them into English, Zinneke's themes since 2000 have been as follows: Zinnergy (2002); The body in the city (2004); Future to come (2006); Water (2008); At the table (2010) and Disorder (2012).

Figure 3.4. Zinneke Parade 2010, Brussels' Grand-Place (de Grote Markt)

Source: Photograph by Lieven Soete, available from http://www.flickr.com/photos/lievensoete/.

A.   What is Zinneke? Co-producing a '*création participative'* in Brussels

"Zinneke is **an urban project** that attempts to break down all possible existing walls, borders and mental barriers between institutions, people, neighborhoods, and social and cultural groups by **creating a framework in which people can build a collective project, stepping forward together**. Everyone must step out of himself and his own context, **joining with others to make something new**." (Author's translation from M. Stoffen in Indymedia.be, 2008, emphasis mine)

The Zinneke project aims to be more than another multicultural parade in the streets of Brussels' city center. Its 2-year process of "intense collaborations" involve thousands of residents, organizations, schools and artists from throughout the Capital Region who—following a publicly-elected parade theme—work on collective artistic and cultural projects

within their own neighborhoods (and occasionally in partnership with other *quartiers*) to fully

"develop their creativity and explore imagination with others," culminating in a 2.5-hour

appropriation of the center city of Brussels, also known as the 'Z Day' or Zinneke Parade Day.

(Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5) (Zinneke.org, 2011)

As for its artistic and cultural philosophy, Zinneke deliberately avoids overt expressions

of the past. In other words, as an alternative to displaying traditional costumes, instruments

and art forms representing the various origins of the city's residents, instead Zinneke uses its 2-

year long planning process to collectively create artistic expressions which reflect the

contemporaneity, interculturality and synthesis of its participants and their city. Here, certainly

artistic and cultural traditions influence the individual and local Zinneke projects (*Zinnodes*), but

it is their interactions with other traditions during the planning of the parade that Zinneke

hopes to foster and display every two years on the streets of Brussels.

Figure 3.5. Zinneke Parade 2004 (Brussels city center)

Source: Photograph available at www.zinneke.org.

Throughout the planning process and leading up to the biennial Z Day, Zinneke organizers work with local cultural centers, schools, the media and residents, and offer various moments for interaction and collective planning from the initial selection of the next parade's theme; preliminary calls for organizational and volunteer partnerships and *réunions plateformes* (public informational meetings); on-going artistic and socio-cultural workshops, such as dance/movement and materials workshops (Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7); potluck dinners; public hearings to further garner local support and interest and *soumonces*—rehearsals of each of the *zinnodes* within their own neighborhoods usually held days or weeks before the parade. (Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9)

Figure 3.6. Zinnode Pre-Parade Workshops

Source: Photographs available at www.zinneke.org.

Figure 3.7. Zinnode Pre-Parade Workshop

Source: Photograph available at www.zinneke.org.

Figure 3.8. Selected Zinnode Rehearsals Prior to Parade Day

Source: Photographs by Lieven Soete, available from http://www.flickr.com/photos/lievensoete/.

Figure 3.9. Pre-Parade Soumonce, Molenbeek, 2010

Source: Photograph by Lieven Soete, available from http://www.flickr.com/photos/lievensoete/.

1.   Experiencing Z Day, 22 May 2010

The photographs shown above give an impression about the preparatory phase leading

up to the Zinneke Parade Day in 2010, but what of the experience itself on Z Day?

De Wereld Morgen—an alternative, non-commercial and online media outlet in Belgium—captured some of the Parade Day experiences of watching and being part of the Zinneke Parade: [Zinneke Parade 2010 video](#). (Dewereldmorgen.be, 2010, 4min30sec)

What the video depicts well is the diversity of presentations around the theme—'At the table'—not always apparent in each of the 25 different neighborhood presentations featured on that day, as each local creative group (*Zinnode*) elected for themselves how they would respond to and interpret the theme. Of note as well is the lack of motorized set pieces. No 'machine' or musical instrument was generated by any non-human source (i.e., not powered directly by a person, such as an amplifier or gas engine)—a Zinneke requirement. Not featured in the videos, but part of the Zinneke project, and present in the windows along the day's route, were several large (human scale or larger) marionnettes known as "Maurice au balcon" (Maurice on the balcony). Each was animated by a puppeteer in windows of first or second floor balconies of local businesses and residences with the cooperation of the establishment owners. (See Figure 10.10. "Maurice au balcon" in Zinneke Parade 2010, Brussels City Centerand http://zinneke.org/Maurice-au-balcon?lang=en for photos of some of these marionnettes.)

Figure 10.10. "Maurice au balcon" in Zinneke Parade 2010, Brussels City Center

Source: Unattributed photograph, available from http://www.flickr.com/photos/lievensoete/.

With the city's central avenues and streets closed for the 2.5-hour spectacle, pedestrian traffic

fills the sidewalks and streets, tourists and locals passed by and gathered some in anticipation

and some completely unaware of the event taking place. (See Appendix II for the parade route.)

For the 2010 Parade, the different zinnodes gathered around 2:00pm to line up at various

starting points throughout the center of Brussels. Around 3:00pm the Parade began

simultaneously as each zinnode made their way onto the parade route throughout the center

pouring into the spaces ultimately filling the entire route with parade floats and participants

walking, talking, singing, shouting, dancing, playing instruments, riding make-shift bicycles and

so on. Many of the zinnode participants engaged directly with spectators offering them food—

one zinnode was making crepes and other food directly on their float. As planned, another

zinnode only casually followed the route while instead wandered directly into and out of the

audience, occasionally sitting and watching the parade, occasionally reuniting again in the

parade space. Each of the participants was dressed and made-up according to their zinnode's

interpretation of the parade theme. Often the participants wore heavy face paint and in some

cases elaborate in other cases very simple costumes with bric-à-brac, hand-made floats not

usually intended to appear too stylized. At the parade's end, spectators resumed their

movements across the sidewalks and streets, automobile traffic was again able to circulate and

Zinneke participants and the public were invited to attend the *fête final/slotfeest* (final party)

celebrating the end of another two years of organization, preparation and public engagement.

(The Zinneke Parade 2012 planning activities would begin during the 2010 summer months.)

B.   Zinneke and Citizen Participation in Culture and in the City

"'Citizen participation' refers generally to citizen involvement in public decision making. In
planning and related fields, the term also has a specialized meaning, designating **efforts to
facilitate participation of citizens** who would normally be unable or disinclined to take part."
(Baum, 2001, p.1840, emphasis mine)

Through what Zinneke's current director, Myriam Stoffen, calls a "shared creative

practice," Zinneke "...encourages the active participation of [Brussels'] inhabitants who are not

usually in the habit of being involved in public action...creating joint artistic and societal

projects...—"The model of 'participatory creation' is the keystone of our project." (Stoffen

interviewed in *Urban Policy Review*, 2007)

As mentioned, this biennial intercultural celebration has been identified by politicians, researchers and local socio-cultural actors alike as one means of achieving improved cohesion (social and economic integration) across the city's multi-cultural and multi-linguistic communities. (Answering whether or not it has achieved this goal is, in part, an aim of this research covering the periods from Zinneke 2010's *phase de realisation* (execution phase) through to the *phase d'évaluation* as shown in Figure 3.11.)

When interviewed in 2007, Myriam Stoffen (Zinneke Director, 2005-present) described it as a biennial celebration of the solidarity of a community through the explicit expression of its diversity; a "genuine city project," a "social and cultural laboratory," an "open, inter-cultural and inter-communal urban approach…reaching informal networks involved in multi-racial issues," and that the project "integrates the town". (Stoffen interviewed in *Urban Policy Review*, 2007)

Since its first Parade in 2000, which emphasized solidarity through diversity, Zinneke has attempted to "contribute to removing the social and political barriers that have fragmented [Brussels]...precisely to ensure that the public area is used as a place for living, dialogue, debates, and negotiations that are open to everyone...[and] to fully display the multi-cultural wealth of the different districts." (Stoffen interviewed in *Urban Policy Review*, 2007)

Figure 3.11. 2010 Zinneke Parade Planning Process and My Thesis Study Period
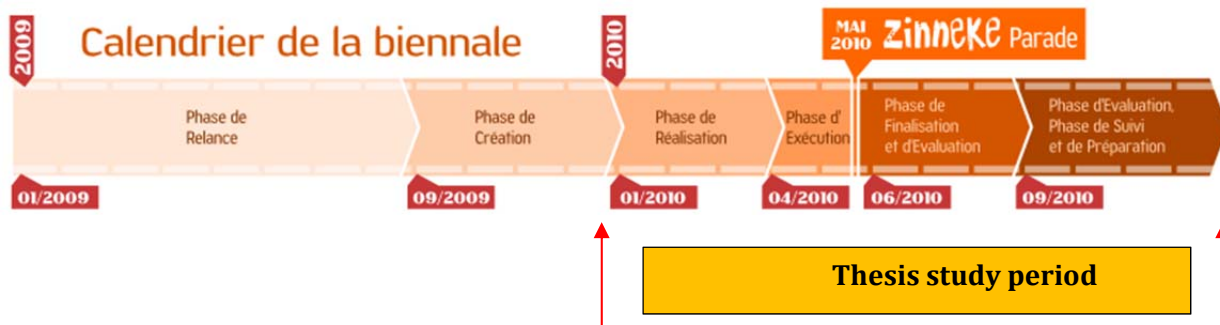
Source: Author's rendering plus official Parade timeline from www.zinneke.org.

Taking their project beyond Belgium, Zinneke has joined with two other socio-cultural projects in Belfast and Bologna for the 2009 Belbobru Project wherein an "urban parade laboratory" was designed so that local residents could "create beyond their borders....to make new artistic creations and [to] build a multicultural, multidisciplinary parade..." (The BelBoBru project is ongoing and has been partially funded by the EU's Culture and Education program, 2007-2013.) (www.zinneke.org.)

V.   IMMIGRANT AND ETHNIC BRUSSELS

"Contrary to a widely held belief, a large majority of the foreigners living in Belgium are originally either from a member state of the European Union, or from another so-called developed Western country." (Martiniello & Rea, 2003)

A.   The European and Distinctively Bruxellois Demography of Brussels

Like many other European cities, the demographic trajectory of Brussels has been dominated by international migrations and internal mobilities coupled with increasing life expectancies and declining fertility rates among so-called 'native' (*autochtone*) populations. The

Capital Region has experienced a rise in overall population size over the past few years and, just like most large European cities, the population composition is changing and is highly influenced by internationalization.

However, Brussels continues to follow its own demographic trajectory based on several population shifts: whereas more affluent couples with children are moving into the surrounding suburbs outside of Brussels, the city center remains younger, more immigrant, relatively poorer and less skilled than its neighbors in surrounding BCR communes and suburbs. While this exodus from the city center is occurring among non-immigrant Bruxellois, simultaneous demographic growth is occurring within Brussels due to higher fertility rates (especially among non-European origin families); and the substantial enlargement of the European Union—from six original signatory states in 1957, to 15 by 1995, to 27 by 2007 with Croatia and Iceland slated to enter by 2013. (See also Figure 1.1) (Communication department of the European Commission, 2011)

The EU enlargement not only means an expected inflow of new workers (and their families) employed in connection with the European government institutions, but also the opening of additional international borders which allows for more 'new Europeans' to move freely throughout the European territory. The recent and steady rise in the Polish and Bulgarian populations residing in Brussels can be attributed to their entry into the EU in 2004 and 2007, respectively.

1.   A Young, Belgian-Born 'Foreign' Population

The share of the Belgian population below the age of 18 is larger than the age groups

that belong to the active population, ages 18-65. This demographic 'dependency' of

contemporary Brussels and the fact that naturalized Belgians are not statistically identifiable as

being of foreign origin (here: birth) makes nationality alone no longer a reliable indicator of the

extensive diversity in origin and cultural backgrounds of today's Brussels. (The issue of

limitations with official data on immigrants, naturalization and integration is addressed in

greater detail in the next chapter.)

Taking nationality at birth into account, as of 2001, nearly 50 percent of the Brussels

population is not from the Capital Region of which 60 percent were born abroad. (Ministère de

la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2010) Adding the children born in Belgium to parents who

migrated from abroad, means that well more than 50 percent of the Brussels population comes

from abroad or is born to parents who migrated—the loosely defined first and second

generations.[35] Using this broader concept which includes both foreign-born and foreign-

descendant populations, Moroccans become the most numerically important group in this

respect, amounting to almost 13 percent of the Brussels population in 2001.

The last Belgian census-style enumeration (in 2001) enabled the nationality of origin to

be taken into account. According to this criterion, Brussels had 45 different nationalities with at

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[35] As a parallel in the U.S. context, the U.S. Census Bureau previously used the concept of 'foreign stock' to define this population either born outside the United States or born in the United States to at least one foreign-born parent—the combined first and second generations, estimated for the entire U.S. at 20 percent or 56 million in 2000. http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p23-206.pdf.

least 1,000 inhabitants. The composition has diversified further since then, and there has been

an increase in inhabitants from European Union countries and elsewhere.

B.   Composition of Ethno-Immigrant Belgium and Brussels

"La réalité bruxelloise est de plus en plus 'zinneke.'"
("The reality of Brussels is more and more 'zinneke'.") (Duplat, *La Libre*, 2011a)

Since the mid 1970s, the Belgian population has consisted of about 8.5 percent foreign

nationals (non-Belgian citizens), and, recently, has experienced continued growth in terms of

both absolute numbers and as a percent of the overall Belgian population: 1.1 million (10%) in

2010.[36] In comparison, in 1970, 3.5 million (1.7%) of the U.S. resident population was

'foreign'—neither naturalized nor born a U.S. citizen—equaling 22.5 million (7.3%) foreign

residents in 2010.[37]

Like in the United States and other immigrant-receiving nations, the foreign population

of Belgium is geographically-concentrated in selected areas within the country. For example,

while housing 1.1 million (10%) of the total Belgian population in 2010, the Capital Region alone

housed an estimated 31 percent of all foreign residents in Belgium. Also in 2010, non-Belgian

nationals comprised 30 percent (about 327,000) of the BCR population (compared with only 6.4

and 9.5 percent of the Flanders and Wallonia regions' populations, respectively).

(http://statbel.fgov.be/)

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[36] As of this writing, official statistics (from the National Registry) are available for the total population through 2011; however, comparable data on foreign residents of Belgium are available through 2010.
[37] Author's calculations of 1970 U.S. decennial census data; the 2010 estimate comes from http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/acs-19.pdf.

Further, the cultural cityscape of Brussels has been historically and heavily influenced by its contiguous European neighbors; French and Dutch foreign residents figure among the largest foreign-origin populations in Brussels. Since the mid-to-late 20th Century, the composition of Brussels' population, like other parts of Belgium, has increasingly diversified with Italian then Spanish, then Moroccan and Turkish, and, more recently, African migrations—mainly Congolese—as well as other recent arrivals from new EU member countries like Poland and Bulgaria.[38]

Comparing foreign nationality with place of birth, Figure 3.12. Belgian Population by Foreign Place of Birth and Nationality, 2008 reveals the complexity and diversity of the overall Belgian population. Whereas foreign nationality indicates higher populations of French, Italian and Dutch residents in Belgium—populations less likely to obtain Belgian citizenship because of their EU citizenship which grants them automatic rights to live and work in Belgium—statistics by country of birth show that Moroccans, Turks and Congolese residents of Belgium, whose foreign <u>nationality</u> numbers are relatively lower than their European counterparts, are among the largest foreign populations in Belgium to acquire Belgian citizenship. Combining these two indicators of 'foreign-ness'—birth and nationality—is essential to understand Belgian's and Brussels' immigrant and ethnic minority populations and their integration.

Further, Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13 highlight the impact that legislation pertaining to nationality has had on immigrant acquisition of Belgian citizenship, and further show the

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[38] As Hanquinet et al. (2006) suggests post-independence immigration from former colonies (Congo, Burundi, Rwanda) has been significantly lower compared with neighboring Netherlands. However, the Congolese represent a large segment of the asylum-seeking and naturalizing populations in Belgium and in the Brussels Region in particular.

importance of studying both nationality (*nationalité*) and country of birth (*pays de naissance*) in

immigrant integration in Belgium.

Figure 3.12. Belgian Population by Foreign Place of Birth and Nationality, 2008
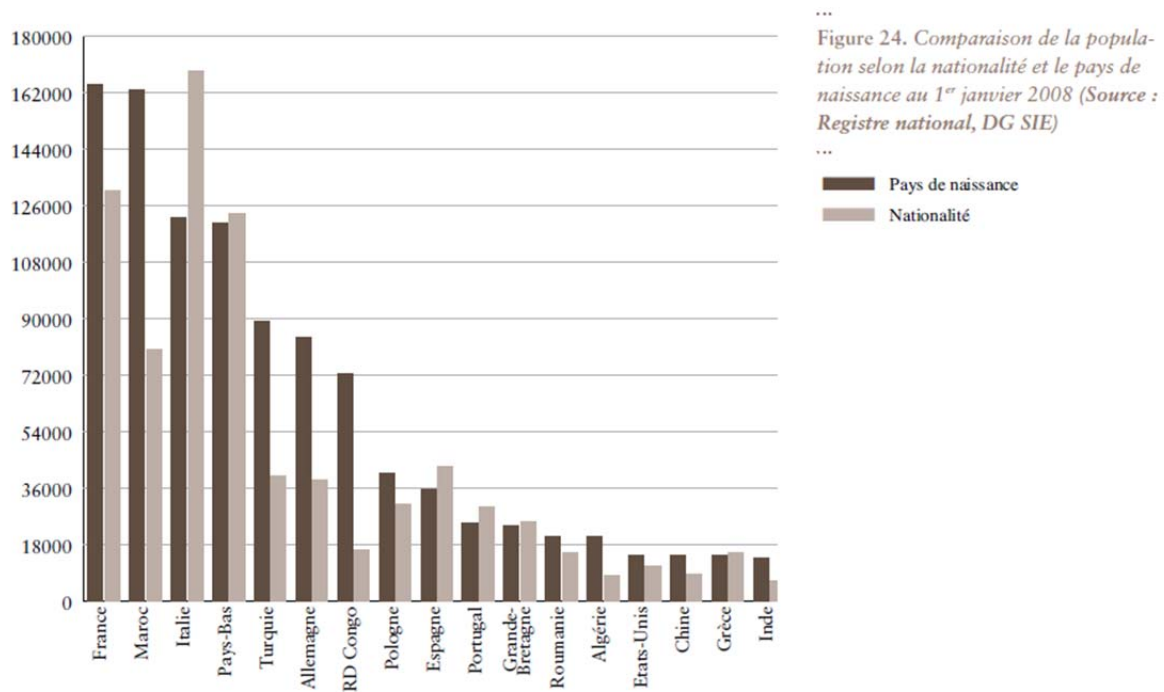
Note: *Pays de naissance* = Country of birth; *Nationalité* = Nationality.

Source: Centre pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme, 2010.

Figure 3.13. Belgian Naturalizations by Place of Birth, 1991-2007
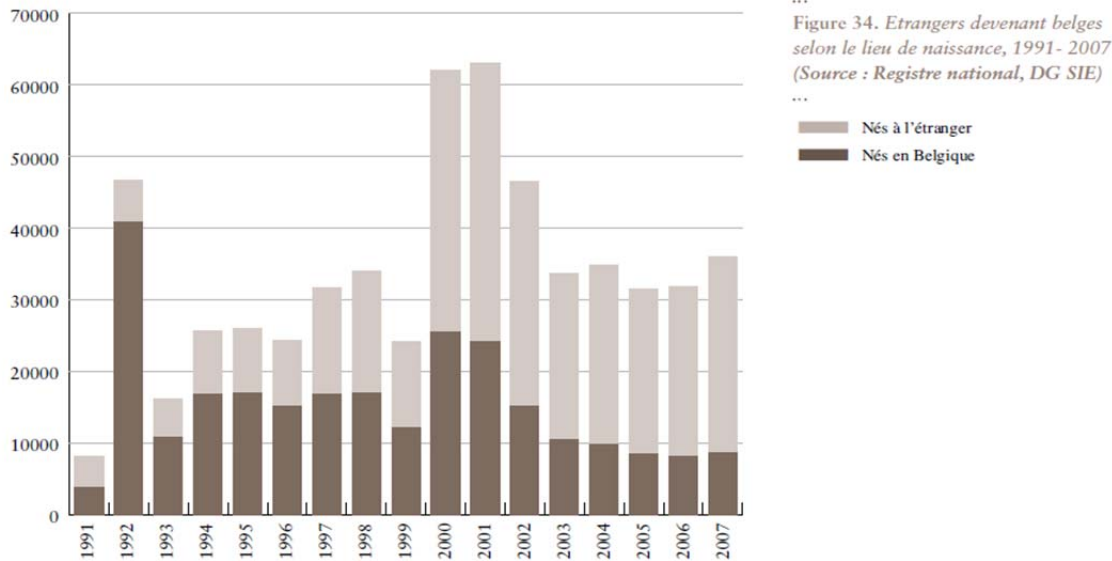
Note: *Nés à l'étranger* = born abroad; *Nés en Belgique* = born in Belgium.

Source: Centre pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme, 2010.

Since 1998, the Brussels Region has received annually between 15,000 and 45,000 foreign

migrants (*étrangers*) from abroad. Coinciding with this movement from abroad, between

15,000 and 25,000 people were registered as having emigrated to foreign countries from

Brussels, and, owing to more liberal naturalization laws in 1984 and 1991, between 10,000 and

15,000 foreign national Bruxellois have become Belgian citizens annually since the early 1990s.

(Ministère de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2010)[39]

The composition of the Brussels population is becoming increasingly diverse as the

share of inhabitants that have Belgian nationality has remained relatively constant over the

_____

[39] More recently, the "very liberal modification of nationality legislation in 2000, has lead [*sic*] to an important increase of the number of people of foreign origin who have acquired Belgian citizenship. More than half of the Moroccan origin population has become Belgian." (Hanquinet, Vandezande, Jacobs, & Swyngedouw, 2006, p. 61)

past few years due to offsetting of numerous naturalizations—no longer statistically considered

as *étrangers*—by the aforementioned inflow of new immigrants from abroad into the BCR.

C.   Ethno-Immigrant Geographic Concentrations within the Brussels-Capital Region

As the most densely populated urban area in Belgium (Figure 3.14), Brussels is one of

only four European cities to have over 25 percent of its resident population be of foreign

origin—Amsterdam, Frankfurt, and London.[40]

Figure 3.14. Population Density by Belgian Commune, 2010
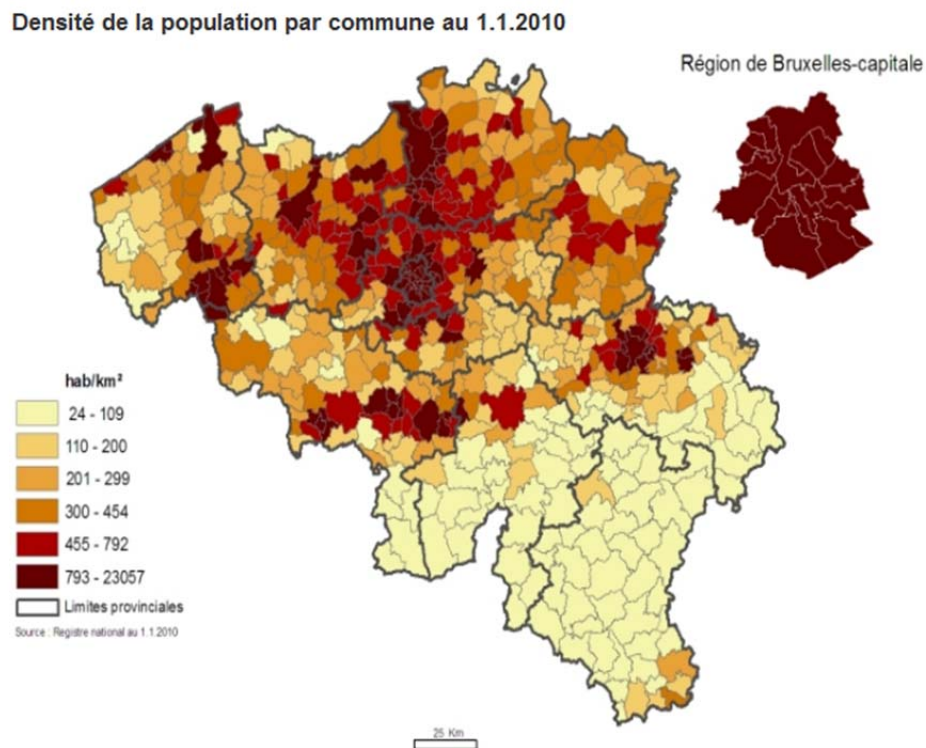
Source: Statistics Belgium (2011).

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[40] Statistic comes from the Global City Migration Map, available at www.migrationinformation.org, accessed on 22 June 2012.

As Table 3.1 shows, in 11 of Brussels' 19 municipalities at least one-quarter of the residents are foreign, with St. Gilles and Ixelles approaching one-half, 44 and 43 percent, respectively. As of 2010, the largest and most populous of the communes is the City of Brussels with around 158,000 residents, housing 16 percent of all foreign residents living in the Capital Region.

Table 3.1. Total and Foreign Populations by BCR Municipality, 2010

Municipality of the Brussels-Capital Region	Total Pop.	Foreign Pop.	% Foreign	% Foreign of BCR
Brussels-Capital Region	**1,089,538**	**327,070**	**30.0%**	**100.0%**
Anderlecht	104,647	28,146	26.9%	8.6%
Auderghem	30,811	7,413	24.1%	2.3%
Berchem Ste-Agathe	22,185	3,511	15.8%	1.1%
Brussels city	**157,673**	**51,267**	32.5%	**15.7%**
Etterbeek	44,352	17,915	40.4%	5.5%
Evere	35,803	7,257	20.3%	2.2%
Forest	50,258	14,851	29.5%	4.5%
Ganshoren	22,589	3,674	16.3%	1.1%
Ixelles	80,183	34,489	43.0%	10.5%
Jette	46,818	8,641	18.5%	2.6%
Koekelberg	19,812	4,941	24.9%	1.5%
Molenbeek St-Jean	88,181	22,986	26.1%	7.0%
St-Gilles	46,981	20,697	**44.1%**	6.3%
St-Josse-ten-Noode	26,338	9,814	37.3%	3.0%
Schaerbeek	121,232	37,641	31.0%	11.5%
Uccle	77,589	21,647	27.9%	6.6%
Watermael-Boitsfort	24,260	4,139	17.1%	1.3%
Woluwe St-Lambert	50,749	15,805	31.1%	4.8%
Woluwe St-Pierre	39,077	12,236	31.3%	3.7%

Source: Author's calculations from http//:statbel.fgov.be/, accessed 22 June 2012.

Figure 3.15 shows that the overall largest concentrations of foreign nationals in the Capital Region reside in the historic center of Brussels (Brussels City, a.k.a. *le Pentagone*) surrounded by a series of 'first crown' expressways (*la petite ceinture*) and in the neighborhoods of the municipalities located south/southeast of the city center. (Ministère de la Région de Bruxelles-

Capitale, 2010) The foreign origins of these populations vary widely from one neighborhood to the next, with significantly more Turks and Moroccans North and Northwest of the city center and Europeans (from the EU-15 countries) residing primarily South and Southeast of the city center.

Figure 3.15. Brussels Neighborhoods by Percent Foreign (Étrangers), 2006
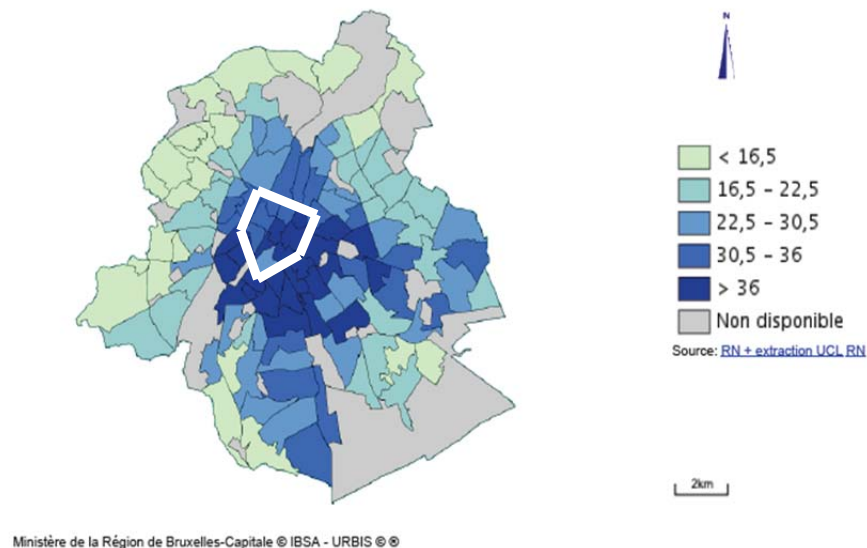
Source: Author's enhancement of map by Ministère de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2010.

However, the percentage increase of immigrants in Brussels is not only the result of their increasing numbers, but is also because the number of non-foreign origin Belgians has decreased. As is seen clearly in Table 3.2, since the late 1980s, Belgian citizens (with relatively higher incomes) exhibit a net out-migration from Brussels' 19 communes, and have settled in suburban communes on the periphery of Brussels. (Costanzo, Nikolic & Zibouh, 2011, unpublished)

Table 3.2. Net Annual Migration by Nationality, Brussels-Capital Region, 1988-2005

	Belgians			EU-15			Turks/Moroccans			Others		
	88-90	94-96	04-05	88-90	94-96	04-05	88-90	94-96	04-05	88-90	94-96	04-05
BCR	-9,5	-8,2	-11,5	1,6	1,5	0,5	1,0	2,5	3,9	1,7	2,7	6,5
First crown*	-8,7	-10,5	-14,2	1,6	0,9	-0,8	1,4	3,6	5,5	1,1	2,7	7,0
Second crown	-10,5	-5,4	-8,0	1,5	2,2	2,1	0,5	1,2	2,0	2,3	2,7	5,8
Anderlecht*	-8,5	-11,5	-6,7	-0,6	1,1	-0,1	0,9	4,3	6,6	0,3	2,2	7,5
Bruxelles*	-6,6	-10,3	-11,4	0,5	0,4	-0,5	0,6	2,3	5,1	1,5	2,4	6,2
Ixelles*	-14,6	-10,0	-10,3	5,3	4,7	2,3	-0,2	0,2	1,4	1,7	0,2	7,5
Molenbeek-Saint-Jean*	-7,4	-8,4	-14,9	-0,1	-2,2	-1,3	5,0	5,5	6,9	0,4	4,2	4,1
Saint-Gilles*	-7,9	-8,9	-18,5	5,5	0,4	-3,5	-1,1	1,9	3,6	0,7	3,9	9,2
Saint-Josse-ten-Noode*	-10,8	-11,9	-28,0	-0,3	-0,6	-1,1	8,6	7,3	5,1	4,4	1,3	10,9
Schaerbeek*	-8,0	-12,0	-21,8	2,2	1,3	-2,3	1,1	5,9	7,6	0,9	4,0	7,7
Auderghem	-9,6	-5,6	-4,1	1,4	3,6	2,9	0,0	0,6	0,4	3,6	2,8	7,4
Berchem-Saint-Agathe	-4,6	-1,2	0,2	1,3	-0,1	2,1	0,0	1,2	3,1	0,8	3,8	3,8
Etterbeek	-18,8	-12,1	-17,9	1,2	3,8	1,9	1,6	1,4	1,0	4,3	2,1	6,1
Evère	-11,8	1,8	-5,5	1,7	3,2	1,3	0,5	3,0	3,6	2,8	4,1	7,7
Forest	-11,6	-8,2	-15,9	0,0	1,7	-1,2	0,3	1,3	3,3	1,1	1,9	5,8
Ganshoren	-4,7	-7,1	-3,0	0,9	1,2	2,5	1,0	1,9	3,3	1,0	2,6	7,2
Jette	-6,9	-5,0	-4,4	1,6	2,1	0,9	0,8	2,8	3,7	4,5	3,0	5,6
Koekelberg	0,4	-12,4	-8,0	-0,8	1,1	1,2	1,6	1,7	8,6	2,6	1,9	8,5
Uccle	-9,3	-3,3	-5,6	2,3	2,0	3,6	0,5	0,8	0,6	0,6	3,8	4,4
Watermael-Boitsfort	-8,9	1,6	-6,5	2,0	2,8	0,0	0,4	0,3	0,2	2,3	1,6	2,0
Woluwe-Saint-Lambert	-14,4	-6,7	-11,2	2,0	2,3	4,9	0,0	0,2	0,4	3,6	1,4	7,0
Woluwe-Saint-Pierre	-12,5	-6,1	-5,5	2,3	1,7	2,4	0,1	0,3	0,4	1,2	2,7	6,2

Table 4. Average annual migration balance per 1000 inhabitants according to nationality: 1988-2005
Source: National Register, ADSEI, courtesy of Interface Demography
Erratum: data for Ixelles have been corrected on 20 january 2009.

As mentioned, the ethnic mapping of Brussels, like other European and American metropolitan areas, is not uniformly spatially distributed. 'Ethnicity' or multicultural diversity in Brussels is perceived in different ways across the different places of the Capital Region's 19 communes. In some instances, like Molenbeek—a largely working class Brussels-Capital commune—or St. Josse, another Brussels-Capital commune with diverse foreign populations, ethnicity is equated with sizable Muslim or Moroccan populations or other 'foreigners' from Turkey, Poland and elsewhere. Molenbeek is often cited in the Brussels (and Belgian) press as a 'no-go zone' of

criminal activity, for Muslim women who deliberately violate Belgium's ban on garments (the burqa or niqab) which cover their faces in public spaces and, occasionally, featured for its youth-oriented success stories involving artistic and cultural programs. (Duplat, 2011) Conversely, for Ixelles and Etterbeek, with over 40 percent of their local populations being foreign, ethnicity is more often equated with a cosmopolitan (educated, affluent, worldly) local population as well as a certain elitism associated with the European institutions. Interestingly, perceptions of an unwillingness to integrate are not uncommonly attributed to each of these groups across the three communes.

VI.   INTERSECTIONS OF ORIGIN/ETHNICITY AND ARTISTIC/CULTURAL BRUSSELS

"'More so than schools and urban planning, it is culture that creates open spaces where people meet.'" (Author's translation of J. Goossens quoted in *La Libre*, 2011a)

Returning to Brussels' artistic and cultural scenes and spaces, several local initiatives, including the Zinneke project, have been created in the past decade or so to serve the city-region and to reflect the place itself and its residents at the neighborhood, city or regional levels.

A.   Public Participation in Brussels' Culture: Who participates?

Despite the rich tapestry of artists and cultural actors and spaces, the artistic and cultural publics served have gone understudied in Brussels. Further, Brussels' artistic and cultural spaces are not uniformly distributed throughout the Capital Region. The city center (*le Pentagone*) houses the strongest concentration of artistic and cultural infrastructure, whereas

other neighborhoods of the BCR often lack any (formal) art or cultural spaces; with few exceptions, the further out you go from the city center, the farther and fewer are the cultural offerings. (Corijn & Vloeberghs, 2009)

As discussed in the 2008 report by La Bellone—a francophone cultural and artistic center in Brussels—little is known about the Bruxellois public(s) attending (and not attending) the artistic and cultural offerings of the Capital Region, and certainly even less is known about the immigrant and ethnic origins of, to cite Minne and Pickels (2003), the "*public fantôme*".

With a focus on spectators and attendees of art and culture, their report attempts to answer the questions: Who? Why? Why not? attends the many artistic and cultural events in Brussels. To date, little research has been done about the individual artists and cultural institutional workers across professional and amateur projects and spaces, let alone their impact on matters such as integration. (As discussed in the forthcoming article by Costanzo and Zibouh, the Working Group on *interculturalité* of Brussels' Cultural Plan has begun looking into this question of diversity in creative spaces both on the stages and behind the scenes of Brussels main cultural venues.)

B.   Explicitly and Implicitly 'Immigrant' Cultural Spaces and Scenes

The range of activities, audiences and forms of expression vary widely across the artistic and cultural offerings found in Brussels. Some cultural institutions and events in Brussels explicitly mention immigrants as part of their mission statements where immigrants and their stories are highlighted in the program offerings. Others make no such explicit effort to target, highlight or reflect specific 'migrant experiences,' but, by their broader statements of inclusion

across socio-economic strata encourage their participation as well. For example, some of Brussels' urban cultural projects, such as Zinneke, focus their efforts on addressing issues confronting many Bruxellois (including immigrants), such as: housing, job loss and unemployment, health care and so on.

Much has been written elsewhere and continues to be said of the term 'culture' and associated terms like 'intercultural' and 'multicultural.' (For coverage of these associated terms, see Chapter 2.) In Brussels, various artistic and cultural spaces and initiatives strive for intercultural and/or multicultural expressions as well as particularly mono-cultural offerings, such as those of a particular post-colonial heritage (Congo) or of a uniquely Flemish or French past.

The role of immigrants as participants in the Bruxellois artistic and cultural scene—as artists, including musicians, actors, dancers and painters—is evident from the many local (including neighborhood and cross-neighborhood) projects as well as those supported by the city and the respective official cultural services of the French and Flemish Communities in Brussels.

The biennial Zinneke Parade and Globe Aroma represent two examples where immigrants are implicitly and explicitly (respectively) part of the intended target audience and intended target participants.

1.   Implicitly Immigrant or 'Multicultural' Artistic and Cultural Projects

Discussed earlier in this chapter, the Zinneke project has its beginnings in the 2000 European Capital of Culture program. Though not a universal opinion, Zinneke is often

identified by Brussels' politicians and local cultural actors alike as an example of a successful participatory, collaborative and artistic creation by and for the people of Brussels, reaching across socio-economic, spatial and linguistic barriers.

Implicit in its mission, immigrants and ethnic and cultural minority groups are not identified by their origins, but, like others living in Brussels, by their place of residence. It is within schools, cultural and youth centers and neighborhoods (and sometimes, more broadly, within municipalities) where local people are encouraged to participate in many of the Zinneke activities throughout the 2-year creative and collaborative preparatory process.

Along with other locally and publicly-organized initiatives such as the *Plan culturel pour Bruxelles*, Kunstenfestivaldesarts (http://www.kfda.be/) and BXLBravo (http://www.brxlbravo.be/), Zinneke represents the potential for cross-cultural collaborative projects among the artists, cultural actors, institutions and residents of Brussels regardless of individual origins.

2.   Explicitly 'Immigrant' Artistic and Cultural Projects: The case of Globe Aroma

In both name and mission, some local artistic initiatives strive to reach out to and incorporate immigrants (and other 'foreigners') into the many artistic and cultural projects of the city-region. Funded by the Flemish Community, Globe Aroma works particularly with professional and amateur artists and enthusiasts among the refugee and asylum-seeking populations of Brussels.

