

Cultural Encounters The Mosaic of Urban Identities

Seventh Interdisciplinary Conference
of the
University Network of the
European Capitals of Culture

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A Note from the Editors

This volume brings together the papers of the Seventh Interdisciplinary Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture, which took place on 17/18 October 2013 in Marseille. As all its previous editions, the 2013 conference maintained its interdisciplinary character, as announced in its Call for Papers, aiming at a deeper reflection on the stereotype of multiculturalism “perceived and/or represented as a threat to local identity”, particularly on the manifestations of multiculturalism in urban areas. The issue was equally urgent and acute, especially given that many voices, both inside and outside the EU, denounced in recent years the alleged failure of the multicultural European identity project. It is true that Europe is currently far from being the multicultural utopia one might dream of and that, even if this would be a project most likely to be accomplished, the desire to achieve it does not exclude in any way the critical reflection on its nature, purposes and limitations. However, as demonstrated by the papers in this volume, Europe is already (and had been for centuries or even millennia, in its urban areas) a multicultural space. Therefore, the purpose of the conference was to not discuss the existence or the lack of multiculturalism in Europe, but to focus on the policies, practices and projects best suited to accommodate and sometimes to support this reality. Therefore, instead of debating aridly the concept of multiculturalism, the papers in this volume raise highly specific issues and seek concrete solutions, both based on the professional experience of their authors and on the historical experience of the cities they study and/or advocate.

The sixth volume of UNeECC Forum includes 16 papers written by 27 authors from 12 European countries (Austria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Romania). As the papers encompass a wide variety of topics, and they are all interdisciplinary (involving numerous academic fields and scholarly research such as cultural geography, theology, sociology, architecture, linguistics, history, cultural and intercultural studies, musicology, educational science, etc.), it proved impossible to group them by subject or approach. Therefore, this volume opens with papers having a stronger theoretical focus and continues with case

studies. For, notwithstanding their immediate topic, all the papers brought together in this volume deal with current problems concerning the state of multiculturalism in urban areas of Europe, such as: the relationships between the various components of the contemporary European field (politics, culture, economics, technology, religion, etc.); the economic, social and (inter)cultural impact that the status of European Capital of Culture had on cities that have already benefited from this title; arguments for various candidatures or for cities that will have this status in the near future; the multicultural dimension of numerous European cities and regions and their relation to European identity etc. Thus, regardless the chosen starting point, the reflections collected in this volume finally meet in the same space of multicultural dialogue, although not necessarily reach the same conclusions.

We wish to thank the hosts of the 2013 Conference (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and Aix-Marseille Université) for organizing this event, and former secretary of UNeECC (University of Pécs, Hungary) for their assistance in this volume.

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THE MISSING EUROPEAN DIMENSION

HATTO FISCHER
POIEIN KAI PRATTEIN, ATHENS

Abstract

The paper seeks to explore the question why the European dimension seems to be missing once cities have become European Capitals of Culture. Three thematic fields shall be covered: how cities interpret and use the title after having received the designation to be ECoC for one specific year; the involvement of universities and consultancies in the process of monitoring and evaluation; and what chances future selection processes have to influence the process of adaptation.

Introduction

Substantial steps taken by artists to advance culture do not really count in our global world based on breaking news. There is also something else. Pablo Neruda explained it as a world which forgets all too quickly what happened the day before as if only the new counted. As a result, people grow afraid of a world which seems to forget that they were bombed just yesterday or have been subjected to a drone attack or were imprisoned in a detention centre. That kind of news is generally suppressed by all institutions, ECoC cities included. They tend to use a language similar to advertisement and risk glossing over these and other problems as if only success stories mattered, ignoring that one can also learn from mistakes. The latter counts much more for the development of culture.

Consequently no one seems to value working consistently through conflicts and contradictions to obtain a sense of continuity, although this has been a most basic need for people in their lives and throughout history. Instead, everyone seems to chase the new technical gadgets but ends up reproducing much of the same. While the digital world and the Internet seem to connect everyone in a virtual reality, it nurtures an illusion that life is an eternal present and nothing matters more than having a play station for multiple games.

A clear challenge stems from this task to digitalize cultural heritage, as it means organizing memories for the future in a completely new way.

Acknowledgement of culture presupposes that the need to work out some continuity between past, present, and future is fully recognized. As long as the ECCM network existed, it tried to link former, current, and future ECoC cities. Since it broke up in 2010 and was replaced by the kind of managerial thinking that favours informal networking, the European Capitals of Culture started to lack in continuity. Yet without learning from past experiences, European Capitals of Culture shall no longer know what contributions they have made to sustaining cultural development in Europe.

One of the key recommendations by Bob Palmer has been that if ECoC are to achieve a challenging cultural programme for one year, they need to create audiences. It is not enough merely to attract masses of visitors. Special audiences are needed to attend dance or poetry shows, while those preferring musical performances or visiting exhibitions are still another group. Even getting people to go to libraries as part of an effort to raise the level of literacy is not easy. Active audiences need further investments in culture. This includes encouraging critics who can strengthen receptivity. All of this and more can add to experiences being made. In order to develop cultural literacy, it is important to know when a poem is written or whether a play addresses crucial issues. In times of economic crisis, it is interesting to see how relevant it is what Samuel Becket did with his *Waiting for Godot*. For culture is after all a search for truth. It can make reflections more honest and thereby improve upon communication by not assuming everything to be self-understood. Only when experiences accumulated during that one year are substantial enough, shall they be remembered. After all, culture works only over time and therefore memory work is needed to bring continuity into a living process. Life is not an experiment or a game, but can be experienced once we are free to let creative forces unfold.

A society without memory will not have solutions at hand when faced by challenges. Instead it will be panic stricken. For it will merely uphold the myth of an unchanging identity, but by not admitting that mistakes have been made in the past, no learning shall take place. Of interest is that, while preparing its bid for the ECoC title, Valletta 2018 noted that the youth wants above all to be free from the pressure to succeed and to be able to make mistakes. That enormous pressure is due to an economic system having become a coercive logic to perform according to unrealistic expectations i.e. the need to succeed. No one seems to ask what happens when in the absence of

a culture people no longer understand what they are going through and what they are facing. The need to gain in 'digital literacy' indicates that they have to go through a different socialization in order to cope with the logic of the new system. It poses a dilemma since it is linked to always consuming the new even though nothing seems to change in politics. Here then a humane culture is needed. It can free the mind to imagine alternatives as to what reality offers and to face with confidence what awaits one in the future. Moreover, by staying in dialogue with the past and by working with memory, a sense of continuity can be gained out of this search for truth. If lost, then only probabilities will count and will end in terrorism, as predicted by Robert Musil in his novel *Man without Attributes*.

Needless to say, the European Union is hardly about encouraging such a cultural development. Rather, it is based on fear. As the European debate shows, fear dictates reason and makes safeguarding the Euro into a higher priority than keeping people employed. The austerity measures which have struck down Greece since 2009 test the solidarity between member states and even more so the democratic tradition in Europe. That certainly indicates one of the greatest failures of the European Union caused by regarding culture merely as a commercial commodity, instead of recognizing its role as upholder of the very values of democracy and therefore as the true European dimension.

Fear leads to acquiescence to power despite the fact that crude austerity measures applied to reduce state debts cause massive unemployment and leave an unjust redistribution of resources untouched. Instead of culture being the source of inspiration to change things, everything is done to neutralize culture and to use it for the sole purpose of giving value to an economy striving to do without culture – a key contradiction. The latter is, however, not obvious to those who seek to promote Cultural and Creative Industries.

In this context, the European Capitals of Culture could play a crucial role in altering the European debate. But rarely do they see it as their task to mediate between what people imagine Europe could be and what the European Union has led to so far. All the more reason for us to analyze why the European dimension is missing.

Part A: The European and Mediterranean Dimension

While evaluative methods focus on the legacy to see if a ECoC achieved some sustainability, the fact that many ECoC do not seem to

make any news may confirm what Bob Scott stressed constantly, namely the need to engage major media outlets like the BBC. This insight has led to EcoCs spending at least 20% of their budget on public relation exercises, aiming to stay in the 'news'. It leads to reporting only things in terms that the system understands as describing a success. For instance, Liverpool '08 derived a special strategy to report numbers in context. The success in terms of number of visitors and profits made is linked to visible results, which has led to a change of the city's image, i.e. no longer an ugly port city, but a dynamic conference site and tourist attraction. Nothing else seems worthy to be reported on. Consequently, cultural news, in an effort to uphold a continuity of learning, is left out. Instead, other ECoC tend to imitate what is deemed as a successful model. In the end, more and more urban regeneration projects replace the much more needed work to fulfill the European dimension.

Method of Assessment

Since the culture of every city differs, but not all European Capitals of Culture are inclined to be a 'capital', the method of assessment has to focus on specific reasons as to why the European dimension is missing. All too often the lack thereof is compensated for by cities using the year to undertake some urban revival projects to gain in attractiveness. This leads to curious claims and assumptions. For example, Wroclaw 2016 adopted a Darwinian theory with a touch of sexuality, and linked it to Richard Florida's thesis about the 'creative class', all in all a vague effort to become more attractive. In the end, it risks forgetting that culture is needed to uphold democratic values as basis for governance in Europe.

When appraising European Capitals of Culture, it helps to keep in mind the following: "This is a very ambitious project and I only know a few people able to govern and lead such a long-term path. It is no easy task, not now and certainly not in the future, but certainly a very challenging one for the intellect and to some extent - the soul. There is a need for such communication that can allow people to think further and be ahead: well, this is really what cultural cooperation with 'European added value' is about, isn't it? This needs a very careful monitoring as well, as this idea could be parceled, *verfremdet* and taken away. I imagine the task of acceptance, conviction still ahead."¹ While the power of the European Commission and of the

¹ Frederique Chabaud, unpublished letter written in 2003.

Jury are limited to ensuring that cities fulfill the European dimension, views other than cultural still dominate the process.

The Role of the Jury in the Process of Cultural Adaptation to Having Received the Designation

When the jury delivered its pre-selection report to Valletta in Malta seeking the title of European Capital of Culture for 2018, the panel recommended that the *European and Mediterranean dimensions* needed to be developed further. In particular, it would like to see three things:

- “Concrete projects with a strong European dimension as parts of the programme – in particular co-productions, artistic linking and involvement of local and foreign artists.”
- “The problems and stakes Europe is currently facing could be taken into consideration in the designing of such projects.”
- “The Valletta 2018 Foundation showed Valletta as a place of exchange between Europe and North Africa but this aspect still needed to be brought out more concretely.”²

When the jury filed the final report on Valletta's bid, it was still not satisfied by what was proposed:

“The Selection panel highlights that the European dimension of the project requires much improvement, both through the themes put forward in the projects proposed, and through a committed and intensified co-operation with European artists and cultural operators, which should leave a lasting effect well beyond 2018. It also underlines the fact that the European dimension must not only incorporate the idea of making European citizens more aware of Malta, but also making Maltese citizens more aware of Europe, also by reflecting about the ways they view and are part of Europe, as well as how they wish to be perceived by the rest of Europe. European issues need to be made more evident, by exhibiting both cultural communality and diversity.”³

This alone seems to say a lot about the importance of the European dimension. Valletta 2018 received officially the designation of the ECoC title in May 2013 and marked this with a conference titled “small city – big dreams.” Since then its logo 'imagine 18' has become visible.

² Malta Selection Panel (2012a).

³ Malta Selection Panel (2012b).

Given the crisis in Europe, the question is whether or not any ECoC can initiate another kind of European debate? The cultural gap means that the philosophical underpinning of the European Union is at best a very weak one. Despite efforts by philosophers like Jürgen Habermas or, more recently, by Zygmunt Baumann, there is a loss of concepts by which rational politics could be made possible. Instead, with the rise of Populism and, in some member states like Greece, of a Neo-Fascism based on xenophobic forces, rational politics is given up for the sake of symbols and stereotypical images used to put blame on someone else. They are used to incite hatred as rallying force for those who feel increasingly insecure. It allows playing the victim while displaying wounded pride in terms of national identity instead of filling the European dimension with substantial life.

The Role of the European Commission

First of all, Barroso claims that “experience has confirmed the usefulness of the Commission’s role as an independent and objective referee.”⁴ Yet, EU policy as designed by the Commission amounts to various forms of propagation of measures as part of clearly designed funding programmes. They derive legitimacy primarily from the Treaties and from the fact that such matters as climate change cannot be dealt with by one member state alone. Yet the agenda of the Commission is clearly driven by technology linked to the digital economy. Here the philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis noted correctly that technology is no longer just a method but has replaced the ‘theory of society’. Whatever is done shall follow this new logic of organization. Yet there is a marked weakness here when the Commission applies this logic to ECoC.

Secondly, the Leipzig Charter states that “while the EU does not have any direct competence in urban affairs, its cohesion policies as well as sectorial policies in the areas of transport, environment and social affairs, for example, can have a significant impact on cities and on their capacity to deal with these challenges.”⁵ Given the absence of a DG Commission for Cities and, in addition, the failure of the cohesion policy⁶, it can be presumed that European Capitals of Culture are

⁴ Barroso (2013).

⁵ German Presidency (2007).

⁶ It is believed that the cohesion policy to attain equality between regions has been practically abandoned since 1999. The turn came with the bombardment of Kosovo so that external unification of Europe was much more preferred as manifested in the call for a rapid intervention force and in seeking merely one foreign spokesperson established by the Lisbon treaty. Once the crisis hit in 2009 the Euro-

evaluated more and more in terms of their complexities and need to accommodate different factors, that they have become a testing field for how the EU can facilitate an integrative approach to urban policy.

Indicative of this trend is that the EU Commission no longer defines European Capitals of Culture as barometers of cultures in Europe, but as something else:

“The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) is an initiative promoted by the European Union. The nature of the project has evolved over the years. Initially it was an essentially celebrative event directed at European cities with strong cultural identities, designated directly by governments of member countries. In the course of time, the choice of candidates has become competitive, concentrating on urban and regional regeneration through culture. Chosen cities have therefore been increasingly characterised by complex economic and social problems.

Thus the title ECoC is not so much in recognition of the quality and importance of artistic and cultural heritage handed down in time, but rather of potential for transformation, renewal and development expressed by an effective and innovative approach to culture. It is therefore a prize for the capacity to imagine the future, more than to represent the past.”⁷

It is to be expected that since 1985, when Athens was the first city to be given the ECoC title, a lot has changed. Primarily, the biggest change was made by the European Commission itself. For once it became clear that the selection of a city has to take place well ahead of time, so that the ECoC cities can prepare for that decisive year, the new selection process and preparatory process called for new expertise. Equally, it proved to be no easy task to initiate a creative process by letting people participate actively, at the level of the imagination, and not be disappointed. Consequently, a kind of management of expectations has become an inbuilt safety measure when cities set up their foundations. That has influenced in turn methods of organization and has altered dispositions to interpret the title. In turn, it has increasingly curtailed so many aspirations and has left only few inspired by what is realized in that decisive year. Shortcomings are noticeable especially with regard to the European dimension.

zone, this inequality became institutionalized by seeking the Banking Union rather than through a coherent economic and social policy covering all EU members.

⁷ <http://www.2019si.eu/index.php/en/2019si/f-a-q>

Part B: Knowledge and Culture

Another aspect is the growing influence of universities in giving shape to what a ECoC does during that year. It is the result of a long process. When Bob Palmer delivered his first report on ECoC cities to the European Commission in 2004, he recommended that more should be undertaken to monitor and evaluate the process, since most cultural programmes lacked in sustainability.

About the influence of Universities upon the cultural program of any city, the first observation to be made is that poets or artists who have no academic posts retain a different cultural sensitivity. That needs to be observed when giving shape to a cultural program. The latter is about which voices are heard and what recognition is given to whom. Once a cultural program assumes a heavily academic orientation, then certain advantages may be gained in terms of legitimacy, but in reality several problems shall be incurred as a result. After all, artistic work is not analytical but synthesizes human experiences. And artists know how to use space.

Karsten Xuereb, project manager of Valletta '18, has stated that creating a synthesis is the real task of culture, since that is what contributes to democracy. With such a synthesis, developments are determined in a new way while attaining a degree of complexity which does justice to the reality people live in today. Such a viewpoint can be easily fragmented if treated merely analytically and put into individual pieces like a doctor dissecting a human body so that the sickness can be easily categorized.

Interestingly enough, the Jury in its Final Report on Valletta '18, after seeing how weak the contemporary arts dimension was, has stated that "it is not clear how the University and other educational bodies intend to contribute to supporting this dimension, or how programmes may provide a European dimension in this sector."⁸

A further indication of this heavy involvement of the university is what V18 initiated immediately after the designation of the title in May 2013, namely the cultural mapping exercise.⁹

Since Greg Richards acts as editorial advisor, it is of interest to see what research he would have conducted had the bid of Eindhoven|Brabant in Holland for 2018 been successful. He would have wanted to answer the question "to what extent did the programme of 2018 Eindhoven|Brabant European Capital of Culture

⁸ Malta Selection Panel (2012b).