Globe Aroma was created in 2001 by various partners working together on the European Social Fund's Samira project, and born out of an experience at The African Café—a

local cultural center in South Africa, Globe Aroma's mission is to encourage people of diverse backgrounds to meet one another in local, urban spaces, using art as a vehicle for creating (and stimulating) intercultural dialogue; giving people the opportunity to express their creative selves. Following from this, Globe Aroma strives to create opportunities for asylum seekers, refugees and other newcomers to achieve their artistic potential, and to help artists of all disciplines and interests by providing them materials and creative space to develop and to exhibit their works with the ultimate goal of integrating them into the broader artistic scenes of Brussels and beyond. (www.globearoma.be)

It is with this fuller understanding of Brussels many complex and diverse political, institutional, socio-demographic, and cultural settings that we may now turn to the process of conducting research on its people, places and processes.

CHAPTER FOUR. RESEARCH METHODS:
Studying and Placing Participation, Identity and Belonging.

I.   INTRODUCTION

Research into the *what, how,* and *why* of people, places, events, attitudes and behaviors

can be best served by combining, as Sieber (1973) puts it: "hard and generalizable"

(quantitative) with "rich and deep" (qualitative) methods of inquiry—a mixed methodology for

researchers interested in both "narrative and numeric data and their analysis". (Teddlie &

Tashakkori, 2009)

Research methods are an integral part of the entire research process. Research methods

are not merely the tools we use to answer our questions. They are also not only the vehicle we

use to pass from the research question to our study's findings and implications, but also they

operationalize our concepts and frame our findings; they are a vital component of the research

process whether we 'simply' analyze others' (secondary) data or whether we collect our own

(primary) data.

Further, there is no perfect or flawless technique or tool to study human behavior and

opinion. As Merriam (2009) writes, "The merits of a particular design are inherently related to

the rationale for selecting it as the most appropriate plan for addressing the research problem."

Because of the impact that they have on the formulation of the questions and the boundaries

of the answers, the methods we employ for our research must be chosen purposefully and they

must be selected with the research question in mind, even if it is not yet completely formed.

Further, no one method, tool or technique reveals the entire story of human behavior

and opinion. Each is restricted by its design and use, and, therefore, even when used correctly,

can only partially answer the whats, hows and whys of human attitudes and behaviors. When resolutely chosen, by combining the strengths of different methods, we are able to construct both richer and more defensible insights into our research questions; a wide and growing literature in the social sciences supports such methodological choices. (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Greene, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003)

For example, for their research studies into individual rally and protest participation, Blanchard and Fillieule (2006) relied on a triangulation of methods including sampling selected populations immediately following the announcement of a planned event (measuring attitude), and fielding a subsequent telephone survey after the event (measuring behavior/participation). However, based on their own prior research, the authors found that even these mixed methods approaches—capturing information about protestors, before and after events—are inadequate to understand their motivations and experiences if interviews are not conducting during the events themselves. (Blanchard & Fillieule, 2006)

A.   **First-Person Narratives and the Subjectivity of Social Science Research**

As a relative newcomer to Brussels and to Belgium, a non-native speaker of either French or Dutch, and with limited prior experience with Europe's arts and cultural policies and scenes, I believe deeply that a first-person statement of my research in the field not only helps to establish who I was before beginning to conduct my doctoral fieldwork abroad, but also how the events of my recent past (2010) have shaped my understanding and appreciation of the people, issues and places touched by this research conducted away from my cultural and

educational beginnings in the United States. (You can find one of these personal stories of my

introduction into Brussels within the Preface.)

Though rarely found in the work of urban planning, demography or quantitative

sociological research, first-person accounts of a researcher's field experience are not

uncommon in anthropology or cultural studies (Pickering, 2008; Bernard, 2006; Agar, 1996;

Peshkin, 1988; Van Maanen, 1988), and have also begun to gain recognition in the cross-

disciplinary field of migration studies (Desipio & etal., 2007)

Whether it is journalistic or scientific in intent, the value of contextualizing our research

questions is fundamental to the meaningful interpretation (and use) of our research findings.

This is well-illustrated in Bill Buford's short piece on journalism and reporting, where, for our

purposes, replacing 'reporting/reporter' with 'research/researcher' conveys this idea:

> The thing about reporting is that it is meant to be objective. It is meant to record and
>
> relay the truth of things, as if truth were out there, hanging around, waiting for the
>
> reporter to show up. Such is the premise of objective journalism. What this premise
>
> excludes, as any student of modern literature will tell you, is that slippery relative fact of
>
> the person doing the reporting, **the modern notion that there is no such thing as the**
>
> **perceived without someone to do the perceiving, and that to exclude the**
>
> **circumstances surrounding the story is to tell an untruth**… (an excerpt from Bill
>
> Buford's *Among the Thugs in The New Kings of Nonfiction* edited by Ira Glass, 2007,
>
> Riverhead Books: New York, NY, p.6-7, emphasis mine)

What often goes un(der)reported in social science research is the process by which we make choices that are vital to the outcomes (or at least the pathways) of our work and about our own development (actions and attitudes) throughout the project.

I would argue that this process—and the context in which it takes place, the decisions we make, our awareness of, access to and dynamic interactions with the research setting and its members—pre-determine the outcome of our work, however unbiased, valid, reliable and generalizable our research design and findings may be. This should <u>not</u> be misconstrued as a rejection of social research as unscientific or a reason to dismiss the valuable contributions of such efforts; however, it is a reminder of the important roles played by us as people engaged in studying the human condition of which we are an inextricable part.

Even with my advance preparation and growing familiarity with the Zinneke project, until the Parade took place in late May 2010 (aka, '*Z Day*'), what people, actions and attitudes would converge along the parade route remained largely unclear. Their meaning would ultimately be constructed out of the interaction of people, events, measurement tools and other elements that came together on that day, in that moment as well as months later in the moments when revisiting, editing and analyzing the data for the purpose of interpreting their meaning.

Such investigations are, therefore, inherently subjective. This is not a criticism, but a statement of reality when we observe (and, therefore, engage) the social, cultural, political and spatial world and its inhabitants—as we study it, we change and we impact (and become part of) the world around us. It does not mean that our findings are flawed or without merit; however, it does mean that part of us is in the data, and, therefore, what we find 'out there' is

a reflection of the research process undertaken—our theoretical approach, our qualitative and quantitative methods, our understanding of what we observe, and who we are before and during this undertaking.

Moreover, as researchers first entering into a 'community'– however defined– we have a pre-determined identity within this new setting, either because of the study subjects' idea—true or not—of who we are and of our motivations owing to language, nationality, sex, ethno-racial background and so on that mark us; and of our own expectations about the people, issues and settings of this work. These ideas evolve over time and throughout the fieldwork period, through our (inter)actions within the spaces of our work—dynamics we intentionally and/or unintentionally create or avoid—and through events that may potentially impact our work without our knowledge or understanding or the knowledge or understanding of the people, issues and places we are investigating.

In terms of the researchers ourselves, there is something to be said of the value-added of an 'outsider' perspective on topics previously explored by local experts. Like each researcher's own technical and other professional skills in the field, "I decided that subjectivity can be seen as virtuous, for it is the basis of researchers' making a distinctive contribution, one that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they have collected." (Peshkin, 1988 citing Peshkin, 1985) In the Belgian context, being an outsider means not being marked as inherently sympathetic (read: biased) towards the Flemish, Walloons or Bruxellois.

In his ardent call for recognizing subjectivity in research and researchers, Peshkin (1988) speaks at length about 'taming' and 'managing' our subjectivity less there be a distortion or

projection of ourselves onto our work as we collect, analyze and interpret our study's findings. In other words, we must explore ourselves interacting with our subjects and settings so that we can draw the important distinctions between where we end and where they begin.

B.   The Case for the Case Study

"The case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon." (Merriam, 2009, p. 50)

Even the best studies reflect a series of trade-offs made throughout the research process from overall financial and time constraints to site-specific challenges of accessing the populations and information that is not or may not seem apparent to an outsider, especially one from another country or language of origin.

The concerns around the case study—focusing on a single unit or instance—center on their lack of generalizability as well as on issues of reliability, validity and researcher subjectivity. Merriam (2009) and Flyvberg (2006) both articulate and defend the meritorious undertakings of case studies in social science research. Merriam (2009) argues that "[qualitative approaches] do not attempt to eliminate what cannot be discounted. They do not attempt to simplify what cannot be simplified." She clarifies further that some of the challenges in generalizing case studies comes not from the method, but is instead "due to properties of the reality studied". (Merriam (2009) adapted from Flyvberg, 2006)

As with any study, the methods we choose must be chosen because they suit our questions and the contexts in which we find our work and attempt to find answers to these

questions. As an approach to conducting research, case studies use particular moments, people, places and events to illustrate (and even to test) how concepts, such as 'participation' are experienced and expressed. Case studies let us explore the depths of such experiences and expressions, and when coupled with other approaches, such as questionnaires, in-depth interviews and even secondary data for comparison, provide a rich portrait grounded in both the particulars of our study and in the broader contexts of social science literatures and in the experiences and expressions lived by those beyond our work.

C. Multi-Language Instruments for Multi-Lingual Respondents and Settings

Officially, Belgium is a tri-lingual country – with Dutch (Flemish), French and German linguistic communities represent approximately 59 percent, 40 percent and 1 percent of the Belgian population, respectively.[41] Throughout all official matters of governance, Brussels operates in two languages: French and Dutch, where French is spoken by a large majority of Bruxellois while the N*ederlandstaligen* (Dutch speakers) continue to maintain a linguistic minority status and are more and more being 'threatened' by non-indigenous languages such as English, Arabic and Spanish due to continued immigration since the mid-to-late 20th Century as well as the dominance of English as the *lingua franca* of the numerous international organizations, NGOs and European institutions based in the Capital Region (BCR). (Findings

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[41] Different estimates exist because official statistics on language (*recensements linguistique*) in Belgium have been forbidden since the Law of 24 July 1961. See Belgian Ministry of Justice website, accessed on 19 June 2012 from http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi_loi/loi.pl.

from my thesis work, presented in Chapter 5, will support the important role of English in the

Bruxellois workplace.)

Additionally, as findings from my own short and detailed questionnaires show, an

important reality is not reflected in the official and mono-linguistic data: there is a sizable (and

likely growing) bi and poly-lingual majority of Bruxellois who speak French and/or English at

work (or school) and a combination of French, Dutch, Arabic, Spanish, Polish or another

language or languages at home or with friends. According to Genard et al. (2009), the

dominance of the French language is even greater in the public spheres of daily life in Brussels

at more than 95 percent spoken, versus 35 percent (English) or 28 percent (Dutch), however,

these figures are mitigated by the many multinational and multicultural households so that

more than 40 percent of Brussels households are multilingual. (Genard, Corijn, Francq, &

Schaut, 2009)

This plurality of languages in my research setting presented a challenge for the

collection of data. Fortunately, thanks to working with contacts in the Zinneke Parade and in

local academic institutions; having spent five months living in Brussels prior to my first major

data collection on 22 May 2010; and speaking fluently the dominant language of Brussels

(French), I was able to construct an instrument in French with English and Dutch equivalents of

the Short Questionnaire (SQ) plus French and English versions of the Detailed Questionnaire

(DQ), discussed in detail below. (English versions of both questionnaires are included in the

Appendix; English, French and Dutch versions can be found on my thesis 'ZStudy' website,

https://sites.google.com/site/zinnekestudy2010/. The website provides thesis background

information and, eventually, will include the study findings and a public dataset wherein all individual identifiers are removed.)

Given their linguistic minority status and an educational system that trains them in Dutch, French and English, it should not be surprising that, despite the availability of a Dutch-language version, only 11 (of 167) short questionnaires were completed in Dutch on Parade Day. Further, though it cannot be determined how many Dutch-speakers did not or were not able to complete the detailed questionnaire (available in English and French only), the results from the detailed questionnaire show many native Dutch speakers participated (and answered in either English or French).[42]

Further, researcher fieldnotes (and audio recordings) include the terms in the language as reported by respondents. In most cases in the in-depth interviews and in the DQ, definitions of 'integration' and 'participation' (along with 'community') were collected in the language of preference (either French or English). As this doctoral thesis was formulated and is written in English, interview transcriptions and the data analysis of the questionnaires include English-language parallels for the French (and occasional Dutch) terms reported by respondents. Where appropriate, no direct translation is made, but an explanation of the term is provided in English.

D.   My Mixed-Method Study of Immigrant Integration and Cultural Participation

I have elected to use a mixed-method approach to studying the role that participating in culture has on integration; and I have chosen Brussels as the research setting and the Zinneke

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[42] The findings from both questionnaires will be discussed briefly later in this chapter and discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

project as the case study. I conducted my fieldwork from January 2010 through February 2011—the key period in which to study the Zinneke project leading up to the May 2010 Parade, its final preparation, implementation, and post-parade closeout and evaluation. (See Figure 3.11 for the 2-year Parade planning time line.)

Table 4.1 summarizes the various sources of data collected for this project. Omitted from this table are the informal interviews, observations and site visits conducted during the pre-Parade rehearsals. Ultimately, these sources of information have been used little in the data analysis and discussion to follow, but proved useful in informing the construction of data collection instruments and for understanding their meaning during data analysis.

Table 4.1. Overview of Data Sources

Source	Primary or Secondary	Period Covered	Sample Size	Sample Population	Language(s)	Enumeration Method
Short Questionnaire	Primary	22 May 2010	167 respondents	Parade Day Participants and Spectators	English French Dutch[43]	PAPI Face-to-face Structured 10 questions
Detailed Questionnaire	Primary	Dec 2010 – Feb 2011	65 completed; 57 partials	SQ primary sample; 122 boosted sample[44]	English French	Online and CATI Structured 63 questions
In-Depth Interviews	Primary	Jan 2010 – Dec 2010	16 interviewees 19 interviews[45]	Purposeful sample, socio-cultural and immigrant actors	English French	Face-to-face Semi-structured

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[43] As a non-native speaker of either French or Dutch, I enlisted the assistance from Flemish and French-speaking friends and Zinneke's organizers on language as well as content.

[44] This 'boosted' (and purposefully selected) sample consists of socio-cultural actors and institutions, immigrant advocates, academics and others working on cultural projects or with immigrant matters or both.

[45] Given her direct role in and long-term experience with the Parade, Myriam Stoffen, Zinneke's Director since 2005, was interviewed at length on four separate occasions.

Zinneke.org & Archives	Secondary	2000 to 2010	Not applicable	Official, unofficial Zinneke Parade documents	English French Dutch	Reviewed

As with any such undertaking, this research is situated in a particular time and place—2010-2011, Brussels, Belgium. As discussed elsewhere, the particularities of this period of political uncertainty in a linguistically divided city and country provide a stimulating backdrop to conduct research on integration. (From my own research there does not appear to be any direct connection between the concern—if not dismay or outright anger—over the lack of political and social integration in the country with that of a more 'local' integration of the country's immigrants.)

II.   RESEARCHER-GENERATED DATA (PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION)[46]

"…the use of multiple measures of a single concept can be very useful when establishing the reliability and validity of a new instrument." (Rudestam & Newton, 2007, p. 100)

As is shown in the aforementioned table, my primary data collection has consisted of three procedures: (i) fielding short, structured questionnaires during the 2010 Zinneke Parade on 22 May 2010; (ii) administering detailed, formal questionnaires over a two-month period;

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[46] The procedures employed to collect data for this study are non-invasive procedures. Additional information about my research procedures, especially as they relate to protecting human subjects, can be found in my Maryland-based IRB authorization #09-0706.

and (iii) in-depth, semi-structured personal interviews.[47] (A detailed examination of the

information found in these sources is provided in Chapter 5.)

A.   **Subject and Site Selections: The Sample – the Strategy – The Reality**

1.   Probabilistic and Non-Probabilistic Sampling

Even with near limitless resources, in the study of any sizable, complex or mobile

population or event, it is nearly impossible to establish a perfectly representative sample. Full

knowledge of all aspects of a community is rare. Probabilistic sampling attempts to

approximate representativeness of the entire population through taking a random sample of

cases thereby minimizing the influence (bias) of a researcher's purposeful selection of certain

respondents over others. This is ideal (if not expected) of research where the desired results of

the study are to be used to make generalizable statements or to derive general parameters for

the entire group. However, in instances where little or no information is available about the

population's size, characteristics or norms, the standards of unbiased and random sample

selection are problematic and of limited application. It is here that non-probabilistic sampling

strategies are better suited.

My dissertation research relies on both probabilistic (random) sampling—where the

true population size is unknown, but possibly able to be estimated (along with some descriptive

counts and population characteristics) and the selection of study subjects is as random (or

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[47] I also conducted participant observations of events—selected parade planning meetings and parade-related activities—including observational site visits of the parade route and staging areas, however, these were not systematically recorded, and are only infrequently used in the data analysis phase of this work.

stratified) as possible; and <u>non-probabilistic</u> (purposeful) sampling, where at least some of the study subjects are selected based on particular characteristics (opinions, knowledge, behaviors) relevant to the study. The data from such a sampling strategy can be used to explore the significance and symbolic meanings of our concepts ('integration' and 'participation').

Further, though not a concern exclusive to qualitatively-collected data, in the case of the in-depth interviews conducted over 2010, in the absence of a randomly-selected (representative) sample, we are not able to know for certain how well such respondents reflect the normative attitudes and behaviors of others who we did not interview.

Using non-probabilistic techniques does not diminish the quality of research. For example, in the case of hard-to-study populations or events, the careful and deliberate selection of key informants can determine the success or failure of a study. Here, resources are spent on deliberately selecting knowledgeable informants, who provide access and insight into unknown people, places or events, rather than on boosting the sample size of randomly selected respondents.

2.   <u>Accessing Study Populations, Events and Places</u>

An intentionally selected, community-endorsed informant with knowledge of attitudes and behaviors of the people, events and places is essential to accurately identify and study diverse patterns and people participating in events (like the Zinneke project), and their 'mobile moments,' such as Zinneke Parade.

It is important to establish these in-community informants/contacts as early as possible in the research planning process. Ideally, past and present event organizers can provide an

historical context and institutional memory, and have direct access to others, and also can serve as a personal reference for the researcher in obtaining future study participants. (For this research both the present and past directors of Zinneke were interviewed as well as others involved in its beginning and evolution over the years.)

As ethnographic researchers know from experience in the field, "Presence builds trust." (Adato, 2008, p. 10) Successful ethnographic fieldwork comes from establishing personal and professional credibility and research legitimacy; obtaining community buy-in; gaining access to the people, places and processes of interest; building rapport throughout the project; anticipating being flexible regarding sensitive issues; and following up, if possible, with community leaders and members.

All researchers new and experienced, qualitative and quantitative, must concern themselves with barriers to quality research, such as access to information (whether it comes directly from people or from data sets). Early, regular, honest and transparent relationships with the people involved in and impacted by one's study are fundamental for the success of a research project.

3.   Subject Selection

For my doctoral thesis, the study subjects were participants in the planning and implementation of the 2010 Zinneke Parade; the 2010 Parade performers and spectators, local socio-cultural actors, artists, academics and others working on and/or living in Brussels. They were recruited using three procedures: (i) via random selection during the Parade for the short questionnaire (SQ) enumeration; (ii) by direct contact made through ongoing 'active' and

'passive' activity in local artistic and cultural scenes and related networks;[48] and (iii) by referral through personal contacts from my involvement in Zinneke Parade 2010.

Discussed further in Chapter 5, throughout this work, age (18+), sex, race, religion or any social or economic characteristics did not enter into the selection or exclusion of research subjects, but were used as stratifying factors to ensure a diverse sample population. Though the research interest is on immigrant integration (and cultural participation), to allow for immigrant and non-immigrant comparisons the main criterion for inclusion as a subject in this study was initially participation in (or a spectator of) the 2010 Zinneke Parade.[49] Ultimately, based on analyses of the study participants from across the three primary data collection instruments, a large majority of study participants either attended Zinneke Parade in 2010, in a previous year or had at least some direct knowledge or involvement in Zinneke. (See Chapter 5 for details.)

To answer the question about the role of participating in culture on immigrant integration, participation in the 2010 Parade and 'migrant status'—subject is/is not a Belgian citizen or born in Belgium—was used for this study's sample stratification at the point of data analysis and <u>not</u> at the point of data collection. Though selection by migrant status is not easily identifiable from random selection during the Parade—the main source of obtaining participants for my study—as Chapter 5 shows, about 28 percent of the DQ study sample was not a Belgian citizen, and 34 percent was born outside Belgium.

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[48] I am here differentiating between 'active' and 'passive' involvement as attending, meeting with or joining local activities (active) and receiving e-newsletters, mailings or following a program's activity online (passive).

[49] This criterion was revisited to allow people who did not attend Zinneke Parade 2010 to participate in my study. In short, the study criterion was re-evaluated and determined to better serve the study as a sample stratifying variable and not a condition for participation in the study.

Overall, 251 study cases[50] were recorded, 167 of which were short questionnaires on Zinneke Parade 2010; 78 of which were detailed questionnaires completed in late 2010 and early 2011; and 16 of which were in-depth interviews.

4.   Site Selections

Geography is particularly important in a country separated by a language border and a city-region divided into 19 municipalities. On 22 May 2010, the Zinneke Parade itself took place in Brussels' city center, however, as described in Chapter 3, for nearly two years prior to Parade Day, thousands of people participated in numerous informational public hearings, artist-led workshops, potluck dinners and other social events and *soumonces*—neighborhood-based rehearsals—throughout the Brussels-Capital Region and in other participating *Zinnodes* across Belgium.

B.   **Short Survey on Z Day, 22 May 2010**

In many ways, one of the most important moments of data collection during my fieldwork occurred between 1:30pm and 5pm on Saturday, 22 May 2010—the time immediately before, during and after the Zinneke Parade.

The short questionnaire (SQ) was designed with two main purposes in mind: (i) obtain answers to basic questions about the Parade, its spectators (including passersby) and

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[50] The phrasing "251 study cases" reflects the number of questionnaires (and interviews) completed and not the number of individual participants, because a person may have answered both the short questionnaire and the detailed questionnaire. (This is explained further in Chapter 5.)

participants at the time of the Parade; and (ii) establish the baseline of respondents who would

eventually become the respondents for the detailed questionnaire later in the year. (See

relevant section on the detailed questionnaire below.).[51]

Further, as shown in Figure 4.1, the short questionnaire was intended to quickly elicit responses

about socio-demographic, migration-related and parade-specific information. In terms of

collection and analysis, with only one open-ended question, these data provided for relatively

fast and easy collection and comparison across all respondents. (The English version of the SQ

can be found in Appendix II.)

Figure 4.1. Content of the Short Questionnaire (SQ)

Socio-Demographic Information.	*Parade-Specific Information.*
Age (Year of birth)	Role in Zinneke Parade
Sex	Awareness of Parade
Language(s) Spoken	Previous Experience with Zinneke Parade
Place of Current Residence	Familiarity with Parade's Theme
Place of Birth	Reason(s) for Coming to/Participating in Parade
Citizenship/Nationality	[an open-ended question]
	Possibility of More Detailed Follow-Up

The SQ was originally conceived prior to my arrival in Belgium in early January 2010. Not

surprisingly, based on my time spent in the field, additional reading of relevant works on

Brussels and Belgium, and having regular contact with Zinneke organizers as well as others in

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[51] Initially, there was a third purpose to the fielding of this short questionnaire—to compare the answers provided by respondents as recorded on the SQ with the audio recording of their responses. The audio recording of interviews was dropped due to technical problems (ambient noise and related distortion, given the lively and loud parade atmosphere) and the lack of resources to secure devices for each of the four SQ enumerators.

Brussels, many improvements were made to the original draft ultimately leading to a well-designed, ease-to-use and tri-lingual questionnaire that was fielded with the help of four volunteer enumerators and with the full support (including official credentials—badges, buttons and T-shirts) of the Parade organizers resulting in a 86 percent response rate on Z Day. (See Chapter 5 for statistics on fielding the short questionnaire.)

Not only is 86 percent an impressive response rate for a study where people are 'cold contacted'—having had no previous information about the study—but equally encouraging was the number of people who provided their name and phone number or email address to be contacted in the future (and to participate in) the detailed questionnaire—61 percent or 100 of the 167 people interviewed agreed to participate in the detailed questionnaire. (See Chapter 5, Table 5.1.)

The overall success of our data collection efforts can be attributed to the following factors (in no particular order):

(1) *The weather*. Contrary to the generally-held view of Brussels weather as perpetually cold and gray, Saturday, 22 May 2010 was sunny and warm. As shown in Chapter 5, weather-related answers were often provided by study participants as one of the reasons that they attended the parade. Further, it appears to have had an impact on overall parade turnout and on willingness to participate in our study;

(2) *Credentialing and recognition*. Zinneke Parade organizers provided us with their signature red T-shirts, badges indicating 'Zinneke Team,' and permission to be on the Parade route as it was moving through the city center. The organizing

committee was informed of our presence and overall very supportive of the

project. In turn, they informed other parade participants of our presence during the

parade.

(3)   *Enthusiasm and training of enumerators*. My fellow Z Day enumerators were

recruited from: Craigslist, local universities (incl. Vrije Universiteit Brussel,

Université de Liège and the Université Libre de Bruxelles) and from local art and

cultural organizations which I contacted directly and who were contacted by

Zinneke organizers encouraged to volunteer to help administer my study. I held a

short training session for them; provided them with advanced copies of the

questionnaires; set the areas of enumeration along the parade route; and

establishing the purpose of the study as well as some 'how-to' strategies for

conducting fieldwork for such an event. (The SQ Enumerator Guide is included in

the Appendix.)

(4)   *Celebratory event*. Zinneke Parade is neither a riot, a protest nor an overtly partisan

political expression, but instead is a celebratory event planned and executed by and

for the people of Brussels and others passing by.

In order to assess how and whether the SQ study sample may have differed from those

who did not participate, interviewers were instructed to record the language of any attempted

but refused interview as well as the apparent parade role (spectator or participant), age, sex

and ethnic background of the person who declined to participate. (From this information, a separate data file was created.)

1.   Z Day Sample Selection (22 May 2010)

The short questionnaire was administered immediately before, during and immediately after the 2.5-hour parade. The sample of short questionnaire (SQ) respondents was randomly selected and consisted of people attending (spectators) or participating in the 2010 Zinneke Parade in Brussels city center.

As a strategy to minimize sample selection biases for choosing some and not others to participate, potential respondents were selected according to a simple randomization strategy (as described in the SQ Enumerator Guide):

"LOCATE A RESPONDENT (as randomly as possible by location, age, sex, other characteristics). [Standardize AND randomize your spatial selection of respondents, for example, from front, middle, back of spectator and parade spots]."

After a brief on-site meeting and distribution of 50 two-sided questionnaires (French-English and French-Dutch) to each SQ interviewer, we moved to our separate designated starting positions along the parade route from which each interviewer would administer his/her questionnaires. (See Appendix II for the parade route and SQ enumerator starting positions.)

As there was no official estimate of Zinneke Parade attendance by spectator characteristics, the representativeness of these findings for the population in attendance cannot be externally validated, however, with 167 people sampled (74% spectators; 26%

participants), and some comparisons with other findings, the sample population appears to reflect the linguistic and ethnic diversity of Brussels.[52]

2.   Enumeration Onsite and In-Motion

Our goal was to maximize the SQ sample response rate (for obtaining the highest levels of validity, reliability and generalizability possible) while minimizing the researcher's intrusion into the subject's and event's natural setting.

To inform the Parade Day fieldwork, I relied partially on previous works by such researchers as Seidler et al. (1976) and Favre, Fillieule and Mayer (1997) who, after nearly a decade of research into suitable measures of collective actions, developed the INSURA method (INdividual SUrveys in RAllies [sic])—crafted particularly for enumerating people and events in motion, particularly rallies and protests.

Initially, both PAPI (paper assisted personal interviews) and CAPI (computer assisted personal interviews) were envisioned for the SQ fieldwork. However, despite several weeks of advanced planning including designing and testing of the computer-based questionnaire and software, SurveyDeck-SurveyGizmo, on Parade Day the handheld approach to interviewing and recording information proved inefficient, cumbersome and slow and was abandoned after completing six interviews.[53]

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[52] Some '*estimations faibles*' (low estimates) indicated that about 85,000 people attended the 2010 Parade, and we know from ZP's numbers that upwards of 2,900 people participated in planning and creating the Parade (though not necessarily this many participated on the day of the parade).
[53] Data collected from these six 'handheld' (CAPI) interviews have been included for analysis with all PAPI responses.

At the end of SQ enumeration, all study interviewers consistently reported having had

success with the paper version and found almost no instances where a questionnaire being

administered was abandoned or unclear to respondents.

3.   From Collection to Analysis: SQ-10 data coding and processing

"Data are the preconstituted theories and concepts of participants, and their meaning can be
gauged only in relation to the context of their production." (Burawoy in Burawoy, 1991, p. 4)

Seldom included in either peer-review journals or doctoral dissertations, the 'behind-

the-scenes' decision-making path we take to design, collection, code and analyze is, in this

researcher's mind, too critical to not warrant discussion. This step and the choices made during

it, such as how and what to recode of the collection variables and the rendering of open-ended

responses into analyzable data, determine the extent to which such data can be used for both

qualitative and quantitative forms of analysis.

At this post-collection stage, the questions have already been asked, therefore the

parameters of what our data are—and not yet what our data mean—have been set. This step is

the reflective process on the extent to which data are usable and on how best to use these data

to answer our research questions. It is here where we create our codebooks and where, in this

pre-analysis stage, we fully realize the usability (and limitations) of our collection efforts,

including how well our questions were understood by our respondents.

Also, in the case of multi-language data collection—such as English, French and Dutch—

additional effort is spent on how to merge similar or same respondent answers across

languages. Such decisions have important implications especially given my interest in explaining

the public's understanding and use of such terms as 'integration' and 'participation.' (For example, to what extent does the concept of 'integration' for English-speaking respondents differ in meaning from '*intégration'* for French-speaking respondents?)

As is apparent from looking at the SQ-10 questionnaire, both open-ended and closed-ended questions were asked, as well as additional 'administrative' information was collected that was not asked, but was recorded by the interviewers.[54]

Table 4.2 illustrates how SQ data were collected and then recoded (where necessary) for data analysis. It is noteworthy that these are not a one-to-one recode, wherein the recoded values reflect the most popular responses plus the detail provided in the two "specify" (open-ended) response options of the question as asked. In other words, the open-ended (detailed) response options provided to SQ respondents yielded relatively sizable categories (groupings) of responses that were unanticipated at the time of data collection, and were, therefore, included for data analysis.

Table 4.2 Short Questionnaire Item: "How did you hear about today's parade?"

Collection Variables
(a) [Internet, T.V., Radio, Newspaper]
(b) [Poster, Flyer, Billboard]
(c) [Other Zinneke-Sponsored Event]
(d) [Friend or Family]
(e) [Organization] (Specify):
(f) [Other] (Specify):

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[54] These administrative items include: The apparent sex and Parade role (Spectator / Participant) and language of the interview, plus the interviewer's initials and an assigned ID number to the specific interview being conducted. These were recorded but were not asked so as to reduce the interview time, but were collected due to their perceived importance in answering the research questions of this project, and for assessing variation and biases across interviewers.

Analysis Variables
Friend, Family, OTR personal contact
Media or Advertising
ORG art-culture or neighborhood
OTR passing by
OTR previous ZP experience
OTR sources

More complicated recoding had to be used for other questions of the SQ, where subsequent

analysis would require more intricate distinctions, such as in answering the question: "Do you

know what is the theme of today's parade?" where respondents not only could report: "Yes,"

"No," or "Not sure," but if answering yes, could then provide what they thought it was. Of note,

several (26 percent) of all SQ respondents reported knowing the parade theme, but identified it

incorrectly.[55]

As the survey question: "Which language(s) do you speak at home?" allowed for

multiple responses including an open-ended "Other" response, recodes were created based on

which languages were most often cited (French, Dutch, English, Arabic and Spanish—which was

not originally included as a listed option on the form), and were recoded as dummy variables

for later quantitative analysis.

Among the more important items collected—in terms of its meaning to this project—

were the answers to the open-ended question: "Why did you decide to [come to / participate

in] today's parade?" By design, this question was open-ended to allow for the greatest possible

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[55] The Parade theme was the French-Dutch combination *À table / Aan tafel* ('At' or 'Coming to the Table' in English). Taken as correct responses to this question were the individual French and Dutch language answers as well as any derivations, such as 'La table' (the table).

response variability and enumerators were instructed to note the respondents wording as accurately as possible. Multiple responses were recorded if the respondent gave multiple reasons. As shown in Table 4.3, once collected the categories were reduced to summary groups for analysis.

Table 4.3 Short Questionnaire Item:
"Why did you decide to [come to / participate in today's parade?"

Was asked to attend or participate
The weather; a beautiful day
Brussels
An outing w/ family or friends
Know someone at/in ZP
Was nearby
No previous ZP experience
Other reason
Previous ZP experience
ZP theme or ambiance

Lastly, these collection-to-analysis strategies were similarly employed during the processing of DQ data.

C.   Detailed Questionnaire (DQ): December 2010–February 2011

The Detailed Questionnaire (DQ) represents the second major source of data collected, and was fielded—primarily via an online questionnaire—during the period December 2010 to February 2011.[56]

1.   <u>The DQ Content</u>

Along with the in-depth interviews, the Detailed Questionnaire (DQ) is the primary source of information to explore the main questions of this research. Unlike the in-depth interviews, the DQ is a formal, structured instrument for collecting information that can 'easily' be compared across respondents, providing for more generalizable findings and conclusions.

Appendix II includes an outline of the full range of topics covered by the DQ instrument.[57] The themes elaborated in this questionnaire include (in no particular order):

- Socio-Demographic Information (e.g., sex, education, age, language, religion)

- Brussels, Belgium (e.g., residence, citizenship, artistic and cultural scenes and spaces)

- Zinneke Parade and Participating in Culture (e.g., its success and role of culture in society)

- Cultural and Artistic Activities (e.g., participant and spectator involvement)

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[56] The DQ was intended to be fielded within three months after the SQ data collection on 22 May 2010. Due to the death of a close family member in late May this work was immediately halted and was restarted in mid-November. It is impossible to know for sure the impact that this delay had on response rates though an approximate response rate can be estimated because a DQ question included whether the respondent participated in the SQ enumeration in May 2010.

[57] Though not of primary interest here, because of overlapping samples (described later in this chapter) the DQ can also be used to confirm responses of individual SQ respondents by merging and matching the data files and comparing across similar/same items found in both questionnaires.

- Association and Participation (e.g., involvement in other forms, other groups)

- Immigrant Integration (e.g., opinion, 'integration' defined)

- Identity and Sense of Belonging (e.g., Bruxellois, self-identification)

- Sense of place (neighborhood and city-level)

The only exclusions of participants in the detailed questionnaire (DQ) are those where a person did not agree to the terms of the Informed Consent or that she or he was under 18 years of age (born after 1992). After the online introduction to the questionnaire, the participants are asked: "Do you agree to participate in this study?" (The English version of the Informed Consent form can be found in Appendix II.)

2.   The Sample

The initial DQ sample was derived from those participants in the SQ study on 22 May 2010 (called heretofore the Primary DQ Sample), and was supplemented by 122 additional potential respondents from socio-cultural, academic, immigration-specific organizations and other people whose contact information was collected over the course of 11 months of fieldwork, called heretofore the Boosted DQ Sample. The identification and purposeful selection of this additional sample arose from my increased familiarity and participation in the arts and cultural scenes of Brussels and from personal contacts made primarily within the context of this work.[58]

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[58] For purposes of analysis and comparison, Boosted DQ sample respondents can be derived from DQ data if they responded "no" to either question 7: "Did you attend the Zinneke Parade on 22 May 2010 held in the centre of

Given the six-month delay in follow-up after the SQ data collection on 22 May 2010 and to ensure a high rate of participation, several attempts were made to contact both the Primary DQ Sample and Boosted DQ Sample.[59] An email was sent (containing both French and English messages) and an oral script was developed (in French, English and a shorter version in Dutch) for calling Primary DQ sample respondents where phone numbers were provided during SQ data collection. (The initial email and phone contact messages are included in Appendix II.)

Steps in contacting DQ samples and follow-up:

(1) DQ posted in English and French on ZStudy website. (mid-December 2010)

(2) For those who provided email addresses on 22 May, the Primary DQ Sample was contacted via email. (mid-December 2010)

(3) 1st follow-up email reminder was sent to SQ participants who had email. (early January 2011)

(4) First email contact with Boosted DQ Sample with an introductory message regarding the overall project and how I came to contact them. (mid-January 2011)

(5) 2nd contact (in some cases, follow-up) via telephone to the Primary DQ Sample subjects, in cases where either email failed or respondent only provided a phone number during 22 May interview. (mid-January to late February 2011)

Brussels?" (28%, low estimate) or question 8: On the day of the Parade – 22 May 2010 – did you answer a brief survey about Zinneke Parade?" (47%).

[59] A quick examination of the dates of online DQ completion confirms the benefit of sending out *rappels* (reminders) to the sample, noting spikes in questionnaire completion on the day of and days immediately following the *rappels*.

(6)   Final reminder email sent to both Primary and Boosted DQ Samples. (end-

February)

(7)   DQ closed and taken offline. (early March 2011)

3.   Mode of Data Collection

The main mode of data collection for the detailed questionnaire was an instrument

posted online at www.surveygizmo.com. Targeted respondents (from either the Primary or

Boosted DQ samples) were provided a direct link to the detailed questionnaire available online.

The questionnaire was not publicized elsewhere, but respondents were encouraged to inform

others of the study and the questionnaire. Subsequently, the questionnaire was made publicly

available via a link on the ZStudy website.[60]

For respondents who either did not provide an email address, did not have ready access

to the internet, or who simply preferred to complete the questionnaire over the phone, a CATI

approach was used where respondents were administered the questions and instructions as

they appeared in the online version. (Of note, only three of the DQ respondents elected to

complete their questionnaire via CATI.)

4.   From Collection to Analysis: DQ data coding and processing

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[60] Such non-targeted sample respondents are easily distinguishable from the Primary DQ sample respondents as they did not participate in the initial SQ enumeration in May 2010—a question asked on the detailed questionnaire. In hindsight, I wish that I would have asked an additional administrative question such as: "Where did you learn of this study?" to further distinguish the Boosted DQ Sample respondents from those not directly contacted to participate.