⁹ Valetta 2018 (2013).

stimulate the intended economic, social, cultural and image effects and what contribution did the programme make to the development of the future (European) network city?" Such a monitoring process would include Appreciative Inquiry "that uses the values, aspirations, dreams and stories of people as a starting point for the creation of future perspectives ... to ensure that the research programme ... will enable Eindhoven and its region to respond to ... trends in its programme and policy."¹⁰ In reference to the 'infrastructure of knowledge' he may well have in mind something the Culturefighter in Košice has a curiosity for and which the former Documentation Centre in Athens had wanted to do for all ECoC cities.¹¹

Given the fact that most of the evaluators are academically oriented, with little or no background in the arts, they are ever more keen to establish right from the outset measurable outcomes. It includes such terms as global impact. No wonder, then, that this instigates indirectly a bypassing of the European dimension. Naturally, it reflects the growing dependency of cities upon the economy going global while visitors come not only from European countries but from all over the world. That explains the growing importance given to cultural tourism, with corresponding research methods used by people like Greg Richards, leading to a certain brand of advice when candidate cities consult them.

One common trend reinforced by the methodology used can be linked to the cultural branding and image making of a city. Already Patras 2006 declared that 'culture is all about images'. But just as states neglect public investments and do not recognize the value of culture independently from the economy, the European dimension is missed out once cultural content is defined independently from artistic work.

Moreover, many ECoC adopt the usual pattern and restore cultural heritage, as Istanbul 2010 did in the case of the Hagia Sofia. Other ECoC cities seek to convert former industrial sites into new creative hubs. This can lead to an entire renovation of the city, as in the case of Weimar 1999, or bring about new symbolic and iconic buildings such as Villa Mediterranea and the Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilisations, in the case of Marseille 2013. However, such highly visible results need the kind of sponsorship that has the big money, which favours a cultural concept that bypasses the real social and economic structure of the city.

¹⁰ <http://en.2018eindhoven.eu/we-explore-the-future/long-term-research>

¹¹ <http://www.culturefighter.eu/about>

One of the few exceptions was Antwerp 1993. By taking culture to mean 'doubt', its artistic director Eric Antonis commissioned 20 new operas of which 19 had their premiere during that year. Likewise, Cork 2005 developed a unique programme to further translation of unknown poets. However, it is easy to notice that in the debate about ECoC cities these qualitative achievements are hardly ever being referred to as examples of good practice.

Altogether ECoC cities are at risk of being pushed by all kinds of consultancy towards embracing a concept of culture as favoured by the European Commission, but the sole promotion of the 'Cultural and Creative Industries' does not suffice to make it a cultural programme. Notably KEA announced in a press release that Mons 2015 had selected it to assess the economic, social and cultural impacts of being European Capital of Culture. Hence, with the city planning to invest € 75 million in celebrating artistic excellence and creativity, KEA plans to apply its innovative evaluation model which "relies on the theory of the spillover or "indirect" effects of the cultural and creative industries."¹²

This trend to favour Creative and Cultural Industries was taken up by Liverpool '08. Ruhr 2010 made it an essential part of the official cultural programme. Since then, Liverpool '08 has established the Institute for Cultural Capitals to promote the kind of impact studies which favour urban regeneration and change of image of the city. Regarded as a successful model, a start in this direction was made by Glasgow 1990, namely using culture to revamp the city. Of late, Valletta 2018 wishes to create its own film industry, thought elsewhere to be the main creative hub in cities like SoHo in London. Research findings become thereby guidelines which push the cultural programme in that direction. Despite reducing culture to what has value for the economy, the EU Commission reinforces this trend with its 2020 vision emphasizing the 'experience economy'. Most likely it will reduce culture even more to being merely infotainment.

Part C: Selection of Future ECoC Cities - until 2021

Practically the European dimension is missed out by a selection process which confines ECoC cities to the national and local fold. When chairman of the Jury, Bob Scott was strictly against any border city in the belief that a city having the ECoC title should be the national representative.

¹² KEA (2012).

At the public consultation meeting in Brussels 2011 the future selection process after 2019 was discussed.¹³ Of interest were the following aspects: the criteria should not be too concrete, so that cities should be freer to make creative proposals; a city, and not a region should be involved; care should be taken of those who got hurt in the process (e.g. sudden rejection of the artistic director); urban culture as a place for innovation and creativity should be taken as the real European dimension; and something should be done about the growing risk of corruption since ECoC cities handle by now huge budgets ranging from 60 to 80 million or more for the five years.

Surprisingly, when the Jury issued the pre-selection report on Valletta's sole bid for Malta to be ECoC in 2018, it pointed out that "the title can be held by one city only and in no case by the islands as a whole."¹⁴ Yet in the Final Report the Jury acknowledged the involvement of the entire island but insisted that citizens should be treated not as passive spectators but as active recipients, best done by ensuring they have access to cultural events.¹⁵

Usually candidate cities go through quite a competition. In Italy, there were 21 cities competing for the title to be designated for 2019, among them Ravenna, Palermo, Siena etc.¹⁶ Of interest is, for instance, what the candidate city Siena 2019 believes the jury is looking for, namely not something of the past, but what goes ahead into the future and therefore has less to do with artistic or cultural projects. It indicates how far down the road the original idea of a city being European Capital of Culture has come.¹⁷

In Bulgaria, besides Sofia, there is Varna competing for the title and argues, like Siena, that the European dimension does not mean so much artistic activities as innovation linked to urban projects.

*"The determining factor of European identity is the possibility of establishing an intercultural dialogue between diverse cultures of Europe, but their creativity needs to be found not only on arts, but also on innovation projects and ideas for sustainable local/regional development."*¹⁸

¹³ ECoC (2011). See as well report by Hatto Fischer at <http://ecoc.poieinkaiprattein.org/european-capital-of-culture/eu-commission/ecoc-public-consultation-in-brussels-2-3-2011/>

¹⁴ Malta Selection Panel (2012a).

¹⁵ Malta Selection Panel (2012b).

¹⁶ Povoledo (2013).

¹⁷ <http://www.2019si.eu/index.php/en/2019si/f-a-q>

¹⁸ Dimitrova & Genkova (2013).

The question does not seem to occur that a European Capital of Culture can also be evaluated in terms of the kind of contribution it makes to a culture of sustainability. However, their approach may have been guided by their research findings about the European dimension:

1. "The respondents accept the candidature of Varna as an opportunity to:

- promote the Bulgarian culture and art at European level (93%);
- enrich the cultural life of Varna with European artists (91%).

ATTENTION: 8 % of the surveyed cannot rate how far the candidature of the city would contribute to the European integration of the country and 11% think that Varna is not a part of the European cultural life."¹⁹

2. Greece needs to select a city for 2021. Till now just one city was appointed in a top-down process. It shall be interesting to see if the Commission can insist this time that guidelines be observed and a competition between different candidate cities be realized. Care would have to be taken that recommendations by an independent jury shall be followed through. Already given the relative weakness of the jury to influence things in a positive way, the selection process can be undermined still further by political expediency with crisis, a good way to evade transparency and accountability. If not handled well, the selection of the city will be once again a top-down decision. It shall leave out the cultural sector and ignore the real need for citizens to participate.

It shall be argued that planning for a future European Capital of Culture in Greece, if done well, would provide a chance to mediate between different cultural concepts of the economy and equally give Greece the chance to look back 200 years come 2021. One thematic link could be learning from past mistakes ever since independence was gained in 1821. Since then, many breaks and setbacks have been incurred due to wars, civil wars, military dictatorship, etc. And entry into the EU has hardly given Greece a chance to get out of the post-colonial syndrome i.e. an educated elite making mistakes by merely imitating successful models but never really believing in them and therefore unable to use lived-through experiences to validate a cultural orientation which entails a theoretical capacity to reflect upon itself as being a part of Europe.

¹⁹ Id.

If Greeks are to relate to Europe not as a mere financial scam but as the outcome of a cultural process of adaptation to changing conditions, then something needs to be worked out on the basis of practical wisdom and continuity. Getting out of the crisis would contribute to what does hold Europe together. Here the future European Capital of Culture in 2021 could play a major role. That is, however, only possible if culture is used to activate memory work and breaks in history are not glossed over by referring to cultural heritage and a cultural identity as if existing 'now as then'. That would be nothing short of a fake claim of continuity while the continual survival of people is really at stake. After five years of recession and austerity measures, Greek people would need a respite, best done by discovering another culture with a new vision and offering solutions that link Greece to Europe. The European dimension has to be more than what has been projected so far back to the past – to Ancient Greece.²⁰

Conclusion

ECoC cities need to engage themselves far more in making the creative process happen. The problems of a cultural 'poverty of experience' cannot to be answered by smart growth and an 'economy of experience' as declared by the EU 2020 vision. However, the experience gained by all European Capitals of Culture is that the title can unleash energies provided that the imagination is used to fulfill the European dimension. In that sense, the ECoC can become a crucial pivot point for a new EU cultural policy. However, it has to be based on a deeper understanding as to what allows people to stay, through dialogue, in touch with reality and with each other.

Note: Such an archive of ECoC cities can be found on the website of Poiein kai Prattein at <http://ecoc.poieinkaiprattein.org/european-capital-of-culture/>

while a full account of this article can be found at

<http://ecoc.poieinkaiprattein.org/european-capital-of-culture/ECoC-and-networks/university-network-of-european-capitals-of-culture/seventh-conference-in-marseille-17-18-october-2013/the-missing-european-dimension-by-hatto-fischer/>

²⁰ A first announcement to seek the title has been made end of October 2013 by three cities of the Peloponnese: Tripoli, Kalamata and Nafplion.

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CULTURAL MAPPING: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURAL MAPS FOR A NEW VISIBILITY OF CITIES AND REGIONS IN EUROPE

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Space as Landscape of Discourses

Within the field of cultural history and sociology, the debate on space and its representations has a long and complex tradition. Since the time of Antiquity, and through the Middle Ages, the central places of villages have been a meeting place for society. The concept of the Greek agora remains an important idea, whereby citizens and strangers can exchange not only tradable goods and services, but also ideas and artistic expression. 'Speakers' corners can be found in the public parks of many global cities. Here people are given a platform to express ideas with impunity. "Events" held in these spaces, throughout their history, have commonly been accepted rituals and celebrations with strong political, social and religious meaning.¹ They make a symbolic difference to the culture of every-day-life and the self-assurance of a society within the event. Even today, this tradition is an important basis for understanding the implied meanings of events and architectural interventions in the public sphere.

Over a long period, the term *space* was academically underestimated in comparison to the terms time and action. "While the phenomena of action are inherently temporal (...) they are not in the same sense spatial."² Frequently, spaces were seen as the static and less dynamic fields of every-day-life. Moreover, the political debate about the role of space, especially in the time of World War II, was a further problematic reason for many sociologists viewing reflections of space

¹ Comp. Sennett (1996).

² Parsons (1967): 46.

skeptically. With the rapid development of new media, changes within conventional media, and the virtual presence of international events in cinemas, on TV programs and later over the internet, a new consciousness regarding the role of space in modern media societies has arisen. These new media have produced new virtual spaces and places – on various levels, that is, within new public spaces themselves (cinemas, for example) as well as via virtual worlds. The experience gained through witnessing events, either live, or recorded that are located in one space, but viewed in another space – allow the viewer to identify with, and experience a place in which they are not physically located via virtual means. Without these public spaces many internationally renowned events like the actions within programs of the European Capital of Culture Projects would not have gained their fame and popularity. The presence of virtual spaces is also part of a special of public realm.

The early Michel Foucault described so called “heterotopias”³ to make clear that it is necessary to understand the multidimensional factors of the term space: “Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.”

Cultural spaces are important to our sense of identity. They can include the place in which we grew up, or the place we currently identify as our ‘home’ – however, this does not necessarily refer to the physical buildings we occupy, but the cultural meanings that are created in these places. We ascribe strong cultural meanings to our sense of place – which then form part of our identity. Our sense of belonging to a particular street, area, town, region or even country distinguishes and shapes us and our relationship with other cultural spaces. This sense of identifying with areas or spaces is clear throughout history and in essence contributes to a sense of nationhood – and further not only to a sense of commonality, but also to conflict as we understand, ascribe meaning and importance our own unique cultural spaces as distinctly different to those of people occupying an ‘other’ cultural space.

The ways in which we move through public space can be a direct connection with our sense of identity, and belonging.⁴ As we move in our everyday lives through public spaces, we meet here with history and society. Within these places, we form relationships with others

³ Comp. Foucault (1980).

⁴ Comp. Lowe (2000).

and with the place itself. Our everyday lives take us necessarily through the public sphere - our journeys to, and activities in, school, university, work, or in undertaking leisure activity move us through the public sphere and with this a host of interactions, reactions, and connections with it, its past and our role in its future are formed.

Definitions of space have become very important for modern academic works. In Richard Florida's 'the Rise of the Creative Class' he categorically refutes the argument that once pervaded modern economics in which it was argued that modern economies would remove peoples' sense of place - that 'spaces' will simply be filled and utilized according to push and pull factors of the economy. Florida goes on to state, that in reality, there are a number other underlying factors that dictate people's choice of location - essentially these are the cultural connections that people make with place. Richard Florida's reflection about the "Creative Classes" and their preferred spaces within post-industrial cities⁵ or the "Third Space Theory" of Edward Soja, show that spaces always have strong connections in people's minds, to their expectations and associations. Spaces are seen in this concept as a complex mixture of real topographies, of media topographies and of topographies people create in their minds.

'Place and community are more critical factors than ever before. And a good deal of the reason for this is that rather than inhabiting an abstract 'space' as Kelly suggest, the economy itself increasingly takes form around real concentrations of people in real places.'⁶

Florida goes on to add, more critically, that the very specific places where creative economies thrive are those that are diverse, vibrant and welcoming.⁷

Cultural Mapping Processes

To reflect the use of spaces in a proper way, especially within programs for European Capitals of Culture, it is necessary to look on the role of so-called iconic symbols. These can be significant buildings, like the very often published pictures of the old coal mines in the European Capital of Culture Ruhr 2010; or the famous mirror close to "Vieux Port" of the European Capital of Culture Marseille 2013. However, there can also be smaller icons, which do not lead automatically to a huge awareness of broader media audiences or visitors. These smaller icons can establish important discourses within

⁵ Comp. Florida (2005).

⁶ Florida (2005): 219.

⁷ Comp. Hartley (2005).

destinations concerning the process of reflection how to present the own history, traditions and cultural values in a more sustainable way. A good example for such an approach is a project in the city of Pristina, in Kosovo.

Since 2008, a new 'problematic' state - the state of Kosovo - appeared on the European political landscape. After long years of war and a long lasting conflict with Serbia, the country gained independence. The place was as a barely-known cultural area. Many different cultural traditions, a huge diversity of ethnical groups and a complex religious mixture had suddenly to be integrated within this new state. Political discourses had been very dominant in the public and in the European media public during the time after founding the state.

For many cultural institutions, a difficult question came up. What are proper ways to present Pristina and the country not only as wounded political topography but also as a tolerant and open space for cultural diversity? The Robert Bosch Foundation in Germany asked one of the authors of this article to create a so-called cultural mapping process in this country. Together with the Kosovan writer and artist Beqe Cufai from Kosovo and other contributors, a cultural map was developed which was looking for these smaller icons like hidden libraries, galleries, meeting places and spaces for intercultural communication. The map titled "Cultural Map of Pristine - Looking for a New Inspiring Topography"⁸ was published in three languages, Kosovan, Serbian and English. The political boundaries of the new state were consciously not focused. More important was the presentation of the cultural influences from different ethnic groups and traditions. With this approach, the map could show that culture follows a completely different logic than pure political perspectives. The map also brought up a new visibility of Pristina as an important cultural space in Europe. Similar projects were done in Tirana (Albania)⁹ and in twelve other cities in Middle-Europe. The title of this broader cultural mapping project was "Little Global Cities."¹⁰

Cultural maps do not present a holistic view on cities or regions. They choose a particular perspective and reveal the mostly hidden potential of iconic symbols, which are very often not on the main agenda of city marketing measurements or other marketing instruments.

However, sometimes one can face criticism against cultural mapping processes as actually masked projects for marketing strategies.

⁸ Wolfram, G. & Cufai, B. (2008).

⁹ Wolfram, G. (2007).

¹⁰ Comp. <http://www.little-global-cities.eu/>

Indeed, it happens that cities use such projects in this direction. Nevertheless, the same accusation could be made for European Capital of Culture Programs. To avoid this development it is important to involve artists, scientists, arts managers and cultural politicians to formulate goals of independence for such cultural mapping processes. In the middle of all efforts should be the specific communication of hidden values, traditions and the attempt to establish new symbolic icons, which are able to present the genuine characteristics or new artistic representations of a city or region. That does not mean to create 'spaces of comfort'; it means rather to involve also contradictory and provocative symbols. For example, sculptures, paintings, performances in the public space can serve as such icons if they are combined with a strategy to present the city in the context of these images.

In this context, of course, differences to nation images and personal images have to be reflected. "According to Jacobsen (1973) nation images can be defined as the sum of individual and collective ideas and opinions about a nation that influence behaviour and decision-making. (...) Furthermore, different dimensions can be distinguished. First, people do not have only images of other nations but also of their own. Both dimensions (self-image and image of the other) are largely independent: therefore, the self-image influences the development of images of other nations and vice versa. (...) In addition, a distinction can be made between the image of a nation's people and the image of the nation-state."¹¹

Birte Fähnrich reflects on images of nations and people, a very often by a lot stereotypes determined process. Within this process is a special dichotomy is observable - between collective and individual approaches. This gap can be closed in the context of cultural mapping processes. The cultural symbolic icons of a city are very often a representation of hidden cultural traces and influences or a new definition of values and self-reflections of the inhabitants. When we look one more time on the famous mirror for passersby at the "Vieux Port" of Marseille then it is obvious that this 'iconic sculpture' is reflecting the different groups and traditions of modern Marseille in a very direct way. It is a point of inclusion - and it is a symbolic icon, which can reveal a different topography of the city than ever before. To reveal such new, hidden or current constructed icons should be in the center of innovative cultural mapping processes. That can lead to a new understanding of images and identities. Like Richard Sennett showed in his book "Flesh and Stone - The Body and the City in

¹¹ Fähnrich (2010): 116 f.

Western Civilization"¹² is citizenship always connected with the relations between individual bodies, collective ideas and values and the architecture or the structure of cities. Innovative symbolic icons are able to present a change within discourses like in Marseille where over a long period of time the city was associated with crime, poverty and a missing integration strategy for migrants and refugees. With the interventions of the program European Capital of Culture 2013 these problems could not be solved of course (this is not the main task of cultural interventions to change social problems) but a more democratic awareness of the city was reached by implementing new symbolic icons within the city structure.

Similar approaches can be observed now in the planned measurements for the European Capital of Culture Pafos 2017 on the island of Cyprus.¹³ The bid books of Pafos describe precisely the potentials of sculptural interventions in the public space of the city. The goal is to create a space that can act, like described in the first chapter of this article, as a utopian space, which is real at the same moment, a space that can offer new discourses between the people of the island who are still struggling with the political consequences of the separation of the island. The political map of Cyprus is definite. Two ethnic groups, two powerful states in the background of each side (Greece & Turkey), fences and walls that mark off the borderlines. The long history of commonly shared traditions between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, their meeting places, theatres, songs, dances and stories are not dividable in these political areas. Therefore cultural maps are needed which mirror a hidden common topography beyond political borders.

Conclusion

Cultural mapping processes on a European level reflect the hidden or current potentials of cities and regions. They offer new perspectives on already well-known or widely unknown topographies and help to gain an overview on socio-cultural and artistic structures and cultural developing processes. They can be part of a reformulation of values and integrative models. One should not use them as a pure marketing instrument. The inclusion of artists, scientists and citizens is an important aspect of cultural mapping to reach an authentic picture of a democratic self-representation of cities and regions. That happens beyond the logic of administrative, economic and political maps.¹⁴

¹² Comp. Sennett (1996).

¹³ Comp. <http://www.pafos2017.eu/>

¹⁴ Comp Held (2008)

Cultural maps are never complete; one should understand them as a suggestion, as a basis for discourses. Many European Capitals of Culture for example could prove that such a suggestion - to see spaces as labs and open fields for cultural experiments - can lead to new visitor groups, to a more sensitive media coverage and, most of all, to a new identification¹⁵ of citizens with the place where they live, think and dream.

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¹⁵ Comp. Kofoed (2013): 153-162.

THE ROLE OF SPACE IN THE POLITICS OF INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

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Introduction

In the recent decades, Europe has become more and more diverse due to the increasing pluralism based on global cultural flows, new means of communication, immigration, EU enlargement, etc. In the political discourse, the diversification of societies has often been considered as a positive opportunity that enriches the society. However, the problems – or challenges – generated due to the multilevel diversification of the societies have also been discussed and aimed to be tackled by various means. In the past two decades, European societies have aimed to govern their increasing diversity through national diversity policies, which have ranged from multiculturalism to integration and from transnationalism to assimilation.¹ In addition, the European political organizations, such as the European Union and the Council of Europe (COE), have reacted to the diversification of the European societies and the societal changes and challenges it has entailed. Diversity has become one of the key words in the policy rhetoric at the European level. Besides being a popular key word or slogan, it has become an important domain of governance.

Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Anna Triandafyllidou state that cities as focused urban environments offer better cognitive tools than nations or states for re-imagining the new interdependencies and flows of contemporary societies. According to them, the contemporary urban realities in European cities provide a landscape where intercultural encounters and flows of immigrants develop new forms of cultural expression that transcend the boundaries of the 'national' and of the 'ethnic' and create new types of artistic and cultural phenomena, new cultural and commercial networks for art products, and eventually

¹ Lähdesmäki & Wagener (forthcoming).

new realities of cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism.² In the political discourse, cities are often considered as the arena through which the diversity can be governed. Cities have also been taken to the focus of the diversity policies in the European organizations: cities appear to be the most appropriate level where new forms and types of participatory and inclusive policy processes can be designed and implemented.³ Cities have been considered arenas which should foster formal and informal encounters and mobilize citizens on issues of common interests that cut across ethnic and social boundaries⁴ while setting out conditions for participatory and open-ended engagement to sustain 'micro publics of negotiation'⁵.

Besides the political sphere, the interrelations between the urban environment and the opportunities, challenges, and problems embedded to diversification processes have been recently discussed in the academia, as well. Scholars have analyzed and proposed how the cities and their urban environments should be developed in order to foster and promote fruitful and positive encounter of diverse people and cultural fluxes. Urban planning and urban design have been considered as concrete tools to influence the 'intercultural dialogue' in the city.⁶

In the recent decade, the European organizations have aimed to rethink and renew their political rhetoric of governing diversity. The EU has promoted the idea of 'intercultural dialogue' e.g., in the 'European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World' (2007). The same idea is emphasized in the 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' published by the COE in 2008. It aims to give practical suggestions in order to increase the intercultural dialogue as a response to various problems the diversified European societies are currently facing. The attempts of governing diversity have also been put into practice in the European-level urban initiatives. The European Commission's and COE's joint initiative 'Intercultural Cities' – which was launched in the run-up to the 'White Paper on Intercultural dialogue' and 'the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue' (2008) – aimed to develop a model supporting intercultural integration within diverse urban communities.

Both the 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' and the 'Intercultural Cities' initiative emphasize space as one of the concrete instruments

² Meinhof & Triandafyllidou (2006): 13–15.

³ Council of Europe (2013): 28.

⁴ Khovanova-Rubicondo & Dino Pinelli (2012): 14.

⁵ Amin (2002).

⁶ See e.g., Sandercock (1998); Wood & Landry (2008); Buradyidi (2000); Low, Taplin & Scheld (2005).

for producing and strengthening intercultural dialogue in the contemporary European societies. In order to enable citizens to actively participate in public matters, to meet, and to communicate, they suggest that cities should offer and plan space for it. The spatial agenda of the White Paper and the Intercultural Cities reaches from commercial to religious and from educational to leisure spaces. Particular attention is paid to design and management of public space and urban planning.

In this paper, I investigate the spatial agenda included in the policy documents of the 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' and the 'Intercultural Cities' initiative by analyzing their rhetoric on space with the method of critical close reading. The main question is: How does the European level policy discourse aim to tackle the challenges and problems of diversified societies through urban planning and governing space. The spatial agenda of the White Paper and the Intercultural Cities is discussed in the paper by contextualizing it from the point of view of the recent theoretical discussions in urban planning.

Intercultural Dialogue as a Discursive Innovation

Diversity as a cultural and societal condition can be distinguished from the policies of governing diversity.⁷ Thus, the reality of multicultural, transcultural, or intercultural practices, communities and cultural phenomena in contemporary European societies does not automatically indicate the implementation of multiculturalism, transculturalism, or interculturalism as a political ideology in the administration and governance of diversity. Most of the European societies implement some kind of diversity policies in regards of their minorities and immigrants. However, the policies differ greatly between the societies.

In the recent decades, the diversification of the European societies and the policies of governing it have typically been discussed in the political and public spheres with the concept of multiculturalism. In the academia, multiculturalism as a political idea and a policy has been discussed by recognizing theoretical dichotomies in its foundations. Thus, scholars have distinguished e.g., politics of assimilation or acculturation⁸, and moderate or radical⁹, weak or

⁷ Bauböck (2008): 2.

⁸ Barry (2001).

⁹ Miller (2000).

strong¹⁰, thin or thick¹¹, and liberal or communitarian¹² politics of multiculturalism. Some scholars have categorized the politics of multiculturalism with more detailed strands in relation to political theory.¹³

However, the concept of multiculturalism has also been recently much critically discussed and analyzed. It has been criticized e.g., for emphasizing boundaries instead of their blurring, and for focusing mainly to ethnic and national issues instead of paying attention to multisectional diversity in the societies. The critics have rather discussed the contemporary diversity and its governance with the term of interculturalism. However, several scholars have emphasized that the concepts and the policy rhetoric of interculturalism and multiculturalism are discursively fluid and it is difficult to draw any clear or stable demarcation between the two.¹⁴ As Taqir Modood and Naser Meer have pointed out, the qualities, such as encouraging communication, recognition of dynamic identities, promotion of unity, and critique for illiberal cultural practice, that are often used to promote political interculturalism, are equally important (on occasion foundational) features of multiculturalism.¹⁵ Due to the fluid and vague contents of the concepts, the discussions on supplanting the multiculturalism by interculturalism have included politicized dimensions.¹⁶

Politics is made in language and through discourses. Due to the discursive nature of politics, political innovations are always conceptual – and conceptual changes embody politics.¹⁷ Political language in the administrative documents does not only describe the reality of policies, but it participates in the production of them. Thus, political language is a performative speech act in a sense of John L. Austin even though its explicit claims might not be fulfilled.¹⁸ The concepts of interculturalism and intercultural dialogue are both political innovations and conceptual changes in diversity policies. In the White Paper, the intercultural dialogue is understood as

an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals, groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic

¹⁰ Grillo (2005).

¹¹ Tamir (1995).

¹² Taylor (1994).

¹³ See e.g., Bauböck (2008).

¹⁴ Levey (2012); Wieviorka (2012).

¹⁵ Modood & Meer (2012).

¹⁶ Levey (2012).

¹⁷ E.g., Farr (1989): 31.

¹⁸ Austin (1982).

backgrounds and heritage on the basis of mutual understanding and respect.¹⁹

Transformation of Rhetoric on Diversity in the Council of Europe

The Council of Europe is a prominent agency in the developing the discourses on culture, identity, and diversity in Europe.²⁰ It has had a major influence on the EU's political discourses. Its rhetorical formulations and interest areas have been absorbed to the EU's political discourses and goals with a short delay, particularly in questions related to culture.²¹

'Cultural mosaic' in the European societies has been in the interests of the COE since its beginning. The COE has promoted the idea of diversity along with a common European identity and unity in Europe. The idea of the 'unity in diversity' in Europe – the idea that was later adopted to the official slogan of the EU – was brought to the fore in the COE's 'Resolution on the European Cultural Identity' already in 1985. The diversity rhetoric of COE transformed in the 1990s, when the idea of multiculturalism was related to the discussions on European identity in the declaration of 'Multicultural Society and European Cultural Identity' (1990). The 'Declaration on Cultural Diversity' (2000) took a broader aspect to diversification processes in Europe by discussing diversity in relation to information technologies, globalization, and trade policies. In it, the "member states are urged to pay particular attention to the need to sustain and promote cultural diversity".²²

The political and societal debates over multiculturalism have influenced the current diversity politics and rhetoric of the COE and the EU. Several recent EU's and COE's policy documents participate in and speeds up the shift in the diversity politics by emphasizing the 'intercultural dialogue' instead of multiculturalism as a core focus of the policy rhetoric. The 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' and the 'Intercultural Cities' initiative are examples of this shift: the focus of the policy discourse has been laid on encountering and communication between diverse people in the diversified societies.

The background of the 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' is on a broad consultation implemented among the diverse bodies of the COE and a questionnaire study conducted among various bodies,

¹⁹ Council of Europe (2008): 10.

²⁰ Sassatelli (2009): 43.

²¹ Id.: 43, 59; Patel (2013): 6.

²² Council of Europe (2000).

organizations, and communities in the member states on the practices and needs for diversity policies. On the base of the investigation, the 61-page White Paper aims to identify how to promote intercultural dialogue in Europe and provide guidance on analytical and methodological tools and standards for it. On the bases of the White Paper, the COE launched in 2008 a pilot project titled 'Intercultural Cities' with 11 cities from 11 member states in order to

examine the impact of cultural diversity and migration from the perspective of Europe's cities and identify strategies and policies which could help cities work with diversity as a factor of development.²³

At the end of the pilot phase in 2010, a further group of cities joined the initiative.

The 'Intercultural Cities' initiative includes innovations in the policy discourse of governing diversity. The concept of the 'intercultural city' originates in a research carried out by a British think-tank Comedia, which has analyzed the links between urban change and cultural diversity and aimed to provide tools to manage diversity in urban contexts.²⁴ 'The intercultural cities approach' used in the initiative aims to advocate respect for diversity and a pluralistic identities in the city. As Khovanova-Rubicondo and Pinelli state in their assessment for the COE,

it [the intercultural cities approach] promotes the vision of a city where informal encounters between residents with different cultural and ethnic background is easy and facilitated by the design of urban spaces and institutions. It aims at promoting open spaces of interaction, which will help breaking diversity fault lines, sustaining trust and social cohesion and facilitating the circulation of ideas and creativity.²⁵

As the quotation indicates, urban planning and design has been perceived as one of the means for promoting intercultural dialogue in the cities.²⁶ Taking the urban planning and design as tools for promoting the positive impacts of diversification and tackling the problems embedded to it, differentiates the White Paper and the initiative from other European policy documents and urban projects with a focus on diversity.

²³ Wood (2009): 17.

²⁴ Wood & Landry (2008).

²⁵ Khovanova-Rubicondo & Pinelli (2012): 14.

²⁶ See also Council of Europe (2013): 26.

Spatial Agenda in the 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' and 'Intercultural Cities' Initiative

In order to enable citizens to actively participate in public matters, meet, and communicate, the White Paper suggests societies to offer "appropriate, accessible and attractive spaces" for it.²⁷ The spatial agenda of the White Paper reaches from commercial to religious, and from educational to leisure spaces. As the White Paper states:

It is essential to engender spaces for dialogue that are open to all. Successful intercultural governance, at any level, is largely a matter of cultivating such spaces: physical spaces like streets, markets and shops, houses, kindergartens, schools and universities, cultural and social centres, youth clubs, churches, synagogues and mosques, company meeting rooms and workplaces, museums, libraries and other leisure facilities, or virtual spaces like the media.²⁸

The diversity is aimed to be governed by influencing space in which the intercultural encounters are expected to take place. Even the 'family environment' is included to the spatial agenda of the White Paper.²⁹ Both the White Paper and the 'Intercultural Cities' initiative promote active 'place-making' in order to "create spaces which make it easier and attractive for people of different backgrounds to meet others and to minimize those which encourage avoidance, apprehension or rivalry".³⁰ The fundamental point of departure in the spatial agenda of the paper and the initiative is the idea of 'openness' of space. According to their logic, openness of space enables people to encounter and bring about intercultural communication and participation in the society. What the 'openness' of space and 'encountering' eventually mean, remain however vague in their rhetoric.

In the White Paper and the Intercultural Cities, a particular attention is paid to urban planning and the design and management of public space. According to the White Paper:

Town planning is an obvious example: urban space can be organised in a 'single-minded' fashion or more 'open-minded' ways. The former include the conventional suburb, housing estate, industrial zone, car park or ring road. The latter embrace the busy square, the park, the lively street, the pavement café or the market. If single-minded areas favour an atomised existence, open-minded places can bring diverse sections of society

²⁷ Council of Europe (2008): 46.

²⁸ Id.: 33.

²⁹ Id.: 32.