Like the SQ data coding and processing, the DQ results were downloaded from Surveygizmo into Excel for rendering into usable data—including the recoding of several variables for analysis—and then exported to PSPP for quantitative analysis.[61]

Many more items (63 in total) were asked on the detailed questionnaire including several open-ended questions (some with open-ended response options) to allow respondents themselves the greatest freedom in using their own words to describe such concepts as 'integration,' 'community' and 'Bruxellois' along with describing their own neighborhood.

D.   In-Depth Interviews (IDINT) – January 2010 to December 2010

Semi-structured interviews allow researchers to engage their respondents with a relatively formal format to ensure that key concepts and themes are addresses across all interviewees while at the same time allowing researchers the opportunity to probe more deeply—and the interviewees to explain more fully—particularly 'rich moments,' ideas or experiences for a more complete picture of their answers to an otherwise standardized set of questions.[62]

Overall, 19 in-depth interviews were conducted in person between January and December 2010, including four interviews with the current Zinneke Director, Myriam Stoffen. The personal interviews took place in various locations including: Zinneke Headquarters, local universities, in automobiles during commuting hours, in local cafés and in interviewees' offices

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[61] PSPP is an open source and freeware version of SPSS available from http://www.gnu.org/software/pspp/pspp.html.

[62] Shih (in Desipio et al., 2007) illustrates well the uses of semi-structured interviews in migration-themed research.

at various times of day and night throughout the enumeration period. These interviews took on average 1-to-1.5 hours each, significantly longer than either the SQ (about two minutes per interview) or the DQ (about 30 minutes via CATI).[63]

The people purposefully selected for in-depth interviews included: current and former Zinneke organizers, academics, local artists of foreign or ethnic minority origin, organizers and directors of the local (Bruxellois) artistic and cultural spaces and organizations.

To gain a more detailed understanding of Zinneke's organizational activities, structure and history, multiple follow-up interviews were conducted with Myriam Stoffen, Zinneke's Director since 2005. Myriam was my key informant throughout the fieldwork in Brussels where she provided me with access and further contacts, historical insight and a contemporary context for the 2010 Zinneke Parade; she also provided comments on the short questionnaire content and structure prior to its fielding. Additionally, interviews were conducted with Zinneke's founder, Marcel de Munnynck, as well as other current Zinneke staff.

The content of all IDINT interviews was used to inform the design of the two (short and detailed) questionnaires and to more deeply explore the information provided in the short questionnaires, to understand the meaning, expectations and the impact that participating in the planning of Zinneke 2010 has had from the perspective of the subjects themselves.

The in-depth interviews were nearly all audio recorded and detailed notes of each interview were made at the time of (and then revisited immediately following) the interview to

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[63] During the pre-test phase, 10 instrument testers averaged about 45 minutes each, however, the final version of the DQ differed significantly in both length (much shorter), format, ordering etc. from the originally-tested version. Statistics were not recorded as to how long respondents took to complete the final DQ questionnaire online.

ensure that the researcher's notes were legible and coincided with what was recorded by the digital recorder, and to minimize the risk of recall bias associated with a time lag between the point of record and later review. Later on, interview summary transcriptions and translations were completed; summaries (in English or French) were written and key citations and passages were analyzed and are included in Chapter 5 for discussion.

E.   Other Zinneke Data Collected or Reviewed

In addition to the short and detailed questionnaire and interview data, observations were conducted and Zinneke archival records were reviewed. These supplement the main sources of data collected which have been detailed above. As these resources were less rigorously treated than those above they have not been used systematically as a basis for any conclusions in this work, instead, they help to contextualize the findings from my work and also are sources of potential research to come.

1.   Archival Records – Zinneke Parade, 2000-2010

In addition to primary data collection, archival Zinneke project records have been examined. Zinneke archival records are historical documents dating back to planning the first Zinneke Parade in 2000 and include paper, electronic, and audio-video-photographic records of the planning and execution of previous biennial Parades (2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008). These were reviewed to learn about the organizational history of Zinneke, its participants, and its stated objectives achieved or otherwise.

2.	(Not only visual) Observation Site Visits: February 2010 to May 2010

Perhaps it is in this mode of fieldwork where participation-observation was fully utilized during my dissertation fieldwork.

Data collection here consisted of:

(1)	Observing *soumonces* (dress rehearsals of the parade by the *Zinnodes* in their own neighborhoods);

(2)	Conducting short, informal and impromptu interviews with *Zinnode* rehearsal participants in preparation of selected soumonces;

(3)	Conducting short, informal and impromptu interviews with rehearsal route spectators during selected soumonces in Ixelles and Molenbeek—two municipalities of the Capital Region with large immigrant or ethnic minority populations;

(4)	Photographing and jotting details of some of the physical characteristics of Zinneke parade rehearsal and publicity 'routes'; and,

(5)	Audio recording and jottings during drumming and dance rehearsals and Zinneke-sponsored public hearings in center city *quartiers.*

III.	**BENCHMARKING AGAINST AVAILABLE/EXISTING DATA**

Though the data collected for this study are neither intended nor expected to reflect the opinions or behaviors of the entire European, Belgian or even Bruxellois populations, some comments are necessary to explain the (statistical) context in which my primary data were collected and analyzed.

A.   Belgian-based Data Sources (Accessibility, Utility and Limitations)

"As more and more immigrants and descendants of immigrants today hold Belgian nationality, they 'disappear' from the official immigration statistics, which are primarily based on a distinction between nationalities and not on place of birth." (Martiniello & Rea, 2003, p. 6)

Unlike the official foreign-born statistics of Canada or the United States, once an immigrant acquires Belgian citizenship, he/she is no longer included in the 'foreign population' counts, but is classified as a Belgian citizen, no different (statistically) than any Belgian born in the country (of several generations of Belgian ancestors). Thusly, non-disaggregated official statistics prevent us from studying the full size of the immigrant population—naturalized Belgian or not—their characteristics or their impact (or integration) into Belgian society and local communities. (A database of all types of acquisitions of citizenship is maintained by the Belgian Immigration Service, but they publish no statistics based on these data. (Gemenne, 2009)

In Belgium, during and in the period after the large and steady intake of immigrants after 1960, nationality seemed to be a good proxy when studying these 'ethnic groups'. But eventually, when it became clear that a lot of these immigrant groups would stay, a lot of them acquired Belgian citizenship. Nationality was not an appropriate indicator anymore for ethnic group membership and nationality at birth or place of birth (or a combination), were more adequate. Now, we find ourselves in the situation that the descendants of these 'original' immigrants are born in Belgium and also have its citizenship, as a result of which also these indicators are also not sufficient anymore. (Hanquinet, Vandezande, Jacobs, & Swyngedouw, 2006, p. 29)

However, such limitations may be in the process of changing. It appears that the Belgian

Government has decided to release migration data that could enhance our ability to

understand the outcomes of successive generations of immigrants in the Belgian territory.

According to Perrin and Schonvaere (2009), "[r]ecently (September 2007), Statistics Belgium

announced its intention to regularly publish data by citizenship at birth <u>and</u> country of birth

(Direction Général Statistique et Information Economique, 2007)." (p. 8, emphasis mine)

1.   <u>Official Belgian Data on Migration and Integration: Currently, a statistical challenge to</u>

        <u>studying immigrant integration in Belgium</u>

        "Without exception, the National Institute of Statistics may not conduct any investigation or

        statistical study into an individual's private matters, notably their sexual life or political,

        philosophical or religious opinions or activities, or race or ethnic origin."[64] (Author's translation

        of 1962 Belgian Law on Public Statistics (revised 1985, current 2009), art.82)

        The legal prohibition of collecting and releasing data on ethnic origin, established in the

1962 Belgian Law on Public Statistics, limits the ability of researchers, policy-makers and the

public at large from using official statistics to understand the degree to which immigrant and

ethnic minority populations face discrimination and are integrated over time (and over

generations).

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[64] *La loi relative à la statistique publique* of 4 July 1962; revised 1 August 1985; in current form, 19 May 2009:
CHAPITRE VIIbis, Art. 24quinquies -
http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi_loi/change_lg.pl?language=fr&la=F&cn=1962070430&table_name=loi.
[Accessed 20 June 2012.]

For users of Belgian official statistics on foreign ethnic minority populations, further barriers inhibit learning about the full magnitude, characteristics, and impact of immigrants and their descendants on Belgian society. "In Belgium the accessibility of dataset is not always easy, especially for individual data… Regarding aggregate data, the access is less restrictive and generally inexpensive." (Perrin & Schonvaere, 2009, p. 15) While providing aggregated data about the stocks and flows of international migrants (at the national, regional and local—even municipality-level) and publishing annual and special reports on migration, Statistics Belgium limits the release of individual data on international migration for the public's own organization, analysis and interpretation. Moreover, not unlike the official statistics of the United States Federal Government, data on immigrant populations are not located in any one federal agency. Furthermore, they are not necessarily collected for statistical (or analytical) purposes, but are instead collected for administrative reasons whose collection and or disclosure may be expressly mandated or forbidden by law.[65]

In Belgium, the National Registry is the principal source of information for data on migrant flows as well as the demographic characteristics of the stock (resident) population. In addition to omitting short-term migrants: 'visitors' of less than three-months—following the United Nations 1998 guidelines on defining international migrants—university students and illegal migrants, the National Registry excludes people seeking asylum who are awaiting a decision by the State.

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[65] As of 2009, Statistics Belgium was developing projects to fall in line with the EU regulations regarding the collection and dissemination of population statistics.

Since the [special asylum] register is neither included in the general population register

nor in the aliens register, asylum seekers are not taken into account in the statistics on

the foreign population residing in Belgium. This is a major bias of immigration data

collected in Belgium. (Gemenne, 2009, p. 53)

Furthermore, international civil servants, such as employees of the institutions of the European

Union and NATO add to an estimated 100,000 undercounted residents of Europe's capital.[66]

Additionally, data on visa issuance and on Belgians abroad is considered to be

inconsistent and unreliable as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which issues visas through Belgian

diplomatic posts abroad, does not maintain a central database on visas issued or Belgians

registered abroad, leaving data quality and comprehensiveness to be determined at individual

posts overseas.

One of the main shortcomings of Belgian statistics on immigration is the fact that some

data exist, but cannot be used for statistical purposes. This is the case for data regarding

[…] ethnicity, since the INS [Institut national de statistique] is not allowed to publish

statistics that include these variables…INS statistics are based on nationality, and

therefore do not take into account those who have acquired Belgian nationality after

their birth (in Belgium or abroad). (Gemenne, 2009)

A population census has been conducted in Belgium approximately every ten years since 1846.

However, field-based census enumerations, like in Canada and the United States, were

abolished following the 2001 *Enquête socio-économique générale* (General Socio-Economic

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[66] Corijn and Vloeberghs (2009) estimate upwards of 16,000 people currently reside in the BCR and work for, or in some associated capacity with, the institutions of the European Union based in Brussels.

Survey). Official population statistics are now almost exclusively based on registries and other

administrative sources. The recent 2011 population statistics of Belgium are curiously named

'*Census*' (using the English language term), yet are derived from the linkage of several

administrative databases without any field enumeration. (Statistics Belgium, 2009)

Phalet and Swyngedouw (2003) explain some of the important shortcomings of Belgian

decennial census data and why most researchers interested in the integration of ethnic

minority and immigrant populations look to other sources or collect their own:

> …the census omits crucial information that would be needed to analyse properly the
>
> emerging ethnic stratification of Belgian society. Thus, for reasons of privacy and
>
> political sensitivity, it does not include questions on language, religion, ethnic or class
>
> origins. Consequently, not only are we unable to disentangle the impact of ethnic and
>
> class origins on second-generation attainment, but also this second generation is rapidly
>
> becoming 'statistically invisible.' (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003, p. 6)

2.   Unofficial (and Qualitative) Belgian Data on Migration and Integration

> "Until the mid 1990s, public policies and debates with regard to immigrants in Belgium have not
> relied on (quasi) representative statistical data sources. Admittedly, this statistical void stands in
> stark contrast with a relative wealth of mostly qualitative case studies." (Phalet & Swyngedouw,
> 2003, p. 4)

Where official statistics on immigration in Belgium are either unavailable or incomplete,

academic institutions and NGOs have filled in the data gaps, especially in the areas of

integration, estimating generational data (e.g., first and second generation immigrants) where

immigrants born abroad and immigrants born in Belgium (those without Belgian citizenship) are distinguishable for purposes of analysis. (For examples here, see Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13.) Additionally, noteworthy among such efforts is the Charles Ullens Initiative, a proposed comprehensive and inter-university survey on immigrant minority integration in Belgium, supported by the King Baudouin Foundation.[67] (Gemenne, 2009) Finally, in the mid-1990s researchers fielded a large quantitative survey in Brussels to study Moroccan and Turkish migrants and their "immigrant incorporation on various dimensions including social, economic, political and linguistic aspects". (Bousetta, Gsir, & Jacobs, 2005, p. 27)

IV.   CHAPTER SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

As I have detailed throughout this chapter, the use of mixed methods is not only a selection of more than one technique to conduct research, but it also, and more importantly, a deliberate attempt to maximize the benefit and utility of the information received (via data collection) and the information we wish to understand (data analysis) through the purposeful selection of instruments suited to answer our specific research questions.

Data are rendered useful by insuring that both the intent of the researcher <u>and</u> the interpretation and response of the study participant are compatible and consistent as possible throughout the research process. The data processing (pre-analysis) phase of research, discussed here, highlights an often overlooked but critical series of steps in the shift from what

---

[67] Though promising in scope and content, the Initiative's proposed Belgian National Survey on Immigrant Minorities (BNSiM) appears to have stalled, not receiving the necessary support to move from design to implementation. (Jacobs, 2010)

we ask, with what we are told, to how we understand and discuss such data. The decisions

about how to collect data differ from those made about what to do with the data once they are

ready for analysis. This data processing phase acts as a bridge between the two phases of

collection and analysis, the first of which, along with the explanations on the construction and

fielding of these instruments, has been treated here.

In the following chapters we will explore how these data, once conceptualized and

operationalized are now analyzed and understood.

CHAPTER FIVE. STUDY FINDINGS:
Creative Participation, Integration and Urban Belonging in Brussels.

I. INTRODUCTION

This doctoral thesis explores the role that participating in local cultural projects plays in the process of integration in contemporary European urban society. The findings from my short and detailed questionnaires and in-depth interviews carried out in 2010 and early 2011 confirm that immigrants are neither mere spectators of the arts nor are they limited to performing and attending 'immigrant art,' but are instrumental participants in the shifting forms of creative expression and in changing the political and public discourses of 'the migrant' and of local identities, particularly in the Belgian capital. Further, Brussels as an urban space for these artistic and cultural expressions has undergone fundamental change in the past decade or so and, as the findings here show, the very notion of what it means to be Bruxellois is not tied to any one single allegiance of place or language (neither uniquely French nor Dutch-speaking). Equally, as Europe's capital becomes ever more international (in its diversity of origins, religions, languages and so on) the emergence and success of such projects as the biennial Zinneke Parade mark an evolving urban construction where place-based socio-cultural projects invoke the 'bastard (zinneke) pride' that has (re)surfaced in a context without a fixed, strict or universally-recognized definition of the local identity, where over one-third of the population has origins outside Belgium and where 'creative participation' in local cultural projects promotes cooperation and cohesion (integration) for Brussels' residents. Though not true in every case, this study finds that these creative meeting-encounters (*rencontres*) have an impact

at the individual and institutional levels both during and after the moment of event participation.

In this chapter I present the results based on quantitative and as well as qualitative analyses of responses to the short and detailed questionnaires and in-depth interviews.[68] In the words of numerous researchers previously employing mixed methods, in some instances I 'qualitize' quantitative data and 'quantitize' qualitative data.[69] In the end, it is through the triangulation of these various strategies that I arrive at my conclusions elaborated in Chapter 6.

A.   Study Samples

As discussed in Chapter 4., through a mixed-method approach I designed, collected and analyzed data from three sources: (1) a short (10-item) questionnaire (SQ); (2) a detailed (63-item) questionnaire (DQ); and, (3) a series of in-depth interviews (IDINT). What follows is a brief review of the study's sample populations followed by the presentation of results from this mixed-methods research presented in line with the themes of the research question: (creative) participation, (social) integration and identity, and urbanity (Brussels).

1.   Study Recruitment and Sample Selections

As detailed more fully in Chapter 4, the short questionnaire (SQ) was administered immediately before, during and immediately after the 2.5-hour Zinneke Parade held on 22 May

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[68] PSPP and Weft QDA software were used in the quantitative and qualitative data analysis, respectively: http://www.gnu.org/software/pspp/ and http://www.pressure.to/qda/.
[69] See Small (2011) for his comprehensive coverage of the recent mixed method literature and the use of these and related terms.

2010. The sample of short questionnaire respondents was randomly selected and consisted of

people attending (spectators) or participating in the parade in Brussels' city center. As a

strategy to minimize sample selection biases for choosing some and not others for the study,

potential respondents were selected according to a simple randomization strategy (as

described in the SQ Enumerator Guide in Appendix II.)

The initial sample for the subsequent detailed questionnaire (DQ) was derived from

those participants in the SQ study on 22 May 2010 (called heretofore the Primary DQ Sample),

and was supplemented with a purposefully selected sample of respondents from socio-cultural,

academic, immigrant-related affiliations and institutions and other people whose contact

information was collected during 11 months of fieldwork in 2010, called heretofore the Boosted

DQ Sample. Responses to open-ended DQ questions provide additional insight into the how's

and why's of participation in cultural projects and other activities, integration and identity as

well as respondents' thoughts about the Zinneke project.[70]

For the in-depth interviews, 16 people were interviewed in person in Belgium using a

semi-structured format during the period January 2010 to December 2010.[71] The people

purposefully selected for in-depth interviews included: current and former Zinneke organizers,

academics, local artists, activists, organizers and directors of the local (Bruxellois) artistic and

socio-cultural spaces and institutions.

In terms of sample representability, with its probabilistic random selection, I would

argue that the SQ sample reflects a reasonable cross-sectional snapshot of the Brussels-Capital

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[70] These more detailed, 'open' responses were translated into English (from French or Dutch, where applicable).
[71] Due to scheduling difficulties, one interview, planned for 2010, was ultimately conducted in May 2011.

Region's population in terms of basic, socio-demographic, collected with the possible exception of sex, discussed later in this chapter. Also, as previously discussed, the DQ sample is a self-selected sample of SQ respondents plus a supplemental (boosted) sample of formal and informal actors from Brussels' socio-cultural sector, such as individual artists and representatives from cultural institutions who can be said to reflect at least the Bruxellois interested in (if not participating in) various forms of artistic and cultural activities. Finally, the non-probabilistic sample of people interviewed represents some of the more informed opinions of culture, Brussels and immigration.

2.   Basic Statistics from the 10-item Short Questionnaire (SQ)

Shown in Table 5.1, SQ results originate from the 10-item questionnaires administered face-to-face on 22 May 2010 immediately before, during and after the Zinneke Parade.[72]

Table 5.1 also shows the quality statistics for the SQ data collection by interviewer, including the number of attempted short interviews (195), the overall response rate (86%), the percent conducted in each language (83% in French) and the percent providing contact information (phone and/or email addresses) for participation in the subsequent detailed questionnaire (DQ) (60.5%). Overall, as these data show, and for reasons explained in Chapter 4, the short questionnaire was an overwhelming data collection success.

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[72] The table shows 167 completed interviews. Two cases were dropped for analysis as the respondents were under 18 years of age, a requirement of the survey sample.

Table 5.1 Short Questionnaire (SQ) Quality Statistics

Table SQ1. Short Questionnaire (SQ) Statistics (Date of Collection: 22 May 2010)

INTRVWR / ITEM	Attempted Interview count	Refusal count	Respon se%	Total Interviews Completed	Language of Completed Interview					Projected DQ respondents (Q9=Y)	%DQ (SQ9=Y)
					EN	FR	NL	DK	%FR		
INT1	42	2	95.2%	40	4	31	5	0	77.5%	27	67.5%
INT2	33	2	93.9%	31	5	26	0	0	83.9%	26	83.9%
INT3	45	9	80.0%	36	2	29	3	2	80.6%	14	38.9%
INT4	27	4	85.2%	23	2	21	0	0	91.3%	10	43.5%
INT5	48	11	77.1%	37	3	31	3	0	83.8%	24	64.9%
TOTAL	**195**	**28**	**85.6%**	**167**	**16**	**138**	**11**	**2**	**82.6%**	**101**	**60.5%**

Source: Author's tabulations.

DQ = detailed questionnaire. EN=english, FR=french, NL=dutch.

Table 5.2 contains the frequencies from several of the key variables in the Short Questionnaire. In terms of the parade, about one in four SQ respondents participated in (as opposed to being spectators) of the May 22, 2010 parade. As discussed in Chapter 2, the notion of 'participation' is not strictly limited to 'active' participation in the parade itself, and, will be explored in detail below. About half (53%) of the SQ sample attended (or participated in) their first Zinneke Parade in 2010.

Table 5.2 also shows information about the socio-demographic backgrounds of the SQ sample, particularly in terms of residency, citizenship, birthplace and language. Reflecting both the specific location of the parade and of its local draw, 73 percent of people completing the interviewer-administered questionnaire lived in one of the 19 municipalities of the Brussels-Capital Region in 2010. Reflecting the diversity of this local population, 54 percent was born outside of Belgium and 45 percent was a citizen of another country; 59 percent of respondents were Belgian citizens of whom about eight percent had at least one other citizenship besides

Belgian. Also, the SQ sample population was majority male: sex ratio of 156 (males) to 100

(females) with a sample median age of 35 years. In terms of language, though 83 percent of the

questionnaires were answered in French—consistent with other language estimates for the

city-region—about 37 percent of the people identified speaking more than one language at

home, supporting the findings of 'linguistic plurality' reported by local experts. (Corijn &

Vloeberghs, 2009)

Table 5.2 Selected Frequencies of the SQ Sample

Sex ratio (# male*100 / # female)	156
Median age (Year of birth: 1975)	35 years
% Participating in 2010 Zinneke Parade	25%
% Attending (S/P) first Zinneke Parade	53%
% Residing in Brussels (Capital Region)	73%
% Belgian citizens	59%
% Citizens of other countries	45%
% Polynationals (Belgian + other citizenship)	8%
% Born outside Belgium	54%
% Speaking +1 language at home	37%
% Interviews conducted in French	83%
% Providing information for follow-up q'aire	61%
Source: Author's calculations (n = 165)	

If we disaggregate further the residency of those living in Brussels we find that, with the

exception of one of the most affluent western municipalities, Woluwe-Saint-Pierre (Sint-

Pieters-Woluwe in Dutch), SQ respondents came from across the Brussels-Capital Region, with

the more than half living in Brussels centre (28%)[73], Ixelles (12%), Schaerbeek (10%) and Saint-

Gilles (10%). (See Figure 5.1.)

Figure 5.1. SQ Sample by Residence in the Brussels-Capital Region.
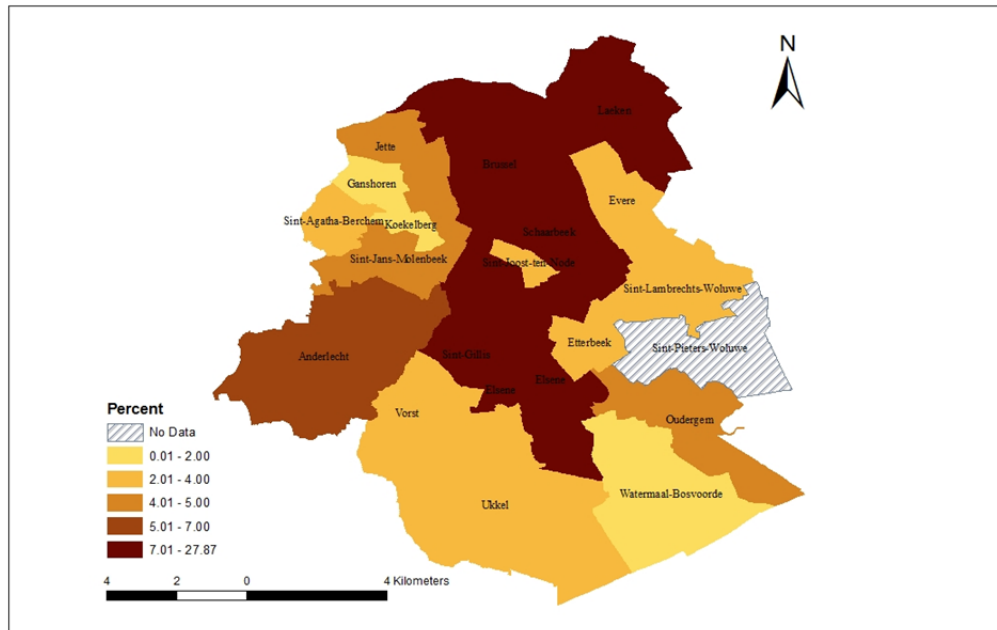
Source: Author's calculations. SQ data.

For those respondents living outside of the Brussels city-region, 38 percent lived in Flanders

(the pre-dominantly Dutch-speaking north of Belgium, including the suburbs surrounding the

Brussels-Capital Region, BCR), 21 percent lived in Wallonia (the predominantly French-speaking

south of Belgium) and 14 percent in neighboring France. (The other 17 percent of SQ

respondents reported living in other European countries as well as the United States.)

---

[73] This percentage includes Laeken/Laken—technically part of Brussels city center, though identified separately by six percent of the SQ respondents, therefore it is labeled in the map as its own category.

Figure 5.2 shows that in terms of non-Belgian citizenship, nearly half (47%) of SQ

respondents were citizens of other European countries with 15 percent reporting a Latin

American citizenship and 14 percent were citizens of the Maghreb—Morocco, Algeria and

Tunisia—plus 12 percent from Africa, eight percent from Asia as well as other regions.[74]

Further, about one in five (19 percent) of DQ respondents had at least one parent not born in

the same country as the respondent.

Figure 5.2. Non-Belgian Citizenship by World Region (SQ Sample)

Note: As multiple reporting was permitted, some respondents (8%) here also reported Belgian citizenship.
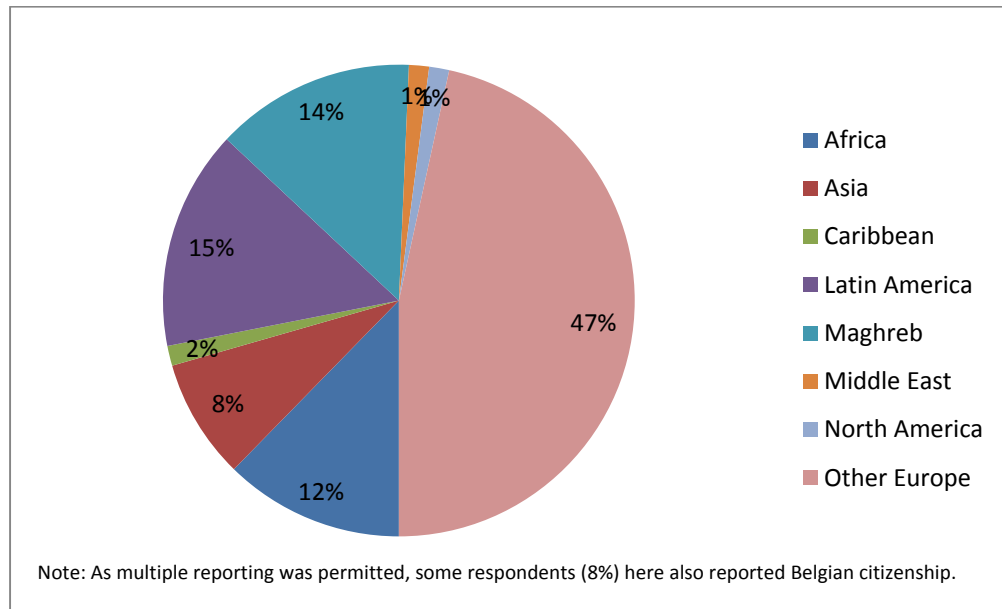
Source: Author's calculations. SQ data.

Disaggregating the languages spoken at home, Figure 5.3 confirms the dominance of the French

language among those attending or participating in the Parade. When restricted to only those

respondents living in the Brussels-Capital Region, we see a slight increase in percent French

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[74] Foreign place of <u>birth</u> results were more or less in line with the foreign <u>citizenship</u> breakdown mentioned above: 39 percent were born in Europe, 17 percent in Africa, followed by 14 percent in Latin America and 13 percent in the Maghreb countries.

speakers and a slight decrease in Dutch speakers, 75 and 23 percent, respectively, with no

change among those reporting speaking multiple languages at home (37 percent) as reported in

Table 5.2.

Figure 5.3. Language(s) Spoken at Home (SQ Sample)

Note: Multiple reporting was permitted.
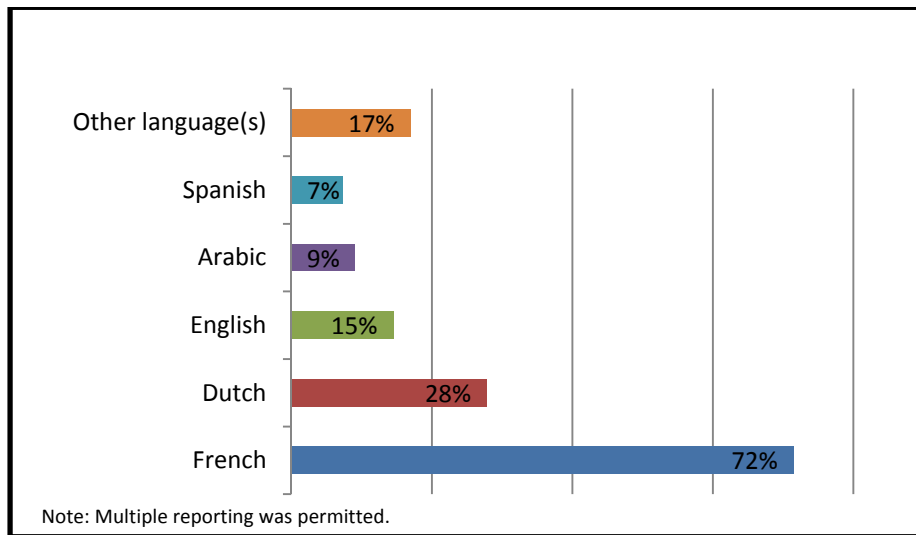
Source: Author's calculations. SQ data.

As mentioned, a high sex ratio (156), male-to-female, was found among SQ respondents; 61

percent of parade <u>participants</u> sampled were men. Noteworthy as well is that 46 percent of the

entire SQ sample were male <u>spectators</u>. (Though measures were taken to randomize the

sample selection as much as possible during the parade, it is unclear why such a significant

male predominance exists among those sampled—a larger male spectator / participant

population overall? Generally speaking, women have higher rates of study participation in

surveys than men, yet here we have few recorded refusals among either sex to explain the

difference found here.)

That said 25 percent of women sampled and 25 percent of men sampled were

participants in the parade. When looking at age we find that one-third (29 percent) of parade

participants were between 27 and 31 years old, and of all 27-31 year olds interviewed, 33

percent were <u>participants</u> in the parade—the highest participation rate across age groups.

In terms of rates of participation by language(s) spoken at home, Spanish-speaking

households had the highest rate of participation across all language groups, 42 percent, relative

to 26 percent and 20 percent for French and Dutch-speaking households, respectively.[75]

3.   <u>Basic Statistics from the 63-item Detailed Questionnaire (DQ)</u>

The results presented here come from detailed questionnaires, administered either

online or via CATI between December 2010 and February 2011, totaling 78 complete records

(individual respondents) used for data analysis.[76] (Like the SQ, the DQ questionnaire can be

found in Appendix II; for more information on the sample and questionnaire designs,

administration or data processing (coding), see Chapter 4).

For ease of comparison with SQ results, similar socio-demographic questions were

asked as part of the 63-item detailed questionnaire. Table 5.3 shows basic statistics collected

from the DQ sample that were also collected in SQ enumeration several months before on an

overlapping population—53 percent of DQ respondents reported completing the SQ survey on

22 May 2010.

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[75] Perhaps of future interest is the significance of participation in arts and culture particularly among Latin American migrants in Brussels—the largest, foreign non-EU group participating in Zinneke Parade 2010.
[76] Partially-completed questionnaires were included for analysis if they yielded at least basic respondent data including place of residence, year of birth and language of questionnaire and were determined to not be a duplicate of a completed questionnaire.

Table 5.3 Selected Frequencies of the Sample Population—
Comparable SQ-DQ data (DQ sample)

Sex ratio (# male*100 / # female)	97
Median age (Year of birth: 1972)	39 years
% Attending first Zinneke Parade in 2010	54
% Residing in Brussels (Capital Region)	79
% Belgian citizens	72
% Citizens of other countries	41
% Polynationals (Belgian + other citizenship)	10
% Born outside Belgium	34
% Speaking +1 language at home	35
% Completed questionnaire in French	78

Source: Author's calculations, Detailed Questionnaire
(n = 78)

The DQ sample was more Belgian (in terms of citizenship, 72%), slightly more likely to live in the

Brussels-Capital Region (79%) and less likely to be born outside Belgium, 34 percent compared

to 54 percent of the SQ sample. These findings among DQ respondents—of higher percentages

of BCR residency and being Belgian-born—are not surprising as the Boosted DQ Sample

consisted primarily of people working in (with established institutional ties to) Brussels.

Compared to the SQ sample, French is a slightly less dominant home language in the DQ

sample. (Figures 5.3 and 5.4) Comparing the two samples, the DQ sample was slightly more

female than male (97 sex ratio). In other words, there were significantly more females than the

SQ sample, and older (DQ, 39 years; SQ, 35 years). Nearly the same percent (54%) attended the

Zinneke Parade for the first time in 2010 as among the SQ sample (53%). And, as will be

explored later in this chapter, over two-thirds (68%) of DQ respondents know as least one

participant in the Zinneke Parade.

Figure 5.4. Language(s) Spoken at Home (DQ sample)

Note: Multiple responses were possible.
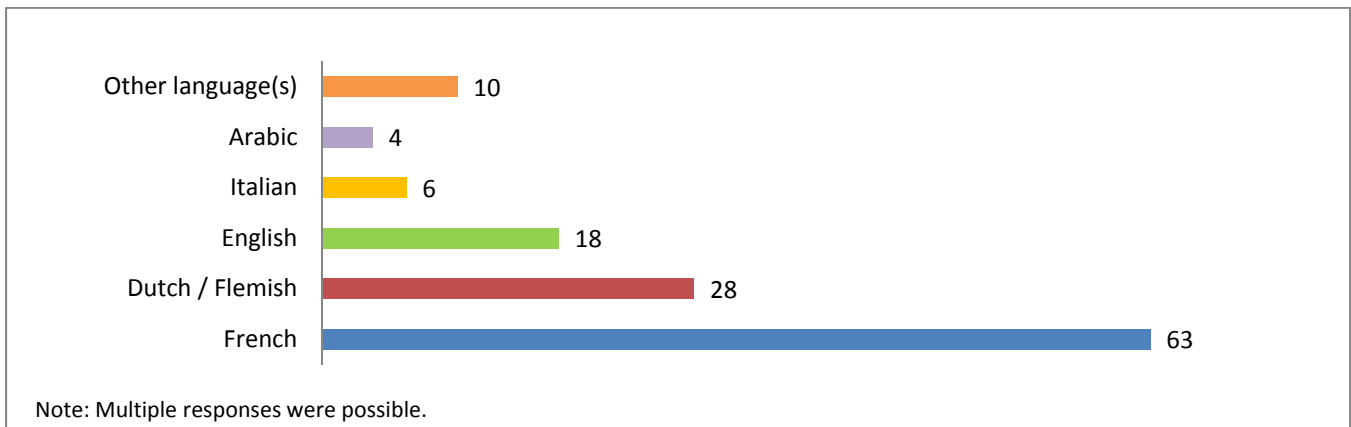
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

Table 5.4 shows some additional statistics available from the detailed questionnaire that were

not included in the short questionnaire. Of note, nearly three-fourths (72%) of the DQ sample

attended (as a spectator of or a participant in) the 2010 Zinneke Parade.

Table 5.4. Additional Selected Frequencies of the DQ Sample Population (DQ sample)

% Attended Zinneke Parade 2010	72
% Know others participating in a Zinneke Parade	68
% Coupled (Married, Partnered, Having a Steady Relationship)	65
Median time at current residence	5 years
Median time living in Belgium (non-BEL born)	8 years
% Speaking +1 language at work/school	44
% Do not belong to a religion or religious denomination*[77]	63
% Completed short questionnaire (SQ) at 2010 Parade	53

Source: Author's calculations, Detailed Questionnaire (n = 78)

* This is a 'heavily' recoded value (i.e., >5% of cases). Eight percent of respondents identified a non-codable or non-recognizable religion and were recoded as 'none.'

Figure 5.5 shows the residence distribution of the DQ sample living in the Brussels-Capital Region. The DQ sample respondents' residential pattern was slightly more dispersed than the SQ sample with a much smaller percentage of respondents living in the city center (8% relative to 28% of SQ respondents). Among Brussels-based DQ respondents, about half (52.5%; n=32) resided in five BCR municipalities; the most DQ respondents came from Schaerbeek (15%) followed by Ixelles, Molenbeek and St. Gilles (10% each) and Brussels center (8%). Similarly 54 percent (n=65) of the SQ sample respondents resided in four BCR municipalities; Brussels center (28%) and Ixelles (12%) followed by Schaerbeek and St. Gilles (10% each).

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[77] Reported religious (and non-religious) affiliations included: No religion (56%), Catholic (21%), Muslim (10%), Protestant (3%), Jewish (2%) and Other (8%).