³⁰ Council of Europe (2013): 69.

together and breed a sense of tolerance. It is critically important that migrant populations do not find themselves, as so often, concentrated on soulless and stigmatised housing estates, excluded and alienated from city life³¹

The change from the "single-minded" to the "open-minded" urban planning ideas was related in the policy rhetoric of the Intercultural Cities to the paradigm change from multiculturalism to interculturalism, as the following quotation indicates:

Multicultural planning practice has established important principles such as the requirement of equality for all in the face of planning legislation and for equitable and just treatment of all in its application. However, the intercultural city demands more of the people, the professionals and the politicians. Whilst multiculturalism is predicated upon static notions of group identity, interculturalism expects a dynamic and constantly changing environment in which individuals and collectives express multiple, hybrid and evolving needs and identities.³²

As the quotation indicates, the transformation of the urban planning discourses and shifts in the policy discourses on governing diversity were paralleled in the rhetoric of the initiative.

The 'Intercultural Cities' initiative provides some concrete suggestions to develop the urban space in order to increase the intercultural encountering and its positive impacts in the city. The focus is laid on the public spaces and public housing. Housing policies are advised to "give ethnic groups confidence and information enabling them to consider taking housing opportunities outside their traditional enclaves".³³ The aim is to tackle the problems of the 'traditional' – and often decayed and disreputable – migrant suburbs by mixing the population with other residential districts and suburbs e.i. enabling the inhabitants in the 'ethnic enclaves' to move elsewhere. Interestingly, the problems of these enclaves are not aimed to be tackled by encouraging inhabitants from other 'unproblematic' districts and suburbs to move to these areas. In addition, the urban managers and planners are suggested to "[i]dentify a number of key public spaces (formal and informal) and invest in discrete redesign, animation and maintenance to raise levels of usage and interaction by all ethnic groups".³⁴ As the examples indicate, the focus of the spatial agenda is in the 'ethnic groups' and the space used or not used by them.

³¹ Council of Europe (2008): 33.

³² Council of Europe (2013): 69.

³³ Wood (2009): 57.

³⁴ Id.: 54.

The spatial agenda of the White Paper and the Intercultural Cities combines the diversity politics with the some recent ideas and aims in urban planning theories. The common interest in these ideas and aims has been for two decades in increasing the interaction and communication between citizens in the urban space, strengthening communality and urban identities in the city, rediscovering the urban spaces in the city center, and fostering human-scale and pedestrian-friendly urban design as a basis for active and 'livable' cities. Scholars have discussed and conceptualized these theories and practices of urban planning by relating then e.g., to a 'communicative paradigm' in urban planning, the 'post-modern planning principles', and a set of planning ideas termed as 'New Urbanism'.

Nigel Taylor describes the development in urban planning by identifying a paradigmatic change in the planning theories and practices during the 1990s. According to Taylor, at that time the views following the new communicative paradigm started to emphasize interaction and communication instead of rational, scientific, and technical thinking as the bases for managing the urban planning.³⁵ The emphasis on interaction and communication has easily adapted the cultural points of view to the core of urban planning ideologies. Cultural planning has become one of the current key points of view in urban planning discourses. In addition, similar kinds of ideologies in urban planning have been described as characterizing the shift from modern to post-modern planning principles. The ideals of post-modern planning are considered to include e.g., the fostering of urban identities and cultural uniqueness, the appreciation of historic places and traditions, and the participatory planning methods and the pursuit of human-scale, pedestrian-friendly and compact urban forms.³⁶ Respectively, the planning principles conceptualized as New Urbanism, stresses e.g., the rediscovery of the city centre and its activities, pedestrian-friendly urban design, diversity and accessibility of public space, urban aesthetics, quality of urban design, and sustainability and good quality of life as a base for urban planning. The goal is to create a compact city with short distances and promote an urban structure which mixes the functions of space and combats the social exclusion and differentiation of districts.³⁷ The planning ideas of New Urbanism have been however criticized for increasing the problems, which it aims to tackle – for producing white gentrification and

³⁵ Taylor (1998).

³⁶ Hirt (2005).

³⁷ Haas (2008).

homogenization of neighborhoods, rather than social and ethnic mixing in them.³⁸

In general, the attempts to enliven the city and to make it more 'livable' often originate from a top-down decision-making and urban planning practices. Several scholars have criticized these practices for forgetting to involve local people and ordinary citizens in the urban planning processes.³⁹ Respectively, scholars have emphasized the importance of collaborative planning and taking into account the grass-root level initiatives in urban development in order to encourage intercultural dialogue and encounter.⁴⁰ The 'Intercultural Cities' initiative advises urban planners to co-operate with the citizens. According to 'The intercultural city step by step' guide book:

The most important skill for place-makers and planners is to listen to people, to their stories, to the way in which they use space and live their lives, and their aspirations and then to work with them to translate this into expert systems.⁴¹

Conclusions

Diversity has become one of the key points of view to discuss the urbanity. As the 'White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue' and the 'Intercultural Cities' initiative indicate, urban planning has been taken as tool for diversity policies at the European level. Motives for it can be found from an unwanted transformation of the urban structure in the diversified European cities. The development of isolated enclaves housed by migrants and ethnic minorities and the increase of urban decay, social problems, unemployment and a feeling of insecurity in some of those areas has wakened the European organizations to react to these changes with diverse means, such as 'place-making'. Even though, the 'Intercultural Cities' initiative states that the "[g]ood intercultural place-making should reach beyond the issues of migration and ethnic diversity to embrace all aspects of difference in contemporary urban communities"⁴², the discursive focus of the policy rhetoric is in the migrant and ethnic groups. In the rhetoric, these groups often narrow to mean non-European, non-white, non-Christian, and non-educated migrants.⁴³ Instead of approaching the

³⁸ Saitta (forthcoming).

³⁹ Hall (2004); Evans (2005).

⁴⁰ Bloomfield & Bianchini (2002); Morrison (2003); Moulaert et al. (2010).

⁴¹ Council of Europe (2013): 71.

⁴² Id.: 70.

⁴³ Lähdesmäki & Wagener (forthcoming).

urbanity and its current challenges from the point of view of (ethnic) diversity and intercultural dialogue, these challenges could be discussed by emphasizing e.g., the elimination of poverty, unemployment, social exclusion, etc.

In the policy rhetoric of the White Paper and the Intercultural Cities, the diversity is discussed in a profoundly narrow sense. Diversity in the European cities, is however profoundly diverse. Differing historical, political and social conditions have produced distinct 'diversity structures' into European societies.⁴⁴ In today's super-diverse societies, pluralism is not only broad but also multidimensional and fluid.⁴⁵ In a 'complex diversity', characteristics of cultural, ethnic, or national categories become more difficult to perceive.⁴⁶ Fluid social ties, statuses, positions, and competences of people create structural complexity to the diversity. However, diversity is often discussed in a universalistic discourse, which ignores the local, regional and national particularities in diversity structures and the differences among the migrants and the people with a different ethnic, religious, or cultural background.

ERICarts report for the European Commission has indicated that the principles of human, civic, economic, and social rights embedded in the EU directives and agendas have not been implemented in a uniform manner into national legislation or policies in relation to diversity policies in European societies. Moreover, the report concludes, "one single model encompassing all national approaches to intercultural dialogue cannot realistically be expected, at present".⁴⁷ Respectively, the use of space, spatial structures, and the need for spatial interventions differ greatly between European cities.

The urban planning and design produce concrete and a more easily recognized outcomes in the city than diverse social development programs. Thus, urban planning and design bring about more easily a feeling that 'something is done' in order to improve the quality of life in the city. Even though the spatial agenda is emphasized as one the crucial means for increasing the intercultural dialogue and integration in the investigated documents, the documents do not however concretize what the good urban planning and design eventually comprises. The urban planners – and the inhabitants themselves – are expected to have this knowledge.

⁴⁴ Saukkonen (2007): 41–54.

⁴⁵ Vertovec (2007); Blommaert & Rampton (2011).

⁴⁶ Krauss (2011).

⁴⁷ Wiesand et al. (2008): v.

Implementing urban plans and designs requires economic investments. The 'Intercultural City' initiatives advises the cities to invest in 'place-making' by emphasizing: "The point is not to ask 'what is the cost of interculturally-competent place-making?' but 'what is the cost of not doing it?'" and

The two most frequent barriers to new forms of place-making are prejudicial responses: 'It cannot be done' and 'It is too expensive'. The first is an error in design thinking. The second is an error in accounting practice.⁴⁸

Even though the economics is a crucial issue for implementing the 'place-making' and diverse social programs aiming to increase the intercultural dialogue, the financing of them is not further discussed in the policy discourse. How the means through which the challenges of diversifying societies are aimed to be tackled should be financed? The 'Intercultural Cities' initiative suggests that in the future the EU's Structural Funds could be allocated to the urban development and intercultural place-making in the cities.⁴⁹ Before that, the financing responsibility is left to the local authorities.

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⁴⁸ Council of Europe (2013): 70.

⁴⁹ Council of Europe (2012): 3.

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INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION IN THE EU: A HUMANISTIC SOLUTION

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Before focusing on how humanism can improve interpersonal communication within the EU, an exploration of humanism, as a general concept in the contemporary world of ideas is necessary. To this end, we will explore a number of commentaries that place humanism in a certain ideological field, and how humanism stands vis-à-vis other important fields of research today. Humanism first has to reckon with science, which is not only a system of thought or strategy of investigation but also a thoroughgoing ideology on its own that directs human activity to a significant degree, especially in the European Union.

Bruce Wampold explores the tension between humanism in psychotherapy and science¹. Of late, humanism has become more prominent in psychotherapy circles². What makes humanism stand out from other schools of psychology is that it conceives of the individual as such; individuals contain a depth and the capacity to surprise. The upshot for our purposes is that the European Union, as a web of interpersonal communications, will benefit from an idea system that sees the value in each individual, primarily by virtue of leaving the ontological space of the individual open instead of seeing each individual as some fixed, known quantity. This leaving open the space of subjectivity confers a basic respect on the individual, where respect is conceived to be a crucial building block to any possibility for interpersonal communication.

It should be noted that humanistic psychology contrasts with a therapeutic or 'functional' notion of the purposes of psychology and psychotherapy. The functional approach to psychology seeks to address psychological phenomena, and individuals, through a desire

¹ Wampold (2012): 469.

² Schneider (2012): 427.

to treat and heal individuals from whatever ails them, or blocks them from carrying out their duties to society under the auspices of a normal life. Instead, a humanistic psychology stresses the importance of the individual as an entity that is never fixed and is spontaneous. The upshot for interpersonal communication in the European Union is that a humanistic paradigm does not seek to understand pathology through the prism of a desire, to make the individual conform to societal standards or to 'normalize' an individual's behaviour, but to make it easier for them to carry out their duties under the pressures of the contemporary technocratic economy that prevails in the European Union.

To take a simplified example, we might conceive of a Polish individual who is working in an automobile plant for a French multinational auto manufacturer that supplies automobiles to the European Union and to markets across the globe. Were the employee to have discipline problems, we can examine the probable responses of a management regime under the sway of both humanistic view of psychology and also a functional view. The management staff under the functional, therapeutic view will likely view the problematic Polish worker as a kind of hysteric who needs to be problematized and rehabilitated by psychotherapy. In this way, the worker is viewed as a fixed quantity, subject to universal theories about what causes hysteria and insubordination, and will be treated in such a manner that would seek to manage the perceived psychological abnormality. By contrast, management under the sway of a more humanist psychological viewpoint would take a vastly differing approach.

To wit, such a management team would view the worker's insubordination as a result of real tensions within the working environment that he has yet to come to grips with, and seek to engage him individually at a personal level as someone who can 'speak for himself', rather than viewing him as an individual in need of therapy³. Thus, the Polish worker would be interviewed in a casual way by management so that he might be allowed to articulate any struggles he is having, personally, that management could aid him within the context of his work environment. Such an approach privileges the viewpoint of the spontaneous individual over universal psychological paradigms, and seeks to explain phenomena, especially difficulties or 'abnormalities', first and foremost from the perspective of the autonomous and spontaneous individual subjectivity who is at issue. Seeking to resolve difficulties in this way shows how humanistic views can enhance interpersonal communication: primarily,

³ McCarraher (2006): 79-82.

humanism avoids dismissing the testimony of the individual in favour of abstract, impersonal universal paradigms and interests.

The foregoing has been an exploration of humanism in contrast to other paradigms that can be described as being under the umbrella of functionalism, but where does science fall? As an ideological apparatus that structures how things are studied, research funds are spent and even how new products are developed, science is a thoroughgoing ideology that has also seeped into interpersonal relations in the general sense of viewing individuals, in some sense, as being fixed quantities whose behaviours and motivations are fundamentally explicable. As mentioned above, humanism seems to challenge this view as alienating and destructive to interpersonal communication. As Wampold notes, theorists have emphasized that the goal of science is to categorize statements as either true or false⁴. Although this is certainly a worthy goal, the creep of science as an ideology into the realm of interpersonal communications, management, and politics, threatens the view that an individual is a fundamentally spontaneous, autonomous human subjectivity. Wampold proceeds in his analysis to note that the fundamentals of humanism are not immune to scientific inquiry. However, it is a bit-part thesis of the current engagement to assert that, while it is true that scientific inquiry is not incompatible with humanism and healthy interpersonal communication, we must resist the temptation, especially within the internecine and complex cultural and political exigency constituted by the contemporary European Union, to conduct interpersonal relations with the methodological tools of the scientist.

As a thoroughgoing ideological practice, humanism has shaped the way that western thought has carved out the geography of the Earth in the mode of thinking⁵. This is in addition to the way in which humanism has influenced the development of psychology and a view of the individual as spontaneous subject. Given the nature of the European Union as geographically complex and internecine in terms of its imagined geographical unity, an aside on how humanism influences the conception of geography is here appropriate. Humanism and geography have a long and intertwined history, as noted in Buttimer, as they have developed in tandem with humanists exploring the differing modes of human pastimes and passions, while geographers have conceptualized how these passions have been made manifest in spatial terms⁶. Geography is an especially salient

⁴ Wampold (2012): 470.

⁵ Buttimer (1990): 1-3.

⁶ Id.: 2.

component of humanism in the context of the contemporary European Union, as human experience as we know conceive of it has been organized in our histories according to the polyglot nationalities that now dominate the European landmass. Indeed, humanism itself has a rich history of breaking up culturally hegemonic ideologies that have littered the history of Europe. As noted by Buttimer, Socrates challenged the Sophists of Classical Greece; Pico della Mirandola challenged the Christian dogmatism of his era, while his cultural heir Giambattista Vico used humanism to provide an iconoclastic reading of the development of human culture. Still more European cultural figures, such as Friedrich Schiller, challenged the rationalist modes of the Enlightenment in the name of humanism⁷. What these cultural interlopers had in common was that they intervened in the prevailing cultural modes in the name of humanism and human freedom, akin with the view of the individual subject as spontaneous and autonomous, rather than as explicable by means of rigid paradigms.

Humanism, with regard to the European Union, encourages interpersonal communication by making a sort of negative ontological movement, a la Hegel, to free up the space of subjectivity and to nurture individual and community expression unhindered by oppressive paradigms that seem to reduce the space for the expression of 'spirit'. To this end, a humanism combined with geography would emphasize attitudes and values, architecture and landscape design, and the 'emotional significance of place' and its role in shaping identity, especially in a geographic reality as complex and as defined by the precise differentiation of geographic space as the contemporary European Union⁸. The link between geographic place, identity, the subject, and interpersonal communication is preserved in an ethic of humanism in a strong way that is lost under other forms of ideology prevalent in the contemporary environment.

The connection between geography, humanism, and interpersonal communication in the European Union can be explored further in the context of new geographic realities extant after the breakup of the Soviet Union, as described by Alan Dingsdale. To this end, Dingsdale underlines the fluidity of identity and cultural practice through the sudden geographic changes that descended upon Eastern Europe after the breakup of the Soviet Union, as Eastern Europe came into being as a cultural entity in its own right. Dingsdale finds that the breakup of the Soviet Union wrought a number of changes to the affected people in the region. To wit, the breakup of the Soviet Union

⁷ Id.: 2.

⁸ Id.: 3.

caused the redefinition of personal and community identities based on new territorial boundaries in addition to heralding the creation of a new Europe and a New World Order⁹.

The first effect that the breakup of the Soviet Union purportedly had on the people of now-Eastern Europe was that it forced them to conceptualize change and a new territorialisation and synthesize this change into their identities¹⁰. A concomitant of living in former Soviet territories in a time after the breakup of the Soviet bloc itself is that residents had to find a way to conceive of themselves as 'post'—that is, post-Soviet and post-communist, according to Dingsdale. However, any conceptualization of the transforming identity of those who formerly lived in the Soviet bloc is unsatisfying so long as their identity is associated with something no longer in existence, Dingsdale continues. The breakup of the Soviet Union presented former residents with the challenge of conceptualizing 'the balance of continuity', or, understanding what parts of their cultural, national, and personal identity persisted after the traumatic change had occurred. With the breakup, Dingsdale writes, geographic space in the new nations initiated an on-going process of differentiation as soon as the breakup occurred. Concomitants of this change were efforts on the part of residents and geographers to conceive of personal identity and place perception, conceive of the elements of transition and transformation, and conceive of the old Soviet bloc as playing a role in a New World Order¹¹.

Highlighting the travails of such projects of geographical conceptualisation underlines the importance of humanism for interpersonal communication in the European Union. It is notable that the nations known in geography literature as, variously, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, are also still relatively new entrants into the European Union, as well. As such, these geographical and cultural projects of identity formation remain complex and ongoing. The goal of any theory of interpersonal communicative project hoping to strengthen ties between the countries of the European Union and its polyglot people needs to operate with these complex issues of identity formation in view. In terms of immigration and emigration and other population pressures, notably aging, the entire European Union, including those nations usually referred to as 'Old Europe' are undergoing profound transformations that make a humanistic ethic of interpersonal communications especially apt for tying the nations of the Union

⁹ Dingsdale (1999): 145.

¹⁰ Id.: 146.

¹¹ Id.: 146.

closer together, be it through business relations, political and judicial processes, and the like.

Humanism as well has an intimate 'alliance' with multiculturalism, a set of values equally well suited to the contemporary cultural environment of the European Union¹². Again, psychotherapy is both a model of the usefulness of thought paradigms and a practice through which the use of the ideology of humanism can help to achieve quality interpersonal communication in the European Union. Comas-Diaz emphasizes a paradigm through which multiculturalism and humanism are intimately linked, citing the ritual views of Native Americans, which hold that all things are, at bottom, interconnected. This ethic of interconnectivity, combined with humanism's basic respect and belief in individual autonomy and spontaneity, provides a useful ideological combination for interpersonal communication in the EU. According to Comas-Diaz, multicultural humanism consists in two basic tenets: contextualism and holism. Contextualism is opposed to holding a dispositional belief, as it refers to a tendency to describe oneself and others in terms of contextual information and concepts¹³. Holism is an ideological tendency constituted by a unity of mind, body, and spirit and the tendency to struggle against adversity with a personal and humanistic perspective¹⁴.

Comas-Diaz claims that this highly personal and humanistic perspective has been especially characteristic of the minority experience in their characteristic experiences with oppression and marginalization, as it tends to evoke notions of 'cultural resilience'. These traits are especially suited to the alienated portions of the European Union immigrant community within, say, France and Britain that struggles with competing values of cultural integration and maintaining separate ethnic identities, and reconciling these competing values with European Union citizenship. Indeed, some authors emphasize humanistic perspectives in reference to the cycle of colonization and decolonization experienced by Algerians and the Algerian Diaspora in France.¹⁵ Where these competing values and alliances will be negotiated is, in part, the realm of interpersonal communication, which constitutes at least two separate parties, between whom a message is received and understood by the receiver. Parties to interpersonal communication that can facilitate an understanding and reconciliation between immigrant and resident communities include new immigrants, immigrant communities, media

¹² Comas-Diaz (2012).

¹³ Id.: 438.

¹⁴ Id.: 438.

¹⁵ Crowley (2012).

outlets, political organizations, government organizations, interest groups, and more. A humanism formed of contextualism and holism promises to establish the bases through which successful interpersonal communication between and within divergent cultural groups existent in Europe can take place with increasing frequency.

Comas-Diaz takes, as the final component of humanism, the idea of liberation. Liberation consists, in this vein, in the freedom of both the individual and the collective¹⁶. Again, with respect to immigrant communities, newly integrating post-Soviet bloc countries, and a resident population in the process of cultural and demographic transition, liberation and humanism create the seal and teleological ending point for interpersonal communications within parties of the European Union. Ingredient in humanistic liberation is, for psychoanalysis, the concept of conscientisation, which, as a disposition, consists in the individual being pre-disposed to a view of his or her own experience being a totalized process of transformation. This presumption of personal and community transformation helps to depart from those dispositions currently at play among far right groups in Greece, Italy, France, and others that oppose immigrant communities on principle, and use historical fixed identities and cultural heritages to exclude members of the immigrant communities from the political spoils full integration into the European Union. Instead, an ethic of transformation with individual and societal liberation as an absolute teleological ending point encourages reconciliation between all parties within the Union, and an ethic of mutual liberation becomes the credo across all its diverse groups and geographies. In the psychoanalytic reading of multicultural humanism, individuals are encouraged to embrace ambiguity and use it to foster their own creative capacity¹⁷. As such immigrants and home cultures alike under the sway of multicultural humanism need not worry about contradictions between cultural various cultural traditions that together occupy Europe, but instead look forward to a future in which differences are reconciled in a mutual liberation of contemporary European peoples.

Some scholars will reject a new emphasis on humanism as a rallying-cry for the basis of a new approach to interpersonal communication within Europe. As Simonsen explains, some twentieth and twenty-first century intellectual developments have sought to discredit humanism and displace its influence with new schools, such as anti-humanism and post humanism¹⁸. These latter perspectives are overcome, for

¹⁶ Comas-Diaz (2012): 439.

¹⁷ Id.: 439.

¹⁸ Simonsen (2012): 10.

Simonsen, through a new deployment of humanistic geography that concerns itself with the way that human experience is wrapped up in a particular place and also spatial relations¹⁹. Humanism allows the emphasis to be placed back onto the lived experience of human subjects, and part of this lived experience is, by humanism, a fundamental 'openness towards the other' that enables understanding and empathy in interpersonal communication. A crucial component of this concept is the idea of the other; the other as the radical non-identity to oneself and one's own experience. As a consequence, humanism allows for the possibility that, despite their basic otherness

different cultures are mutually comprehensible inasmuch as they are all variations over the theme of co-existence, but at the same time they remain provisional, imperfect solutions to the concrete problems of its realization. This understanding opens to a questioning, critical stance towards our own culture's solutions provoked by encounters with other ways of tackling the dilemma of existence²⁰.

Notions of how humanism can bridge the gap for immigrant and peripheral cultures in the European Union are present in the work of Patrick Crowley. Crowley explains that the immigrant experience in France is conditioned, in part, by the French deployment of conceptual universal abstractions that, while universal and abstract, remain typical of French culture. These universal abstractions set up for native French people their expectations for how others present in France ought to behave, and what they ought to value. Humanism developed, according to Crowley, in the confrontation between the immigrant experience and French universal conceptions. French universals were in tension with the particularity of the immigrant experience, and the particularity of the experience of life in emigrant nations, as well. In resolving this contradiction, Crowley conceives of an additional seeming contradiction, that of the 'postcolonial humanism', which describes the set of concepts and experience meant to account for experience of immigrants to France from former colonies. As the experience of identity formation in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union, described above, conceiving of a postcolonial humanism is, in part, a project of identity formation in the aftermath of colonial control. Postcolonial humanism is a seeming contradiction because it particularizes a universal. Yet giving particular content to and accounting for new experience and identity

¹⁹ Id.: 12.

²⁰ Id.: 23.

formation is crucial to deploying humanism in improving interpersonal communication within the European Union²¹.

This new postcolonial humanism is meant to be capable of finding alternatives to racism and authoritarianism. Moreover, postcolonial humanism is meant to incorporate human difference into the universal conception of humanism, as well. This perspective is also meant to act against exclusionary practice in the form of religion and 'authoritarian discourse'. Thus, it would seem that a new deployment of humanism to nurture interpersonal communication in the contemporary European Union must not simply be a rehash of the 'occidental humanism' developed in the West during the modern age, as the writer Iain Chambers asserts²². This new humanism influenced by the postcolonial experience is what occurs when the inherited abstract universal of humanism is deployed in the particular experience of post colonialism²³.

Some argue that Frantz Fanon worked on conceiving a new, more inclusive, kind of humanism in the wake of the postcolonial experience. Central in Fanon's new conception of humanism is the recognition of difference of the other, outlined above. Fanon introduces to our narrative the notion of mutual recognition, an especially apt metaphor for the practice of interpersonal communication, as mutual recognition is conceived by Fanon to be the process through which identities and subjectivities are forged through an exchange between two or more individuals. Fanon claims that mutual recognition alone is able to lead to a universal ethics involving the collective²⁴. With its polyglot makeup, influx of peoples and identities attempting to assimilate, and presence of shifting identities at the contemporary moment of history, the European Union seems a collective in search of just such a universal ethics and unifying identity. Mutual recognition helps to sever the links of otherness between different cultural experiences and identities, by replacing pure difference with an 'othering alterity' that, in considering the goals and values of the other, his or her subjectivity is created by a mutual engagement with another²⁵.

Without mediation through a mutual recognition, the other is left to mere 'thingness', as opposed to personhood. Fanon uses psychoanalysis to assert that fundamental desire is to be recognized by the other, and personhood is not constituted until such mediation,

²¹ Crowley (2012): 416.

²² Id.: 429.

²³ Id.: 429.

²⁴ Nayar (2011): 21.

²⁵ Id.: 22.

through mutual recognition, has taken place²⁶. Under Fanon's early conceptions and the experience of colonialism, the black African man was condemned to 'thingness', while personhood was the preserve of the white European who dominated (and objectified) him. Indeed, lack of recognition and personhood was asserted by Fanon to deny the unrecognized party a fundamental self-consciousness. Even after the master, who has objectified his charge and denied him self-consciousness, sets the slave (colonized) free, he still lacks mutual recognition and can only resort to struggle, sometimes violent, to achieve a momentary recognition and thus an achievement of a minimal self-consciousness²⁷. This tense moment of mutual recognition in the colonial experience and relationship of domination is a beginning point of mutual recognition between master and slave parties. To achieve the desired level of interpersonal communication in the European Union, those parties, cultures, and nationalities that do not form a part of the dominant 'European' cultural discourse, while, at the same time, occupying European geography, need to be inserted into the master narrative of legitimated European identities in order for a new European identity to take the place of the old. Such an achievement requires mutual recognition of each other now competing for recognition on the scene of contemporary European culture.

Nayar, citing Fanon, asserts that recognition is the acknowledgement of the past experience of other cultures, elevating such experiences to the level of ontological reality where, before recognition, these experiences go completely unrepresented, unrecognized, and unacknowledged in the eyes of the other. This process also opens up the previously excluded 'other' subject to participate in the process of mutual recognition, opening up the possibility of 'mutual enrichment'²⁸. Like Fanon's conception of postcolonial humanism, interpersonal communication in the contemporary European Union should take place with the mutual recognition "of cultures, cultural difference and mutual transformation" in order to outline and then synthesize the new identities and identity formations at play in the contemporary European Union²⁹.

²⁶ Id.: 23

²⁷ Id.: 23

²⁸ Id.: 24

²⁹ Id.: 24

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DIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURALISM IN EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE

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European Capitals of Culture and especially Marseille European Capital of Culture asked a multitude of questions about the European identity. Can we really talk about a European culture and a European civilization? Can we refer to a European identity? Can we talk about multiculturalism or multicultural identities in these projects or should we invoke instead cultural diversity?

In this paper, we propose to answer these questions from a perspective based on scientific information and communication.

We argue that we cannot talk about a true and unique European culture, but rather a plurality of cultures linked by a program of Economic Union. We can also talk about civilization as an historical point of view, which has grown and evolved to its highest form.

Nevertheless, if we look at the discourse of European institutions, it advocates cultural diversity rather than a cultural model. Moreover, referring to the economic crisis (in Greece, Italy, Spain, Cyprus etc.) it could not be considered if Europe was based on a common economic, political and cultural model. Moreover, we argue that the outcomes of this economic crisis are cultural cohesion and a strengthening of European programs for culture (e.g., the Creative Europe).

This paper is divided into three main parts. The first one contains a short presentation on European Capitals of Culture, and the important role that culture and diversity play in these cities. The second part

focuses cultural diversity in comparison with other related key concepts. Finally, the third part deals with the question of European identity within the context of culture.

The initiative of the European Capital of Culture aims to:

- “highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures;
- celebrate the cultural links between Europeans;
- bring together people of different nationalities and encourage mutual understanding in European cultures;
- strengthen the sense of European citizenship.”¹

Daniel Junicot in his book *Culture is a key issue* argues that “the common challenge for all these cities is not to make a binary choice between multiculturalism versus integration but well become 'intercultural' : a place where different groups of people live and work together regardless of ethnic origin of religious affiliation or social status.”²

In this regard, we look at the two European Capitals of Culture in 2013, Marseille and Kosice who define themselves as “atypically multicultural” or multicultural cities, the crossroads of civilizations, cities that are characterised by cultural diversity. In this view, it is difficult to really assess the European dimension of the project because it seems to be declarative.

We see the issue of the diversity of cultural expressions is a major issue. It gives the policy an important responsibility to contribute to the unity of mankind, the recognition of the contribution of each cultural identity. And this recognition is established as at each individual at the level of a group or a minority.³

Multiculturalism: The term came from overseas and it means the recognition of multiple cultural identities within a society. The rediscovery of culture means to transform public space into a multitude of islands of identity. Multiculturalism comes to defend a policy of “affirmative action” in favour of various dominated minorities, allowing them to receive priority redistribution of public

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc413_fr.htm

² Id., 78.

³ Id., 82.

goods, access to public offices, universities, etc. according to their representation in the general population.⁴

On the other hand, Cultural Diversity is defined as: 1. Social phenomenon characterized by the existence of different cultures within the same culture or within a nation-state. 2. By extension, the nation is often associated with national and international policies to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions. Since 2001, the issue of the protection of cultural diversity is recognized by the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO). (...) The principle of cultural diversity was also picked up by the Montreal Declaration in 2007, and the countries of the European Union. Thus, in recent years, this principle is recognized as an ethical imperative, inseparable of human diversity. The promotion of cultural diversity can lead to actions in favour of "cultural minorities". It also aims to fight against the risks of standardization of language, knowledge and skills related to the dissemination of new communication technologies and the power of certain cultural industries.⁵

How can European cultural identity emerge? One of my hypotheses is be that cultural identity may resurface through local cultures and ancient languages (Provençal) as indicative of a common heritage, a transmission and exchange between different cultures in the diversity. We should also accept and build on our common history and culture and consider the development process of the latter, dealing with it collectively and not individually as before.

In my childhood, I often heard Romanian politicians talking about European integration. They usually argued that we must make efforts to integrate economically, that is, to go west, culturally speaking, that there are dominant countries and countries dominated by countries whose culture is "better" than ours. Their conclusion was that it was necessary for our people to reach that level; otherwise integration would not be possible.

What is then this integration? Is it a strong economy that requires stability of inflation? Is it the euro? Or immigration and European labour market? Is it multiculturalism or cultural diversity? Is it a question of globalization, national or European identity?

I will not insist on politics or economy, because it is not the topic of this paper. Instead, I will focus on European cultural identity, by paralleling multiculturalism and cultural diversity through the European capitals of culture.

⁴ Hermet, Badie, Birnaum & Braud (2001): 194.

⁵ Nay (2011): 155-156.

As we know, Europe is a matter of cultural diversity, at least regarding the official definition in the governing documents. In my opinion, cultural diversity should be represented by the specificity of each country, its cultural heritage, its language.

If we take as an example the European capitals of culture, we could question their objectives. They all question multiculturalism, intercultural projects, the integration of their people. I was wondering how they include this multitude of cultures in their programmes. How do they manage to develop the curiosity of other peoples, other countries? How do they know each other, how are they meeting other people?

Since they were included in the project, the ethnic groups should be part of the project, should have a say, they should be integrated. Is this being a European? Is this being a European Capital of Culture? Can we only talk to different cultures in the area (considered minority cultures) to help them better integrate into the landscape ?

Integration is a challenging a term. For me, in the integration is mixing a bit of everything. This is an image of a cake in which the milk and sugar is mixed with flour and eggs. Indeed, we obtain a homogeneous pastry, in which we know that there are several ingredients, but we are unable to identify the quantity of each ingredient and its contribution to the final composition. In the European Capital of Culture, there is a "cake" of nationalities and cultures represented, without necessarily always transferring their contribution and added value to the land.

"The failure of revolutionary movements in Western countries wanted to give effect to the concept of culture as freedom, so to speak, returned the ideas conveyed by these movements to their status as simple idea. Culture has become self-sufficient and eventually she became a value." (Theodor W Adorno, Company: integration, disintegration).

In this sense, European identity must be rooted from the beginning of the creation of ECOC project of international cooperation.

I talked about the role of European capitals of culture, about my vision of multiculturalism, cultural diversity and integration. Before I finish my presentation, I would like to give an example. We postulated that European culture could be a vector of identity. We can see that it is at the centre o ECOC, but not only. It is always about

"strengthening the cultural and linguistic diversity"⁶, argument used to overcome the European crisis.