Figure 5.5. DQ Sample by Residence in the Brussels-Capital Region
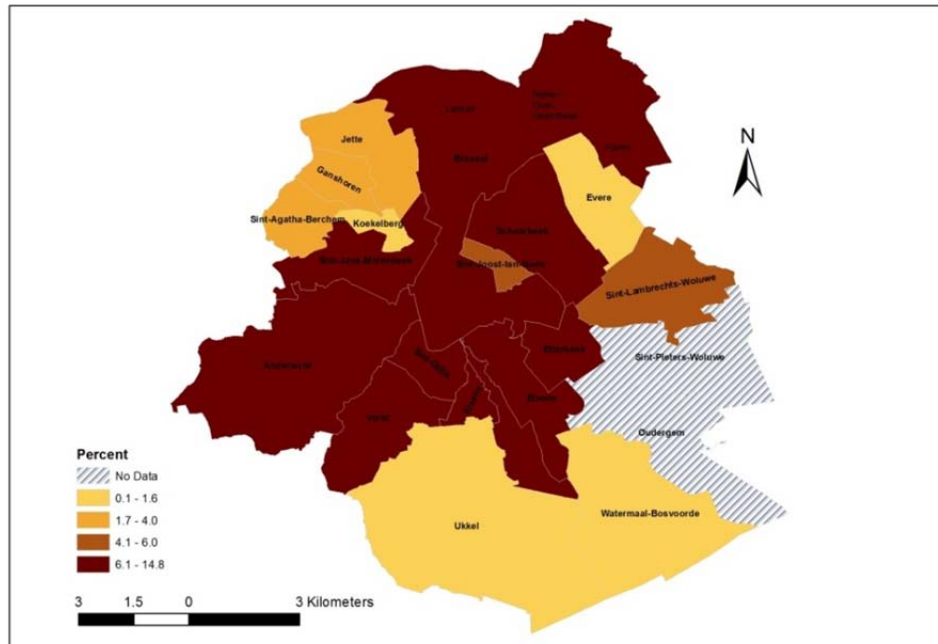
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

Likely, this difference in residence in regards to Brussels center is explainable in large part by

the SQ enumeration being carried out exclusively in Brussels city center—the location of the

Zinneke Parade—whereas the DQ was primarily administered online. Also of note is the

absence of respondents from the affluent jurisdictions of Sint-Pieters-Woluwe (Woluwe-Saint-

Pierre in French) in both DQ and SQ samples.

Relative to languages spoken at home among both SQ and DQ respondents, Figure 5.6

shows the importance of English in the workplace (and in schools). Compared with being

spoken in 18 percent of DQ respondent homes (Figure 5.4), 33 percent of DQ respondents

reported speaking English at work or school equaling that of Dutch, an official language of

Brussels. (Though the DQ sample is too small to render much further exploration, we can likely

assume that the importance of English in Brussels is concentrated in terms of geography (e.g.,

European quartier) and sector, such as banking, international organizations). Also noteworthy is the absence of Arabic as a language spoken at work or school relative to being spoken in nine and four percent of SQ and DQ samples' households, respectively.

Figure 5.6. Language Spoken at Work or School (DQ sample)

Note: No DQ respondents indicated speaking Arabic at work. Multiple responses possible.
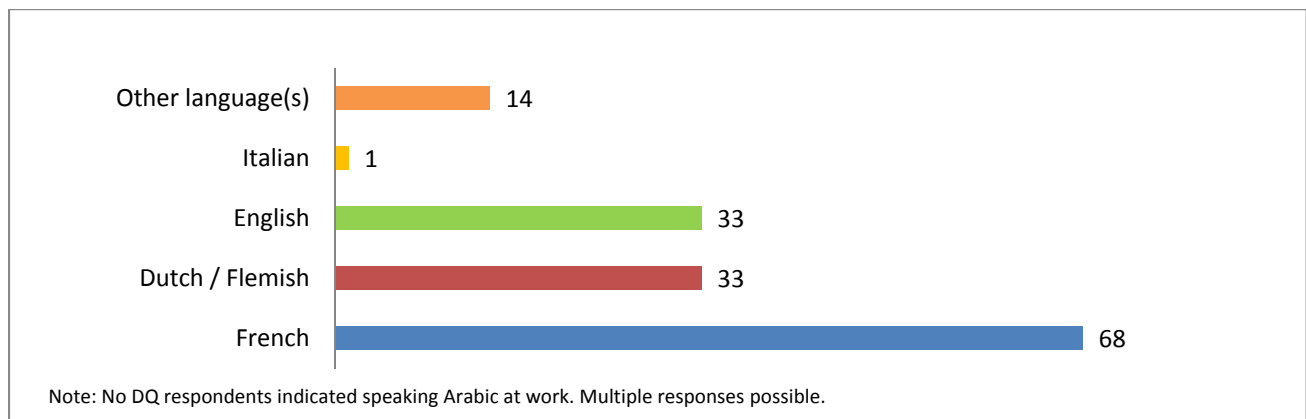
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

a.   *Cross-tabulations of DQ findings by Belgian citizenship and place of birth*

Given its relatively small sample size (n=78) extensive disaggregation of DQ data would not yield quantitatively robust results, however, some cross-tabulations are possible and important for this research. With Belgian citizenship as the reference category, here I include selected DQ findings by citizenship (and occasionally by place of birth). In support of this approach to immigrant and integration-focused research, Jacobs (2010) writes:

In social sciences the standard view on this challenge is that if one wants to investigate the behaviour, attitudes or participation in a social field of an immigrant group, one needs a comparative group of non-immigrants in order to be able to evaluate the specificities of the immigrant group. Otherwise you might be mistakenly focussing on class-, gender or education related differences between two studied groups which have

nothing to do with migration status or ethnic background. The same argument can be

put forward when assessing the level of integration: we should best compare

participation levels of migrants to those of non-migrants with the same educational and

socio-economic profile, rather than compare them to the overall population. (Jacobs,

2010, p. 13)

As shown in Figure 5.7, the DQ non-Belgian citizenship sample respondents are predominantly

from other European countries (70%) followed by the Maghreb (17%), Latin America (9%) and

North America (4%). (Other regions were not reported by DQ respondents.)

Figure 5.7. Non-Belgian Citizenship by World Region (DQ sample)[78]

Note: Maghreb countries of citizenship reported include Algeria and Morocco.
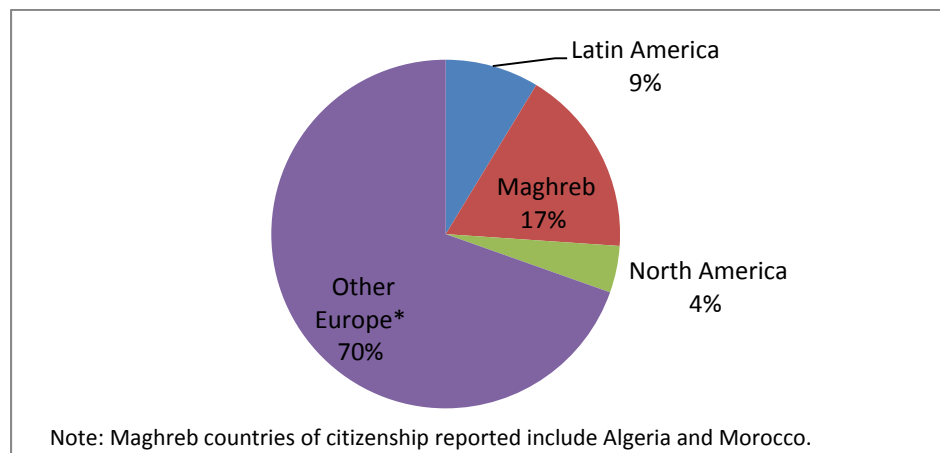
* 'Other Europe' is Europe other than Belgium.

Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

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[78] Individually reported countries of citizenship include: France (26%), Morocco (13%), Germany (9%), Italy, (9%), Spain (9%) and other countries (34%).

Figure 5.8 reveals both a greater diversity of regions of origin (including Africa) and a greater concentration of Europeans (75% of sample) for the world region of <u>birth</u> of non-Belgian-born respondents.

Figure 5.8. Non-Belgian Place of Birth by World Region (DQ sample)

Note: 'Other Europe' is Europe other than Belgium.
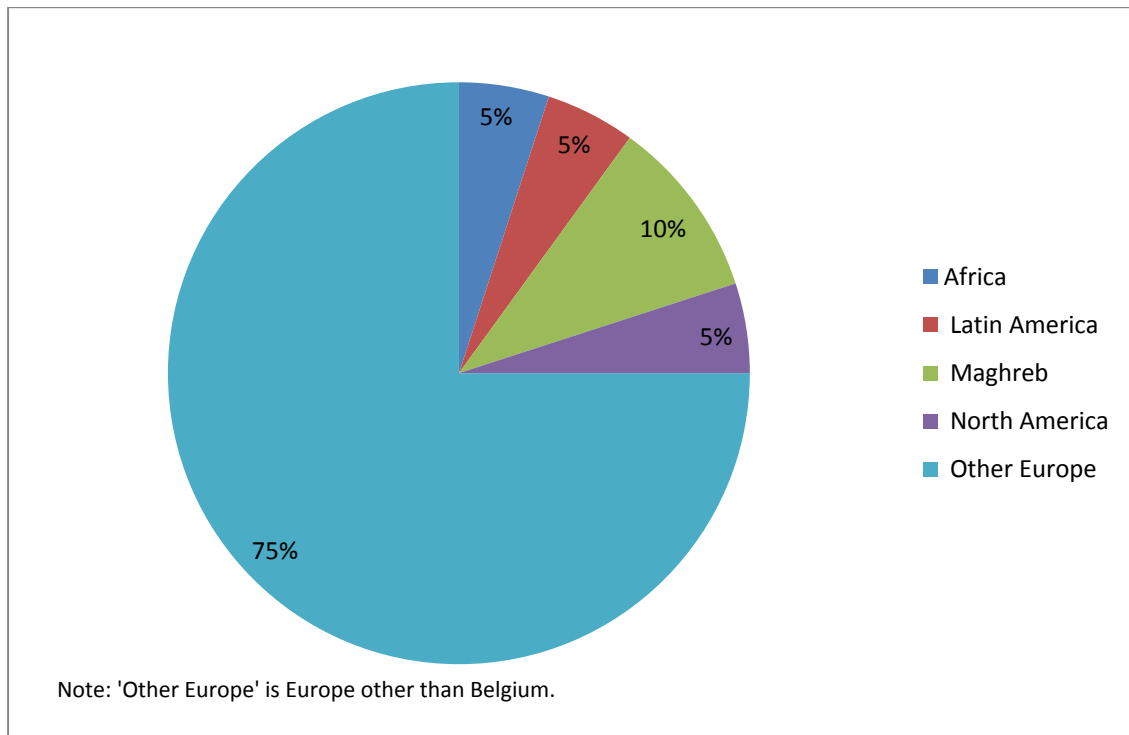
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

There was no real difference in age by citizenship among DQ respondents: Non-Belgian citizens' median age was 35 and Belgian citizens' median age was 36. However, 73 percent of Belgian-citizen DQ respondents were coupled (including Married, Partnered, Having a Steady Relationship) whereas only 44 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents were coupled.

Everyone in the DQ sample regardless of citizenship reported at least a secondary degree (*Baccalauréat*, High School diploma). Interestingly, 37.5 of non-Belgian citizens reported

having an advanced degree (including Masters and PhD) compared with 21 percent of Belgian citizens.

In terms of participation in my study, an important difference emerges by citizenship and place of birth among DQ respondents: 80 percent of non-Belgian <u>citizen</u> respondents (n=18) reported completing the short questionnaire on Z Day compared to only 47.5 percent of Belgian citizens (n=47). Similarly, 69 percent of non-Belgian <u>born</u> respondents (n=22) completed the short questionnaire on Z Day relative to 49 percent of DQ respondents born in Belgium (n=43).

With this background about the study samples, the next few sections reflect analyses based on all three modes of data collection: short and detailed questionnaires as well as in-depth interviews and are presented thematically in line with the key elements of the research question—(creative) participation and integration (identity) in Brussels.[79]

II.   THEME 1. 'CREATIVE COLLABORATION'

A.   Participation in Context

In-depth interviews (and the detailed questionnaire) provide rich detail into understanding the context in which participation within the arts and culture occurs in Brussels.

When asked about Brussels' diversity in its artistic and cultural scenes, about half (54%) of DQ respondents reported that the cultural programming of the city-region <u>somewhat</u>

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[79] The anonymity of IDINT respondents—in-depth interviewees—is respected by the use of broad categories of local (1) socio-cultural actors; or (2) researchers.

reflects the social, ethnic and linguistic diversity of its residents with slightly more (22%) believing that it does not reflect this diversity than does (18%). (Figure 5.9)

Then, when disaggregating by citizenship (Belgian or not) we find that only six percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents believe this diversity is not reflected in Brussels' artistic and cultural scenes while 27 percent of Belgian citizen respondents hold this view.

Figure 5.9. Diversity of Cultural Programming in Brussels (DQ sample)
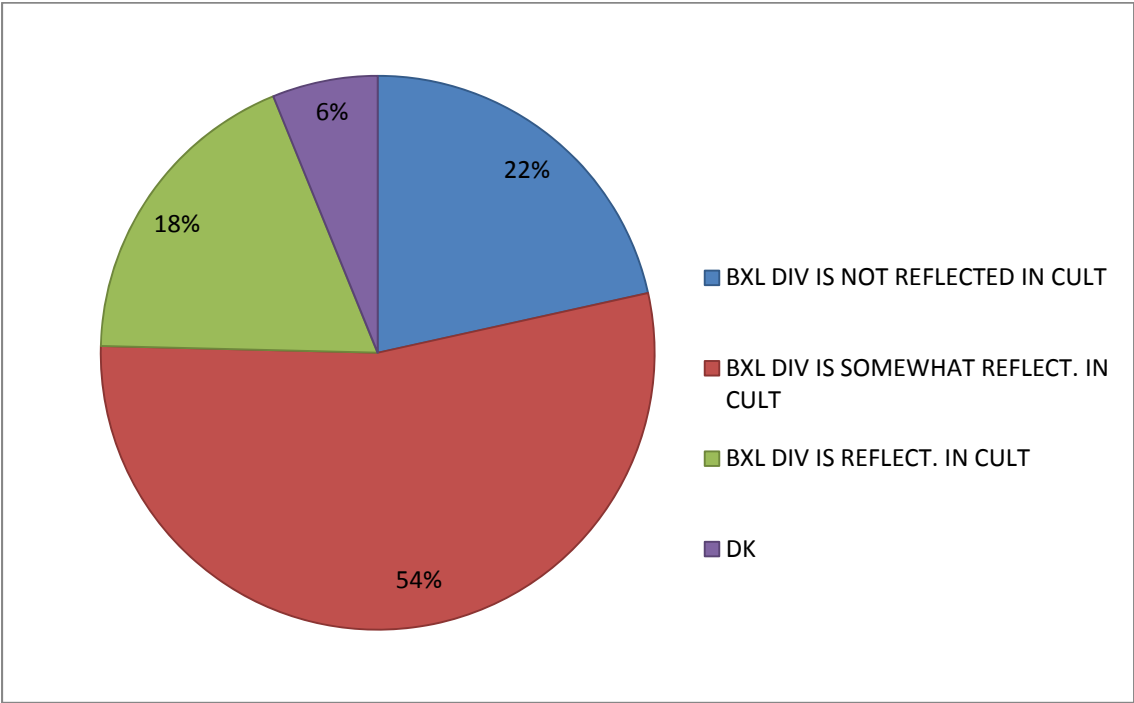
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

Respondents interviewed for this project provided several thoughts about the context in which (creative) participation does and does not occur.

First, the contexts in which (creative) participation occurs were said to involve societal and political constraints and counterpoints.

1. <u>Societal Constraints of Culture in Brussels</u>

Some interviewees explained the context of artistic and socio-cultural projects, such as Zinneke, playing the role of a "counterpoint to the existing distrust [of Other]," as reported by one socio-cultural actor.

Further, the role played by such projects is ever more important because "more and more…we find ourselves in a society in which mistakes are not allowed." Where there are no spaces for even daring to make mistakes. (a socio-cultural actor)

Where new cultural projects face a structural obstacle of "past dependency; what was financed in the 1990s is financed still today". (a researcher) Also, in terms of the financing of 'immigrant' projects by Brussels' language Communities,

[T]here is Francophone and Flemish [Community] financing. The Francophones do not fund immigrant organizations…if you are Senegalese and you wish to establish a Senegalese association…for the French-speaking Community, a Senegalese-specific request will not be funded, but if instead you say that you wish to take remedial classes, [you will be financially supported by the French Community]. (a researcher)

2. <u>Sectorial and Broader Constructions of 'Participation' and 'Culture for All' as Context</u>

The beneficial role of arts and cultural-based collaborations was almost unanimously declared by those interviewed in-depth. However, how cultural participation is defined and achieved was a topic discussed by many in terms of potential: with artistic creation "you can remake the world…it opens up a perspective of change," and:

…in order **to make people feel that they belong to the same society**, in order to make sure that they recognize each other as co-citizens, as members of the same society—it doesn't come naturally—you have to find ways. **One way can be to make sure people collaborate in a project**…make things available…sports and culture can provide these projects with which people with different backgrounds can identify and engage in. You can tell me also for culture and sport people can kill each other, that's true too, but it doesn't mean that you can't use it in a positive way. (a researcher, emphasis mine)

And the struggle for democratization—"We defend culture for all. We defend the fact that access to art, access to culture, popular culture…can have an impact on one's path in life…with this final element we are able to find this harmony." (a socio-cultural actor); the struggle against standardization and the professionalization of the sector, "it formats what participation and what expression and what protest or…" she continues:

[W]hat interests me is…is the field of experiments that we set up [in Zinneke]. It is a kind of participation…there is some kind of a dominance…in our representative democracy…that's what they call participation. The exercise of participation through delegation is what is currently constructed as 'participation' where people can express what they have to say through their delegates and voilà participation. (a socio-cultural actor)

Other local socio-cultural actors added that there remains the "struggle between artistic expression and popular expression", and that "there's this idea that if you do that [work collectively to create] you have to lower your creative ideas…you fear that your artistic quality will lower because of the input that a lot of people will give."

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In speaking of migration and the arts, there is this link between the role of participating in arts and culture to origin country 'controls'. Two examples illustrate these 'social controls' in the country of origin and in Belgium:

- "For many [artists of migrant origin], the arts were not at all part of this background." Example of a Togolese colleague for whom art was taboo in her home country. (a socio-cultural actor)

- An example of the young Moroccan guy from the Vilvoorde suburb of Brussels whose parents are not "typical Moroccans"—they live in Vilvoorde and not in Molenbeek, they are more tolerant, more open—"discovered Moroccan music again, completely changed from boxing…in Molenbeek you have a real 'social control'…in the community everyone keeps an eye on the other one to see if he doesn't cross the line…Moroccan community have recently become more traditional than before…more traditional values." (a socio-cultural actor)

Finally, despite the impressive growth in arts and cultural projects, socio-cultural initiatives, coordination and reputation, the perception of Brussels and its cultural offerings remains mixed or, as one researcher interviewed put it, in his view, it is "hardly mobilized in Brussels":

- And the post-2000 sector growth comes after a period…"in the 1990s, Brussels maintained the image of a sad city, to be completely honest…wherein the current dynamism did not exist…there were *fêtes de communautés* not *fêtes bruxelloises*…**there was this desire to propose a moment when all Bruxellois would come out** whether Flemish, Flemish-speaking, Francophone, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Moroccan, Tunisian, Congolese, **where you would consider**

yourself, above all else, Bruxellois and there, there is a sort of pulse…in valuing

that." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

- "[M]ost people…born in Brussels…they have the impression that there's nothing

  to do here." (a socio-cultural actor)

B. **Defining 'Participation'**

"A single step in the procession is sufficient. Participation is itself a producer of beauty; there is no rule to follow." (a socio-cultural actor)

In defining participation, and creative participation in particular, several themes have emerged from the in-depth interviews around the notion of the collective experience and creating something (new) together through the sharing and valuing of individual contributions, backgrounds, etc., "the only thing that we try to fight; everyone has to make a little step outside his or her normal circle." (a socio-cultural actor)

In essence, 'participation'—in the case of Zinneke in particular—is embodied and emboldened in the *rencontres* (meeting-encounters), in "this dynamic of mixing" (a socio-cultural actor); "…that's exactly the passionate part; when you set a project with other people"; "a result of what everybody brought in. Not…dominantly defined by one cultural reference or social reference, but the result of everybody."

Some interviewees defined participation by what it is not. In answering the question of defining 'participation,' one interviewee said that, for one, it is not mere spectating:

I don't have any faith in public participation. People who come to watch…[It is not just putting on silly hats and walking around or watching]…this is not participation.

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Participation…we recognize that people from the neighborhoods are the ones who

create their performances and we offer them a lovely place for their creations. (a socio-

cultural actor)

Whether locally-defined or not, others emphasized the collective aspect, the "construction of a

collective history", of "people from the neighborhood…who come together, who all have

stories from their lives and they put them together…" in their definitions of participation or as

part of a "small ritual" like the regular rehearsals months and weeks before Parade Day (Figure

5.10).

Figure 5.10. Zinneke participants from Molenbeek (Brussels) rehearsing, 2010

Source : http://www.flickr.com/photos/lievensoete/.

Some interviewees mentioned the importance of the participatory event being supportive,

offering "a context of confidence" and not obligation; "it can be received as *aggressive*." (a

researcher, oral emphasis in original) where "the key is to let them play their music, but just try

to get them out of their traditional story, but put their traditional music, **make it valuable into the whole**, and not make them play what you want." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

It is within this context that participation is found to be successful, where people can meet, confront and connect; "it's about creating a place where people can learn to cooperate and co-produce something together." Moreover, instilling the notion that participants can affect real change, such as for children involved in events like the Zinneke Parade, "it's quite extraordinary to tell them that they can have a direct impact on the outcome; it's true participation." (a socio-cultural actor)

1.   <u>Defining 'Creative Participation'</u>

The Zinneke Parade "is not folkloric; it is creation." (Marcel de Munnynck, founder of Zinneke)[80]

As a concept in Brussels, 'creative participation ('*participation créative*') was itself born out of the Brussels 2000 project and out of Zinneke in particular. Reflections on Zinneke are in fact reflections on the very notion of creative participation including how it is defined and realized every two years. With the Zinneke organizing team "there is not one definition [of creative participation]…there are 25 projects with 25 different realities…not everyone agrees with the definition." (a socio-cultural actor)

Generally, I found broad agreement among study respondents on <u>defining</u> the notion of creative participation, however there was considerably less agreement on its utility and

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[80] Given his instrumental role in Zinneke, years of activity contributing to Brussels' cultural scene and untimely death in late 2011, I have elected to break the anonymity rule afforded to interviewees and to openly cite Marcel's name in full.

applicability to diverse publics. The connecting through partnerships and participation in collective creativity, and the novelty of the output ('final' product) (a socio-cultural actor); producing a "result that is in any case something else than if it would be just mono cultural groups that would express themselves." (a socio-cultural actor)

'Creative participation' is the discovery or rediscovery of interests, talents, passions, as well as the sharing of responsibility, such as found in the successful mixed musical group consisting of kids from African and Moroccan descent, it was the "share of responsibility…[that] was key to the success of this particular project." (a socio-cultural actor)

While others left open the definition where the experience of the *rencontre* and its impact might not be readily apparent.

In creating creative participation: "for me, those that are there to open the door…might be incredible participants as well. It might be that they're not at all in the Parade and that we never see them in the meeting or a thing that is happening, but we have incredible stories like that. Where the simple fact that there is something happening and that somebody who opens doors or makes coffee or brings the soup or…might be as much confronted and nourished by this experience of meeting people and doing things together, and for me, this is as important as those that are in the Parade…'cause that's what it's all about. **It's about creating a framework where you stimulate people to take their lives in their hands and to do things together** in one way or another, and that always gives birth to incredible, beautiful things…" (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

In paraphrasing Myriam Stoffen, Zinneke's Director since 2005, 'participation' means co-production and can be experienced as a broad range – from a simple act of involvement to engagement in broader or deeper questions about society and so on, to allow the *vide* [empty space] for the unplanned; leave gaps and see what comes…create opportunities.

One interviewee talked about how impact comes about in and out of creative participatory events like Zinneke:

> For me it is very simple…the line is drawn, history is set from the start. There is a notion of a script…but there's a lot of improvisation as well, a great deal of role-playing, and that reality is what we try to go beyond with the most that each person has, their individuality, the life experiences of each person and above all, their interpretation…**it's a continual participation** because it's not as if simply here's the text and you interpret it, No. There are deadlines that are self-generated. **There is this do-it-yourself**…things that are created out of this from A to Z with the continued support of professional [artists] and so on…but **we don't ever stop stimulating ideas and pushing people to go as far as they can** in what they feel deeply within themselves. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

Participation is not necessarily a simple act of choosing to get involved; that act can both be revolutionary and have consequences. Sometimes getting involved (participating) can mean giving up something and taking risks as well as discovering and changing—"development is change", such as the example of a Bruxellois rapper who "is able to get beyond the limits of his setting, which can be interpreted as treasonous…people are often torn between treason and loyalty…**you must betray the past in a certain way and ally with new loyalties [of the**

present];" it is part of a dialectic between opening and closing. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

In practice, within their own artistic projects, not every artist experiences or identifies with the notion of *participation créative* introduced in Zinneke's early years:

I bump into this distinction which I made for myself…working with creative needs, like music, it's about creativity, working with people, but you can try to…let the participants be very creative…you're (the artist) more like a stage manager puts things together like how people suggest…I write the music, I have it in my head…Everyone has to behave a little bit like a sheep and follow…with this notion of '*participation créative*'…I don't know…if I fit into this. I don't know…but for me I don't want to waste too much energy with discussions about music. (a socio-cultural actor)

This local artist's approach, he creates, writes and decides for his artistic projects and because of this, he's not sure if he fits with this notion of '*participation créative*.' "I never use this notion," he says.

One local socio-cultural actor finds that Zinneke "tr[ies] to create this shared space of references" within Brussels' neighborhoods. Another says that and is a "balance between traditions and creativity (newness)." Contrasting it with theatre and its lack of room for improvisation where one must follow the script, read pre-determined lines, a socio-cultural actor interviewed says with new inputs, new associations and new participants, the evolution, **the process of creation is constantly changing with Zinneke**: "it's not a project A to Z…it is a thing that changes constantly." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

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And the challenge for the Zinneke team and Zinneke participants is embedded in their goal of "creating something new together"—going further together **without rejecting existing traditions**. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

In defining the uniqueness of Zinneke and, therefore, creative participation, one interviewee explains:

It's not a cultural project and it's not only…a socio-cultural project, but it's more than that. It's on every corner; it's everywhere in Brussels. We have a lot of partners in Wallonia and in Flanders. It has no restrictions…it's difficult to explain….for one thing it's everywhere…most unique is the '*participation créative*' that is something…you don't see often. It's bottom-up…it pops up everywhere…**everybody appropriates it in their own way**…and the beauty of how it is is that **Zinneke also encourages people to do that**.

(a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

Among other things, Zinneke strives to play the role of social equalizer in Brussels where participation is encouraged as open, flexible (in expression and definition), inclusive and as a challenge to current and assigned societal roles. Also, where people gather to celebrate – *faire la fête* – regardless of their status elsewhere in their lives where everyone is at the same level; everyone begins at the same starting point together…"to have different choices than you have in your own life." (a socio-cultural actor)

Another interviewee speaks of many of the participants who do not have a voice elsewhere—the jobless etc.; it is about giving voice to the voiceless regardless of social or economic status. "…in the process of Zinneke, everybody has something to say and everybody is there as a full person…important through the process of exchange and creation." She cites an

example of how an undocumented migrant might be the instructor or artistic coordinator in front of the other participants. "All of a sudden, the relationships between people are turned upside down....to breakdown these evident positions of exclusion in our city." (a socio-cultural actor)

The optimism about the impact of Zinneke is balanced by the reality that such a project is not going to fix everything.

> ...the strength of Zinneke...it's not the Zinneke is going to solve all the real day-to-day problems. **Zinneke allows for a moment in which each person can find his/her place** within a project regardless of situation or place in this city, **there you can find your legitimacy**...but, we have to be sure not [to say] 'finally, everything is fixed.' (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

Zinneke as a socio-cultural project appears to provide spaces for creativity while allowing for it to happen organically with some minimal intrusion or direction.

C.   Who Participates?

> Much of the audience-based research into festivals finds reasons for attendance (spectatorship) occurring at both individual and aggregate levels. (Küchler, Kürti, & Elkadi, 2011)

Diversity in the arts and cultural sector—on its stages, in its institutions (personnel) and among its audiences—has been put into question as previous literature has shown. (See Chapter 2.)

The results of the three modes of data collection designed for this study reveal that 'diversity in participation' depends on how participation and diversity are defined, on the types

of activities considered, on who among one's close contacts participates as well as on other factors.

1.   <u>How Participation and Diversity are Defined</u>

When asked to talk about their own levels of 'active' participation, 26 percent of DQ respondents stated that they organized a cultural activity, 20.5 percent were a performer in the arts, eight percent had participated in some 'background' activity and 11.5 percent in some other non-spectator type role (such as volunteering) in the arts and culture within the past 12 months.

Figures 5.11 and 5.12 show the frequency of involvement in cultural and artistic activities within the past twelve months. As the DQ Boosted Sample oversamples people working in the arts and cultural sectors, DQ respondents were asked as well about their active participation in cultural activities for which they were not paid.

Figure 5.11. Overall Participation and Attendance in Cultural and Artistic Activities (DQ sample)
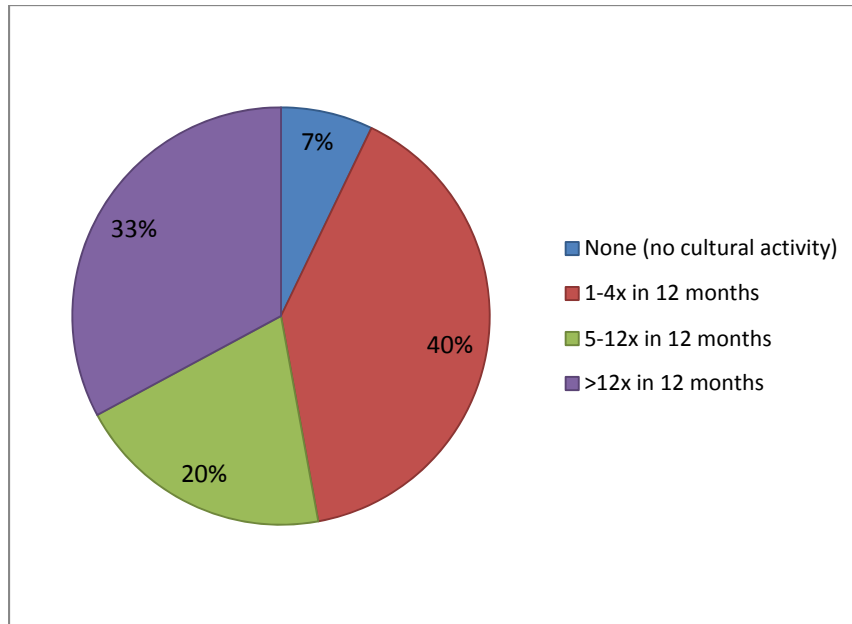
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

Figure 5.12. Volunteer (non-paid) Participation in Cultural and Artistic Activities (DQ sample)
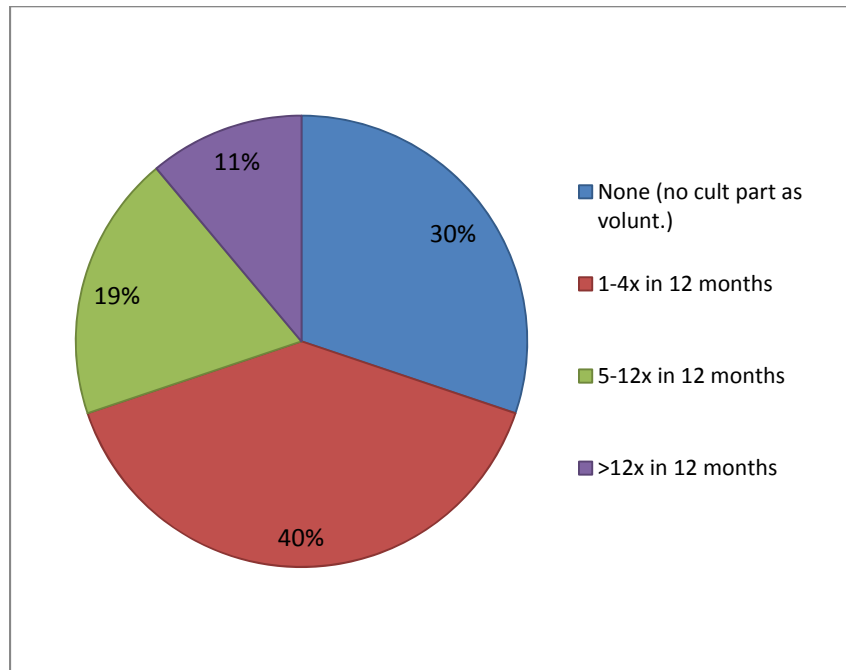
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

When disaggregating the DQ survey data by citizenship, we find that well over 50 percent of all respondents reported volunteering in arts and cultural activities in the 12 months preceding the survey: 60 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents and 75 percent of Belgian citizen respondents reported volunteering in arts and cultural activities during that pre-questionnaire period.

In terms of the diversity of fellow participants in these cultural activities, over 88 percent described their activities as being both ethnically and linguistically diverse. By citizenship, we find that 22 percent of non-Belgian citizens reported participating in artistic and cultural events wherein there was no ethnic or cultural diversity among participants, whereas only 9.4 percent of Belgian citizens reported such homogeneity in their choice of cultural events.

As immigrant (and ethno-racial minority) involvement was central to the research question, we find that, when crossing participation in the 2010 Zinneke Parade with place of birth and citizenship (separately), 59 percent of the parade participants sampled were <u>born</u> in Belgium, whereas 76 percent of parade participants were Belgian <u>citizens</u>. (Recall that slightly less than 1 in 10 Belgian citizen DQ respondents reported having more than one citizenship.)

2.   <u>On the Types of Activities Involved</u>

Figure 5.13 shows DQ respondent participation levels in various associations and activities. Likely owing the DQ Boosted Sample, most respondents reported being involved in some type of cultural or artistic activity or association (48%, locally-based or otherwise), as well

as in human rights organizations (31%) and professional associations (30%), and 34 percent

reported being involved in some other (non-specified) activity or organization.

Figure 5.13. Percent Active Participation in Associations and Activities (DQ sample)
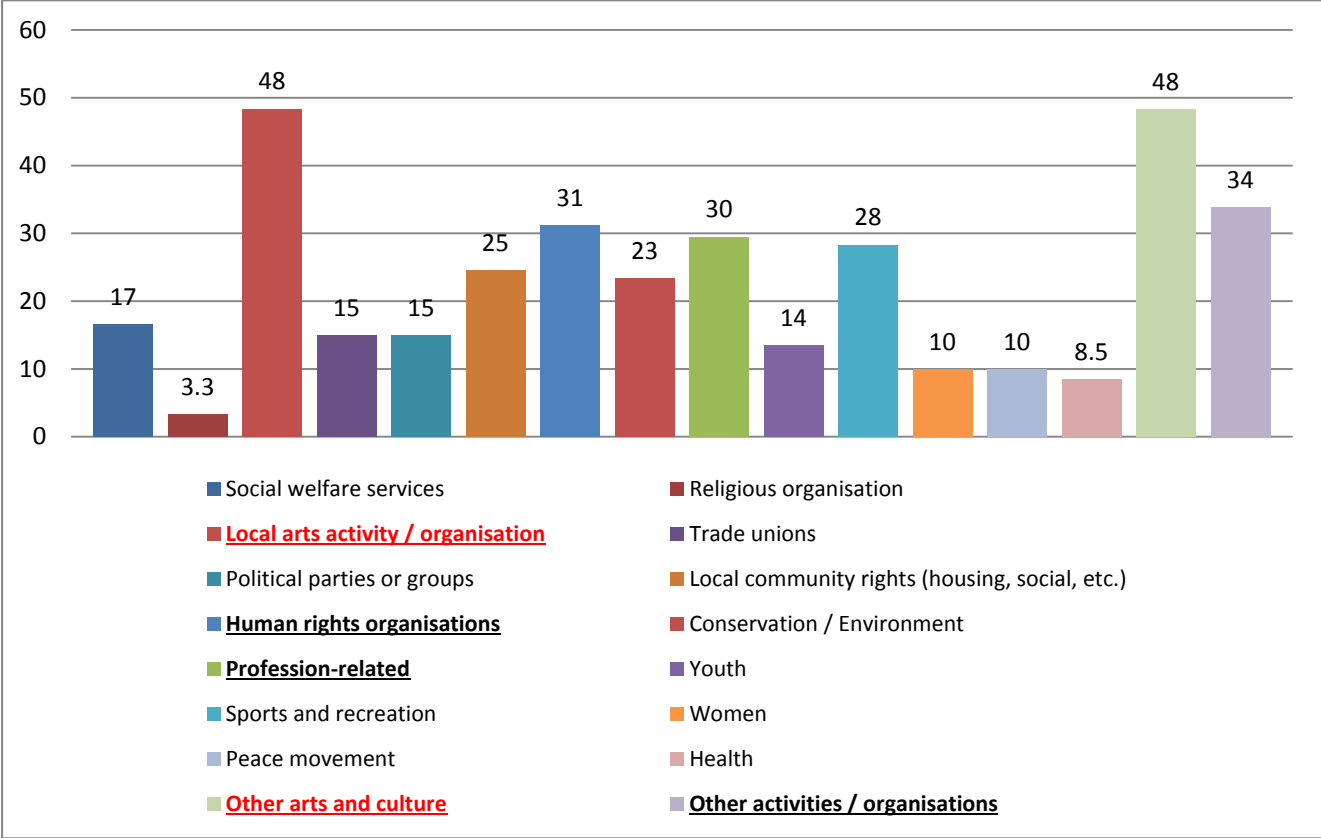
Note: Average n=60 for each item.

Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

Additional findings on participation levels by citizenship include different levels of involvement

in local activities and associations: 31 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents and 53

percent of Belgian citizen respondents are active participants in local community or

neighborhood education, arts, music or cultural activities.

Despite reporting higher levels of religious identities (affiliation or belonging) among

non-Belgian citizens, 62.5 percent versus 28 percent among Belgian citizens, both groups found

it unimportant or somewhat unimportant (or not applicable) to participate in cultural activities

organized by one's own religious organization (75% for non-Belgian citizens and 80% for Belgian

citizens). Further, only two DQ respondents indicated active involvement in any religious

association or activity. (No one among non-Belgian citizen respondents are active participants

in associations related to health.)

Conversely, in terms of the highest levels of participation reported by citizenship, 45

percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents are active participants in artistic or cultural activities

other than local or neighborhood-based arts or cultural activities and 53 percent of Belgian

citizen respondents are active participants in local community or neighborhood education, arts,

music or cultural activities; and similarly (52%) are involved in other artistic or cultural activities.

3.   On Others (also) Involved – 'Networked' Participation

The DQ results show the role played by other's involvement in encouraging respondent

participation in various types of activities. 73 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents have a

family member, friend or other close relation who is also an active participant in the same

organization/activity; the level is 59 percent for Belgian citizen respondents.

Confirming Willems-Braun (1994) findings regarding attendance at Canadian fringe

festivals, DQ data show the role of personal contacts (including family and friends) represented

a key factor in deciding to attend (and participate) in the 2010 Zinneke Parade—in conjunction

with media/advertising—for over 60 percent of respondents. For those associations and

activities of 'active' participation, 18 percent of DQ respondents stated that their family

members were also active members, 28 percent of their friends and 10 percent of other

proches (close friends/family/relations). When disaggregating the findings by place of birth, we find a higher percent (81%) of respondents not born in Belgium have a relative, friend or colleague who participated in at least one Zinneke Parade compared with 66 percent among respondents born in Belgium.

Not only who else participated, but also who organizes an event appears to possibly play a role for participants. When asked about the importance of who organizes cultural activities, 65 percent of DQ respondents stated that the <u>events organized by the people in their neighborhood</u> were important, the highest percentage for any organizer. That said, cultural events regardless of who organized them were important in and of themselves to 55 percent and, consistent with the low levels of participation of respondents in religious-identified activities or associations (3.3 percent shown in Figure 5.13), events organized by a religious organization were found to be the least important.

Contradicting some of the self-reported DQ findings on participation in the arts and culture, especially among non-Belgian citizens and those born in other countries, several interviewees reported an overall lack of diversity in the arts and cultural scenes of Brussels. One explanation may very well be the roles played by non-Belgians as well as the types—formal and informal events—of spaces and scenes, as well as the definition of 'diversity.' (DQ data on associational participation by type of activities is shown in Figure 5.13. Besides the Zinneke-specific activities or unless otherwise specified by respondents as their main activity, no additional information was collected on specific arts and cultural events of participation, such as professional dance troupe membership, community theatre, main-stage musical performance etc.)

Some of those interviewed who work within the institutions (and within Zinneke) expressed a common belief that the stages of arts and cultural remain "*que des blancs et des belges*" (consisting "only of white Belgians").[81] (a socio-cultural actor)

Some interviewees articulated that one 'condition' for engagement in artistic and cultural scenes was that you have to be already quite curious by nature and open to the experience; "you have to be interested in the Other by nature [if not at least open to difference]." However, as shown above, the DQ and SQ data on participation and attitudes reveal more mixed if not different activities and opinions.

In terms of involvement in the Zinneke Parade and related activities throughout its 2-year planning process results from the DQ reveal lower rates of recent involvement among non-Belgian citizens. Whereas 49 percent of Belgian citizen respondents were involved (as participants, organizers, etc.) in Zinneke Parade 2010, only 33 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents reported such involvement in 2010. This was confirmed as well in the two years of activities leading up to the 2010 Parade: where 51 percent of Belgian citizen respondents reported participating in either a workshop, *soumonce* (quartier-based rehearsals), public meeting or some other Zinneke-sponsored event compared to 28 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents.

Though lower rates of participation were reported for non-Belgian citizens for arts and cultural events and for Zinneke in particular, for people interviewed in-depth, Zinneke remains

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[81] Though her comment is more literally translatable as "only of whites and of Belgians," given the context and the intent, I have translated these two groups to mean one in the same.

an example of diversity as inter-generational, inter-cultural and inter-social. (a socio-cultural actor)

> Zinneke is a very good framework…with this kind of people, with this level of musicians, because with all the groups together, with all this diversity and all these generations you can really make a statement…all kinds of people, all layers of society in one group of 50 drummers. This wouldn't be possible if you only worked in Molenbeek…all this community at the local level. (a socio-cultural actor)

However, this positive image of a successful intercultural urban experiment is not only not universal, but also does not change the opinion of many interviewed that arts and cultural scenes, especially the *grandes scènes* (main stage productions and venues), remain fragmented and limited in their reach and offerings.[82]

One local interviewee said that speaking as a 'white Belgian' working in the socio-cultural sector, "I know tons of people who participate [in the Zinneke Parade]. I think that every Bruxellois knows a lot of people who participate." However, during her interview when speaking about immigrant Brussels, she talks more about this fragmentation and their absence from the scene: "Sixty percent of Bruxellois are of migrant background … but even with this very real history of immigration here in Brussels, these people are not at all present on the

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[82] The issue of recognition and access to Brussels' cultural *grandes scènes* is addressed more fully in the forthcoming article by Costanzo and Zibouh, *Identities* (2013 special issue on migrants and the arts in urban settings).

stages of our theatres, in exhibitions, **they are very absent from everything that is cultural**…of everything culture that happens in Brussels." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

One local theater director offers a similar view on the lack of diversity in Brussels' arts and cultural scenes:

If you talk about participation in general, and the *Cultural Plan*…it is on several levels, the public level—inspired by Myriam Stoffen's *discours*—…every Brussels person has to be able to participate to what is shown in our stages, in our museums, whatever. It's also on what we create…more and more I realize that what we create is very closed and…we have to take risks and program different things…so everyone can participate on our stages and in our teams, in our personnel. There we have a huge problem…in **the lack of representation and participation of…the diversity of the city is completely not reproduced**…very white…participation of the public…to have workshops…to **let them participate in the creative process itself**. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

Speaking of the Cultural Plan for Brussels and the main 'cultural networks' behind it, namely, the Réseaux des Arts à Bruxelles (RAB) and Brussels Kunstenoverleg (BKO), one local socio-cultural actor suggests that "our two networks are both very white, very Belgian, with established and subsidized institutions…how do we come up with a platform that is much larger and which reflects…the image of Brussels, its landscape and population." (See Chapter 3 and Costanzo and Zibouh's forthcoming article detailing the Cultural Plan as part of recent mobilization efforts of local socio-cultural actors in Brussels.)

Many speak of the inclusiveness, openness of creative participation, participation in Zinneke but who gets involved, my in-depth interviews confirm, is less well documented and the perception remains that several publics are not reached.[83] Taking the example of youth from the BCR municipality of Forest (Vorst), one local researcher suggests that "as far as these youths are concerned…the Zinneke Parade was something of the *petits bourgeois* [of Brussels, not for them]." Certainly, as another local socio-cultural interviewee notes as well, the Zinneke Team has struggled in their outreach with certain groups, and mentions the Turkish community, and little work with the Congolese and Polish communities of Brussels of which their numbers are *quasiment inchiffrable* (practically unknown, uncountable). Yet another interviewee agrees with the point about the lack of familiarity and awareness with Zinneke, specifying that unless you are somehow involved in Zinneke, you may not know of it. Her experience participating in the 2008 Parade was "the first time that I really knew what Zinneke was."

Zinneke's organizing committee (the *Équipe Z*) appears not to be immune to the lack of diversity found in more established socio-cultural institutions of Brussels. Says one interviewee:

In the Équipe [Team] Zinneke,… I must admit that…despite the different profiles in terms of generation and career path, we're all…by and large blonds…of European culture…Western, very Francophone or Dutch-speaking…even if at the center of this team there are quite a few differences in terms of social backgrounds…by and large they're the same…the coordinating team doesn't have…someone…from another continent, of another culture who would have had different values, a different take on

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[83] Zinneke does conduct a more limited internal post-parade evaluation of its associational participants among others; this evaluation has not been reviewed.

things…there's a… predominantly local flavor even if there is a diversity and a richness in the view of each person…we're not really confronted with collaborators who would…a Congolese, a Maghrebi person, who would be…relevant. Then, in the artistic teams and in the effected participants, there, I believe there is a diversity…in the sense that…in their approach and…they're not all born in Belgium…in their world, in their approach, how and what they explore in their aesthetic code…you feel the influence…it's clearly evident in their practice. (a socio-cultural actor)

Several of those interviewed also noted the differences in participation in the Parade by age group in that often a challenge for encouraging adult (including parents) and adolescent participation is that parents "think mainly of their children's participation…not of their own." Getting children to participate is not a problem at all, according to one interviewee who works directly with the participants in Zinneke among numerous other projects at her local *maison du quartier* [neighborhood association or center], and that there has not been a great evolution in the involvement among adolescents and adults (parents) over the years. Parents (adults) see the Parade as "great fun, but nothing more." And for adolescents there's a common problem she says, "you see directly with them that parading in the streets in make-up is out of the question. It's shameful, it's their neighborhood…it's adolescence that does that…regardless of where they come from…an ignorance in regards to culture." (a socio-cultural actor)

Among those interviewed, there was an articulation about the role (if not the direct responsibility) of cultural institutions themselves to reach out to underrepresented groups within their quartiers and communities to create an opportunity for participating in culture:

[T]he quality of participation depends a lot on the quality of the project that has been

set up...how...organisations, persons,...mediators...are able to create a dynamic...where

they create an atmosphere, a space...what these actors do exactly and create as a space

for people...there's not one way to organize a project for Zinneke...*'palette des*

possibles'...for us it really frustrating because in quite a lot of projects we see that there

are a lot of policies that are not taken, not organized to create these moments, from the

very beginning, to see these spaces, to go much further in letting people take the place

they want to take. (a socio-cultural actor)

One justification of institutions as "*rôle étincelle"* (a catalyst) to encourage participation comes

from practical barriers to participation among young and old alike.

If we don't take them to participate in local events they will never go because their

parents work, they [the children] are at home and they will not have a vision of the real

world...it's not...just because their parents work late that these children should be

deprived of local activities, not only that...we don't want them to simply be

spectators...consumers...we tell them '**if you go, you participate and you create**

something that should come from you.' and each time they do it. (a socio-cultural

actor, emphasis mine)

The exposure to 'cultural discoveries' by "someone who makes you discover" (a cultural

mentor) was articulated by many as a successful means of encouraging (future) participation, a

long-term impact on both personal and professional choices. As one local socio-cultural actor

put it, "There is always something within an individual that must trigger a love for something

else."

D.   The Participatory Process of Creating Culture

Whether perceived as a "*rencontre*" or "*tension*" or sometimes else, respondents interviewed spoke of the "*petit à petit*"("little by little") "we create a participation…participation in many layers," many different aspects of participation, showing (off) to each other what each has made, has contributed, says one socio-cultural actor.

Another interviewee comments that she really likes the word '*tension*' because you feel that there's something energized and something that happens between participants, between artists, and for projects which work less well for reasons of who's involved and how and differences, you try to find a form of conciliation. (paraphrased)

Sometimes the *rencontre* is simply an exposure (deliberate or accidental) to the creative process of others which triggers their own involvement. One socio-cultural actor talks about how in the case of one of her organization's socio-cultural projects, some people simply come to see what's going on and say, "Ah, this is what you're doing here," which can shift their involvement from passive onlooker to active participant.

Participation as a process, such as the Zinneke *formation* (training programs for anyone interested in learning about an artistic technique, craft, etc., such as costume-making), was identified as fostering the creativity of the collective, facilitating further participation—"people bring ideas with them" in other words, with people and their involvement comes participation, an evolution of collective thinking, where difference and 'otherness' are very present, one socio-cultural actor interviewee says.

[Y]ou have this sort of creation by association…with different pieces, different origins, different references you have to produce something…**the Other is very much present in the production schemes**. (Congo, Brazil]… it's very global in a certain way. (a researcher, emphasis mine)

In terms of the institutionalization of creative participation, one socio-cultural actor insists that "we shouldn't master everything in this project." In other words, it should not be formalized or institutionalized. For him, the element of spontaneity that comes with and from each new project, every two years, is a key element of this creative process.

And finally where such creative participation acts as a discursive space and encourages open discussion—a '*non non-dit*' space where things are <u>not</u> better left unsaid. Referring to her comment about traditional taboos that exist in migrants' home countries: one socio-cultural actor says that "for me something that is very important…is that there is no taboo. Everyone can speak openly…the opinion of everyone is always welcome…you see an immediate difference because of this." She cites an example of painters who are not permitted to paint in their countries of origin, and that "you realize very quickly that here…freedom of expression is quite a luxury…."

In talking about Zinneke in particular, another socio-cultural actor says that "in Zinneke, there is something else, a moment for people and for their ideas to be heard…professional artists guide them further and shake them up…which moves people beyond a simple facilitated act…they are going to find a new space for working and for creating, found in this 'artistic tension'…and **we create something new together**…it's clear." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

As the questionnaire data and interview quotations show, there is not a clear line between defining participation and its process, especially not within artistic expressions where participation is defined <u>by</u> its creative process. The results presented address elements of both the notion of participation (the concept) and its expression/application (the practice).

"Thinking of the organization or group for which you are MOST ACTIVE, what is/was your main reason for being involved in this association/group?" (DQ. Question27.)

When asked to describe their main reason for participating in the activity or organization in which they are most active, DQ respondents offered various responses, such as a general desire to help people ("wish to contribute positively to society"), for personal growth and fulfillment ("Involvement in these groups gives meaning to life, it's the flavor of life, the joy, the passion, the desire."), to meet other people ("discovery between people") and for work ("it's my job").

E.   Impact of Participation

What about the impact of creative (cultural) participation? As one local researcher asks "Is it a constitutive moment in the life of participants?" and "Can we say that there was also a before and after?" These questions are constructive in the formulation of our answers to the question of participation's impact, however, paraphrasing Durkheim in Dubois, Bastien, Freyermuth and Matz (2012) culture is "a moral phenomenon in and of itself that does not lend itself to precise observation nor measurement." (p.7) These challenges were confirmed by some interviewed regarding participation's impact being "difficult to measure."

Also, some articulate impacts and of clear ties to the Zinneke Parade experience—

[I]t is something that shows Brussels to its inhabitants. It shows **what Brussels is**. It's

diverse…it's a kind of…**regular presentation of that diversity in a kind of positive**

way…symbolically I think that it is important…it changes a little bit of the view of

foreigners [visiting Brussels that day]. [because of the mixity shown in the parade] **it**

completes the image that they can have of the city. For me it remains important…if

only for that reason. Now what I don't know is what it has changed for the participants

of the various years. (a researcher, emphasis mine)

Impact was observed in the *petites choses* (little things)—"in terms of concrete effects, it's

sometimes something very small…there are many stories." (a socio-cultural actor) One socio-

cultural actor interviewed talks of the small things as well, as changes on the individual level,

the little boy who shouted "Zinneke!" and waved to her many months later from across the

street one day in Brussels. She continued by adding that like the perception of Zinneke and

other cultural projects, the impact is "for adolescents different than the impact for children or

the impact of adults."

In their work on individual actors involved in protests, Blanchard and Fillieule (2006)

remind us that many studies' findings have "convincingly demonstrated" the impact on

individuals of (movement) participation as having "long-lasting biographical consequences in

every life spheres." (Blanchard & Fillieule, 2006)

Interviewees discussed impacts of different kinds and at different levels, grouped here

as individual and/or institutional; and during and/or after involvement in Zinneke.

1.   Individuals and Impact ("*cas par cas*" case-by-case)

Interviewees report many individual examples of impact; "it's case by case." This sums

up the opinion of many interviewed from the socio-cultural world about their personal

experiences, observed experiences and of those told to them by others.

One socio-cultural actor speaks of the individual impact regarding the *Carolos* (people

from Charleroi, Belgium) who participated in the Zinneke Parade in Brussels. "When I spoke to

the people of Charleroi about Zinneke. AAAH. It seemed like such an extraordinary thing to

them because…these are people who have never been to Brussels…have never left their city…"

She says that they are "like 'foreigners' in Brussels…and [are] recognized and valued as

Carolos…behind this collective effort…they are proud of being Carolos and to show it in

Brussels." Brussels has become much less farther away for them. Both before and after their

Zinneke experience, she asked them if they would be interested in going to Brussels. Before

Zinneke, no one ever signed up to go.

Referring to immigrants in particular, but applicable to the broader participant

experience of Zinneke, another socio-cultural actor believes that "the project is very

important…it is something that happens very rarely, if never…that someone asks 'hey, would

you mind bringing something of yours?…in this work that we are doing together it's important

that you, that you bring something of yourself to this work.' There is no question in my mind

that this has a long-term impact as well."

In speaking of concrete impacts others talked of the "creation of links" in addition to the

"production that's created…with associations and individuals…of parents…to get people to step

outside of their small corners" where their skills are shared, shown and valued and "also

confidence that is instilled."

Where participating provides people with renewed personal strength, one socio-cultural

actor says that "they believe in themselves again…" As an example, another local socio-cultural

actor talks about a man who offered to fix a clothes tree for their non-profit that "without

Zinneke, he never would have dared to offer his services…I am sure, sure, sure that without this

participation he would not have dared to propose such a service…**it's because of this**

recognition of his skills." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine) She cited other examples of

this valuing: No one would have ever thought that these guys would be so excited…even the

logistics team "are very integrated in the project…they participate, they come and their work is

given a value to a broader public…more than simply changing a light bulb, there's another

dimension to their work." One of the workers invited his family to the *soumonce* (quartier-

based rehearsal) organised by their Zinnode to show them what he had done (with and beyond

his skills/job).

An interviewee cites "this marvelous project" as hosting a cross-cultural conversation, as

an example, among youth where Poles, Ecuadorians and Maghrebis mix. Indeed many

interviewed spoke of the range of impacts on the individual, very often discussed as positive,

with the caveat, as one local socio-cultural actor puts it that "the impact of Zinneke just really

depends on the people you're talking about." And, in the sense that not everyone will

experience an obvious benefit: "on the individual level, it depends on the individual, for some

people it will be the discovery of a new site of their personality, others will say 'never

again.'…at least they had the opportunity to discover."

For example, adolescents, "you see them in the streets and you feel how proud they are to be there, they are having a great time…I am completely convinced that this has an impact…that endures…there is something that occurs during the moment within the team…**you work together for months…there is a public and media-based recognition** of the event…yes, I think it works." (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

One of the hopeful impacts reported is that due to the interactions, people learn to be "more open of mind" that you "start talking to people" based on the experience, that it reduces prejudices.

2. Impacts on Associations and the Socio-Artistic and Cultural Sector(s)

Not only were impacts noted at the individual level, but also at the institutional level including the socio-cultural scenes. One interviewee finds that the "[Zinneke] project that allows you to gauge the temperature of the various sectors collaborating with the project."

He goes on detailing the ongoing challenges of the Zinneke project, in relation to the associations and on the impact within these institutions. Realistically, he says that impact takes time, "is not generally going to happen with one parade." And that owing to a high degree of personnel turnover in these organizations "rarely does Zinneke work with the same representatives for more than one or two parades…it's a difficult reality…in terms of impact related to these associations…it really depends on their accomplishments, on what they allow…on what they change…on shifting certain habits."

In her experience of working with the associations involved in Zinneke, another interviewee agrees that "little by little, we are able to try and change some attitudes, some

sector-based rules as well as the arts where all of a sudden everyone is faced with another reality that…questions these practices, codes…ways of working…the history of networks in Brussels…in contrast with the Parisian arts scene where you have this hierarchy…*grands théâtres*, [main stages] etc." She goes on to talk about the arts and cultural scenes of Brussels as well and suggests that Brussels allows for such shifts in structural norms by not being so hierarchical, distinguishing between the big formal arts and culture scenes and the *maisons de(s) culture(s)* [cultural centers]—quartier or municipality-based and Community-funded spaces. She also finds that one of the "great strengths of Zinneke…there isn't this split between disciplines, between the networks…between the new platforms [of artistic creation]…**without Zinneke this would not be**."[a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine]

Linking the citizenship project to cultural projects, "defining citizenship with a project…'we share this soil, territory. In order to live together, if we have the same project, it helps.' **I think in culture, you can have that…a school of respect**…there is a potential that can an impact, at least locally." (a researcher, emphasis mine)

3.   Impact on Brussels

Some interviewed spoke also of the impact that Zinneke has had on Brussels itself. Coupled with the more individual and institutional impacts, the context for and discourse surrounding future projects have changed. Though individuals or institutions may not able to specify the Zinneke Parade itself as the catalyst, we can trace the changes in discourse and programming in Brussels within the cultural arena to this period of creative collaboration which began with Brussels 2000 and the first Zinneke Parade.

As the first director of the Zinneke Parade, a founder of Brussels 2000 and a cultural leader and major voice in Brussels' cultural scene for decades, Marcel de Munnynck argues that "after 2000, you would regularly see people, in the press, etc. once again using the word 'Zinneke'…when speaking of the Bruxellois…a sort of cultural recognition of the *métissage bâtard*[84] [bastard mix breed] which has resurfaced…in a broad sense, in the mentality, we find it again." Another local socio-cultural actor explains the role of Zinneke in Brussels this way:

> [O]n the city level, the importance there is that they linked so many sectors, so many people, so many different communities…Zinneke is one…they succeed the best [relative to other actors in the cultural sector]…they reach the most, the most diverse…and also as an event…a regular event for the city…that something that comes back…it is great that such a diverse socio-cultural event has become one of the regular events of the city…that's also good in and of itself…if you like it or not, it's there, and you get involved. (a socio-cultural actor)

Another local socio-cultural actor describes her personal experience with the 2000 Parade together with the broader impact on Brussels and its residents.

> I was speechless…it's not possible that [such an event] was possible…you had the impression that it was the first time we see this mixing…that people had done this, creating something together…with such enthusiasm…you felt that…[speaking of its impact] that now it's part of Brussels…it has become the symbol that people can build something together with many different cultures… (a socio-cultural actor)

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[84] Of note, the term 'bastard' is not used pejoratively, but is instead said with pride, when speaking of the mixed (zinneke) origins of the Bruxellois.

4.   <u>Impacts During Zinneke</u>

"A child who says 'they closed Brussels for us!'…it's an extraordinary thing." (a socio-cultural actor)

Many interviewed talked of the participant's experience of being involved in Zinneke, including the Parade, and the numerous local activities building up to each new biennial event.

In some cases impact was cited as immediate, without a perceivable (or necessary) longer-term impact or without the measurability of a longer-term impact (though such an impact was often implied). In addition was a commonly shared notion of learning how to do things differently with different cultures:

- "The '*vrai bâtard*' [true bastard]…these *recontres* of all of these Belgians, of these Bruxellois of different origins, of completely different backgrounds coming together on one day; it's an exchange of so many things…this, this is the Zinneke Parade, the exchange of all of these cultures because most of the time…the history is totally different for everyone…it makes for a great melting pot of the many colors of life."(a socio-cultural actor)

- In speaking of the Parade and the bigger Zinneke project: "the advantage [of Zinneke] is that what you see is so diverse and everybody can project…his own interpretation, his own background, his own references…everybody recognizes something." (a socio-cultural actor)

- "You are talking about impact, me, I quickly talk about everything that comes from the *rencontre*. I think immediately of that…these modest little stories of which there are thousands in the history of Zinneke and there are … certainly 500 more that we don't

know about and that's a good thing. It's good that we don't master that, that it escapes

us; that's important as well." (a socio-cultural actor)

- On the notion of 'intercommunicability' experienced by Zinneke's spectators: "People

  know quite well that they can be on the other side (as a participant of the

  parade)…contrary to an artistic performance [a formal artistic expression]." (a socio-

  cultural actor)

For impact to occur at whatever level and at whatever time during or after the (Parade)

experience, respondents mentioned several different links and networks connecting with

different publics being created during the Parade:

[i]t really depends on how…on the local level…in a very sensitive way, we reach key persons,

key structures, key organisations, key networks that might open up. And If you don't have a

couple of people that really take time to go and seek for people, inhabitants in the

neighborhood, go and talk with youngsters in the street and so on, if you don't have a

youth house, for instance…but you have to go and seek these participants. (a socio-cultural

actor)

A notion with clear importance articulated by interviewees is not only the act of participating,

but the process of participating in Zinneke. In brief, impact is process dependent. The creative

participation process in Zinneke, particularly through local *soumonces* (the rehearsals held in

the public spaces of the quartiers of each *Zinnode*[85]) was described as being especially

important in Molenbeek—a heavily immigrant, largely Muslim working class municipality of the

BCR—because, as one local socio-cultural actor put it "a lot of young people that live in

Molenbeek never leave Molenbeek…it is really important in their process. They created

something together and now they show it to their community." She talks about how this public

act within one's own neighborhood can be very stressful for some participants; they "have to

overcome a certain fear" in order to overcome the *sociaalcontrol* [social control, peer pressure]

in front of their own community.

And in the particular case of immigrants: "There are people who actually said…this [the

Zinneke Parade] was the first time that they had any real contact with others…thanks to this

project…the impact on social networks that the people create among them…links are

created…[speaking of immigrants in particular] contact that they had with with *des belges…des

bruxellois*. [she laughs and, in referring to finding a term to distinguish Belgian-born Bruxellois

from foreign-born Bruxellois, says that "it's very difficult to find the right word." (a socio-

cultural actor)

5.   Impacts After Zinneke – Leaving a trace of cultural projects and personal experiences

"[M]usic is very interesting…you have the feeling that you can understand, **you can be touched
without understanding**." (a researcher, emphasis mine)

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[85] Though the institutional structures housing them are rarely created specifically for the Parade, Zinnodes are
often a neighborhood-based (local) collective created for the Zinneke Parade around a common theme. Members
of each Zinnode (25 in 2010) paraded together in the city center on Z Day, 22 May 2010.

When asked about whether Zinneke had achieved one of its key goals to "to build bridges across the linguistically and ethnically diverse Brussels Capital Region," 77 percent of DQ respondents believed that it had.

People interviewed in-depth responded to this question by reinforcing the 'case-by-case' notion of impact and the role of the creative participatory process. Generally, the interviewees' assessment of longer-term impacts came from the underlying assumption that the experience of this 2-year preparatory process and individual and associations' involvement leads to longer-term changes, some of which are cited above and more are included here, such as the formation of musical groups during Zinneke which exist beyond the parade.

Citing the example of music and based on his own research and personal experiences in the arts and cultural scenes of Belgium, Italy and elsewhere, one researcher suggests that:

> [w]ith music, you can belong to a…community because you are touched by the same kind of music, for example…there is a huge potential…**there is a potential to transform people into actors, into participants**, especially now if you take rap and so on, everybody can be active in the younger generation. You don't need…years of schools…to value…to show that you can do something with others…it is a potential…with sports it is the same. (a researcher, emphasis mine)

In the particular case of artistic expressions among experienced and non-experienced artists alike, the creative and collective experience continues in an artistic form for many beyond the parade. On post-Zinneke impacts, one socio-cultural actor cites "the group Bandaka, with its Brazilian and Congolese members (among others) and the confidence in oneself among its

members…this group also exists still today…semi-professionally [though no longer involved in Zinneke]."

Further, he cites the example of a young Polish women and an elderly Anderlechtois (a person from the BCR commune of Anderlecht) who were part of a "magnificent trio of musicians, the influence that they had on one another…they created many things together…these are people who had a simple appreciation for art, but nothing more…they put together…a performance together…this, this is an effect, these little stories where these people…it's a clear concrete example…and that escapes us sometimes…and there [clicks fingers] there is this pulse [implying that in the spontaneity of the moment / of the *rencontres* these impacts happen and cannot or ought not to be observed, recorded or analyzed]." (a socio-cultural actor)

Talking about some post-Parade chats, another socio-cultural actor remembers that for previous Zinneke Parades, "the day or the weeks or the month after those participants still remember 'WOW, that Zinneke was great! WOW!' and not only that it was great and finished, but that it…encourages them to keep drumming…Zinneke can be a very good impulse…also for the drummers it's a really safe environment, we are 50…all the same costume, even a mask, if you make a mistake, no one [notices]." You are safe to create (and to err) in numbers.

The challenge of the assessing impact of participating in such an event is highlighted by the comments of one socio-cultural actor: "you have people that meet each other during a workshop and when the workshop is finished, a lot of people don't see each other afterwards, but that doesn't mean that it didn't have an impact."

Though it could be argued convincingly that what she cites has a long(er)-term impact, another socio-cultural actor says that whether it has a long-term impact per se doesn't matter, "what is important is that some people…learned something [practical]." She gives an example of a young Moroccan who learned how to sew and "that there is a change in the perspective people have of others."

Finally, as part of the success of Zinneke, "a lot of people that look at Zinneke afterwards they will all tell you something different of what they saw." That it triggers something about you in particular because "there's a bit of everybody in that project"; it is the multitude and uniqueness of experiences.

III.   THEME 2. (SOCIAL) INTEGRATION & IDENTITY

"[S]uccessful immigrant societies have overcome…fragmentation by creating new, cross-cutting forms of social solidarity and more encompassing identities." (Putnam, 2007)

"In assessing the role of such creative collaborations, how do we know if integration occurred *because of* participation in the event or *was already present* prompting participation?" (Stated differently, "Are those who participate already integrated?") More broadly, this becomes a basic and fundamental question about evaluating the impact of any factor (independent variable) on another (dependent variable), and requires a statement before presenting the thesis findings of the theme of integration and identity.

The assumption underlying this question is one of linearity. A linearity and direct cause-and-effect relationship (or hypothesis of such a relationship) by the researcher who attempts to answer this question. I would argue that here, with my research question and through this

thesis work, there is no expectation that integration (or a perception of integration) occurred uniquely before, during or after involvement in a creative collaboration, such as Zinneke. In fact, and as discussed in detail in Chapter 2, I conceptualize a form of 'local' integration—a social, economic, cultural, linguistic, etc. process of adaptation to and incorporation of the local, tied to place. The additive role of creative collaborations in this integration process is what is argued and presented here.

Of note, the practice and understanding of integration and notions of identity and belonging were covered throughout the Detailed Questionnaire (and in-depth interviews).

A.   Integration, Cohesion and Identity in Context

"cohesion…social cohesion is based on things that are built together and on projects that are done together." (a socio-cultural actor)

This sentiment was confirmed by interviewees and in open-ended responses to the Detailed Questionnaire. How such cohesion is interpreted and translated into notions of self (identity) and belonging depends on the context—territorial, temporal, relational, etc.

Recent formulations of identity and belonging occurring in Brussels have been taking place within a context of demographic growth, economic uncertainty, Europeanization and internationalization in a 'new' Belgian Region (established in 1989) whose cultural identity is governed by Belgium's language Communities, but whose own population has at least partially (re)appropriated its mixed or zinneke origins.

The pluri-cultural realities of Brussels are not bound by Community lines (as they are in Flanders and Wallonia) or a single, long-standing model of integration, but instead Brussels is a unique place for the realization of integration in various forms.

> We realize that Brussels is a *terrain vierge* [fertile ground] in Belgium…We don't have an a priori position in Brussels regarding one or the other [models of integration]…there are the means of creating something new in Brussels…a new model. We can opt for a mix of the two models, and we've simply translated them via a model of interculturality. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

However, this uniqueness does not necessarily translate to openness. One local researcher sees the current approaches to and discussion on integration as enforcement-based and further that "we do everything for fighting *against* delinquency, but nothing *for* liberty…for participation." (emphasis in original) He also speaks of the official discourse on integration in Brussels:

> The integration of immigrants became 'social cohesion' in 2004, which is ridiculous…it's very Francophone Brussels…we change the words in order to hide what we don't wish to talk about [by changing the discourse]…and it's always about social cohesion among the poor. The rich-poor dimension is never discussed…we only ever hear about the tensions that exist between people of different cultures…it's only one part of social cohesion. (a researcher)

Another local researcher shares this opinion about the framing of migration in Europe and in Belgium:

> [M]igration tends to be thought of in terms of problems…and many times in terms of security or social cohesion…if you frame the issue in terms of problems, you end up

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finding problems…I have always said, there is no problem that is immigration, there is a

problem with the [way] society thinks about immigration…[as] an external component

of our society.

DQ respondents provided their opinions about immigrant integration and related policy efforts

with slightly more than one-in-four (26 percent) of DQ respondents believe <u>national</u> policies

and programs aimed at integrating immigrants into Belgian society have been successful,

whereas about 37 percent found <u>local</u> policies and programs to be successful. (The specific

policies or understandings of 'national' and 'local' cannot be determined directly from the

data.)

Interestingly and consistent with other indicators, such as that of the role of arts and

culture in integration, non-Belgian respondents report more pessimistic views of immigrant

integration than Belgian citizens. Notably, on whether immigrants overall were integrated into

Belgian society, 50 percent of non-Belgian citizens said they either did not agree (29%) or

strongly disagreed (21%), whereas only 23 percent of Belgian citizens expressed these opinions,

though 51 percent said they were neutral. It is unclear whether the relatively high percent

among non-Belgian citizens is due to their perceptions of their own integration, that of other

groups or of how 'immigrant' was interpreted. Interestingly, in terms of having equal

opportunities in Belgium, none of the non-Belgian citizen respondents believed that migrants

had equal opportunities in Belgium. (Figure 5.14)

Figure 5.14. Statements about Immigrant Integration in BELGIUM by Respondent's Citizenship (DQ sample)
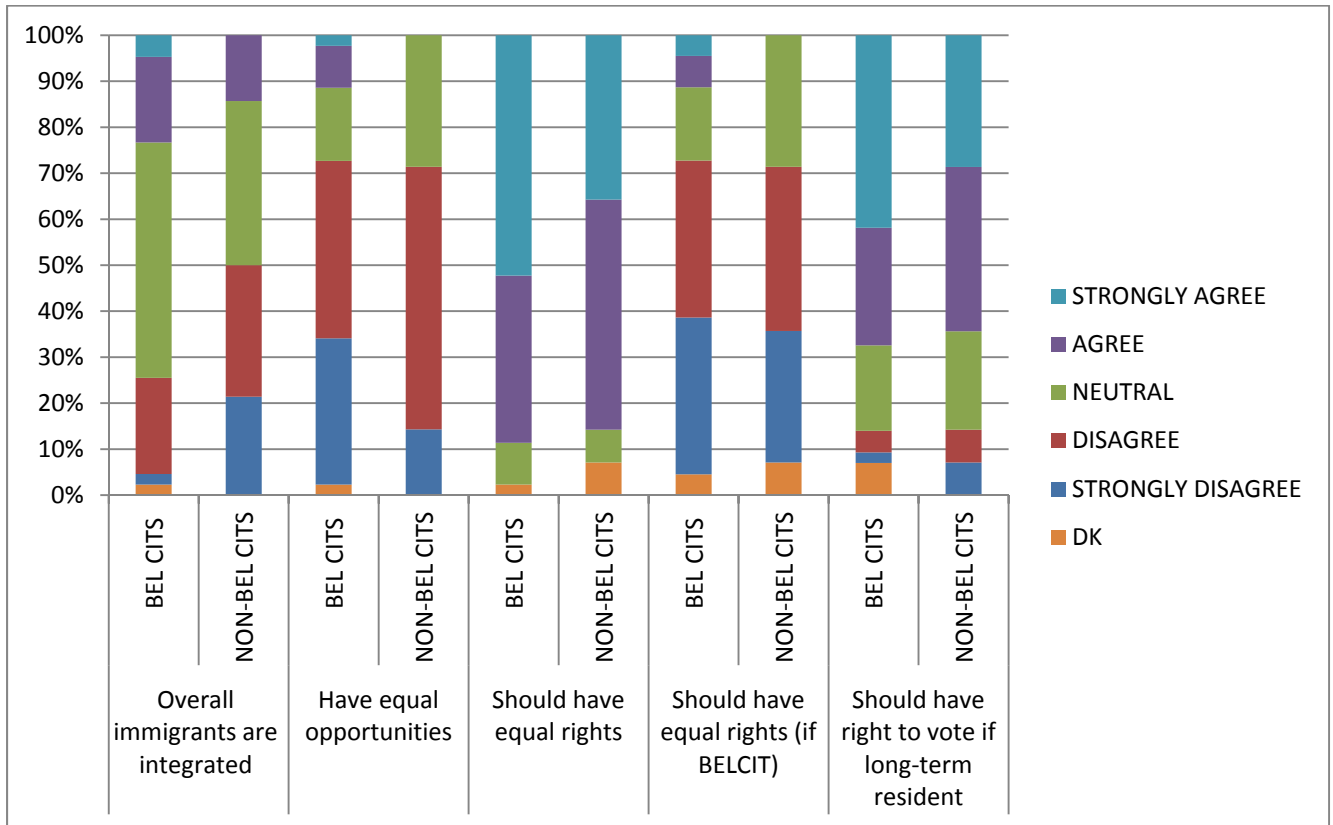
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

In responding to the interview question "Is having an integration (cohesion) policy important?"

Interpreting and using integration not to explicitly speak of immigrants, but of societal cohesion in general, one socio-cultural actor says, "Certainly, it's important on all levels." She goes on to discuss the role of integration in public education in Brussels and how cultural knowledge—

Flemish or French—is shared and its impact. She cites the example of understanding (or not) one another that Flemish and Francophone cannot communicate if they don't share the same language, and in their schooling in Belgium, they grow up with different literary (cultural) references, with different instilled values/lessons, unknown on the other side of the country's internal linguistic *frontière*.

B.   Defining 'Integration' and Related Terms

When presented with three types of integration (representing: Assimilation, Multicultural integration, Intercultural integration), 53.5 percent of DQ respondents agreed with the statement that immigrants should adapt to the societal norms in which they live; they should learn the language and customs of their new home, <u>but also should practice</u> the traditions of their place of origin (Multicultural integration model), whereas 45 percent responded that immigrants and local residents should <u>both</u> adapt to the social norms in which they live; they <u>should form</u> and <u>practice</u> new customs and traditions (Intercultural integration model), and only 2 percent that immigrants should adapt to the societal norms in which they live; they should learn the language and customs of their new home and <u>should not practice</u> the traditions of their place of origin (Assimilation model).[86]

In the academic literature, in political discourse and the public consciousness, integration and its indicators have very often been constructed on the premise that the responsibility (and ability) to adapt rests solely on the shoulders of the immigrants, newcomers, *allochtoon*, *étranger* and so on; the intercultural model, as defined above, remains absent. Responses from the in-depth interviews and from the DQ respondents in particular serve as rich sources for opinions about how terms, such as 'integration', are defined and understood in the Brussels and Belgian contexts.

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[86] When disaggregating by citizenship, we find that slightly more than half of both Belgian citizens (52 percent) and non-Belgian citizens (56 percent) support the multicultural model.

Whereas Figure 5.14 shows respondents' answers about integration in Belgium, Figure

5.15 shows findings from the detailed questionnaire in regards to Brussels in particular and

includes the importance of knowing local language(s) including an 'immigrant' (international)

language—English. Given the specific and contentious nature of the debate over language in

Belgium, it is not too surprisingly that some differences emerge particularly around the

importance of sharing a common language and with French—the majority language of the

Belgian capital.

In response to whether speaking the same language is necessary in the successful

integration of different groups, 86 percent of non-Belgian citizens agreed or strongly agreed

whereas 71 percent of Belgian citizens felt this way. Similarly, 86 percent of non-Belgian citizens

believe (36%) or strongly believe (50%) that all residents of Brussels should have at least a basic

understanding of the French language whereas 62 percent of Belgian citizens believe (23%) or

strongly believe (39%) felt this way.