Very few respondents to the survey gave a real importance to the imagination or to national or transnational identity developed in these European films. What we found was exquisite setting constant comparison (or contrast) with the American film industry. We confirmed on this occasion, and in terms of identity, that the Americans won their bet, while the European still have great difficulty being identified by their compatriots.

We note that beyond the nationality of the producer and actors (or director), making it a "European" film is finally imaginary that is transmitted, such as Damien Malinas describes it in his book *Transmettre une fois? Pour toujours? Portrait dynamique des festivaliers d'Avignon en public*. And all this takes place on the territory of the imaginable, imagination, our experience, our personal history and the history of which we are born.

And this speech is not found, as we thought, as opposed to institutional discourse Media. It is complementary, but not recognized. The Media Program was created to help and to develop the audiovisual industry. They heard it in support of European projects, produced and financed by Europeans, developed within the European territory, in order to increase the film offers on the American continent as an answer to the "invasion". And we find this action very relevant and worthy of respect.

With the Treaty of Maastricht twenty years ago, we showcased culture, and among several areas, cinema. The aim then was to raise Europe through this fundamental pillar of this continent, which has always been the culture. The concept of use has been kept intact, but we lost the background. The cultural element, which is found in unifying the film was abandoned and eventually forgotten. It is good that we forgot a unifying element, which is the notion of reference, identity, common imagination, which draws us in choosing a movie.

To conclude, we believe that for the Media Program, the popular saying that "fault confessed is half redressed" could be very appropriate.

'Diversity' celebrates variety and implies inclusiveness. It skips over the fact (1) that selection may nevertheless occur and (2) that selection can involve the exclusion of the individuals with superlative attributes – individuals whose only deficiency may be

⁶ See the site of the European Commission / Culture: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/creative-europe/index_fr.htm, accessed 20 February 2012.

their inability to contribute to a desired, diverse outcome. Advocates of diversity need to acknowledge, then, righting 'under-representation' sometimes leads to the denial of opportunity to individuals who are considered members of 'overrepresented' groups. (...) But diversity also stimulates, challenges, and increases the range of possibilities and responses. Its value, then, is not just political (accommodating an intense minority's ability to veto) or economic (ensuring the next generation can be economically productive enough to support us in our old age); it is not just moral (seeking justice); it is also enhances the intellectual enterprise.⁷

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ETHNIC-CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELF-MANAGEMENT AMONG ELDERLY PEOPLE

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Introduction

The aim of this research was to get more information on the Moroccan elderly in a local cultural community, with a view to helping improve the quality of life of the elderly in the Laak district in The Hague, the Netherlands.

The need for this type of research is increasing with the aging population and changing policies of the government. Cost cuts in health care have led to deterioration both in nursing and in the lives of the elderly. The purpose of the government is to keep the elderly at home as long as possible and thereby to save costs on affordable and accessible care services. This means that elderly people can only partly stand to benefit from their daily care.

Social factors – such as life experiences, family and work history, historical facts and physical experiences – may determine the independence of vulnerable elderly people.

The problem question

In the Netherlands the social issue is very much focused on self-management. The society is moving away from the welfare state and taking steps towards a neo-liberal activation state, wherein every citizen takes care of him-/herself. In the scope of this paradigm any citizen is an active citizen and that resident is responsible for his/her own wellbeing.

People who are in need of support, like vulnerable elderly people, must, within this approach, first arrange the solution for their needs in their own private network, family, neighbours and friends, and when that doesn't lead to sufficient help or to a clarification of the problems, they 'are finally allowed' to ask for professional support. According to this modern approach, the professional caregiver no longer takes charge of the problem and provides a solution, but empowers the people to find a solution by themselves and enlarges the capability of self-support.

For vulnerable elderly people, especially the ones without enough means and the people with weak social relations, this is a huge challenge. Aged ethnic migrants, having the lowest incomes and considerable difficulty with the language, are most of the time facing the biggest problems. The definition of self-management among elderly people is the capability to give structure to their lives. Self-management is a complex interplay of psychological factors, functional ability, physical environment and social environment, but socio-economic factors also play a huge role.

Vulnerabilities in daily life

In this study, the main objective was to know what elderly people want. The investigation focuses on the constraints or vulnerabilities the elderly encounter in their daily lives. What keeps them busy, what gives these elderly people the motivation to get through the day, what are they mainly doing and why? There are also cultural aspects related to these factors. Not much is known about the Moroccan elderly community in the Laak district. That is the reason why it is important to gain a better understanding of this community.

The first problem is to find representatives for the Moroccan elderly community, which is in name a fairly closed group. Another problem is how to obtain results when there are communication problems both in speech and in writing. Through a community service a social worker gave us access to some elderly men and women, who opened up a network that welcomed the researcher within the Moroccan cultural norms. The interviews were live, translated by family members. Afterwards, the narratives for this research were categorized and analysed.

According to the Network of Precepts and the Elderly, 'existential meaning' when aging is an important theme. Having meaning contributes to accomplishing a goal, having a reason to do so gives meaning to an individual. Elderly people have a large part of their

lives behind them. In their younger years, they are often concerned with building a life by means of education, work, marriage and starting a family. Their motivation may diminish once these goals are completed in life, such as when the children have grown up, having families that live their own lives. That means that they need another purpose to give meaning to their lives, since motivation is an important factor in self-reliance.

Self-reliance

Every day you need to provide for individual basic needs, to earn an income and to arrange shelter for yourself. It is also claimed that social factors play a role in self-reliance. When people stay alone for long, they may suffer from depression and physical symptoms. Self-reliance, therefore, is not just about the physical ability to perform certain actions, but also about mental abilities.

The social environment plays an important role in maintaining the elderly people's determination to continue pursuing their wishes and thoughts. A recognizable environment is important in promoting self-reliance.

In this study the needs of the elderly were divided into the following four categories: socio-cultural, civil, physical, and emotional. These four categories indicate what the elderly of the Moroccan community have to focus their self-reliance on.

Then, there were three main constraints that hindered the realization of the needs and interests, namely socio-cultural, civil and physical constraints. The research has subsequently focused on gender-specific factors.

Results

The women have major physical and social needs, which limit them in pursuing their needs. All women interviewed face multi-morbidity, including diabetes that caused other physical complaints.

Among men the primary concern is with socio-cultural and civil restrictions. From the interviews, it can be inferred that they often have problems with the state pension because they are not aware of all regulations. There is a lesser degree of illiteracy among men, but they also have difficulty with the Dutch and Arab language. It is also evident from the interviews that the man will experience difficulties

with everyday life if the woman is ill or absent. There is in the men therefore a certain degree of social vulnerability.

Female respondents appear to have greater linguistic needs and are in greater social isolation. It showed that the men have a meeting place at the teahouse, the cultural centre, and the mosque, while the women do not. Quite often, the women can't go to the mosque because of bad mobility or illness or can't visit each other because of isolation. An important conclusion is that women suffer more physical limitations and greater social isolation.

The reason why the women are isolated is the loss of their partners and their physical difficulties, such as impaired mobility. All women have lost their partners recently and have not remarried. According to these women, it is unusual to remarry at an older age. It is more common that the men remarry when the partner has passed away. The problem now is that the women are alone, without knowing what is outside their house or neighbourhood. All those years, the husband cared for the income, the paperwork and the business outside the house. The women stayed at home for the family. Now these women need to find a way to move on by themselves without their partners. The women didn't come outside the house very often because of their role as housewives, which didn't give them the opportunity to meet with the outside world for social contact.

In the case of the women, isolation, loneliness, and depression could aggravate the illness in diabetes. In modern times, the children of the elderly are living their own lives. They do not visit them often, only once in a while. They are not always able to be there to care for their parents.

Conclusions

The recommendations issuing from this research can be divided in two parts, with the underlying thought of rebuilding trust between the Moroccan elderly and social institutions. The first recommendation concerns a communal space, while the second includes the following list of factors that may help the Moroccan elderly increase their self-reliance.

1. The cheapest solution is to rotate guided visits of the elderly to each other. However, the division between the sexes among the Moroccan elderly makes this unwieldy. This can be solved by:

2. Creating a meeting space that both men and women from whatever community can use. Depending on the space a schedule can be used and the space(s) must be a home for every group.
3. Extra attention is needed for administrative problems, at the level of language use (illiteracy) as well as at the comprehension level.
4. Fostering solidarity by organising cultural activities such as festivities with specific cultural or religious themes and traditional games.
5. The interviewed would be greatly aided by a contact in permanent employment, not only to assist with the aforementioned solutions, but also help build up trust between the elderly and social and communal institutions.

A meeting place can give shape to the Moroccan idea of hospitality and can recreate social ties that are comparable with the traditional village life. A contact in permanent employment has direct access to the community of the elderly, can communicate to the authorities and vice versa, and can overcome language problems.

Narrative research is needed to probe deeper into the lives of these elderly people, to discover more information about their backgrounds. This study was a pilot research project, which was performed on one specific cultural community. According to this research, there was new potential to use narrative research in another approach (Joost en Anita). Narrative research can be performed on other cultural communities in several districts.

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CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS IN ACCESSIBLE SPACES: PORTICOES IN BOLOGNA

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Access for everybody, full integration for nobody?

Accessibility is the main feature of Bologna, because of its geographical location, as well as its urban structure full of squares and boulevards that directly and easily connect the access points (train and bus stations) to the core of the city. Bologna is also appreciated for its libertarian political tradition, usually considered clear-sighted and leftist. A lot of people can so easily get physically into Bologna: tourists, students, workers, immigrants, LGBT community. All of them carry a different culture, but they are mostly city users, physically present in the city, but not really included; their provisional cultural contributions are not truly blended with the others, but just juxtaposed. Tourists stay in Bologna an average of three days, so they have a very short experience of the city.¹ Students live there for several years, but they are not politically represented and never totally included in the public life; workers that reach Bologna are mostly commuters, coming from outside or from the exurbs; immigrants run their own shops, restaurants and businesses, but are not considered part of the citizenry; LGBT community is very active and organizes many events, but several homophobic incidents have occurred in recent years. Bologna seems to have a schizophrenic personality. Indeed, in the past Bologna was famous for its brothels in spite of the Vatican control. In Italy, this

¹ Grandi (2013).

characteristic is so widely known that theatre or cinema clichés will have a prostitute talk with a Bologna accent. After the Counter-Reform in the XVIth century, the Catholic principles were strictly applied in this city, but Carracci's works testify a great innovation in arts beyond these limitations. This ambivalence can even be detected in architecture, since the façades of the main palaces are severe but often hide gorgeous courtyards full of vegetation and luxurious amenities. Nowadays, Bologna has a high rate of ageing and a low birth rate, connected to a high female employment rate. Bologna inhabitants' culture and needs are so very different from those of the newcomers, who are often younger than Bologna's citizens. Because of this, autochthonous people produce their own kind of spatiality which "appropriates and recasts the representations of mental space by concretising them as part of social life. The production of space (and the making of history) can thus be described as both the medium and the outcome of social action and relationship"². Dwellers and newcomers (mostly, students) are therefore both living in Bologna, but actually detached because of their different life styles.

Horizontality in Piazza Verdi

Competitions for space among groups and fights for power or dominance on space are testified by vertical/horizontal markers and by their use. In fact, "social relations are [...] correlated with spatial relations"³ because "spatiality is society, not as its definitional or logical equivalent, but as its concretisation, its formative constitution"⁴. Communities turn spaces "into signs, they communicate through objects in ways that are laid out by their culture"⁵. Architectural markers can therefore forecast "the degree of residential segregation of a group"⁶ coming from outside. In Piazza Verdi, porticoes and the square are entwined with towers and palaces (fig. 1), symbols of traditional powers⁷ like University and economic institutions. This mix of different spatialities creates several interpretations of space and triggers a struggle among the newcomers' cultures (students, tourists, commuters, immigrants, LGBT) and the dominant Powers of the city (University, political and economic power). The chaos often occurring in Piazza Verdi is the main evidence of these struggles. Different people are fighting to

² Soja (1985): 94.

³ Peach (1975): 96.

⁴ Soja (1985): 95.

⁵ Roth (2001): 563.

⁶ Duncan & Lieberman (1975): 96.

⁷ Galvani & Pirazzoli (2013).

exploit the very same spaces in unexpected ways⁸, so their territorial behaviours modify the original functions of these spaces. It can be argued that to be human – whatever the culture is – means “to participate in the social production of space, to shape a constantly evolving spatiality which constitutes and concretises social action and relationship”⁹. The result of this battle for production and exploitation of space, is testified in fig. 1:



Figure 1: Piazza Verdi – Vertical and Horizontal Architectural Devices. Pirazzoli Photo

As can be easily observed, there are different territorial behaviours in the same space, determined by vertical architectural markers (VAMs) like the tower, the theatre on the right of the picture, palaces on the left, commonly considered as symbols of power supposed to exclude popular participation. The Municipal Theatre is considered a symbol of traditional power, just like the other high palaces of the University around the square. Horizontal architectural markers (HAMs; porticoes and squares) are usually viewed as collective symbols of inclusion. The interpretation of architectural markers as symbols “establishes a communicative relationship between two or more human beings”¹⁰. Every sign can be considered “a symbol naturally applied to all artefacts”¹¹ so that people communicate their cultural identities through spatial forms¹². Every day architectural markers “are used as signals or symbols for the exchange of meanings and function as elements of implicit or explicit semiotic processes. The encoded

⁸ Soja (1996); fig. 1.

⁹ Soja (1985): 90.

¹⁰ Roth (2001): 573.

¹¹ Id.

¹² Basso (1996).

messages, however, are not universal but culture specific and arbitrary¹³. This lack of universal meaning can be detected in fig. 1, where several territorial behaviours occur. Some students are sitting directly on the ground, the lowest HAMs, but these territorial behaviours are commonly considered unacceptable by the rest of the community (autochthonous citizens); other students are on the cubes, higher than the ground level, acceptable benches for the majority of people; two young persons are on the step under the Theatre (VAMs), whose level is higher than the square, or better, detached from the HAMs; a little crowd (composed by Bologna citizens) is sitting on chairs located near the portico on the left side of the square, attending a jazz concert; many people are walking or riding bicycles. These different territorial behaviours testify different kinds of spatial exploitation, and are symbolized by "materialized heterostereotypes"¹⁴, like the metonymical concentration of whole cultures in a single item. It can be assumed that "the pressure to conform to norms and values in a conspicuous way is strong"¹⁵, but sometimes people can use a space in an unexpected way¹⁶, because they live it in unplanned manner. This "subversive production"¹⁷ of a new function of space derives from people that carry with them new cultures and new visions, like students. Their interpretation of space doesn't obey the commonly accepted plan, which is supposed to forecast every territorial behaviour¹⁸. It can be argued that what architectural markers represent and what their values and meanings are "in a society or culture are subject to social convention. A stranger will unravel these hidden meanings only if he/she closely observes or asks knowledgeable natives"¹⁹. Each culture "is replete with unexpected material symbols, with materialized values, ideas, and assumptions"²⁰. In Piazza Verdi, ground is not intended for sitting, but at night students sit directly on the square pavement drinking bottles of beer. They leave empty bottles on the public space, since students don't buy bottles at the bar where they must pay for sitting, but at the stores, managed by Asian people where the prices are very low. They infringe the main spatial interpretation and perform acts that are considered socially incorrect by traditional powers. This generates conflicts between those who exploit HAMs in original ways and traditional powers which are located in VAMs.

¹³ Roth (2001): 573.

¹⁴ Id.: 568.

¹⁵ Id.: 574.

¹⁶ Soja (1996); Galvani & Pirazzoli (2013b).

¹⁷ Soja (1996)

¹⁸ Olsson (1991).

¹⁹ Roth (2001): 574.

²⁰ Id.

Piazza Verdi is "a fragment of a free city where a youth community is experimenting a different kind of living which turned upside down the dominant values of society"²¹. In this enclave, young people are trying to oppose the stuffy establishment of Institutions and night life is a signal of protest against all traditional rigid structures, represented by the VAM around the square. Students try to impose their own supposed democracy, which they manifest in uncontrolled manner during leisure time²². The fear of diversity compels society to ignore, isolate or marginalize anyone who carries with him a cultural, ethnic or economic difference²³. Piazza Verdi can be considered a limited place for marginalized behaviours. It is a conflict-ridden area where different cultural identities are using the same space in different ways (fig. 1) and have opposite attitudes towards it, expressed through everyday multifaceted communication²⁴. This conflictual discursive exchange "constructs ethnic, regional or national value attributions and the charging of objects with symbolic or identificational meaning"²⁵. A struggle occurs among several cultural identities, as testified by different territorial behaviours. In this area, in spite of the HAMs, there is no blending of cultures, but only a juxtaposition of cultures. No cultural encounters, therefore, but cultural struggles. No democracy (made of shared norms and values), but chaos (resulting from struggles to impose one's own norms and values).