Figure 5.15. Statements about (Immigrant) Integration in BRUSSELS (DQ sample)
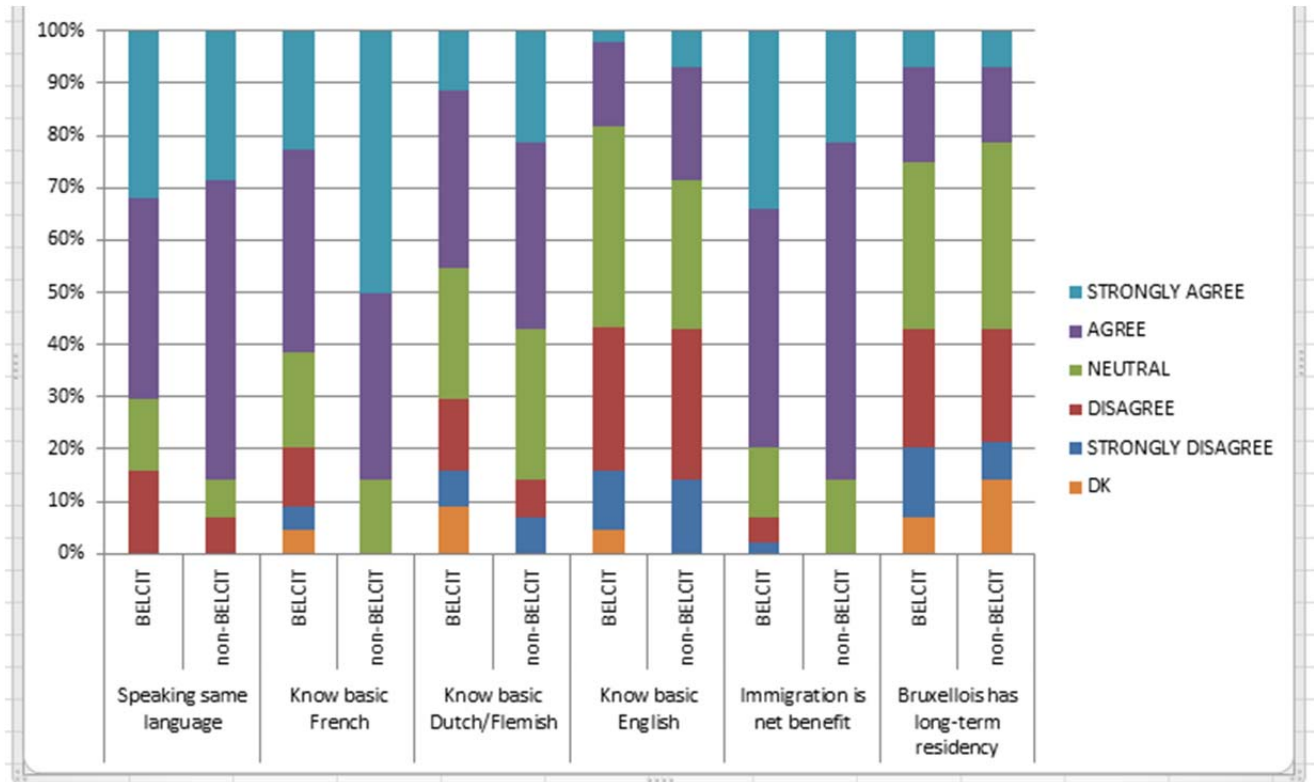
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

As shown in Table 5.5, when asked to assign a value from 0 to 10 to each factor for successful integration into Belgian society, DQ respondents identified a Belgian education and Belgian language fluency (Dutch, French or German) as being most important.

Table 5.5. Factors for Successful Integration into Belgian Society (DQ sample)

	Mean Value	Mode Value
Attend schooling in Belgium.	7.6	10
Speak fluent French, Dutch or German.	7.6	10
Live in neighborhoods of diversity.	6.8	8
Participate in Belgian political process.	6.7	10
Have Belgian-born/-raised friends.	6.6	8
Participate in arts/culture.	6.6	5
Participate in sports/recreation locally.	5.8	5
Have Belgian citizenship.	4.5	5
Own a home or business in Belgium.	3.5	0
Practice a Judeo-Christian religion.	1.5	0

Note: Here, the factors were scored separately, 0-10 with
10 being most important.
Source: Author's calculations, DQ data. (n = 57)

As Table 5.6 shows, when disaggregating these answers by Belgian citizenship, we observe a slight shift in value attributed to (local) language—a higher importance is reported among non-Belgian citizens. The importance of having personal friendships with Belgian-born and raised people as well as being educated in Belgium are highly valued for both citizen groups.

Table 5.6. Factors for Successful Immigrant Integration into Belgian Society by Respondent's Citizenship (DQ sample)

	Belgian Citizens		Non-Belgian Citizens	
	Mean Value	Mode Value	Mean Value	Mode Value
Attend schooling in Belgium.	7.7	10	7.3	5
Speak fluent French, Dutch or German.	7.2	10	**8.7**	10
Live in neighborhoods of diversity.	7.2	8	5.6	7
Participate in Belgian political process.	6.9	10	5.9	5
Participate in arts/culture.	6.7	8	6.0	5
Have Belgian-born/-raised friends.	6.4	8	**7.4**	8
Participate in sports/recreation locally.	5.9	5	5.6	.*
Have Belgian citizenship.	4.4	5	4.9	0
Own a home or business in Belgium.	3.1	0	4.7	5
Practice a Judeo-Christian religion.	1.2	0	2.3	0

Note: Here, the factors were scored separately, 0-10 with 10 being most important.
*More missing values than any one reported value.
Source: Author's calculations, DQ data. (n = 57)

When DQ respondents were asked to rank (compare) these factors against each other, language fluency in at least one of the official languages was identified as most important followed by Belgian education and having Belgian-born or Belgian–raised friends. In other words, only a slight (and likely non-statistically significant) shift occurred in the ordering of the top three reported factors when compared against one another. (Table 5.7)

Table 5.7. Factors for Successful Integration into Belgian Society—ranked (DQ sample)

	Overall Rank	Mean Rank Value
Speak fluent French, Dutch or German.	1	3.0
Attend schooling in Belgium.	2	3.2
Have Belgian-born/-raised friends.	3	3.8
Participate in arts/culture.	4	4.5
Live in neighborhoods of diversity.	5	4.7
Participate in Belgian political process.	6	5.7
Participate in sports/recreation locally.	7	5.9
Have Belgian citizenship.	8	7.0
Own a home or business in Belgium.	9	7.7
Practice a Judeo-Christian religion.	10	9.2

Note: Here, the factors were ranked and scored
against each other.
**Source: Author's calculations, Detailed Questionnaire
(n = 48)**

When comparing the factors against each other and disaggregating them by Belgian citizenship,
Table 5.8 shows the continued importance of Belgian language(s), Belgian-based schooling and
Belgian-origin friendships, but the role of 'living with diversity' is found to be relatively less
important to non-Belgian citizens, and participating in sports ranks fifth (as opposed to seventh
for Belgian citizen respondents).

Table 5.8. Factors for Successful Immigrant Integration into Belgian Society
by Respondent's Citizenship—ranked (DQ sample)

	Belgian Citizens	Non-Belgian Citizens
	Rank	
Speak fluent French, Dutch or German.	1	1
Attend schooling in Belgium.	2	3
Have Belgian-born/-raised friends.	3	2
Live in neighborhoods of diversity.	4	7
Participate in arts/culture.	5	4
Participate in Belgian political process.	6	6
Participate in sports/recreation locally.	7	5
Have Belgian citizenship.	8	9
Own a home or business in Belgium.	9	8
Practice a Judeo-Christian religion.	10	10

Note: Here, the factors were ranked and scored against each other.
Source: Author's calculations, Detailed Questionnaire (n = 48)

In an effort to broaden the discussion on integration to factors other than those I provided, respondents were asked both for other factors of importance to successful integration, of a definition of 'integration' and of whether they would use another term instead.

46 percent of DQ respondents reported that there were other items (factors) important to immigrant integration not included in this list. Summarizing the main items provided: familiarity with host country, an interest and openness (to the host society), possessing work and professional skills among other things.

"In your own words, please explain the meaning of the word 'integration'." (DQ, Question 36)[87]

In answering the question about explaining the word 'integration' in their own terms, DQ respondents expressed many ideas about <u>mixing, interacting and living together</u> ("…to be in contact with people.." and "…finding a way of living together without being too separate…"); about <u>participation</u> ("taking part") and <u>shared experiences, values and duties</u> ("To take part in the daily life of society") and of <u>balancing</u> these commonalities and traditions between immigrant and host country populations ("to adapt oneself without forgetting one's roots"). Respondents also reported the importance of <u>feelings of belonging and respect</u> ("to feel good in a new place" and "to feel respected and welcomed") plus having <u>social and economic parity</u> with host country populations ("to have the same rights and duties" and "to have a job, acquaintances and friends"). Further, some suggested that integration involved the <u>creation and redefinition of society</u> ("production of differences suitable for contributing to redefining the host society (if it provides the means, of course), to pose new 'problems', etc." and "it is the welcoming of one person or group of another person or group which will prompt changes in habits, behaviors…")

Further, DQ respondents and some interviewees defined the term using notions of <u>openness</u> ("the ability either individual or community-level to want to open up to others"); of <u>choice</u> ("the importance of freedom [of choice versus trap] is considerable…if you are trapped in a community against your will…something else."); of <u>newness to a place</u> ("trying to find a

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[87] Though not discussed here, DQ respondents were also asked: "In your own words, what does the term 'community' mean to you?" (See the Detailed Questionnaire, Appendix II.)

home in a new city" and "learning how things work") and as <u>not</u> necessarily as <u>uni-directional</u>

("not only in one sense, such as just of immigrants coming to a new country").

Noteworthy, from the definitions of integration shared by respondents, are the parallels

with the reported descriptions of Zinneke and of creative participation in general, and the

models of interculturalism, multiculturalism and assimilation. From their explanations

'integration' appears to be explained by some as the responsibility of the immigrant to

integrate (fit in), whereas others identify it as a shared process or responsibility of both

immigrant and host country 'natives'. In other instances, integration is about the process or the

outcome of such a process ("integration aims for likeness, this is why people are the same while

remaining different").

Other terms also emerged and were defined and differentiated in this context,

contrasted with '<u>assimilation</u>' ("For me, integration is NOT assimilation"; "with

assimilation…you assimilate…you take on the rules and the norms of the population that

receives you, but you lose everything that makes you, you, the richness of who you are;

whereas integration…you integrate…you feel good about yourself…living in harmony.";

assimilation is to lose one's own culture, "it's not good because each person…can bring

something of value to the society in which they integrate, bringing their personal richness.";

"assimilation would be an obligation…the majority group requires that the minority group

assimilates where difference is not tolerated; you lose your non-majority traits." ; with

assimilation "the social pressure is such to maintain [local] tradition…a heritage, etc."),

'<u>cohesion</u>' reinforced, in the example of Zinneke, through cross-project *rencontres* (cohesion is

a "question of success, of living together"; within Zinneke it's about people "coming together in

the projects.") and 'multiculturalism' ("in my vision of multiculturalism, there is also space for mono-cultural life…whereas people talking about interculturalism, put 100% efforts into developing bridges and links between various groups and cultures (which is good), but some groups should have the right to say, 'we would like to experience this between us and not you.' I do not feel excluded by that.")

When asked to define the term 'integration,' one researcher interviewed described the impact of using these terms and their (mis)interpretation, "Nobody addresses the issues of the Flemish versus the Walloons. '*Interculturalité*' refers to the position of minority groups in society. This is a problematic view. If you want to talk about '*interculturalité*' or 'multiculturalism' you have to include, of course, all of the components of society."

C.   Defining 'Identity' and 'Belonging' and Related Terms

"[I]t is important to be a member of society…my view of society is not a society in which people are trapped in a close-knit community with no connections with the others. We try to encourage multiple identities and connections and exchange…I don't see it as an either or." (a researcher)

1.   Identity and Belonging

Person (French-speaking and Dutch-speaking Bruxellois), place (Region, territory) and language (Community) are dominant identity structures in Brussels. Interviewees and respondents to the Detailed Questionnaire provided closed and open-ended responses to several questions on these notions.

Figure 5.16 shows self-identification (yes/no) related to various geo-political, ethnic and linguistic identities (groups) prominent in Belgium. Following this list, respondents were asked to identify the group with which they most identify and why. (See Table 5.8 below.)

Figure 5.16. Identity Groups (DQ46.)

46. By marking yes or no, indicate whether you identify with EACH group in the list.
   [Mark yes or no for each.]

	Yes	No
Europeans	◎	◎
Belgians	◎	◎
Flemish	◎	◎
Walloons	◎	◎
Bruxellois	◎	◎
Francophones	◎	◎
Dutch-speakers	◎	◎
Turks	◎	◎
Moroccans	◎	◎

Source: Detailed questionnaire (DQ).

Looking across all identity groups in this list, DQ respondents cited 'Bruxellois' (87%), 'European' (85%) and 'Belgian' (78%) most often and as their main identities. (Table 5.9)

Table 5.9. Group Identification (DQ sample)

	% Yes	% Main ID
Bruxellois	87	28
European	85	28
Belgian	78	26
Francophone	76	5
Dutch-speaking	39	0
Flemish	27	2
Walloon	24	2
Moroccan*	14	0
Turkish	2	0
Other	NA	10

Note: DQ, Question 46: "By marking yes or no, indicate whether you identify with EACH group in the list."
* Upon further disaggregation, all (seven) respondents who reported being Moroccan were born in Belgium, six of whom have Belgian citizenship.
Source: Author's calculations, Detailed Questionnaire (n = 60)

"Please explain why you MOST identify with this group."(DQ, Question 48)

Those respondents who identified 'Bruxellois' as their main identity cited the localness of Brussels ("The local has a greater impact on me."), the positive representation of the city-region ("…open and dynamic identity…" and a "melting pot"), the 'linguistic mixing' and 'great diversity' there and the personal sense of ownership there ("it's my city!...").

'Linguistic membership' in both symbolic and practical ways ("it is my mother tongue…") was mentioned as a key factor in the primacy of Francophone and Flemish-speaking identities among respondents, though only five percent of DQ respondents identified either as their main group identity.

For those responding 'Europeans,' the reasons varied from its broader, non-nationally-specific scope and symbolic role ("the two countries of reference (Italy and Belgium) are both part of Europe" ; "I feel like a citizen of the world"[88] and "I tend to the international context rather than the local …") and for some, though living in Belgium, not feeling Belgian ("I am pro-European and not Belgian").

Though slightly less often selected as a primary identity group (78% of respondents), 'Belgians' was selected for what it represented ("living together even with the difficulties" ; "…I belong to a Belgium of three languages." and "I am a Dutch-speaking Flemish person, married to a French-speaking Walloon, living in Brussels…") and for deductive reasons ("I was born in Brussels, in Belgium. Therefore, I am Belgian").

For a useful example of the challenge and context specificity (relativity and fluidity) of choosing a 'main' identity, one respondent offered that "[I]n America I am European; in Italy, I am Belgian; in Antwerp, I am Bruxellois; in Namur, I am Dutch-speaking Bruxellois; in Brussels, I am Flemish of Dutch-speaking origin."

Others answered similarly:

- "I am Francophone of Muslim faith who is learning Flemish. I was born in the Flemish region to secular 'Arab'-origin parents." (DQ respondent)
- One socio-cultural actor says that when working for the Royal Flemish Theatre in Brussels (Koninklijke Vlaamse Schouwburg, KVS) that she was "the most intercultural and least Flemish person there; I am very Bruxelloise." But that in

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[88] 'Citizen of the world' was the most popular term by DQ respondents when asked: "Are there any other terms or groups you use to describe yourself?"

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the context of Zinneke she laughs and says that "even though I'm still

Bruxelloise, fuck! I am so Flemish!"

As Table 5.10 shows there were important differences in group identifications reported based

on respondent citizenship—Belgian or non-Belgian. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of non-Belgian

citizens reported 'European' as their main identity with 94 percent of all non-Belgian citizens

identifying with this group. Also, 91 percent of all Belgian citizens identify as being Belgian,

whereas only 44 percent of non-Belgian citizens identify with the country-based identity; a

larger percentage, 69 percent, identify with being Bruxellois with 93 percent of all Belgian-

citizen DQ respondents.

Table 5.10. Group Identification by Respondent's Citizenship* (DQ sample)

	Belgian Citizens		Non-Belgian Citizens	
	% Yes	Main ID	% Yes	Main ID
Bruxellois	93%	33%	69%	13%
Belgian	91%	33%	44%	6%
European	82%	14%	94%	63%
Francophone	79%	2%	69%	13%
Nederlandstalige (Dutch-speaking)	53%	0%	6%	0%
Flemish	33%	2%	13%	0%
Walloon	31%	2%	6%	0%
Moroccan	17%	0%	6%	0%
Turkish	3%	0%	0%	0%
Other	NA	12%	NA	6%

Note: DQ. Question#46: "By marking yes or no, indicate whether you identify with EACH group in
the list."
* Respondents with Belgian citizenship and at least one other citizenship appear here as 'Belgian
citizens.'
Source: Author's calculations, Detailed Questionnaire (n = 60)

With the study's focus on the Belgian Capital, respondents were asked to explain the meaning

of 'Bruxellois.'

> *"In your own words, what does it mean to be "Bruxellois?" (DQ Question 50.)*

> Answer: "[A] Bruxellois is an inhabitant of Brussels, tolerant, influenced by different cultures, curious, not proud, a bon vivant." (DQ respondent)

> Reflecting the diversity of the city itself, responses to this question ranged from the

symbolic—notions of participation and commitment to as well as finding comfort in the city-

region—to the oft-cited practical, 'simple' notion of where one resides ("To live in Brussels") to

being concerned about and aware if not knowledgeable of the place(s) and its people(s)

("someone who loves the city, is concerned about its problems and who follows the news") and

to be participating in the daily life and offerings of the city ("…having a drink at Saint-Géry,

seeing a night concert at Botanique,..”). Like the Parade itself, 'a zinneke' was also mentioned

by some respondents, referring (most likely) to the diversity of origins, cultures and/or histories

of the people of Brussels.

Also, regardless of their own citizenship (Belgian or not), respondents overwhelmingly

felt that a person can feel 'Bruxellois' without being a Belgian citizen, 95 percent and 93

percent, respectively. Simply stated, you don't have to be Belgian to be Bruxellois.

Additionally, the role of language in being Bruxellois was asked of respondents; the

results were much less clear than for citizenship as a condition of Bruxellois-ness. 46 percent

said that a person could be (feel) Bruxellois without speaking either French or Dutch, however,

32 percent said that speaking at least one of the official languages of the capital city was

required to feel Bruxellois. Equally telling was that about 23 percent said that they were not

sure.

2.	<u>Belonging and Community</u>

DQ respondents provided insight into sense of belonging in terms of communities (linguistic, ethnic and neighborhood-based) and regarding Belgium and Brussels in particular.

Figure 5.17 shows results from DQ questions about community belonging including attachments to Belgium and Brussels by respondent citizenship. Owing likely in part to the importance of language in Belgian identity and dominance in political and media discourses, 78 percent of Belgian citizens reported agreeing or strongly agreeing that they had <u>linguistic</u> community ties, relative to 59 percent for non-Belgian citizens. In terms of <u>ethnic</u> ties, slightly more than 40 percent of non-Belgian citizens agreed (or strongly agreed) having these ties, whereas 33 percent of Belgian citizens made this claim. Further, a similar portion—a little more than 80 percent—identified <u>Brussels</u> as home but, consistent with the low percent of non-Belgian citizens identifying as Belgian, only slightly more than 40 percent identified <u>Belgium</u> as home.

Figure 5.17. Statements about Community Belonging by Respondent's Citizenship (DQ sample)
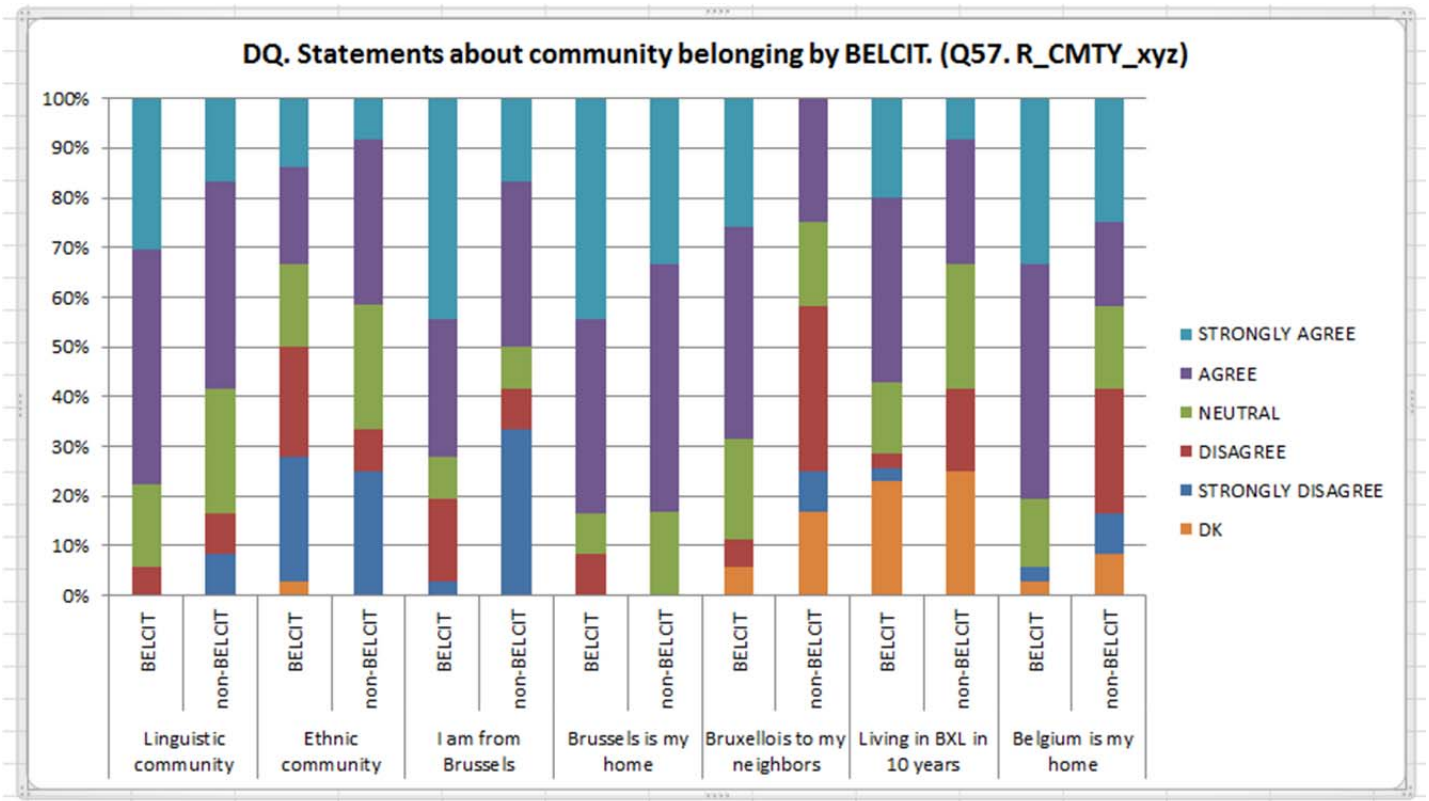
Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

Responses shown in Figure 5.18 localize further the sense of belonging to the respondent's own neighborhood.[89]

Confirming the very high level of linguistic and ethnic diversity reported in official statistics, numerous other studies and informal observations in the streets of Brussels, all DQ respondents reported high levels of diversity in their own neighborhoods—nearly 90 percent for both Belgian citizen and non-citizens respondents.

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[89] An additional open-ended item (Question 54.) to "describe the location of your neighbourhood in the Brussels Capital Region" was also asked in the DQ questionnaire. (See Appendix II.)

Some noteworthy differences appeared in the question on sharing values and sense of belonging to the neighborhoods. Interestingly, non-Belgian citizens reported higher levels for both of these than their citizen counterparts with 50 percent of non-Belgian citizens answering that they shared the same or similar values as their neighbors; only 32 percent of Belgian citizens answered this way with none reporting 'strongly agreeing' with this statement. Further, 81 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents reported feeling a sense of belonging (commitment to) their neighborhoods; none disagreed with this statement. 60 percent of Belgian citizens reported a similar sense of belonging.

Figure 5.18. Statements about Your Neighborhood (Belonging) by Respondent's Citizenship (DQ sample)
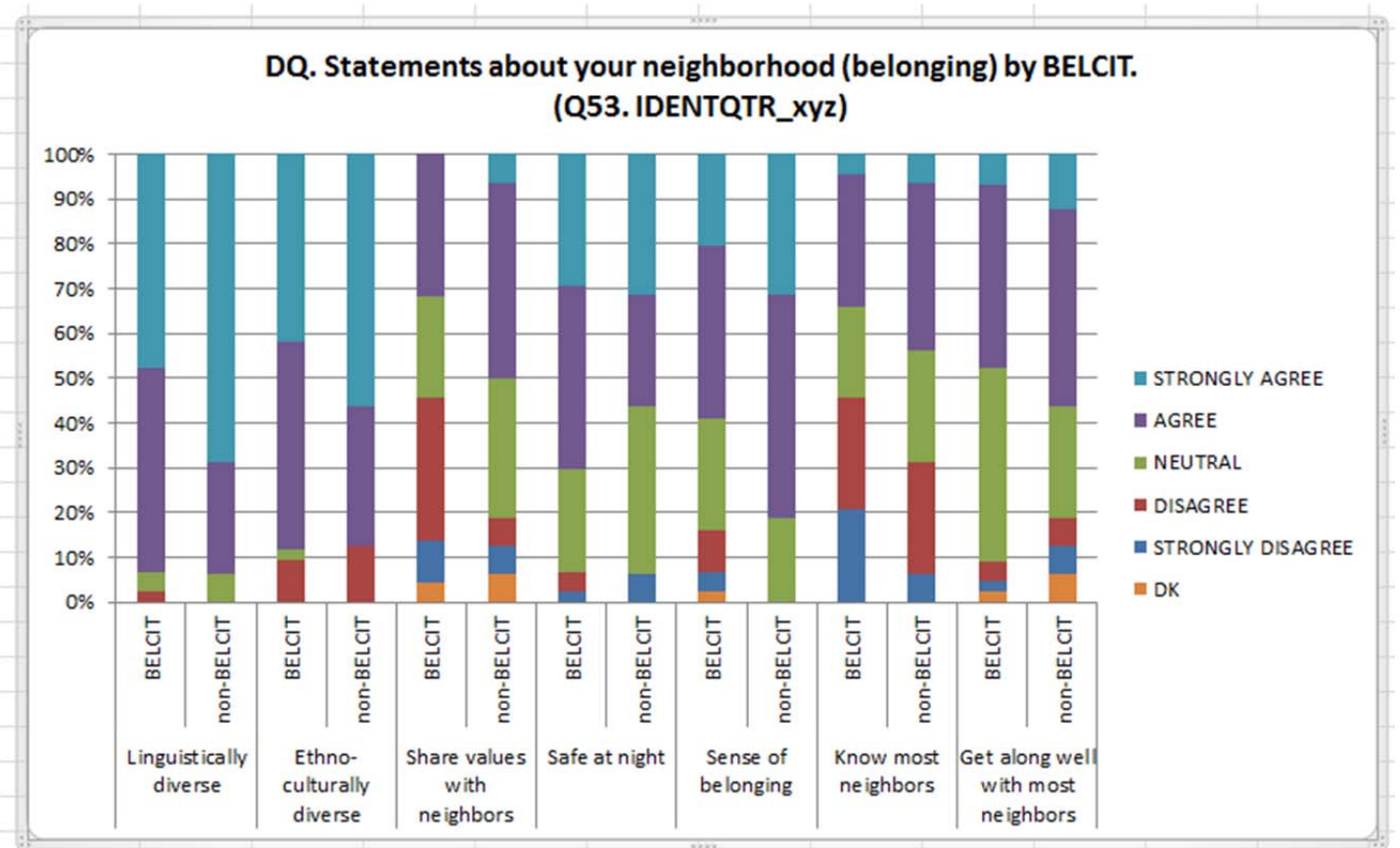

Source: Author's calculations. DQ data.

D.   INTERSECTIONS OF PARTICIPATION AND (SOCIAL) INTEGRATION

As has been hinted at, when not explicitly stated, the notion of 'shared creation'
appears to lead to an impact at the individual and institutional levels (even if not for everyone)
during and after socio-cultural activities like the Zinneke Parade.

The results presented here come from in-depth interviews and responses to the
Detailed Questionnaire including some explicit questions on the role of (creative) participation
in societal integration including majority populations and native linguistic minority groups (such
as Dutch-speakers) as well as immigrants and other minorities.

In linking Zinneke's outputs to Bruxellois identities, one local researcher argues that no
one and yet everyone can claim it; that "nobody can claim this is my culture [yet] everyone can
claim the product."

To the question of impact of *participation créative* on integration in Brussels, some
interviewees spoke of the lack of studies to date. To the direct question of the role of
participating in the local creative project, one local socio-cultural actor says that "this will
always be a kind of question mark for me because you think maybe it does and then the next
rehearsal they don't show up."

For her NGO work in Charleroi among immigrants and non-immigrants alike and with
Zinneke, another socio-cultural actor wonders, but cannot say for sure, if there is an impact
particular to immigrants, "I cannot say…it's a great unknown."

Further on this question of integration through participation (or participation facilitating
integration), in Zinneke and its impact, one socio-cultural actor states unequivocally:

[P]urely and simply…social integration…tied to the labor market…we are weak in

knowing much about this…it's a relay…Zinneke as it is…is not built with this purpose in

mind, but the [associational] members, the participants in Zinneke, without a doubt,

yes…they feel culturally integrated in the larger sense that perhaps the fact of having

found a personal assurance…allows them the advantage of, in a job recruitment setting

for example…of a different approach…where their qualities will show. (a socio-cultural

actor)

In other words, this creative experience will serve participants in practical terms, such as in job-

seeking, where they can apply skills learned from their Zinneke experience toward landing a

job.

Expressed differently, a local researcher asks: "Under which conditions can that

potential lead to positive participation and cohesion and under which conditions can it lead to

more negative results?"

For those who responded that creative participation facilitates integration:

- Through this, there is a legitimacy where each person finds his/her place. "In my

  opinion, yes, it's not so simple obviously…however, [with projects like Zinneke]

  we are rectifying a little…we are giving to each person a legitimacy, a place…it's

  really important…**everyone is part of the city**…a project that truly gets them

  involved, it restores a place in time, it affirms a legitimacy…" (a socio-cultural

  actor, emphasis mine)

- Where creative participation leads to integration – or where the conditions are right for integration to occur, it's in the workshops [*ateliers*] where we see integration in the communities. (paraphrased) (a socio-cultural actor)

Returning to conditions for successful integration, respondents again cite the facilitating role of art and culture and the self-esteem and self-confidence as the two key factors in "integrating oneself into society."

Further, some interviewees argue that the structure (or structurelessness) of these encounter-experiences (*rencontres*) stimulates integration by "putting together different publics". One socio-cultural actor cites the example of a local project by Fedasil, a reception center for asylum-seekers in Charleroi, and integrating them into common, shared projects…

We work a great deal also with neighborhood associations. We have, without doing it intentionally, exactly the same goals. We work a lot with Fedasil…with two centers…with young [pregnant] women…and with the youth of the region in order to get them to participate…it allows them to become integrated here, but **also [by including] local people from the area, they become sensitive to what it's like to be exiled**…to be alone…so, it also gives our children the chance to understand the difficulties that these children face…for me, there is also an element of social cohesion…**to bring children in contact with another public that they don't usually interact with**, other people…the workshops…[all sorts of people, from all walks of life]…it also **gives them a dignity**, you see. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

In her answer to the question, "Does participation foster integration?" another socio-cultural actor says that:

I think so, in the sense that if you don't participate you'll never know what it is, so you'll never have the possibility to integrate…you don't have to force everyone. I work in the cultural sector because I love culture, but I hate football. I had the opportunity to play it…and I realized that I don't like it…**if you never had the possibility to participate you'll always be a little bit on the side…if you cannot participate there's lots of fear**, and you get scared…if you don't know how to react, you react because you don't know it…this is for me always a paradox. I don't want to give people the feeling that we force them…every sector is stressing on them…I don't want to be the 'we all have to be cultural addicts' no, **we have to give the opportunity to everyone**. (a socio-cultural actor, emphasis mine)

She also confirms ideas expressed by others of giving people the opportunity to participate as an important institutional (and societal) step towards integration,

the challenges…we have to be open for their…'living culture'…we have to not always try to get them to us, but we have to be open for their ways of experiences the whole thing…we don't have to oblige them, we have to give them the opportunity. Everybody has to get the opportunity to participate and to get involved…**they should have the opportunity to try**. (emphasis mine)

Those interviewed and DQ respondents also commented on the role of arts and cultural participation in understanding others. Speaking broadly about cultural participation, 45 percent of DQ respondents believe participating in artistic and cultural events plays an important role in improving our understanding of people and places where we live; and 69 percent believe that Brussels has plenty of cultural offerings in which its residents can participate.

In contrast, one local researcher interviewee argues instead, in speaking of the *centres culturels aux jeunes* (local cultural centers' youth activities) that

> [T]here are very few things. There are not really cultural centers in Brussels…they are a big mess…at the local level…these *maisons des jeunes* (youth centers)…there are no dynamic cultural centers in Brussels…over the past several years, I personally have never seen this artistic dimension, cultural production, taken up by such institutions…we are in a social logic…where culture is used to occupy and not to produce…we do not create artistic projects as activities…as positives, as producing, as self-emancipating. (a researcher)

Though a majority (69%) of non-Belgian citizens clearly place value in the integrative role of arts and culture for migrants in Belgium and Brussels, the DQ data show that they remain relatively less optimistic than Belgian citizen respondents 93.5 percent who believe that art and culture play either some or an important role in the process of integrating immigrants into society.

From the in-depth interviews we find additional detail about the role of artistic participation and integration. On what works and what does not work to encourage participation, one local socio-cultural actor says:

> [T]here's no magic formula…I have been working now here for ten years, and we have always tried to incorporate immigrants, especially Moroccan musicians, into our work and into our music and it's always trial and error. What works for the moment is we have this 'ganala' teacher…we ask him to have more 'craqua players'…and he goes to his students. (a socio-cultural actor)

Additionally regarding the practice of incorporating 'immigrant voices' into local arts and cultural practices, in line with the notion of creating something new together, one local socio-cultural actor talks of his approach to incorporating 'immigrant voices': "for us, the key is to let them play their music, but just try to get them out of their traditional story, but put their traditional music, make it valuable into the whole, and not make them play what you want."

And what of Zinneke? How do the Bruxellois perceive it and its impact? Study respondents were asked the following question:

"As part of its stated mission, Zinneke Parade attempts to build bridges across the linguistically and ethnically diverse Brussels Capital Region. Do you think that it is successful in achieving this goal?" (DQ. Question 14.)

DQ respondents were asked about the Zinneke project and its goal of building cohesion in Brussels to which 54 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents thought Zinneke is successful in achieving its goal to build bridges across the linguistically and ethnically diverse Brussels; more optimistic about Zinneke's ability to achieve its goal, 84 percent of Belgian citizen respondents thought Zinneke has been successful. 46 percent of non-Belgian citizen respondents were unsure about whether Zinneke was successful in achieving its goal to build bridges across the linguistically and ethnically diverse Brussels.

In his interview, one local researcher discussed participating in Zinneke and its impact this way:

[T]he aspect of Zinneke is very much socio-cultural…we don't show them as Moroccans in traditional…but we paint them in blue, and they're not what they are, or maybe they are much more what they are in Zinneke than what the stories tell. The social

aspect…the socio-artistic project…the immense effort that it takes…they don't know each other…not all dedicated people…but what is interesting…the *bricolage* is not obvious. **There is this constructing of a new language**. It is only in the trying to make it that you see the radical difference…you have **to invent a new type of music**…that is a real artistic challenge…you are confronted with the fact that if you want to put all of these voices together, **there is no music existing for such a choir**…the whole problem of making a democratic and public platform for Brussels… (a researcher, emphasis mine)

IV.   URBANITY AND THE EURO-BELGIAN PROJECT OF BRUSSELS

The particularity of Brussels (as described in detail in Chapter 3.) warrants a separate section contrasting the generalizability of this study's findings with further contextualization for participation and integration.

A.   Brussels

"Brussels is like a suit…that is a little too big. Brussels gets lost a little in this big suit fitted for an international city." (author's translation, a socio-cultural actor)

1.   A Hybrid Brussels in the Broader Belgian and EU Contexts

Those interviewed provided many opinions about the urban setting of my research, namely Brussels, its <u>history</u> as "as wild and uncivilized" and in "an historical state of constant conquest up until Napoleon."; of its <u>structures and barriers</u>: in talking about the difficulties and challenges of working outside the language Community structure of Brussels, and even how "Brussels is managed by anti-urban bourgeois [interests]."

Referring to how the Brussels-Capital Region has no direct authority over cultural or educational matters, one socio-cultural actor explains that "it is a[n institutional] construction that is absolutely not adapted to most people here in Brussels…it doesn't make sense…a very, very complicated politically institutional context regulating the city which immediately you can see in the streets. It doesn't allow us to have a kind of coherent city policy."

Conversely, other interviewees spoke of the power of the local in Brussels, "there is a territorial and localist logic to Brussels…the localism is hyper-local…within the same municipality…huge differences and strong allegiances."

Brussels is unknown to many non-Bruxellois of Belgium, though this does not mean that (particularly negative) perceptions (notions) of Brussels and its people are not formed and reinforced. Mentioned by other Flemish interviewees now living and working in Brussels, one local socio-cultural actor says that "it's very strange actually, how you completely don't know your own capital, its structure. Also, you live in Flanders and you don't have any idea about this linguistic…challenges." This lack of familiarity, a local researcher argues, contributes to the perception elsewhere in the country that Brussels is a problem for the Communities. He says, "What is Brussels today? … a symptom of these processes…Brussels is presented as a problem." Even within the BCR, not all people conceptualize the entirety of the place and its spaces as belonging to them. He talks of the 'mental segregation' of Brussels' youth where a study was conducted in which students from Anderlecht, Woluwe and Etterbeek—one working class and two affluent municipalities (See Figure 3.2)—created mental maps of their uses of the city-region, and found that the 'social distance' is quite significant even in a small physical space like Brussels; that it is "not socially neutral at all."

Further, negative perceptions of Brussels can be found in urban planning and development where Brussels has been associated with poor urban planning and harmful urban development since the mid-20th Century. One socio-cultural actor speaks of "a key term to indicate very bad urban development planning has been *'bruxellisation'*…due to the enormous destruction that occurred in Brussels in the 1950s and 1960s; the traditional heritage was destroyed in 1958 [when Brussels hosted the World Expo]."