Bologna Brand

The Bologna brand is widely considered positive²⁶, with accessibility as its main characteristic, as testified by HAMs²⁷: squares and porticoes. These markers are supposed to welcome every stranger, so Bologna is considered a democratic city that can accept the different. Porticoes are the most appreciated architectural marker because they allow people to walk down the streets meeting other people, chatting, eating ice cream, and wandering through the narrow streets of the medieval centre.

²¹ Assante & Castaldo (2009): 19; translated by the Authors.

²² Id.

²³ Sennett (1990).

²⁴ Roth (2001).

²⁵ Id.: 567.

²⁶ Grandi (2013).

²⁷ Galvani & Pirazzoli (2013b).

The conflicts arise here: newcomers with different cultural backgrounds are in increasing numbers in Bologna and "have contributed to the diversification of urban culture and of the use of public space"²⁸. *Culture* is Bologna's main aspect, but it should be considered which kind of culture is prevailing here, because students are against traditional powers, with their cultures and consequently their architectural markers. They *live* on the *street*, *feel* in a different way the *city*. Bologna for them is not a *museum* (unfortunately, historical palaces are often smeared by sprayed signs) but a place where they can *find* a new way of *life*. This identificational integration refers to the sense of belonging the newcomers (students) feel in their new space. Likewise, autochthonous people (citizens and traditional Powers) must develop an alternative sense of belonging to the same space while this is exploited, interpreted and changed by people with different cultural backgrounds²⁹. As fig. 4 clarifies, Bologna is considered a *stimulating city*, full of *young people* who want to *have a great time*. People consider the city a place to *change their life*, where a *stranger* may try *great funny experiences*.



Fig.4: Mental Associations dealing with experiences in Bologna. Source: Grandi (2013).

The research outlines a dynamic society (composed of students) that can re-interpret spaces because Bologna "is a do and can-do city"³⁰. These freely re-interpreted spaces, deriving from tangible elements (HAMS), generate new intangible values connected to Bologna: young and open-minded city; quality city; authentic, loving and friendly; lab city, innovation, experimenting; culture and creative city; food city, but also multisensory city. Bologna doesn't offer standard choices, but several suggestions that people can freely choose, in line with their own cultures. HAMS seem the main architectural dimension to allow this freedom and creativity: porticoes and squares are in fact spaces that can be exploited in several ways. The functions of these

²⁸ Zukin (1998): 825.

²⁹ Peters *et al.* (2010).

³⁰ Grandi (2013); translated by the Authors.

spaces can be creatively interpreted, in unexpected ways³¹, so that students consider Piazza Verdi a huge nightclub, a free area to enjoy nightlife and to be transgressive. This cannot be allowed by traditional Powers (University, Police, Bologna Administration), which do not tolerate night noise, drug trafficking, dirtiness and drunkenness.

Porticoes connote Bologna: horizontality for inclusion

Porticoes are the main typical feature of Bologna. Even if there are many towers (VAM), horizontality is the real character of the city: "there are not many Bologna tangible features considered as unique, distinctive and able to connote a city brand position, they are mostly focused on porticoes which now seem the only tangible element worthy of investment"³². VAMs involve the sense of sight because people can only admire and stare at them³³; HAMs involve all the senses (people can have any sort of sensorial experience in them), so they are multisensory spaces³⁴. Porticoes can typify a city brand because they connote Italian-ness, but also uniqueness because of their 40 km length: "porticoes are the Bologna DNA"³⁵. They also connote a public space which passes throughout the city and renders inclusion easier, strengthening an intangible feature of the city: "under the porticoes you can talk and walk indoor along with other people", "porticoes, colours...the relation among city, streets and porticoes is something that you cannot find elsewhere"³⁶. Porticoes are an historical heritage, but they are also living spaces, so they strengthen the relation with tradition, which is another typical feature of Bologna. As fig. 5 clearly shows, the words denoting low markers like *Portico* and *Piazza*, are the most widespread. The *portico* is a symbol of social and cultural openness of Bologna image, known throughout the world.

³¹ Olsson (1991).

³² Grandi (2013); translated by the Authors.

³³ Id.

³⁴ Id.

³⁵ Id.

³⁶ Id.



Fig. 5: The cloud of low markers. Source: Grandi (2013)

A *portico* is a hug, an architectural scheme for accessibility, an open-close-space which doesn't take a final decision about what it really is: internal or external, excluding or including, connecting or dividing? In fact, the *portico* is a densification of the limits because it divides spaces, but, at the same time, it puts them in reciprocal relation³⁷, so it is a transition threshold through which external landscape comes into a palace. This is a central issue, in fact *porticoes* are actually very difficult to be labelled and deciphered by newcomers, because of "their polyvalence"³⁸: are they public or private spaces? *Porticoes* were built during the Medieval Age, after the founding of the University, to enlarge spaces into the city that was getting bigger and bigger because of the students. Citizens were asked by the municipality to build new spaces, but at the same time not to occupy public streets in order to allow everybody to walk or simply to find a sort of roof. Historically, there is so a connection between *porticoes* and students. Spaces are connected in and through *porticoes*: outside with inside, high with low. They allow access to a palace from a square or from a street, creating overlapping spaces coming after other kinds of space, affording richer and richer spatial experiences. *The portico* is therefore a mediator between inclusion and exclusion and could allow cultural encounters and trigger democratic participation. *Porticoes* allow a great synergy with the world and offer a lot of different experiences because of this "indecision". They are meeting spaces, whose main purpose could be social interaction. In fig. 5, the *portico* is associated with *culture, food, shops*: thus, it is a space to learn something, to get some food³⁹ or to buy something; it implies a positive contamination of different spaces to avoid isolation

³⁷ Sala (2012): 30.

³⁸ Roth (2001): 576.

³⁹ Particularly street food as *piadina* or ice-cream; Grandi (2013).

and marginalization⁴⁰. Hence, a portico can be considered a "democracy trigger"⁴¹, because it offers easier accessibility and (maybe?) integration. In fact, when a newcomer (student) gets access to a space through a portico, his/her integration can be achieved through learning skills that include the capacity of distinguishing the public spaces from the private ones in the host society. The order is written through and into a space⁴². Through the division of space, truth is established and reproduced. Spatial boundaries embody a set of expectations and behaviours; they define what is correct and what is not. To be out of place means to be without skills to recognize the truth written into things. Some problems arise when an order is not clearly detectable: almost all the porticoes in Bologna are a little bit higher than the ground level, but in Piazza Verdi, this is not the case. For that fact, newcomers are probably induced to consider these spaces as collective and occupy them in contrast with shared norms and values. Apart from this, autochthonous people (Bologna citizens), who were used to exploit porticoes in traditional ways, must learn progressively about cultures and practices that are different from theirs but nevertheless shape social life and spaces. The different uses of such hybrid spaces as porticoes activate conflictual points. The skill to detect adequate ways to use porticoes and the norms and values that are embedded in them, "in other words to read them as indicators, is a prerequisite for the management of everyday life"⁴³. The main problem in this attempt to decode HAMS in a socially correct way is that "while the use of unfamiliar objects can be learned through experience, imitation or instruction, this is not so easy for the values and norms that are attached to the objects in another culture"⁴⁴. In most cases, newcomers have to infer values and norms from circumstantial evidence, but the skill of correctly interpreting the space of a culturally different world must be learned. So students should be "sensitive to different sets of knowledge, logic of actions, meanings of objects, and values attributions, and have to be willing to accept them"⁴⁵. Many indicators to properly interpret and exploit spaces can be found in the spaces themselves, "in their form, material or decoration, or in their number, order or position"⁴⁶. As it can easily be assumed, not all uses and significations can be deduced from the

⁴⁰ Barbieri (2009): 52.

⁴¹ Giddens (1985): 268.

⁴² Cresswell (1996).

⁴³ Roth (2001): 575.

⁴⁴ Id.

⁴⁵ Id.

⁴⁶ Id.

spaces themselves so “it is necessary to observe or to ask people who use them or even to let them demonstrate their use”⁴⁷. Sometimes, newcomers can agree with the common interpretation of a space; in other cases, they could originally exploit a space to make opposition to Powers which have designed it (fig. 1). In fact, space “and the ways it is used are indicators of social and aesthetic norms, values, attitudes, basic assumptions, ideologies, and myths”⁴⁸.

Where you come from is less important than where you are going

Daily life gives a shape to spaces and the geometry of spaces gives a discipline to social structures⁴⁹ and to cultural encounters, because “biographies are formed through the becoming of places, and places become through the formation of biographies. The biography is formed through a complex internal-external dialectic and a life-path. Internal-external dialectic is meant to suggest the way in which a person’s corporeal actions and mental activities dialectically interact with one another as it intentionally and unintentionally contributes to social reproduction and the becoming of place(s)”⁵⁰. Spatial relations could arise from free and creative interpretations of a space, beyond any socio-economic constraint. Through this process, space is transformed into a human product⁵¹, the geometric shape into a function. In fig. 5, the *portico* is associated with *student*, the most common newcomer in Bologna, a person who tries to be included into the *city*. But is it real melting (democratic participation, with shared meanings, norms and values) or mere juxtaposition (which could trigger conflicts)? Are different cultures really mixed to shape a multicultural space and a lifestyle, or do they create intercultural conflicts? To answer these questions, first it should be argued that “in shaping the future of culturally diverse cities, the notions of multiculturalism and interculturalism are useful, albeit not straightforward”⁵². Multiculturalism “emphasizes cultural differences, while interculturalism highlights opportunities arising from interaction between diverse cultural groups”⁵³. Bologna's horizontal spatiality is featured by low markers, which allow contradiction, conflict and transformation; this generates problematic interactions between

⁴⁷ Id.

⁴⁸ Id.

⁴⁹ Hägerstrand (1985).

⁵⁰ Pred (1985): 341.

⁵¹ Id.

⁵² Leikkilä *et al.* (2013): 183.

⁵³ Id.: 183; Wood & Landry (2008).

different cultural groups. In fact, old/new comers and autochthonous people are swapping totally different spatial interpretations⁵⁴ through communication and mutual actions. Such a process should promote "social change for a sustainable future, in which the society makes the most out of its diversity rather than to reproduce fragmentation"⁵⁵. This outcome can't be taken for granted since "the social production of space is not a smooth and automatic process in which social structure is stamped out, without resistance or constraint"⁵⁶. Integration is not automatically generated by horizontal markers, because every culture elaborates its own visual, auditory and olfactory interpretation of a space⁵⁷. Furthermore, it should be discussed what kind of integration could be possible in a context featured by HAMS. What a space may become is in fact related to the kind of cultural encounter that may be generated: Naturalization (acquisition of legal citizenship), Absorption (entry into productive economic activity), Assimilation (integration into the social structure on terms of socio-economic equality), Acculturation (adoption of the local customs and the relinquishing of such cultural characteristics as would identify the immigrants as a distinctive ethnic group), that define different kind of integration for newcomers⁵⁸. These "four dimensions of integration are overlapping and interrelated"⁵⁹. Students can acquire different degrees of symbolic and emotional attachment, which are an expression of their identificational integration with local space⁶⁰.

Conclusion: chaos or democracy into horizontality

Creating new functions of space is assumed "as an essential occasion for helping newcomers to build social networks inside the dominant culture, while enabling their participation in city life"⁶¹. However, the mere presence of visible multicultural symbols (i.e. kebab shops) "is not necessarily an indicator of a true multicultural society unless there are mutual acceptance and equal societal participation among all cultural groups"⁶². Integration refers to the interaction and relationships built in-between individuals and different groups in

⁵⁴ Leikkilä *et al.* (2013); Wood & Landry (2008).

⁵⁵ Wood & Landry (2008): 14.

⁵⁶ Soja (1985): 97.

⁵⁷ Boni & Poggi (2011)

⁵⁸ Duncan & Lieberman (1975): 103.

⁵⁹ Leikkilä *et al.* (2013): 184.

⁶⁰ Jay & Schraml (2009).

⁶¹ Viola (2012): 148.

⁶² Liu (2007): 771.

spaces commonly featured by HAMs. In these accessible spaces, people can meet each other, and it is where the everyday politics of recognition are played out⁶³. Integration and conditions for multiculturalism can only be achieved by building trust and mutual respect, valuing different cultural identities and co-operation⁶⁴. Integration should be considered a two-way process in which newcomers and autochthonous people negotiate, adjust and evolve. The outcome mostly depends on the strength of the links between the newcomers and the host community but also on the possibility to come back home⁶⁵. Accessibility does not inevitably mean integration for different cultures and cannot only be granted by HAMs. There should be added some opportunity "to participate in shaping the society and its resources through involvement in planning and decision-making system"⁶⁶. Especially in modern societies, participation in planning and decision-making is a sign of the quest for democracy⁶⁷. In Piazza Verdi, there is no real participation, if this means involvement of a whole community in a free discussion whose purpose is to achieve shared norms and values. What really occurs is opposition to established norms. The quest for democracy is passive (through resistance), not active. Young people in Piazza Verdi wear shabby clothes, they wander around, get drunk or take drugs in the square, to reject social norms and reaffirm themselves. Their idea is that a single person is not able to conquer the power, so they prefer the strength of the mass; a new way to refuse a feeble participation or an unreachable democracy that cannot ensure any job after graduation. Even though HAMs could trigger democracy, in Piazza Verdi they are triggering struggles and chaos. As usual, "the evolution of civilizations takes place within an arena of wars and clashes"⁶⁸ against power of any sort: political, religious, administrative, economic, and financial. The recent economic crisis is compelling people to accept defeat and to admit that the battle for democracy is just a myth. In this position of passivity, people accept the low position, in which the greater the mass, the greater the (supposed) power. In such a situation, democracy is the power of the crowd, because it is established just by quantity. No cultural encounters, no shared meanings or values, no "opportunities arising from interaction between diverse cultural groups"⁶⁹. In Piazza Verdi there is no

⁶³ Wood & Gilbert (2005).

⁶⁴ Wood & Landry (2008).

⁶⁵ Dominguez-Mujica (2012).

⁶⁶ Leikkilä *et al.* (2013): 184.

⁶⁷ Id.

⁶⁸ Bilgin (2006): 251.

⁶⁹ Leikkilä *et al.* (2013): 183.

multiculturalism, but just local human interactions, not subjected to commonly accepted and shared rules, but in continuous variation along with local circumstances. The struggles to impose one kind of spatiality testify that "any place is an ongoing process, whereby the production of social and cultural forms, the formation of biographies and the transformation of nature and space become one another at the same time that time-space specific path-project intersections and power relations continuously become one another in ways that are not subject to universal laws, but vary with historical circumstances"⁷⁰. These never ending variations in the transformation of place are connected to "individual biography formation, including personality development, the evolution of not always articulated or self-understood ideology, and the development of consciousness"⁷¹. Students in Piazza Verdi "express themselves in the becoming of places"⁷². The lack of shared norms and values generates chaos, not democracy. Bologna is full of city users, attracted by its positive brand, but they often abandon it after having exploited Bologna's spaces, mainly featured by HAMS. Because of this architectural characteristic, it is very easy to get in, but it is even easier to get out. The more people reach Bologna, the more they can have easy access to HAMS. So, an ever-greater number of people compose a mass, whose main characteristic is quantity, which is horizontally distributed in space. People think they have conquered the Power by staying in squares, by ruling the porticoes, but democracy is not just staying in a place, but fighting for one's rights. Multiculturalism should not be considered the end of the race, but just the beginning of a process for building democracy – not chaos.

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⁷⁰ Pred (1985): 361.

⁷¹ Id.: 338.

⁷² Id.

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**PULA AS A MULTICULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL CITY –
CROATIAN CANDIDATES FOR THE
EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2020**

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Abstract

The paper presents results of the research conducted in the framework of the courses Cultural Identity of Croatia and European Identity at the Interdisciplinary Study Programme of Culture and Tourism (University of Pula, Croatia). Using a qualitative methodology, we interviewed 350 citizens and examined their attitudes toward the valorisation of the key elements of cultural identity and cultural diversity as a source for sustainable development of the city. We explored the ECoC project as a model of good practice for the valorisation of the key elements of a common European identity and heritage. We also examined the possibility that Pula, as a multicultural, intercultural and creative city, with the unique cultural heritage, multicultural history and creative potential of its citizens, could receive this prestigious title in 2020.

Introduction

Since its launch in 1985, the European Capital of Culture has become one of the most prestigious and high-profile cultural events in Europe, with the main goal of promoting common European values and highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures. Celebrating the cultural ties that link Europeans together and bringing people from different European countries into contact with each other's culture, this project promotes mutual understanding and fosters a feeling of European citizenship. The process of preparing for the title could be also an opportunity for the city to generate considerable

cultural, social and economic benefits, foster urban regeneration, improve the city's image and the quality of life of local residents and raise its visibility and cultural profile on an international scale.