Particularly on the cultural front, he goes on to argue that "Brussels does not have a reputation as a city of culture like Paris or Rome…it doesn't shine like that, with a very present heritage, a very clear history. Why? Because Brussels was at the very edge of the conquests of Caesar."

As to the diversity found in the Capital Region, Brussels is characterized by some Bruxellois respondents interviewed as "a Zinneke, a mixity, a hybridity" and is "not just about French-speaking, not about Dutch-speaking" but full of multilingual spaces.

One local researcher talks as well about the non-cultural tradition of Brussels and of Belgium.

In a country which does not have a strong cultural tradition, it does not produce much [culture]…I think truly that the artistic and cultural production in general terms, as a vector of identity…30 percent of the [Brussels] population is foreign; more than 50 percent of the population is of foreign background. **We are in a cauldron of hybridization**, so why does it not take hold? Why is this cultural hybridization not valued…**except in the Zinneke Parade**…**we cannot seem to attach ourselves to**

anything. This, this is important…**With these different backgrounds we still do not have a strong representation of culture**. (a researcher, emphasis mine)

Another discussed element of Brussels is its unique place within Europe. Brussels as the capital of the European Union has profoundly affected the spatial, human and economic evolution and current status of Brussels over the past 10+ years; there is an 'international class' arriving in Brussels, says one socio-cultural actor. This strong internationalization of the city, particularly the presence of the European institutions, and Brussels as "the city of European-ness" has not (necessarily) benefitted the people of Brussels with examples of extreme unemployment among Bruxellois youth of certain quartiers, says one researcher, has contributed to the tensions of concentrations of poorer migrant stock without the means for mobility against new high-skilled, affluent Eurocrat populations.

Demographic and economic changes have been accompanied by changes in the cultural scenes and institutions of the city-region itself since 2000 and earlier. Historically, Brussels' institutions have not sought out cross-community or cross-quartiers collaboration, one local socio-cultural actor discusses how "that is changing now…there are some positive tendencies…but, I would not say that today we are in a 'culture of collaboration'…it is very different from neighborhood to neighborhood…An awareness of these questions on cultural diversity and intercultural work…is starting to be very present in the hands of most artistic and cultural actors – institutions and organisations…but most of them don't know how well to deal with it…it's a question of working with them. A question of touching a certain public that we don't touch."

In response to the structural impediments to collaborate, local actors decided to work together outside of the political system. Brussels 2000 marked the "end of the old regime" within the arts and culture of Brussels and, as a result, a local researcher says that:

> [s]ome elements came out of that…a number of initiatives at that time were the product…Zinneke was part of 2000…but you also have a number of initiatives…the whole cultural sector really shifted to becoming more and more Brussels and not communitarian, not fully or not only. I think since 2000 this agenda is open…Zinneke as urban is marginal in the artistic sector, also not fully recognized by the real professionals, is marginal in the social sector…at the same time it is in that margin that the new center is being invented in a certain way. (a researcher)

In terms of the structural changes in the cultural sector, he goes on to say that "what you see in Brussels is that civil society is expressing the reality of urbanity better…trying to approach it better than the political and the media expressions of it…you don't have a Brussels newspaper…it's always a part that pretends to speak for the whole…the public sphere is full of partial views struggling to become the expression of the whole."

Expressing an activist, pro-Brussels voice about restructuring the "reality of the city," another socio-cultural actor argues that:

> All of the different layers making this political geography very complicated. Where we as actors that want to work with the city and the reality of the city, all of the people that live here facing something that is not adapted, and that is one of the things that motivated some of the cultural and artistic actors in Brussels to say 'okay, if the

politicians [.] won't do it, we'll do it ourselves. We'll start to collaborate together and we

want to make that formal. (a socio-cultural actor)

As someone whose professional path was through the (r)evolution of cultural programming and

spaces in Brussels, one local socio-cultural actor says that for years the arts and cultural spaces

were not addressing the interests of the local people, that they "did not feel at home" in their

own local cultural spaces, theatres, centers or otherwise, and that eventually such spaces were

transformed and have become more participatory.

Further, as one of the key players in this movement, he says that, "I think there was a

true momentum shift towards cooperating in culture between Francophone and Flemish."

Other "*petites initiatives*" [small projects] were cited as well by interviewees as contributing to

and being reflective of this shift towards cross-Community cooperation in the arts in Brussels,

such as Kunstenfestivaldesarts, BrxlBravo, the Cultural Plan for Brussels, Globe Aroma and

Lasso (not discussed here in detail).

2.   'Zinneke' Brussels as a Contemporary Urban Cultural Project

"If looking for a Brussels in a concrete form, Zinneke is the closest to it (as representative of its
mixity)." (a socio-cultural actor)

Leading up to 2000, the start of many new expressions of the city, the cultural sector

shifted to becoming more Bruxellois-oriented and less communitarian in their approaches and

in their projects. "It is impossible to present Brussels' arts and culture from a single,

quantitative point of view." Data on the arts and culture in Brussels are particularly weak with

few studies synthesizing information from the relevant artistic and culture bodies. (Translated and paraphrased from Corijn & Vloeberghs, 2009, p. 234).

With the idea of "a carnival in Brussels," Mirko Popovitch submitted the socio-cultural project of Zinneke as part of Brussels 2000 bid as a European Capital of Culture. Prior to 2000, that there was nothing in Brussels at the time that represented the mixity of the Capital Region.

As for the impact of Zinneke, one local researcher argues that:

[I]f you combine it…it is the same kind of people that have made Zinneke or that are supporting Zinneke, that are also making Brussels Bravo, that have also made Citizens Forum, the whole **intellectual mobilization** that is behind the Cultural Plan, that shift to…the urban expression that is not ready-made, but that is at least confirming the incapacity of the existing grammars and languages to **express the complexity of the city**. And in that sense, of course, **the city is closer to the world than the country**…a number of participants do experience the freedom of not being caught in a fixed ego, in a fixed identity, **it's a non-identical identity that is made**… (a researcher, emphasis mine)

According to a socio-cultural actor involved in Zinneke:

[I]t's more about identifying…having visualized, becoming concrete, *tastbaar* [touchable]…being real…the *senti* [feeling] that a lot of people have about what Brussels is about, I think that is true…I think for a lot of people can identify with something they see…there is something like: 'this is what I see as being Brussels'…and in that sense, I think that Zinneke to a certain extent…if we are to look for something that is representing Brussels, Zinneke is the farthest in something that could be…a certain

degree of representation even though I…am not sure that it's the main issue…I think

there is a very big, important group of the population that can identify with what they

see in the Parade. (a socio-cultural actor)

Brussels' mixity is shared by its inhabitants, as another socio-cultural actor explains of his own

family, "many people themselves individually have stories of cultural mixing."

Relative to the other Regions of Belgium, in terms of public discourse, "Brussels is

something completely different…the experience of multiculturalism in Brussels…Brussels is

something else where the [Flemish and French] policy perspectives meet. Maybe it's not just by

chance that the Zinneke Parade is in Brussels and not in Hasselt [a city in Flanders, north of

Liege]", says one local researcher.

B.   Urbanity

Finally, the discussion with some interviewees extended from Brussels as an urban

setting into broader notions of urbanity, further contextualizing the role of culture and

collaborative creative participation and 'managing spaces of difference,' borrowing from Healey

(1997) and Sandercock (2000).

1.   Urbanity in Context

"Respecting difference while finding a foundation of common values." (socio-cultural

actor)

As a starting point, one researcher links the 'glocalized' world of "spatially organized"

networks at the urban level "leading to a new type of human bond, of human society" as part

of a radical shift to urban habitations, with two world tiers at work: a "system of urban networks" and the nation-state 'containers' within a glocalized reality where urbanity and not the nation is the location of activity.

2.   <u>Defining 'Urbanity' – "Living together through diversity and trying to make it visible"</u>

"Living in proximity with strangers." (a researcher)

One researcher notes the dramatic shift away from the nation state to that of the urban area where the city project is exactly the opposite of the national project: "urbanity as a post-national society" where for the nation "community is the central aspect of society", however, "urbanity is of another kind…living together on the basis of difference." He defines urbanity as "a bond of irreducible differences." Others interviewed cite his work, reformulate or express modified versions of this definition. One socio-cultural actor cites him in defining *urbanité* as "the way in which civility is applied to the city."

With Zinneke and Brussels as examples, the differences between city and country and the notion of urbanity that is or should be present in contemporary cities are explained in an interview as:

Every time…you are confronted with the real questions of translation…you don't make from African rhythms rock-n-roll by having the beat a bit more. There is something happening there, and you **bring people in the process**…most of the people in Zinneke have experienced these kinds of shifts in disequilibrium, decentering and recentering around another center. That is in fact a metaphor for Brussels for **what every city should do**. Is **never accepting the center it has**, in a certain way. Is always feeling a bit

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uneasy about it. I don't think 'being at home in a city' is a good slogan. You don't have to feel at home. At home that's your private sphere. **The public sphere is never of yourself. The city is everybody, but you don't have a home with everybody.** You don't have to live together with everybody. That's basically also a city as opposed to a village or a community…**That is an underestimated aspect of urbanity is that you don't have to share.** I don't have to live with Moroccans…but nevertheless, **as a citizen I have to give them a place which is not my place. So you have to give their place and spare place for them, for us and them.** This whole thing is shifting around…Being a good urban citizen is a difficult thing to do. Is **to be a member of a society that is not your own**. Is to be ready to pay taxes for uses that you don't agree…I accept that part of my money is given to build the whole system. [e.g., of paying to support religion when not interested in religion]…this is the big challenge and to accept the fact that you cannot reduce it to a simple us: … the village, the nation, a country; the city is not a country. (a researcher, emphasis mine)

V.   CHAPTER SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

This chapter has laid out the findings from the three primary modes of data collection—two questionnaires and in-depth interviews conducted between 2010 and 2011. We have seen that participation in creative collaborations is found to vary across the city-region and by different groups and types of activities. Measuring impact appears to be most meaningful in terms of individual and institutional impacts, impacts on Brussels itself and, in terms of Zinneke, during the Zinneke project and its biennial parade and afterwards.

Furthermore, identity is found to be complex and not universally shared within the context of linguistically-defined cultural policies and a non-dominant definition of Bruxellois-ness. Additionally, creative participation appears to facilitate integration when those involved collaborate within the context of urbanity, where difference and not sameness is valued, and where tradition is recognized, but where new collective creations reflecting Brussels today allow for participants to become involved in defining what Bruxellois-ness shall be.

With these findings in mind, in the next (and final) chapter, we move forward the discussion of their broader meaning and implications for urban and integration policy, for Brussels and beyond.

CHAPTER SIX. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS:
Integrating Locally through Creative Collaborations—Culture as urban policy.

A growing body of research has documented immigrants and ethnic minorities in urban planning and on the role of arts and cultural initiatives in urban development, but far less has been written on the intersections of the three: where arts and culture participation are possible strategies of integration in urban settings. The idea behind this research was to explore the understudied intersections between the cultural, migratory and urban worlds, in specific pursuit of an answer to (or at least to make a meaningful contribution to answering) the 'simple' question: "What is the impact of 'practicing local culture' in immigrant integration?"

This work is not the definitive response to questions about the role of culture in integration and its perception, but provides a case study—the 2010 Zinneke Parade in Brussels—from which we see clear evidence of an impact that collaborating on a creative-based project has on both perceptions of integration and on integration itself, particularly within a new form of socio-cultural and urban spectacle. Further, as described below, this work makes contributions through providing ideas for practical applications (at the city/municipal level) and introduces pertinent concepts into scholarly discourse on the study of integration: namely, the notion of creative collaboration (a refinement of 'creative participation'), explained in detail in Chapter 2.

Unlike previous research on the topic of immigrants and the arts or on culture and cities, here the research question links three elements together:

(1) Immigrant involvement and diversity in the arts and culture;

(2) Culture as a facilitator of immigrant integration; and

(3) Local, non-ethnically representational creative forms.

In short, the interest here is in the link between the arts, the immigrants and the local, in 'practicing local culture' which may reinforce existing or create new ties (and identity links) to *place* and not explicitly to *ethnicity*. For my thesis, I have selected Brussels and its Zinneke project as case study. Zinneke is a socio-artistic and urban project (a *projet de ville*) where belonging (membership and right to participate) is geographically (locally) tied—through its in-quartier *Zinnodes*—more so than ethnically, linguistically or otherwise, and is a local, non-ethnically representational creative form.

I.   IMMIGRANT INVOLVEMENT AND DIVERSITY IN THE ARTS AND CULTURE

In terms of their involvement and roles in the artistic and cultural scenes, immigrants are participating in the cultural production of European cities and in the (re)construction of place identities—of the urban environment and of their identities within it. As individual and institutional actors their participation in these cultural scenes and spaces can serve not only as an outlet for their creativity, but also as a facilitator of their and others' integration into and transformation of local society. These so-called "people of color" (immigrants and refugees) featured in Ireland's Bloomsday Festival are "unquestionably Irish," rightfully concludes Spangler (2007).

Aware or not, deliberate or accidental, immigrants are, therefore, instrumental participants in shifting the norms of creative expression and in changing the political and public discourses of 'the migrant' and of local identities.

Though previous works have concluded that diversity in Brussels artistic and cultural scenes and spaces is lacking and fragmented, my study shows that though this perception (and a lack of ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity in the scene) does exist—especially among Brussels' *grandes scènes* (main stages and institutions)—the Bruxellois of migrant background are active in the arts and cultural projects, especially when we include their creative collaborations in socio-cultural projects like Zinneke.

That said, diversity is present in Brussels' cultural programming according to my sample of non-citizen residents. Questions of how 'diversity' is defined and what scenes are being considered frame the discussion of inclusion and participation as Rosenstein (2005) concluded from her analysis of U.S. national data on diversity in arts and culture. Are we capturing the complete picture of what and where 'arts and cultural scenes and spaces' are in Brussels and elsewhere? To this end, David Beer's (2012) recent work on hip hop music as an "alternative insider account of city life" is an example of required (re)considerations of researchable spaces, both conceptual and literal.

Also, we should not be merely looking for Spangler's "people of color" or migration/migrant-themed works as indicators of such diversity. More and more rigorous study into institutional representations of the diversity of local publics is clearly warranted of both those appearing on the cultural stages and on those setting the cultural programs.

While confirming the work of Fillieule and Tartakowsky (2008), Bramadat (2001) and others have found that who else participates in social movements and spectacles—one's own *réseaux d'interconnaissances* (acquaintanceship networks)—determines our likelihood of participating. My data also show Zinneke's creative collaborations continue to reach into new

Bruxellois and Belgian publics: over 50 percent of study respondents attended their first

Zinneke Parade in 2010; over 34 Belgian municipalities were represented in the subsequent

2012 Zinneke Parade. This is one of the means of broader public access into the arts/culture

sectors and, thusly, a means of accessing a larger society, both from the perspective of 'new

publics' exploring outward and the larger society exploring these 'new' communities.

II.   CULTURE AS A FACILITATOR OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

This research demonstrates that participating in creative collaborations, such as

Brussels' Zinneke project, facilitates integration through involvement in collective actions that

value the contribution of each individual—regardless of their socio-economic status—and,

while embracing multicultural backgrounds of participants, these creative acts express the

contemporaneity of the place (Brussels) and its people (Bruxellois). Stated differently, in its

expression of contemporary Brussels, Zinneke reflects the city's multiculturalism through the

collective creative present(s) and not through re-presenting the individual traditional past(s) of

its residents.

This integration is neither uni-directional nor easily indicated by selected quantifiable

variables of the success or failure of newcomers to fit into the receiving society. The results

from my thesis research confirm the importance of these factors as well, however, they also

show that participating in creative collaborations also reflects an act of integration and a civic

movement building place-based identities (in the context of structurally defined and separate

language-based—that is to say, Francophone and Flemish—identities as well as ethnic, religious

and other identity forms, without imposing a normative definition (or expression).

As for the impacts of these creative collaborations, they come from participating in the collective creative process. Integration occurs not just <u>from</u> participating, but also integration occurs <u>while</u> participating. Further, it is the combination of the creative with the collaborative that fosters solidarity around a common project. What is externalized is the shared interest in the creative process, in creating something. What may be more subtle is the integration into the local-ness of the project within this encounter-experience (*rencontre*). As for some, my research shows that this occurs within (during) the participatory act and for some from (after) the act. This is not an argument that participation alone causes or always leads to integration. However, my thesis shows that participation clearly contributes to a strengthened sense of (local) belonging and identity formation on a case-by-case basis.

As one local socio-cultural actor concluded, "giving people the opportunity to participate as an important institutional (and societal) step towards integration." Part of integration is providing or having the opportunity to participate in society, in the formulation of its representation to itself and to the outside.

A. Integrating through Practicing Local Culture in Brussels: The Zinneke Project

In Zinneke in particular, the process of participation, and its impact on integration, is not limited to the moment of the spectacle (parade). Instead, "everything that goes before it is … even more important." As my research shows, these creative *rencontres* serve as a place without assigned, a priori social and economic personal values, exposing local residents to each other's differences, valuing individual abilities and interests, creating collaboration through

tension and discussion, allowing human error and generating social, psychological and economic benefits for those involved.

Its impact? As my thesis study respondents have explained, the impact of Zinneke and of creative collaborations in general is: measurable and immeasurable, individual and institutional, widespread and localized, long-term and immediate. Similar to the challenge of constructing a specific definition of Bruxellois, the impact of practicing local culture cannot be reduced to a single, community-specific or geographically-situated example.

Through my thesis research, I have shown that by its deliberate act of providing opportunities for innumerable *rencontres*, Zinneke's creative collaborations offer Brussels an alternative yet officially endorsed forum to validate the qualities of each individual while collectively exploring and creating new identity forms of a pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-dimensional Brussels. Stimulated by Zinneke, this optimism and openness exist in tension with a very real public policy infrastructure that is steadfastly committed to the preservation of unique (and separate) language-based communities and their identities.

Also participating in local (i.e., place and not language-based) socio-cultural projects provides the Bruxellois of migrant background with identities beyond those of 'immigrant,' 'minority' or 'outsider.' Here, they are not forced into a single—francophone or Flemish— identity or affiliation. In short, the Zinneke project is a modern day effort to continuously (re)create Bruxellois identities.

Finally, as a public cultural spectacle, not confined to the mainstream cultural centers and arts' stages and screens, Zinneke engages Brussels and its people through not only its temporary "reappropriation of the city center" at the moment of its parade, but more

importantly, through the many on-going workshops, public events, *soumonces* (rehearsals in Brussels' neighborhoods) and so on, involving thousands of participants in various collective activities throughout the Capital Region and beyond.

With its stated goal of unifying the city, its spaces, and its inhabitants through shared and participatory cultural expressions, Zinneke represents the potential for successful societal integration through the collective efforts of artists/performers, members of Flemish and French-speaking communities, city planners, researchers, private interests, and the many other immigrant and non-immigrant residents of Brussels. Since its first parade in 2000, Zinneke has forged its own path of celebrating Brussels' diversity of ideas, values, languages and their expressions through artistic encounters, and has provided the physical spaces and discursive fora wherein immigrants and all Bruxellois can collectively collaborate.

Miles (2007) reminds us that apparent successes of such initiatives require on-going commitments to community and by community, and to its prosperity for all. This is a significant challenge in most cities, particularly in Brussels where 'community' denotes separation— separate French and Flemish *Communautés* (*Gemeenschappen*), each responsible for the education and cultural offerings of their own linguistic citizenry who also simultaneously share the same streets, shops and neighborhoods of Brussels with numerous other communities.

Today's artistic and cultural spaces and projects of Brussels simultaneously reflect and reject its fragmented socio-political system. Cultural programming is set and funded by the Flemish and Francophone Community representative bodies (VGC and COCOF, respectively) to the Capital Region. Yet, since Brussels 2000, initiatives like Zinneke have not only been successful in becoming part of the official cultural calendar of the BCR and more present in the

public consciousness of the city's residents, but also their efforts have changed the discourse and are evidence of cooperation within the often tense communitarian debates of Brussels' complex political leadership.

The impact of Zinneke and its "deliberatively democratic" processes (Forester, 2009) involving the people, places, attitudes and experiences of the Brussels-Capital Region continues to evolve—every two years with new Zinnode configurations, new participants and new collaborative creations—warrants further inquiry.

In terms of its relationship to integration and integration policy, thanks to such cultural initiatives as Zinneke Parade, Europe has become a dynamic setting for discussion and action around creativity and innovation that links culture to economic and social reforms at individual, institutional and city-regional levels. These programs engage old and emerging debates about the place of immigrants in society by "developing integration strategies with migrants, not for migrants." (Maytree Foundation, 2009, emphasis mine.)

Further, the pluri-cultural realities of Brussels are not bound by Community lines (as found in Flanders and Wallonia) or by a single, long-standing model of integration, but instead the Capital Region is a unique place for the realization of integration in various forms.

Despite having neither policy-making nor financial control of its own artistic and cultural destiny, in Brussels, cross-community collaborations that collectively create local culture(s) exist as a viable instrument of solidarity and empowerment in a structurally divided capital. Arts and culture appear to be at least one area where Community divisions have not prevented local socio-cultural actors and other residents from mobilizing to (re)define their city.

My work moves the previous research forward on several fronts and investigates integration 'from below' where local-level participation in the arts and cultural scenes not only facilitates integration, but also compliments (or even may substitute for) public policies on integration by building individual and collective capital which provides practical and discursive spaces for knowledge exchange including enhancing language systems—beyond merely speaking French, Dutch or English—and accessing economic and social networks tied to place. In terms of policy implications, local socio-cultural projects appear to be an under-valued, under-used and under-studied instrument of (social) cohesion in the management of 21st Century cities.

Zinneke, and creative collaborations in general, build common (artistic) projects that reflect a contemporaneity of the local—a reflection of who the Bruxellois are at the moment of the creative collaboration. Arts and culture, and Zinneke in particular, appear to be one successful means of conceiving "a public space able to welcome and organize a peaceful coexistence of culturally and religiously different minority and majority groups." (Bousetta, 2005, p.11)

Following from Sharaby (2010), the success of a spectacle, such as the Zinneke Parade, can be measured by the relative number of participants and "the integration of people from all ethnic groups and sectors as a measure of the success of the celebrations." (Sharaby, 2010, p. 15) However, what is important in the proper measurement and broader understanding of both participation and impact is that participation and the spectacle are not (in my work) limited to the moment of the parade, but instead (and especially) includes the preparatory processes and numerous activities that are undertaken leading up to the main public event. In short,

participation is not best defined by the experience of or the meaning of the single moment of the spectacle. In Zinneke, creative collaborations take place in the preparatory process leading up to the and including the public spectacles of each Zinnode's work including their quartier-based workshops, public meetings and *soumonces* through to the gathering of all 25 Zinnodes in the city center on Parade Day.

III.   LOCAL, NON-ETHNICALLY REPRESENTATIONAL, CREATIVE FORMS

Different from other, either folkloric or multicultural spectacles, the Zinneke project encourages thousands of Bruxellois to experience their city differently from their daily lives through its "intense collaborations" starting anew every two years. On Z (Parade) Day, Brussels' residents reappropriate the physical central spaces of their city and, consciously or not, by their collective actions, they contribute—even if briefly—to a renewed public consciousness of the city-region, its people and their Zinneke (mixed) origins.

My research shows that these changes and the impact of cultural participation in general—neither always immediately evident nor measurable—have been found at the individual and institutional (associational) levels. Additionally, participation itself is not necessarily a simple act of choosing to get involved. It has been shown here that it can indeed be an act both revolutionary and with consequences.

Also, impact is process dependent. People and associations (of people) integrate through their participation in the *rencontres* of Zinneke and other creative collaborations. What Zinneke and its biennial parade represent are Brussels and its people of ethnically diverse backgrounds through locally-defined expressions. In other words, it is the parade's theme—*À*

table / aan Tafel (at the table) in 2010—that unites the artistic collective expression of each

Zinnode, the culmination of 25 unique, local creations around this theme.

However, relative to other cultural events, Zinneke is unique in its non-representation of

either ethnicity or migrant-ness. Zinneke is multicultural in its inclusion of the diversity which is

the reality of Brussels. However, through its expression, it does not re-represent this diversity

through the form of traditional dress (costumes), music and dance or foods or other symbols of

'origin.' Its Bruxellois-ness—the now of Brussels and its people—is what is displayed; it is the

contemporaneity of Brussels. This deliberate non-representation of ethnic and other

differences and representation of Bruxellois-ness reinforces the collective efforts of its primarily

Brussels-based participants. In short, Zinneke engages in a deliberate blurring of social, cultural

and economic lines and identities to forge a hybrid mixture (a Zinneke) of Bruxellois-ness. With

its ongoing projects, Zinneke acts as a near perpetual source of creative collaboration and

engagement in the dynamic of the local within and across Brussels' neighborhoods.

Furthermore, through socio-artistic projects, Zinneke's creative collaborations reflect

the synthesis of collective ideas about local diversity and the synergy of its many

representations at the moment of the parade. Contextualizing the findings of my thesis data on

Zinneke, as Cohen (1982) reminds us: "The politico-cultural structure of the event is different

every year." (p. 37) In other words, for numerous reasons, the 2010 Zinneke Parade was not the

same as the previous five Zinneke Parades nor the 2-year project building before each Parade.

Like the participants themselves, the publicly-elected themes vary from parade to parade as do

the social, economic and political climates—such as the 2010-2011 Belgian political crisis which

began around the time of the 2010 Parade.

IV. INTEGRATING 'LOCALLY' (THROUGH CULTURE) IN BRUSSELS

In Brussels there is no unique identity to which immigrants are expected to adhere. With this relatively open identity-making, and through projects like Zinneke, immigrants and ethnic minorities participate in not only creating an appreciation and norm of collaboration, but also in generating local identities. Stated differently, Brussels is a place wherein a "weakened hegemony" (Sharaby, 2010) opens the door for identity claims of diverse, non-'*autochtoon*' forms; where claims for rights to the (capital) city come not only from the recognition of ethnic, linguistic or religious groups, but also from the recognition of these as being quintessentially Bruxellois identity claims as well.

Reflecting the uniqueness, the Bruxellois-ness of Zinneke, one interviewee suggested that it was no surprise that Zinneke takes place in Brussels "and not in Hasselt [Belgium]." As the study's respondents also overwhelmingly reported, being Bruxellois requires no State citizenship; <u>one need not be Belgian to be Bruxellois</u>. 21st Century Brussels has become a space in which a new typology of (urban) integration is emerging, where living in difference is the norm.

V. FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND LESSONS LEARNED: CONCEPTUALIZING THE IMMIGRANT

When undertaking research into immigrant integration, we must be mindful, deliberate and cautious in our work's potential of reinforcing or encouraging simplistic categories of convenience, such as those often encountered for political, administrative, statistical and other

purposes. Furthermore, our attempts at measuring the integration successes or failures of local residents (born elsewhere, for example) must be forthcoming about the simplification of this assessment through its reduction to yes/no; integrated/not integrated constructions or those which place the responsibility of fitting in and of getting along solely on the shoulders of the immigrant.

Supporting the believe shared by many study respondents, integration is not uni-directional wherein only the migrant or minority change (or *should* change), but their urban reality requires adaptation on the part of everyone—'native' or migrant, majority or minority and so on—every local resident is impacted by the new reality which prompts reflection on the personal and political commitment to strategies which maximize the human potential (the local human capital) of this new reality.

Like the implicit otherness that comes from terms like 'immigrant' or the implicit crudeness of 'immigrant art,' the terms 'urban culture' and 'urban art' are usually described as being synonymous with graffiti art, slams and hip-hop music which elevates these artistic and creative forms (as being reflective of the socio-cultural energy of the city) and serves as code words for popular (read: primitive) art forms that only certain (marginal, minority or ethnic) groups do. Further, this labeling of 'urban culture' also erases the incredible diversity of media used by artists themselves (or of any urban dweller), and reduces artists to practicing only a few, recognizable forms of artistic expression. Additionally, these forms of expression are described as being the implied and exclusive domain of youth; as if only young people participate in creating 'urban' cultural forms.

Like the challenge of defining 'American,' to simply explain the term 'immigrant' we often conjure up a uni-dimensional image of people or groups of people of a single background (e.g., the Mexican or the Muslim who is poor, lazy and unable, unwilling or even hostile to integrate). Such simplistic and largely false representations choke political and public discourses to simple and urgent government interventions to handle the 'problem' of immigration and, instead of addressing the difficult structural issues behind this 'problem,' resulting in easy definitions of 'no-go zones' (read: where 'those people' live) and limit the discussion of integration exclusively within the framework of security, of threats to both 'native' body and mind. As scholars, it is our responsibility to inform these debates through conducting substantive research and rendering it accessible and meaningful to broader publics, providing a fundamental service to improve the understanding of contemporary society.

VI. FURTHER CONSIDERATION: (SOCIAL) INTEGRATION AS URBAN POLICY

"[T]he challenge of every city: living together on the basis of difference and not on the basis of community or commonality, which is a national project." (personal interview with local researcher)

My work provides evidence to support the role of socio-cultural projects as a strategy of local integration (cohesion) and urban and regional planning.

The Zinneke project's non-emphasis on migrants (or their measurable integration) encourages a Bruxellois identity targeting geography and not people. It avoids reinforcing the victimization and blaming caused by isolating people as the problem instead of institutional infrastructure (organization policies and practices) and spaces which can be more collectively

understood as part of the shared public—part of 'our city'—than individual (and separate) groups, immigrant or otherwise. A Zinneke-inspired local strategy would view integration policies in non-targeted ways. In other words, the strategy would conceive the people (all people) as being of the place, as residents, where efforts (and funds) for local integration are not restricted to 'problematic' migrants or ethnic groups, but instead are conceived of as local urban strategies towards social and economic prosperity.

One of the many challenges facing dynamic urban centers like Brussels is implementing policies that address the present and the projected future of the place and its people. Policy makers must avoid using template policies and notions of 'best practices' as long-term solutions. Like Zinneke which is reborn every two years with new participants and institutional partners, new projects and a new (publicly-selected) theme, urban and integration policies must be revisited regularly as the local populations and their needs change. To successfully engage local citizens and local problems policy initiatives need to be both flexible in their application while maintaining longer-term (more stable) goals and must encourage and engage the local population's participation in the decision-making process. (Initiatives like Brussels'G1000 Platform for Democratic Innovation is one example, www.g1000.org.)

Whereas no federal integration policy exists the United States, in Europe, national-level integration efforts have yielded few successful models for communities facing economic instability and uncertainty, aging populations and other demographic shifts, political disenfranchisement and rising interest in populist and extreme right political parties, and social fragmentation. Whereas immigration is usually managed by the State, integration is a local matter. Given their structural densities of human settlement and mobility, the proximity of

difference resulting in tension is a daily reality in the urban context. Such tensions necessitate urban policies which are adapted to the (changing) realities of their spaces and residents.

Urban policies must seek to make the most of the local human potential. This research shows that the socio-cultural sector and creative collaborations like Brussels' Zinneke project encourage encounters and interactions around a common artistic goal. Certainly not all publics are involved, but such efforts have had an impact and have played a role in redefining Brussels.

As one of the first formal studies into the impact of Zinneke on Brussels and its Bruxellois, I also differentiate my work by exploring how Zinneke—a non-traditional representation of local diversity—is spatially and socially-tied to place, the *quartiers* and the city-region of Brussels. Therefore, what becomes meaningful in this study is the importance of human and spatial relationships, of the interaction between the place (Brussels), the event (Zinneke Parade) and the people involved (Bruxellois).

In conclusion, the contribution of this work is threefold. First, broadly stated, through carrying out and articulating this work, I am calling upon researchers (and their academic institutions) to work (and support work) across disciplines in the study of migration, culture, participation and / or urbanity and to, conversely, discourage the perpetuation of the notion that any single discipline, method, theory or dataset can provide a comprehensive answer to such questions. Second, through the example of participating in creative collaborations, I am encouraging researchers , community-based actors and local governments to consider studying and promoting efforts to 'integrate locally', where the (social, economic, linguistic and so on) process of adaptation to and incorporation is tied to place. Third, unlike most studies of migrants in the arts and culture or of their representations in spectacles, I do not study 'ethnic'

('migrant')-specific expressions. Instead, my research emphasizes the local (Bruxellois) nature of the socio-cultural project and not the individual ethnic or migrant representations of the participants. Here, I am stressing the importance of researching immigrants and other local minorities as cultural (individual and institutional) actors as well as arguing that we move beyond the mere study of 'multicultural spectacles' and instead begin to frame research so as to place immigrants as actors within 'local spectacles', such as Zinneke, where their cultural differences (read: 'non-nativeness') are secondary to the spectacle's promotion of local (collective yet diverse) identities.

The act of participating in local cultural activities is one way wherein immigrant and non-immigrant residents creatively collaborate. Their collective and participatory acts impact individuals and institutions contributing to the perpetual (re)creation and (re)definition of 21st Century urbanity. These participants have been at work integrating locally, defining and reflecting the diversity of Bruxellois-ness today, instead of relegating or being relegated to the removed peripheral spheres of 'Other', 'Outsider' and 'Foreigner.'

From this, my thesis research confirms the findings and conclusions of Salzbrunn (2007) where the emergence of a "we-group" is based on "a common belonging to an urban territory" and where we should consider "[f]ocusing on localities rather than on a priori defined groups based on national, ethnic or religious criteria" (emphasis mine) in the formulation of public policies that encourage creative collaborations as one key part of local integration.

APPENDICES: THESIS TECHNICAL DOCUMENTATION

A.   **Short Questionnaire (SQ), English version**

B.   **Detailed Questionnaire (DQ), English version**

C.   **SQ Enumerator Guide**

D.   **Zinneke Parade 2010 Parade Route and SQ Enumerator Starting Points**

E.   **Thematic Outline of Detailed Questionnaire**

F.   **Informed Consent, English version**

G.   **DQ Sample Email and Phone Contact Scripts (EN, FR, NL)**

H.   **SQ Recruitment Statement, English version**

ZSTUDY – RESEARCH PROJECT ON ZINNEKE PARADE 2010
A 9-ITEM (SHORT) QUESTIONNAIRE – 22 MAY 2010 – ZINNEKE PARADE DAY

LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW: (a) [English]   (b) [français]   (c) [Vlaams]

RESPONDENT'S SEX: (a) [Male]   (b) [Female]   [Note but **Do Not Ask**]

RESPONDENT'S PARADE ROLE: (a) [Spectator]   (b) [Participant]   (c) [Other] (Specify)

---

(1) **HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT TODAY'S PARADE?**   [MARK **ALL** THAT APPLY]
   (a) [Internet, T.V., Radio, Newspaper]   (d) [Friend or Family]
   (b) [Poster, Flyer, Billboard]   (e) [Organization] (Specify): _____
   (c) [Other Zinneke-Sponsored Event]   (f) [Other] (Specify): _____

(2) **IS THIS YOUR FIRST YEAR ATTENDING ZINNEKE PARADE?**   (a) [Yes]   (b) [No]   (c) [Not Sure]

(3) **DO YOU KNOW WHAT IS THE THEME OF TODAY'S PARADE?**
   (a) [Yes] (Specify): _____   (b) [No]   (c) [Not Sure]
   [THE 2010 ZINNEKE PARADE THEME IS 'COMING TO THE TABLE' ('A TABLE / AAN TAFEL')]

(4) **WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO [COME TO / PARTICIPATE IN] TODAY'S PARADE?** _____

_____

(5) **DO YOU LIVE IN BRUSSELS?**   (a) [Yes]   (b) [No]   [LET **RESPONDENT DECIDE** DETAIL]
   (5A) If Yes, Specify Where **in** Brussels**:** _____
   (5B) If No, Specify **Where Outside Brussels:** _____

(6) **ARE YOU A BELGIAN CITIZEN?**   [IF NECESSARY, CLARIFY AS "**having as Belgian passport**".]
   (a) [Yes]   (b) [No]   (c) [Other] (Specify):_____   (d) [Refuse]
   (6A) **ARE YOU A CITIZEN OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY/IES?**
   (a) [Yes] (Specify): _____ (b) [No]   (c) [Refuse]
   (6B) **WERE YOU BORN IN BELGIUM OR SOMEWHERE ELSE?**
   (a) [Belgium]   (b) [Somewhere Else] (Specify): _____

(7) **IN WHAT YEAR WERE YOU BORN?**_____   [Use 4-char code: YYYY; e.g., 1980.]

(8) **WHICH LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU SPEAK AT HOME?**   [Mark **one or more**, if applicable.]
   (a) [French]   (b) [Dutch/ Flemish]   (c) [English]
   (d) [Italian]   (e) [Arabic]   (f) [Other(s)] (Specify): _____

(9) **WOULD YOU CONSIDER PARTICIPATING IN A MORE DETAILED INTERVIEW ABOUT ZINNEKE PARADE
   AND ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY?** (The interview would be scheduled for **about 30 minutes at your
   convenience** sometime in the summer or early fall.)
      (a) [Yes] FIRSTNAME: _____   PHONE #: _____; EMAIL: _____
      (b) [No]

Detailed Questionnaire
(To be administered primarily online via my project website)

INTRODUCTION.
This study is about participating in artistic and cultural activities and about the role of such activities in immigrant integration, and is being supported by both the Université of Liège (BE) and the University of Maryland (US).

It is very important to the success of this study that you respond fully and completely to the best of your knowledge. We will be asking for your opinions and experiences regarding several items. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions ! Your answers reflect what you think about these questions and issues, and your answers will remain **confidential**.

Your identity will be kept completely anonymous. The answers you provide here will be regrouped with those of other study participants and summarized in such a way that no personal informational could be identified.

This questionnaire should take between 20 and 30 minutes to complete.

Please take the time necessary to complete this questionnaire. If you are unable to complete the survey in one go, click on "SAVE and CONTINUE" at the bottom of any page, and return to complete the survey at a later time. If there is something that is unclear or that you do not understand, please do not hesitate to contact us via email – zinnekestudy@gmail.com.

Thank you for participating in our project !

Joe Costanzo
Student Researcher

[START]

INFORMED CONSENT FORM SCREENER
Do you agree to participate in this study ? REQ
(You may view the study's Informed Consent Form by clicking on one of the links below.)

> a. Yes, I agree to participate in this study.
> b. No, I do NOT agree to participate in this study.

ZStudy Informed Consent Forms: English français Nederlands [links]

* NOTE: A red star at the end of a question means that it is REQUIRED.

Socio-demographic information. **(Part 1)**
SECTION INTRODUCTION.
We will begin by asking you some questions about yourself.

> (1) **Do you live in Brussels (including any of the 19 municipalities) ? REQ**
> > a. Yes
> > b. No
>
> (2) **Where in Brussels do you live ?**

a. [dropdown list of 19 communes + "Elsewhere in Brussels" + "I do not live in Brussels."]

(3) **Do you live in Belgium ? REQ**
   a. Yes (Specify) :
   b. No (Specify your country of residence) :

(4) **In years, for how long have you been living at your current address ?**
   [Write '0' (zero) if less than 1 year.]
   a. YY   year**(**s) (an(s))

(5) **In years, for how long have you lived in Belgium?**
   [Write '0' (zero) if less than 1 year.]
   a. Years lived in Belgium (Specify) : YY
   b. I have never lived in Belgium.

(6) **In what year were you born? [REQ W/ DISQUALIFY IF <18 (YOB = > 1992)]**
   [example : 1980]
   a. Year (Année)   YYYY

Zinneke Parade and Participating in Culture.
SECTION INTRODUCTION.
The next set of questions asks about Zinneke Parade and the role of culture in society.

PLEASE NOTE : If you did not attend Zinneke Parade 2010, please indicate this when responding to the following questions.

(7) **Did you attend the Zinneke Parade on 22 May 2010 held in the centre of Brussels? REQ**
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Not sure

(8) **On the day of the Parade – 22 May 2010 – did you answer a brief survey about Zinneke Parade? REQ**
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Not sure

(9) **What was your role in the 2010 Zinneke Parade? REQ**
   [Mark <u>one or more</u>, if applicable.]
   a. Spectator / Passerby
   b. Participant
   c. Organiser
   d. Other (Specify) :
   e. None. I did not attend or participate in Zinneke Parade 2010.

(10) **Zinneke Parade is a nearly 2-year planning process. Between 2008 and 2010, which of the following types of Zinneke-related activities did you attend/participate in ? REQ**
   [Mark <u>one or more</u>, if applicable.]
   a. Workshops (Ateliers) (example: dance, movement, metalworking)
   b. Soumonces (neighbourhood-based rehearsals)
   c. Public meetings (information sessions about Zinneke Parade)
   d. Other Zinneke-related events (Specify):
   e. None. I did not attend any Zinneke-related events.

(11) Prior to 2010, had you previously attended or participated in Zinneke Parade? REQ
(This includes Zinneke-related volunteer work done <u>either</u> during the preparatory phase <u>or</u> on the Parade Day.)
[Mark <u>one or more</u> 'yes' options, if applicable.]
a. Yes, attended the Parade in a previous year
b. Yes, participated as an organizer, volunteer or in another role in a previous year
c. No
d. Not sure

(12) Do you have any family members, friends or colleagues who have participated in the Zinneke Parade IN ANY YEAR ?
a. Yes
b. No
c. Don't know

(13) Which of the three statements below best describes Zinneke Parade ?
a. Zinneke Parade features DIFFERENT cultural and artistic traditions found in Brussels. INDIVIDUAL cultural and artistic traditions ARE EMPHASIZED.
b. Zinneke Parade features the COMBINATION of cultural and artistic traditions found in Brussels. INDIVIDUAL cultural and artistic traditions ARE <u>NOT</u> EMPHASIZED.
c. Zinneke Parade features FOLKLORIC expressions of cultural and artistic traditions found in Brussels. AUTHENTICITY is emphasized.
d. Don't know

(14) As part of its stated mission, Zinneke Parade attempts to build bridges across the linguistically and ethnically diverse Brussels Capital Region. Do you think that it is in achieving this goal ?
a. Yes (Explain) :
b. No (Explain) :
c. Don't know

SUB-SECTION INTRODUCTION.
In this next section we will talk about your opinions and participation in artistic and cultural activities in general and about Brussels in particular.
<u>Culture / The Arts – Opinion</u>.
For these next questions I am going to provide several statements. Please choose from among them the one which most closely reflects your personal opinion.

(15) Participating in artistic and culture events :
a. does NOT PLAY A ROLE in improving our understanding of the people and the places where we live.
b. plays A SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT ROLE in improving our understanding of the people and the places where we live, BUT there are other factors which are more important.
c. plays AN IMPORTANT ROLE in improving our understanding of the people and the places where we live.

(16) The role of art and culture <u>in the immigrant integration process</u> :
a. Art and culture play NO MEANINGFUL ROLE in the process of integrating immigrants into society.
b. Art and culture play A SOMEWHAT MEANINGFUL ROLE in immigrant integration, but there are other factors which are more important.
c. Art and culture play AN IMPORTANT ROLE in the process of integrating immigrants into society.

(17) Compared to other European cities, Brussels has :

a. more artistic and cultural events and activities than other European cities.
b. the same amount of artistic and cultural events and activities as other European cities.
c. fewer artistic and cultural events and activities than other European cities.
d. Don't know. I am unfamiliar with Brussels.

(18) **The available opportunities for <u>participating</u> in artistic and cultural activities in Brussels :**
a. Brussels has PLENTY of opportunities for people to participate in artistic and cultural activities.
b. Brussels has FEW opportunities for people to participate in artistic and cultural activities.
c. Don't know. I am unfamiliar with Brussels.

(19) **The social, ethnic and linguistic diversity of Brussels and its residents :**
a. IS REFLECTED in its artistic and cultural scene.
b. IS SOMEWHAT REFLECTED in its artistic and cultural scene, HOWEVER, there remains a lack of representation of some groups.
c. IS NOT REFLECTED in its artistic and cultural events.
d. Don't know. I am unfamiliar with Brussels.

Culture / The Arts - Practice
(20) **In the past 12 months, about how many artistic or cultural events did you attend or participate in ? REQ**
(Examples : local art festivals, professional dance performances, art-themed lectures)
a. None
b. 1 – 4
c. 5 – 12
d. > 12

(21) **In the past 12 months, about how many artistic or cultural activities have you <u>participated</u> in as a <u>volunteer</u>?** (<u>participated</u> means that you were not only attending as an observer, but were somehow involved in the activity, including planning the activity; <u>volunteer</u> means you were not paid to participate in the event.)
a. None
b. 1 – 4
c. 5 – 12
d. > 12

(22) **Thinking of these artistic and cultural activities in the past 12 months <u>in which you participated</u>, would you describe your role(s) as :**
[Mark <u>one or more</u>, if applicable.]
a. Organizer or planner of an activity (such as an administrator, director)
b. Performer (such as a musician, dancer, photographer)
c. Background supporter (such as stage preparation, lighting, supplier of equipment)
d. Other (specify):

(23) **In terms of the different <u>languages</u> spoken by your fellow participants in these artistic and cultural activities, would you categorize the group(s) as generally :**
a. Very linguistically diverse (speaking many different languages)
b. Somewhat linguistically diverse (speaking a few different languages)
c. Not linguistically diverse (speaking the same language)

(24) **In terms of the different <u>ethnic or cultural backgrounds</u> of your fellow participants in these activities, would you categorize the group(s) as generally :**
a. Very ethnically/culturally diverse (many people from different backgrounds, countries, religions, etc.)

b. Somewhat ethnically/culturally diverse (some people from different backgrounds, countries, religions, etc.)

c. Not ethnically/culturally diverse (people from the same background, country, religion, etc.)

Association & Participation

The next set of questions asks about your participation in associations, groups, events, meetings, clubs and so on.

Opinion.

(25) **To what extent is participating in the following activities important to you?**

Please select : important, somewhat important, neutral (neither important nor unimportant), somewhat unimportant, unimportant (don't matter at all to you) (religion)

[pixels – 225 and 70 for columns]

a. Participating in social, cultural or political events organized BY PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD.

b. Participating in social, cultural or political events organized BY THE CITY OF BRUSSELS.

c. Participating in social, cultural or political events organized by a church, synagogue, mosque or other religious organization(s) of which you are NOT a member.

d. Participating in social, cultural or political events organized by YOUR church, synagogue, mosque or other religious organization(s).

e. Participating in social, cultural or political events organized BY PEOPLE OF YOUR SAME ETHNIC OR LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND.

f. Participating in social, cultural or political events (REGARLDESS of who organizes them).

Practice.

(26) [EVS-2008, Q5, p.3] **Please look carefully at the following list of organisations and activities and indicate if you currently are an active member or not :**

(Here being active in an activity or organization means that you have participated in one or more activities organized by this group within the previous 12 months.)

[Please respond 'yes' or 'no' to each.]

[pixels – 600 and 55 for columns]

a. Social welfare services for elderly, handicapped or deprived people
b. Religious or church organisations
c. Local community or neighborhood education, arts, music or cultural activities
d. Trade unions
e. Political parties or groups
f. Local community or neighborhood group on issues like poverty, employment, housing, racial equality
g. Human rights organisation (e.g., Anti-Racism)
h. Conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights
i. Professional associations
j. Youth work (e.g. scouts, guides, youth clubs etc.)
k. Sports or recreation
l. Women's groups
m. Peace movement
n. Voluntary organisations concerned with health
o. Other artistic or cultural activities
p. Other group(s)

(27) **Thinking of the organization or group for which you are MOST ACTIVE, what is/was your main reason for being involved in this association/group?**
[MIB, Q20, p21 – SEE FOR RESPONSE OPTIONS]
   a.   Main reason for being involved (Explain):
   b.   Not applicable (i.e., Not a member of an association or group)

(28) **Thinking again of this organization, is anyone else in your family, friends or other close relations an active participant?**
[Mark **one or more**, if applicable.]
   a.   Yes, family
   b.   Yes, friends
   c.   Yes, other close relations (such as colleagues)
   d.   No
   e.   Don't know
   f.   Not applicable (i.e., Not a member of an association or group)

(29) [AL/GP, QD5., p148] **Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination?**
[If 'yes', which one?]
   a.   No, I do not belong to a religious denomination
   b.   Catholic
   c.   Protestant
   d.   Muslim
   e.   Jew
   f.   Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)
   g.   Hindu
   h.   Buddhist
   i.   Other (Specify) :

Socio-demographic information. **(Part 2)**
INTRODUCTION.
We now would like to ask you a few more socio-demographic questions.

(30) **Which language(s) do you usually speak at HOME?**   [MIB Q10 and Q11 (page 14)]
[Mark **one or more**, if applicable.]
   a.   French
   b.   Dutch/ Flemish
   c.   English
   d.   Italian
   e.   Arabic
   f.   Other(s) (Specify):

(31) **Which language(s) do you usually speak at WORK or SCHOOL ?**
[Mark **one or more**, if applicable.]
   a.   French
   b.   Dutch/ Flemish
   c.   English
   d.   Italian
   e.   Arabic
   f.   Other(s) (Specify):

(32) **Are you a Belgian citizen ? REQ**
      a.   Yes
      b.   No

(33) **Are you a citizen of any other country/countries?**
      a.   No
      b.   Yes (Specify COUNTRY):

(34) **Were you born in Belgium or somewhere else? REQ**
      a.   Belgium
      b.   Somewhere Else (Specify COUNTRY):

(35) **Were both of your parents born in the SAME country AS YOU were born ?** [AL/GP, QD3., p.147]
      a.   Yes, both of my parents were born in the SAME country as me.
      b.   No, one or both of my parents was born in a DIFFERENT country than me.
      c.   Don't know

Immigrant Integration.
SECTION INTRODUCTION.
For this next section we are going to explore your opinions related to immigration and the integration of immigrants.

[WVS, QE145, p.382] and [MIB, Q52, p.41, FR – for several of the following questions]
(36) **In your own words, please explain the meaning of the word "integration".**
      a.   Explain :

(37) **Concerning the notion of "integration," which of the following statements is nearest to your opinion?**
      a.   Immigrants should adapt to the societal norms in which they live; they should learn the language and customs of their new home. They SHOULD NOT PRACTICE the traditions of their place of origin.
      b.   Immigrants should adapt to the societal norms in which they live; they should learn the language and customs of their new home, BUT ALSO SHOULD PRACTICE the traditions of their place of origin.
      c.   Immigrants and local residents should BOTH adapt to the social norms in which they live; they SHOULD FORM and PRACTICE new customs and traditions.

For this next section we are going to explore questions related to immigration and the integration of immigrants in Belgium.
(38) **To what extent do you agree (or disagree) with the following statements about immigrants, immigration and integration IN BELGIUM ? [SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY]**
Please select : strongly agree, agree, neutral (neither agree/disagree), disagree or strongly disagree
[pixels – 250 and 75 for columns]

[MIB, Q57, p46, FR for some]

      a.   Overall immigrants are well integrated into Belgian society.

      b.   Immigrants have the same opportunities for success as all Belgians.

      c.   AN IMMIGRANT who lives and works in Belgium should have the same rights as all Belgians. [MIB, Q54,p44]

d. ONLY IMMIGRANTS with Belgian nationality (citizenship) should have the same rights as Belgians. [MIB, Q54,p44]

e. ANY PERSON who lives and works in Belgium FOR A LONG TIME should have the right to vote in Belgian elections.

(39) **To what extent do you agree (or disagree) with the following statements about immigrants, immigration and integration IN BRUSSELS ? [SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY]**
Please select : strongly agree, agree, neutral (neither agree/disagree), disagree or strongly disagree
[pixels – 250 and 75 for columns]

a. In general, speaking the same language is necessary in the successful integration of different groups.

b. All residents of Brussels should have at least a basic understanding of the FRENCH language.

c. All residents of Brussels should have at least a basic understanding of the DUTCH language.

d. All residents of Brussels should have at least a basic understanding of the ENGLISH language.

e. Overall, immigration is a net benefit to the city of Brussels.

f. To be truly Bruxellois, a person has to live in Brussels for a long time.

For the next questions about policies and programs aimed at encouraging integration-please indicate whether you believe the policies and programs to be :
successful, somewhat successful, neither successful or unsuccessful, somewhat unsuccessful or unsuccessful.

(40) **How successful do you think NATIONAL policies and programs <u>aimed at integrating immigrants</u> into BELGIAN society have been ? [SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY]**

(41) **How successful do you think LOCAL policies and programs <u>aimed at integrating immigrants</u> have been WHERE YOU LIVE ? [SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY]**

(42) **In your opinion, on a scale from 0 to 10 how important is EACH of the following items in the successful integration of immigrants into Belgian society, where 10 is extremely important and 0 is unimportant ?**
("Successful integration" is defined here as having the same opportunities, rights and responsibilities of any Belgian citizen.) **[SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY ; RANDOMIZED]**

  i.   Speak fluently French, Dutch and/or German languages.
  ii.   Participate in the Belgian political process (such as voting during elections).
  iii. Have close friends who are born and raised in Belgian.
  iv.   Participate in cultural or artistic groups or activities in Belgium.
  v.   Have Belgian citizenship.
  vi.   Attend schooling in Belgium (primary, secondary or post-secondary/university).
  vii. Live in a neighborhood with people different from oneself.
  viii. Practice a Judeo-Christian religious tradition.
  ix.   Own a home or business in Belgium.
  x.   Participate in sports or other recreational clubs in Belgium.

(43) **Thinking about these same integration items, now how would you RANK them in ORDER OF IMPORTANCE for successful integration of immigrants into Belgian society ?**

Place the <u>most important factor at the top</u> of the list and the <u>least important factor at the bottom</u> of the list. **[SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY]**

(44) **Once again revisiting this list of integration items, are there other items you would include here as being important for immigrant integration? [SKIP Q1 or Q3=YES, CURRENT BELGIAN RES ONLY]**
   a.   Yes (Specify) :
   b.   No

(45) **For this questionnaire I have used the term "integration." Is there another term (or terms) which you would use instead?**
   a.   Yes. (Specify) :
   b.   No. I would use the term "integration" in this context.
   c.   Not sure

Identity & Sense of Belonging.
SECTION INTRODUCTION.
For this next section we are going to explore questions about how you see yourself, your neighbourhood and your community.

In Belgium, there are different types of people and groups, for example :

   i.   Europeans
   ii.   Belgians
   iii.   Flemish
   iv.   Walloons
   v.   Bruxellois
   vi.   Francophones
   vii.   Dutch-speakers
   viii. Turks
   ix.   Moroccans

(46) **By marking yes or no, indicate whether you identify with EACH group in the list.**
   [Mark <u>yes or no</u> for each.]

(47) **Looking at the list again, which group do you MOST identify with ?**
   [If you identify most with a <u>group NOT on this list</u>, please indicate this group instead.] [AUTOCOMPLETE]
   a.   Specify (Précisez) :

(48) **Please explain why you MOST identify with this group.**
   a.   Explain:

(49) **Are there any other terms or groups you use to describe yourself?**
   a.   Specify (Précisez) :

(50) **In your own words, what does it mean to be "Bruxellois"? [SKIP Q1=YES, CURRENT BEL RES ONLY]**
   a.   Specify:

(51) **Do you think a person can feel "Bruxellois" without speaking either French or Dutch ? [SKIP Q1=YES, CURRENT BEL RES ONLY]**
   a.   Yes
   b.   No
   c.   DK

(52) **Do you think a person can feel "Bruxellois" without being Belgian?** (meaning, without being a Belgian citizen) **[SKIP Q1=YES, CURRENT BEL RES ONLY]**
    a.   Yes
    b.   No
    c.   DK

Your Neighborhood and Brussels.
SUB-SECTION INTRODUCTION.
The next set of questions asks for your opinion about YOUR neighborhood. Please answer these questions whether you live in Brussels or not.

(53) **To what extent do you agree (or disagree) with the following statements about your neighborhood?**
Please select : strongly agree, agree, neutral (neither agree/disagree), disagree or strongly disagree
[pixels – 200 and 75 for columns]

    a.   I live in a linguistically diverse neighbourhood (where many languages are spoken).

    b.   I live in an ethnically/culturally diverse neighbourhood (where there are people of different origins).

    c.   I share the same or similar values as most or all of the people in my neighborhood.

    d.   I feel safe at night on the streets of my neighborhood.

    e.   I feel a sense of belonging in (commitment to) my neighborhood.

    f.   I know most of the people who live in my neighborhood.

    g.   I get along well with most or all of the people living in my neighborhood.

(54) **Please describe the location of your neighbourhood in the Brussels Capital Region. [SKIP Q1=YES, CURRENT BRUSSELS RES ONLY]**
(For example, "My neighborhood is the area around Place Jourdan in Etterbeek." Or "I consider the area West of Rue Royale and East of Gare du Nord to be my neighbourhood.")
    a.   Specify (Précisez) :

(55) **In which area(s) do you think most immigrants in the Brussels Capital Region reside? [SKIP Q1=YES, CURRENT BRUSSELS RES ONLY]**
[If you are unfamiliar with Brussels, please state this.]
    a.   Specify (Précisez) : [auto-fill]

Community.
SUB-SECTION INTRODUCTION.
The next set of questions asks about your thoughts on the meaning and examples of "community." This can be the same as, overlap with or be separate from your neighborhood.

(56) **In your own words, what does the term "community" mean to you?**
    a.   Explain:

(57) **To what extent do you agree (or disagree) with the following statements?**
Please select : strongly agree, agree, neutral (neither agree/disagree), disagree or strongly disagree
[pixels – 250 and 75 for columns]

a. I feel that I belong to a <u>linguistic</u> community. (examples: French-speaking, Arabic-speaking)

b. I feel that I belong to a <u>ethnic</u> community. (examples: Moroccan, Spanish, Flemish)

c. When asked where I am from, I often say that I am from Brussels. [Q1=Y only]

d. I consider Brussels to be my home. [Q1=Y only]

e. In general, my neighbors see me as Bruxellois. [Q1=Y only]

f. I will be living in Brussels in 10 years. [Q1=Y only]

g. I consider Belgium to be my home.

We are nearly finished ! Here are a few final demographic questions which will help us to better compare your answers with those of other questionnaire respondents.

Socio-demographic information. (Part 3)

(58) **Are you :**
a. Male
b. Female

(59) **Are you :**
a. Single (including Divorced, Widowed, Never Married)
b. Coupled (including Married, Partnered, Having a Steady Relationship)
c. Other (Specify):

(60) **At present, do you live alone or with somebody else?**
a. I live alone
b. I live with my family (examples: spouse/partner, parents, siblings, children, aunts, uncles)
c. I live with my family AND someone else (examples: friends, roommates)
d. I live with someone else who is NOT in my family (examples: friends, roommates)

(61) **What is your highest level of <u>completed</u> education?**
a. Maternal or primary (from ages 6 to 12)
b. Secondary ("Baccalauréat", technical, professional)
c. Post-Secondary (incl. "Hautes Écoles", Universities)
d. Masters, Doctorate (incl. MBA, MFA, Ph.D.)

We have now completed the main questions of the survey and would like to ask for your input on just two more administrative questions.

(62) **Did you complete this questionnaire alone or with the input from someone else?**
(Please be honest. This helps me better understand how people complete questionnaires in general; <u>either answer here is acceptable</u> !)
a. Alone
b. With input from someone else

(63) **Do you have any comments you wish to add (about my thesis project in general, the questionnaire, topic(s) of integration or culture or anything else)?**
a. Explain :
[box – 80w x 5h]

[END]

A final note : THANK YOU ! – MERCI ! – BEDANKT !
Once the study is completed the results will be posted on my thesis project website -
http://sites.google.com/site/zinnekestudy2010/.

Reminder, <u>no personal information</u> will be released; all information posted on the project website will be summarized keeping your identity strictly anonymous.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey and for your collaboration in my thesis project !

Do you know of others who would be interested in participating in this study? Please send them my project link!

ZSTUDY – RESEARCH PROJECT ON ZINNEKE PARADE 2010
GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWERS CONDUCTING SHORT SURVEYS ON 22 MAY 2010

RESEARCH PROJECT OVERVIEW.
Zinneke Study (ZStudy) is my doctoral thesis project about Zinneke Parade 2010 in Brussels. ZStudy explores how participating in cultural initiatives might impact the integration of immigrants and foster broader community cohesion. Simply put, ZStudy addresses the question: Does participation facilitate integration?

METHODS INTRODUCTION.
ZStudy employs a multi-method research strategy, including the data you will be collecting on this short survey of Zinneke Parade spectators and participants on 22 May 2010 (Z Day). I will collect additional information separately through in-depth interviews and detailed questionnaires, which will be based on the answers to the data we collect on 22 May—Your role as an interviewer on Z Day is critical to the success of this project!!

Z DAY SURVEY SPECIFICS.

BEFORE EACH INTERVIEW…   [REMEMBER **ONE SHEET**, **ONE INTERVIEW**]
1. RECORD your **initials** at the **top right corner** of the survey sheet. [ex. **JC** for Joe Costanzo]

2. RECORD the specific respondent **count number** at the **top left corner** of the survey sheet. [example: **4**; meaning the fourth respondent you have asked to interview]

3. LOCATE A RESPONDENT (as randomly as possible by location, age, sex, other characteristics). [**Standardize** AND **randomize** your spatial selection of respondents, for example, from front, middle, back of spectator and parade spots]

4. INTRODUCE YOURSELF and ask them to respond to a few Parade-related questions.

5. RECORD apparent age, sex, Parade role, ethnicity of **people who REFUSE** to answer the questionnaire.

6. RECORD the language of the interview –   [English]   [français]   [Vlaams]
7. RECORD the apparent SEX of the respondent –   [Male]   [Female]
8. RECORD the respondent's parade role –   [Spectator]   [Participant]   or   [Other] (**Specify**)

DURING EACH INTERVIEW…
1. READ the questions **as written**. **Avoid** reading response options. **Avoid** using other terms, if possible.

2. PAY ATTENTION to the question instructions in **BRACKETS [ ]** at the right side of the sheet.

3. RECORD any specific ' REFUSE' or ' DON'T KNOW' answers, if applicable.

BEFORE FINISHING EACH INTERVIEW (**QUESTION #9**)…
1. ASK **EACH RESPONDENT** if he/she will participate in a follow-up, detailed questionnaire **(Question #9)**.

2. We especially want PARTICIPANTS IN THE DETAILED QUESTIONNAIRE … **IF** they LIVE in Brussels (Q5); and are either **NOT a Belgian citizen** OR are **NOT born in Belgium** (or both) (Q6).

3. INFORM respondents that this follow-up survey should take **no more than 30 minutes**, and they will have the option of face-to-face, over the phone, or via email, at their convenience.

4. IF they agree to participate in follow-up, RECORD their FIRST NAME, PHONE **and** EMAIL address.

M

Anspachlaan

GARE DU NORD

NOORDSTATION

Rue Grétrystraat

GARE CENTRALE
CENTRAAL STATION

BOURSE
BEURS

Rue au Beurre Boterstraat

GRAND'PLACE
GROTE MARKT

M

Place Saint- Géry
Sint-Goriksplein

Zuidstraat

Rue du Midi

Rue du Lombardstraat

Anspachlaan

Boulevard Anspach

Zuidstraat

Rue du Lombardstraat

Rue du Midi

GARE DU MIDI

ZUIDSTATION

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DETAILED QUESTIONNAIRE (DQ) OUTLINE

FINAL version 1 (15-Dec-2010)

A. Informed consent form [survey screener, Y required to continue]
B. Socio-demographic information. (part 1)
    1. Brussels residence [screener + required]
    2. Brussels residence (*commune*)
    3. Residence in Belgium [screener + required]
    4. Length of current residence
    5. Length of Belgian residence
    6. Year of birth (age) [disqualify + required]
C. Zinneke Parade and participating in culture.
    7. Attendance at 2010 Zinneke Parade [screener + required]
    8. Previously answered SQ-10 [required, Q11=Y or DK only]
    9. Role in Zinneke Parade 2010 [required, Q11=Y or DK only]
    10. Attendance at Zinneke events [required, Q11=Y or DK only]
    11. Previous attendance in Zinneke Parade [required]
    12. Know others in Zinneke
    13. Zinneke Parade is…
    14. Zinneke Parade as successful project
D. Cultural and artistic activities.
    15. Culture/arts and role in society
    16. Art and culture in integration
    17. BXL Amount of culture/arts in BXL compared to EU
    18. BXL Opportunities for participating in the arts and culture in BXL
    19. BXL diversity in the arts and culture
    20. Attend/participate in cultural/artistic events [required]
    21. Participation in cultural/artistic activities
    22. Role(s) in cultural/artistic activities
    23. Linguistic diversity of this group
    24. Ethnic/cultural diversity of this group
E. Association and participation.
    25. Participation - opinion (6 parts)
    26. Participation - practice (groups Y/N)
    27. Active participation and reason for involvement
    28. Others involved
    29. Religious affiliation
F. Socio-demographic information. (part 2)
    30. Language(s) spoken at home
    31. Language(s) spoken at work/school

32. Citizenship (Belgium) [required]

33. Other citizenship

34. Place of birth (Belgium) [required]

35. Parental place of birth

G. Immigrant integration.

36. Defining integration (in your own words)

37. Defining integration – choose 1 of 3

38. BE Immigrants, immigration and integration (6 parts) [Q1/Q3=Y only]

39. BXL Immigrants, immigration and integration (6 parts) [Q1/Q3=Y only]

40. BE National integration policies success [Q1/Q3=Y only]

41. BE Local integration policies success [Q1/Q3=Y only]

42. BE Integration items (scale 0 to 10) [Q1/Q3=Y only]

43. BE Integration items (rank 1 to 10) [Q1/Q3=Y only]

44. BE Other integration items [Q1/Q3=Y only]

45. Another term for integration

H. Identity and sense of belonging.

46. Group identify (from list)

47. Primary identity (from list)

48. Primary identity - rationale

49. Other identity/ies

50. Bruxellois (in your own words) [Q1/Q3=Y only]

51. Being Bruxellois and language [Q1/Q3=Y only]

52. Being Bruxellois and citizenship [Q1/Q3=Y only]

53. Neighborhood (7 parts)

54. Bounding Brussels neighborhoods [Q1/Q3=Y only]

55. Perceived immigrant concentration in Brussels [Q1/Q3=Y only]

56. Community (in your own words)

57. Community (6 parts)

I. Socio-demographic information. (Part 3)

58. Sex [required]

59. Relationship status

60. Housing situation (shared/not)

61. Educational attainment

J. Final questions.

62. Questionnaire completed alone/1+

63. Final comments by respondent

CONSENT FORM

Project Title	*Planning to integrate: Immigrant participation in inter-cultural community projects*
Why is this research being done?	*This is a research project being conducted by Joseph M. Costanzo at the University of Maryland, College Park (USA). We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a participant in the planning of Zinneke Parade 2010. The purpose of this research project is to learn about how being involved with planning Zinneke Parade 2010 influences community ties.*
What will I be asked to do?	*Through an interview, you will be asked to provide answers to questions about yourself, your community, and your experiences before and during the planning of Zinneke Parade 2010. You can choose to fill out a questionnaire or to continue with a personal interview. The questionnaire will take about 15 minutes or longer if you choose to provide comments. An interview will take one to two hours, and will take place at a location and time of your choice either by telephone or in person.*
What about confidentiality?	*I will do my best to keep your personal information confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, I will secure my notes and recordings in a locked file or password-protected folder in my residence or on my personal computer. Only I and the other project investigators will have access to this information. Additionally, your name will not appear in any of the collected data. This research project involves making digital recordings of you if you choose to continue with a personal interview. These recordings will be used to compare my notes and the recordings, insuring that I document accurately your statements during the interview.* _____ *I agree to be digitally recorded during my participation in this study.* _____ *I do not agree to be digitally recorded during my participation in this study.* *If I write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland (USA) or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.*
What are the risks of this research?	*There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.*

What are the benefits of this research?	*This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigators learn more about Zinneke Parade and your community. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of being involved in the planning of inter-cultural community projects, such as Zinneke Parade.*
Do I have to be in this research? May I stop participating at any time?	*Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.*
What if I have questions?	*This research is being conducted by Joseph M. Costanzo, under the guidance of Dr. Sidney Brower, Urban Studies & Planning Program at the University of Maryland (USA). If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Joseph M. Costanzo at: 0117 Caroline Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742 USA, zinnekestudy@gmail.com, +1.202.460.3049.* *If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:* **Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742 USA; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) +1.301.405.0678** *This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.*
Statement of Age of Subject and Consent	*Your signature indicates that:* *you are at least 18 years of age;,* *the research has been explained to you;* *your questions have been fully answered; and* *you freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this research project.*
Signature and Date	**NAME OF SUBJECT**
	SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT
	DATE

// ENGLISH VERSION //

Hello.

On 22 May you attended the 2010 Zinneke Parade in the centre of Brussels.

You may remember having answered a short questionnaire that day about you and the Parade. Also, you were kind enough to provide me (or one of my project assistants) with your name and contact information, which is how I am able to reach you today.

You may also remember being asked on 22 May to complete a more detailed questionnaire about Zinneke Parade, civic participation, culture and community belonging. This is the reason why I am getting in touch with you again. I was hoping to contact you during the summer, however, due to some family matters I was unable to return to this project until now. I apologize for this delay, and hope you are still able to participate in my thesis project.

Your continued interest and participation in this project is GREATLY appreciated; your input is fundamental to the success of my thesis work!

To participate in my study, please click here : [Detailed Questionnaire](). The questionnaire is available in English and French.

THANK YOU again for participating!

Sincerest regards,
Joe Costanzo
PS Do you know of others who would be interested in participating in this study? Please forward them this message !

Ph.D. Candidate (ABD) / Visiting Researcher
Sciences politiques et sociales – Université de Liège (BE)
Urban Studies & Planning – University of Maryland (US)

ORAL/PHONE MESSAGE

1. CONSULT SQ datafile.
   a. **START** w/ Rs who had NOT provided email.
   b. **NOTE** their name, phone and whether they had a valid email.

2. LOAD a new DQ online.

3. CALL.

4. CONSULT oral message text below.
   a. LEAVE message OR
   b. ATTEMPT TO SPEAK TO RESPONDENT.

**

SCRIPT: LAISSER UN MESSAGE
1. Bonjour/Bonsoir. C'est un message pour XXX.

2. Je suis Joseph Costanzo, un doctorant américain en Belgique.

3. Au mois de mai dernier vous avez donné votre prénom et numéro de téléphone pendant un bref entretien à la Zinneke Parade dans le centre de Bruxelles pour que je puisse vous contacter de nouveau avec quelques questions sur les expressions artistiques et culturelles, sur votre quartier et l'intégration des immigrés en Belgique.

4. J'espère que vous êtes toujours intéressé par mon projet et que vous compléterez mon questionnaire que vous pouvez trouver facilement sur mon site internet. Vous pouvez googeler « zinneke » ET « costanzo » (en deux mots) (Costanzo, c'est mon nom de famille) OU également googelez « zstudy ».

5. Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à me contacter au 0471.03.05.48.
6. Merci beaucoup pour votre participation !
7. Au revoir

SCRIPT: PARLER AU RÉPONDANT
1. Bonjour/Bonsoir Monsieur/Madame - Pourrais-je parler avec X ?

2. Excusez-moi de vous déranger. Au mois de mai dernier vous avez donné votre prénom et numéro de téléphone pendant un bref entretien à la Zinneke Parade dans le centre de Bruxelles.

3. Je m'appelle Joseph Costanzo. Je suis doctorant américain à l'Université de Liège.

4. Pendant cet entretien au mois de mai vous avez dit que vous seriez intéressé de répondre aux quelques questions sur les expressions artistiques et culturelles, sur votre quartier et l'intégration des immigrés en Belgique.

5. [SAY ONLY IF SQ_10 EMAIL DID NOT WORK.]
Il y a quelques semaines j'ai essayé de vous envoyé le questionnaire. Malheureusement, le mail / courriel qu'on a noté pendant la Parade n'a pas marché. Donc, si vous pouvez me redonner votre mail, je peux vous envoyer le message (et le lien au questionnaire) avec lequel vous pouvez le compléter à votre aise.

6. [SAY ONLY IF SQ_10 THEY PROVIDED EMAIL.]
Pourriez-vous me dire si, il y a quelques semaines, vous avez reçu un mail à propos de cette étude et de la Zinneke Parade 2010 ? C'était un mail qui vous demandait de remplir un questionnaire détaillé en ligne.
   - OUI [reçu]
     - REMPLIS ?
       - OUI – END
       - PAS SÛR [PASSE à #6]

- NON [PASSE à <mark>#6 'NON</mark>']
  - NON [pas reçu]

7. Si vous me permettez, je vous demande de répondre au questionnaire soit en ligne à votre aise soit par téléphone [PAUSE] il va vous prendre environ 25 minutes pour le compléter.
    - OUI, pourriez-vous me donner / confirmer votre courriel (mail), s.v.p. ?
    - <mark>NON</mark>, une autre option c'est de compléter le questionnaire par téléphone, qui va prendre environ 25 minutes. Est-ce qu'on peut le compléter maintenant ?
      - OUI – [<mark>START SURVEYGIZMO DQ</mark>]
      - NON – « Si vous êtes toujours intéressé, vous avez encore quelques semaines pour le remplir. Si vous googelez « ZStudy » vous pouvez facilement trouver mon étude et le questionnaire. »

8. Merci beaucoup et bonne journée / soirée.
9. Au revoir. <mark>END</mark>

ENGLISH

SCRIPT: LEAVE VOICEMAIL MESSAGE
1. Hello. This is a message for XXX.

2. My name is Joe Costanzo. I am a student working on my doctorate here in Brussels and am originally from the United States.

3. On May 22, 2010 – the day of the Zinneke Parade in Brussels city centre, you provided your phone number, when you answered a short questionnaire, so that I could call you about participating further in my study of the Zinneke Parade, and the role of culture and immigration in Belgian society.

4. I hope that you continue to be interested in my project, and that you will answer my questions which can easily be found on my project website. You simply google Zinneke AND Costanzo (my family name) OR zstudy (the name of my project).

5. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me at 0471.03.05.48.
6. Thank you very much for your participation!
7. Good bye.

SCRIPT: PERSON IS ON THE PHONE
1. Hello. May I speak with RESPONDENT'S NAME ?

2. Sorry for the interruption. You provided your name and phone number last May at the Zinneke Parade in the centre of Brussels when you answered a short questionnaire.

3. My name is Joe Costanzo. I am a doctoral student and researcher in Brussels.

4. Also, in May you mentioned that you would be interested in participating in my study of the Zinneke Parade, and the role of culture and immigration in Belgian society.

5. [SAY ONLY IF SQ_10 THEY PROVIDED EMAIL.]
   Can you please tell me if you received my email about this study and the 2010 Zinneke Parade which I sent to you about 2 weeks ago ? In the email I asked you to complete my detailed questionnaire online.

   - YES [RECEIVED]
     - COMPLETED IT ?
       - YES – MERCI POUR VOTRE PARTICIPATION ET BONNE JOURNÉE - END
       - NOT SURE [PASSE à #6]
       - NO [PASSE à #6 'NO']
   - NO [NOT RECEIVED]

6. With your permission, I would like to ask you to complete this questionnaire online at your earliest convenience.
   - YES, Could you please provide me with your email address so that I may send you the link to the study ?
   - NO, Another option would be to complete the questionnaire with me over the phone, which should take about 25 minutes. We could do this now or at another time ?
     - OUI – [START SURVEYGIZMO DQ]
     - NON – No problem. If you are interested in completing this later, you still have a couple of weeks to complete it online as well. Simply google "ZStudy" and you will find my study and the questionnaire.

7. Thank you for your time.
8. Good bye

NEDERLANDS

SCRIPT :
- Goeiedag / Goede morgen / Goede namiddag / Goedenavond.

- Mag ik met X spreken, a.u.b. ?

- Ik heet Joe Costanzo. Ik ben een amerikanse doctorandus in België. Je gaf me je telefoonnummer op vorig jaar in mei op de Zinneke Parade in Brusselcentrum toen je mijn korte vragenlijst beantwoord hebt.

- Sorry, ik spreek maar een beetje Nederlands. Spreekt u Frans of Engels ?

Field Research Volunteer Opportunity – 22 May 2010 – Zinneke Parade (EN)

Dear Students, Researchers, and Others:

I am a Ph.D. student in Urban Studies at the University of Maryland (USA) conducting my thesis fieldwork in Brussels on the role of Zinneke Parade and "participation créative" in the integration of immigrant and ethnic groups into the Brussels-Capital Region.

As part of my research in Brussels, and thanks to the organizers of Zinneke Parade, I will be administering a short (8-10 question) survey on "Z Day" – 22 May 2010 during and after the 2010 Zinneke Parade.

I am in great need of volunteers to help with administering this short survey. Particularly, I am interested in people who can offer **3-4 hours on May 22nd** to help me conduct the survey, and who are proficient (or fluent) in English and either Flemish or French.

I will provide a short training/review session the week before the Parade to explain the project and review the survey with you.

If you are interested in knowing more or in participating, please contact me at zinnekestudy@gmail.com. (For more information about the Parade: www.zinneke.org.)

Thank you very much for your help!

Sincerely,

Joe Costanzo

P.S. For more information about Zinneke Parade : www.zinneke.org.

P.P.S. For more information about my ZStudy (thesis) : http://sites.google.com/site/zinnekestudy2010/home.

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