Croatia's accession to the European Union is a unique opportunity to celebrate the elements of its European identity, multicultural history and the cosmopolitan richness of a shared, multinational and transnational world cultural heritage. Cultural identity of Croatia is determined by its specific multicultural history and geography, unique position in the heart of Europe, at the crossroads of many different cultures, and is the result of good traditions of the Mediterranean and Central European (but also Balkanic) cultural circles¹. As a new member state of the European Union, Croatia will have the opportunity to nominate one of its cities for this prestigious title in 2020. Croatian cities such as Pula, Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Osijek and Varaždin have announced that they will compete for the title and the possibility to present their rich multinational cultural heritage and European identity to the world.

Pula - 3000 Years of Multicultural History

Historically located on the border between the West and East, North and South of Europe, the westernmost Croatian region Istria is a specific transnational, multicultural zone, where different cultures (Slavic, Romance and Germanic) continually meet and negotiate, which resulted in a specific cultural hybridity. Because of its border position and turbulent history, the region is also particularly sensitive to the multicultural "unity in diversity" of contemporary Europe. Cultural diversity is a result of migrations and mixing of cultures. Acting as a bridge to the neighbouring cultures and nations, Istria is today also the most important Croatian tourist region.

Istria's capital, Pula, is the city with a specific Central European, coastal atmosphere, but it nevertheless owes most of its urban identity to a few key monuments from the classical period, when the Roman colony was founded in the mid 1st century BC: the Roman Amphitheatre, the Temple of Augustus in the Roman Forum, the Arch of the Sergii and the ancient city walls and gates. The heritage of the classical antiquity is what makes Pula a typical Mediterranean city². Little is known about the impressive heritage of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy dating from the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. After centuries of stagnation in the Middle Ages, because of wars,

¹ Landry (1998).

² Matijašić and Buršić-Matijašić (1996): 9.

epidemics and famine, which devastated the region located on the borders of the great empires, and after becoming the main Austrian naval port in 1850, in only 50 years Pula, the old the deserted village with 900 inhabitants became a multicultural European metropolis, and its population increased as much as 50 times till 1914! The well preserved fortification system from this period, unique in Europe, the biggest and strongest in the Mediterranean, and the former military zone are still waiting for proper valorisation.

As the city of three thousand years of historical continuity, with its urban identity formed during the most important periods of the Roman, Venetian and Austro-Hungarian rule, Pula is today renowned for the abundance of cultural heritage sites (the Arena being an iconic symbol of the city), industrial and ex-military heritage, developed cultural industries and festivals (one of the oldest film festival in the region – the Pula Film Festival, which is to celebrate its 60th anniversary, Pula Book Fair in the ex-Marine Casino and popular music festivals in the Austrian fortifications), and the nearby Brijuni Islands, unique cultural landscape and national park.

Analyzing the ECoC project as a model of good practice for promotion and celebration of the key elements of a common European identity, history and heritage, we will discuss below the possibility that Pula, as a multicultural, intercultural and creative city, valorising its unique cultural heritage, multicultural history and creative potential of its citizens, could receive this prestigious title in 2020.

Theoretical Framework: Cultural Economy as (Re)valorisation

In our research, we started from the concept of cultural economy, as an attempt made by policy makers to (re)valorise place through its cultural identity and cultural diversity, in the face of increasing globalisation and economic integration. The term implies sustainable development based on the strategic use of local culture, local resources and local participative democracy.³ Christopher Ray's definition of culture economy stems from three sources: the changing nature of post-industrial, consumer capitalism, economic development policies and the growth of regionalism as a global phenomenon. According to Greg Richards, culture has become a crucial resource in the post-industrial economy, as reflected in the use of cultural heritage in the development strategies of the European Union and other bodies, and culture is increasingly used by regions as a means of preserving their cultural identity and developing their

³ Ray (2001).

socio-economic vitality.⁴ By exploring the role of culture in creating the contemporary city, improving the quality of life and making the city more attractive for its residents, guests and investors, we defined cultural heritage as an expression of the identity of local community, a source and resource for multidimensional sustainable development, urban regeneration and social revitalization, the enhancement of cultural diversity and the promotion of intercultural dialogue.

Cultural heritage, whose tangible and intangible assets constitute the important part of the cultural identity of local communities, at the same time could build and strengthen the sense of belonging and identification with the urban space, local history and collective memory, but also foster intercultural dialogue and awareness of a common world heritage, European identity and cultural diversity.

Cultural identity, based on the experience of former generations, transfers a special perception of material and intangible culture from the past to the future. Cultural activities, both traditional and new, create "meaning" and thus are concerned with and embody the identity and values of a place. They express local distinctiveness – ever more important in a world where places increasingly look, feel the same, and are becoming increasingly mono-cultural.⁵

(Re)defining urban identity, based on the collective memories of people, cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) and creative valorisation of cultural diversity should be one of the major tasks of the city cultural policy, which would include all stakeholders.⁶

In our research we tried to find the optimal model of the local cultural identity and cultural diversity management, which would allow sustainable local development in the turbulent global context, using the authentic local characteristics and unique cultural resources to differentiate from competition and develop cultural competitive advantage⁷. We set the hypothesis that cultural tourism, which "cares for the culture it consumes while culturing the consumer"⁸, as a sustainable alternative to mass tourism, protecting and strengthening the identity, values and lifestyle of local communities, with proper heritage management and investments in protected historic areas, but also in contemporary artistic production, cultural industries and creative entrepreneurship, could contribute to the local economy, create new jobs, increase the quality of life of local residents and the

⁴ Richards (2000): 5.

⁵ Landry (1998): 28.

⁶ Dragičević Šešić (2007): 39-51

⁷ Richards (2000), Ashworth & Kavaratzis (2010).

⁸ Richards (2007): 1.

pleasure of visitors, improve the image of the city and attract investors. The combination of cultural and tourism development policies could act as a catalyst, promoting local destination as the most desirable and attractive place to live, work, visit and invest in. Investing in local cultural resources through projects such as the European Capital of Culture could significantly improve the quality of life of local residents and pleasure of their guests, regenerate neglected urban areas and increase the value of real estates.

In the context of increasing use of major cultural events as a means of stimulating economic development and urban regeneration, improving the image of cities and attracting tourists and investors, cultural heritage management ensures proper presentation and interpretation of its specific cultural value, using popular methods to transmit the message about the value of heritage through general educational or awareness building. The message cultural heritage management needs to convey to the public is about the intrinsic value of culture and heritage to society. In this process, it is very important to integrate tangible and intangible assets of cultural heritage and develop structures and models that allows living national and local treasures to be identified, protected and conserved in a proper way⁹. Recognition of the uniqueness and universal significance of cultural heritage sites could transform them very quickly into attractive tourist destinations, allowing greater levels of engagement with the past, collective memories, identity and its meanings outside of purely national and sometimes nationalistic context¹⁰.

Cultural Diversity: A Source of Innovation, Creativity and Sustainable Development

Looking for a European dimension and the proper participative model of inclusive sustainable cultural development (as two main aims of the ECoC programme), it is important to emphasize the multicultural nature and importance of the common European heritage¹¹, as an expression not only of local cultural identity, but also of cultural diversity and common European multicultural history.¹²

The sustainable use of local cultural distinctiveness and diversity as a development resource is one of the objectives of cultural tourism. The concept is derived from the UNESCO's report 'Our Creative Diversity',

⁹ McKercher & du Cros (2009): 43-65.

¹⁰ Robinson & Picard (2006): 19.

¹¹ Ashworth & Howard (1999).

¹² Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge (2007).

where culture is defined as the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional assets that characterize a society or a social group, and which includes creative expression, community practices, and material or built forms such as sites, buildings, historic city centres, landscapes, art, and objects¹³. The concept of culture we use includes what people think, do, create, and exchange with others. Local culture could be defined also as a „living identity“. Culture and cultural heritage, as an expression of identity and history of the people they belong to could serve also as a tool for the establishment of identities and differences, which at the same time localize and globalize the cultural and tourist experience, characterized by intercultural contact, cultural exchange and mixing of cultures¹⁴. European and wider global trends indicate that continuous and increased demand for cultural tourism is followed by substantial improvements in market supply, growing international competition of cities and regions of culture and the transition from specialized market niches in the mass market. Parallel to the emphasis on cultural distinctiveness and heritage rather than prevailing natural attractive factors, what occurs includes diversification and differentiation of standardized destination products and reorientation from the elite to the consumption of popular culture and the interest in exploring the everyday life of the local population, social relations, plural memories and meanings.

Cultural diversity, as the key feature of contemporary European society, can be also seen as a resource and a source of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship and sustainable development of local communities. There are different approaches to the concept of cultural diversity, evolving from multiculturalism, defined as coexistence of multiple cultures in a society and demographic and cultural diversity of society, without mutual relations. As a response and critique to the static nature of multiculturalism, interculturalism involved dynamic, equitable and creative exchange and interaction between cultures that are aware of their differences and shared values. Transculturalism developed under the influence of globalization and debates on issues of common European identity and European values. It is linked to the development of transnational cultural orientation and stands for the highest respect for European values and standards.¹⁵ Cultural pluralism observes every culture as a dynamic entity characterized by pluralistic character and diversity of attitudes, values, artefacts and patterns of behaviour. Advocacy for

¹³ UNESCO (1995).

¹⁴ Jelinčić (2009).

¹⁵ Meinhof & Triandafyllidou (2006).

equal rights for all cultural groups in contact and their mutual relations should include also respect for human rights of individual citizens, as a central category of every society and culture.

New concepts of creative and intercultural cities, which valorise local "creative diversity" by emphasizing innovation, cultural exchange, networks and intercultural dialogue as catalysts of positive change within the civil society, connect culture, education, science, research and new technologies in the context of urban regeneration and social revitalization, in the so called cultural and creative districts, stimulating sustainable cultural development. Reutilising and "recycling" abandoned industrial and military heritage, transformed in centres of cultural production and creative partnership, could act as a catalyst of sustainable development, bringing environmental, economic, social and cultural benefits to the local community. In the process of sustainable planning, the great challenge for local stakeholders is now the integration of culture and tourism management needs in a process that will result in a product that is appealing to visitors, while at the same ensuring the quality of life of local citizens, valorising cultural diversity and conserving cultural and heritage values. Such models of cultural identity and diversity management through the ECoC programme can be seen as one of the best ways to address society and its sustainable development, as an opportunity for society to become aware of itself, not only paving the way for economic development, but also for rethinking itself and shaping its own destiny, while turning strategic planning of culture and tourism into an arena for debate and civic involvement.

The keystone of sustainable development is the participation of the local community in the decision-making process, but for this participation to be properly used, awareness campaigns and educational and information programs must first be organized by and for the community, to enable them to formulate their sense of identity. This awareness-raising activity must be structured on a long-term, education-for-life basis, allowing a sustainable community to live in harmony and dignity and become more sensitive not just about the culture and heritage values of their own place, but also toward the world around them.¹⁶

Research Methodology

Using a qualitative methodology (a questionnaire with 15, mostly open-ended questions), we interviewed 350 citizens of Istria. We

¹⁶ De Camargo, in: Richards (2007), 239-255.

explored their attitudes toward the key values of local, regional, national and transnational cultural identity and cultural diversity. We analysed existing models of multiculturalism and interculturalism on the local, regional and national level, the possibilities of improvement of intercultural communication in the local communities and international cooperation in the wider region. We also explored the most effective projects of promotion and valorisation of the common European cultural identity and cultural diversity in the globalized world, such as the European Capital of Culture and examined the possibility that Pula, as a multicultural, intercultural and creative city, with unique cultural heritage and multicultural history, could receive this prestigious title in 2020.

The main goal of our research was to assess the key stakeholders' perceptions of Pula as the potential European capital of culture and to define the key elements of its urban identity, which make the city unique, recognizable and attractive in the perception of its residents and their guests. Confronting global trends with local commitment to sustainable development, we set the hypothesis that the nomination for the European capital of culture could be a proper long-term goal to valorise rich cultural heritage, multicultural history and cross-border cooperation, urban identity and cultural diversity as a creative potential for the city development. We used a hybrid methodological strategy, combining quantitative and qualitative methods, a survey and interviews in order to examine 300 tourists, 200 local residents and 15 experts in the first stage of the research. Since one of the aims was also to train future professionals for the critical reflection on the key values of cultural identity and cultural diversity, the study included students from the Interdisciplinary Study Programme of Culture and Tourism at the University of Pula, who surveyed tourists and local residents, interviewed experts in related fields and critically explored secondary sources. Local residents, tourists and experts were asked about distinctive elements of city identity and image, as well as to make suggestions for improving the quality of life and the cultural tourism offer. In the second stage, we interviewed another group of 350 respondents, in order to explore their attitudes regarding the optimal models of sustainable cultural development. We have conducted parallel content analysis of monographs and multimedia resources about Pula.

Research Results: Pula as a Multicultural, Intercultural and Creative City

Croatian cities such as Pula, Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Osijek and Varaždin have announced that they are to compete for the ECoC title and the possibility to present their rich multinational cultural heritage, cultural diversity and European identity to the world. Our research has shown that our respondents believe that the best chance for getting the prestigious title have Dubrovnik (39%) and Varaždin (19%): Dubrovnik as a unique city-monument on the UNESCO World Heritage List, the world-famous and most recognizable symbol of Croatian identity, history and culture, and Varaždin with the best preserved and best managed baroque urban core, characterized by the united efforts of the local government, cultural and tourism sector and residents to make their city the best place for living, visiting and entertainment. Rijeka and Split (also inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List) are also preparing for candidacy. Key stakeholders agree that Pula has great potential (rich cultural and natural heritage, multicultural history and developed cross-border cooperation, cultural industries, creative people), but first has to meet some essential requirements, such as professionalization and education of experts in the field of culture and tourism, where the newly established University of Pula could play a significant part as a scientific research centre of the region and specialized educational programs such as the Interdisciplinary Study Programme of Culture and Tourism.

About 15% of respondents answered that Pula could win the title, emphasizing its heritage potential, multicultural history and tolerant, cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city: Pula and Istria are considered positive examples of multicultural community, representing a model of tolerance and harmonious coexistence of different cultures. Cultural diversity as historical fact and contemporary practice, including high level of protection and respect of all human and minority rights and antifascism are defined both in the Statute of the Istrian County and that of the City of Pula. All national minorities coexisting in Pula (Italian, Serbian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian, Bosnian, Hungarian, Montenegrin and Roma) participate in the decision-making process through their Councils, which in everyday practice protect their rights and interests and help to preserve and valorise their culture and tradition through cultural manifestations and institutions. There is bilingualism in the public use (Croatian-Italian) and the opportunity to attend courses and schools in various languages: a concrete example is the system of Italian *kindergarten*, elementary and high schools.

Pula also fits well in the concept of “intercultural city”, as a city that uses its cultural diversity as a source of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship and sustainable development of local communities. This model is characterized by increased intercultural dialogue, exchange and networks as catalysts of positive change. Intercultural cities are people-centred and flexible, emphasising openness, negotiation and debate within the civil society.¹⁷ Intercultural and creative cities network their creative potential in the so-called cultural districts and creative clusters, which connect culture, education, science, research and new technologies, stimulating sustainable cultural development. One such cultural district and creative laboratory of the city is the social and cultural centre Rojc: the network of 106 associations (NGOs) in the ex-military school and ex-military barracks of the Austrian and Yugoslav army in the city centre. It is internationally recognized as a cultural, artistic and social centre, which gathers students, artists, activists, minorities, alternative culture and rock-festivals. There are also associations of national minorities coexisting in Pula: Bosnian, Roma, Hungarian, Albanian, etc. who have their creative spaces in the cultural centre Rojc and they all agree that Pula could be considered one of the most multicultural, cosmopolitan and tolerant city in Croatia. The creative network developing innovative projects such as the European Capital of Culture could connect other cultural and creative districts in the city: the University of Pula new campus and the cultural quarter in the city centre, which will include cultural institutions, museums and the most attractive sights in the old city core with the new cultural route: Kulturring.

Pula - European Capital of Culture?

Collected data have shown also that Pula could be considered a typical cultural tourist destination, with an emphasis on heritage tourism and creative industries, multicultural history, alternative culture and the local way of life. Culture is one of the most important reasons for visiting the city and its surrounding area. Local residents, their guests and experts agree that the city is recognizable primarily for its unique cultural, historical and natural heritage (“huge fund of monuments in a small place”), and that the main cultural resources are the Roman Amphitheatre, the historic centre with the Roman monuments, the turbulent multicultural history, and a unique combination of the atmosphere of the ancient historic core and the

¹⁷ Intercultural cities: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/Default_en.asp.

former Austria's main naval port with a powerful fortification system, which is still waiting for a proper valorisation.

Pula is perceived primarily as a city of rich cultural and historical heritage, surrounded by beautiful nature and the sea, with mild climate, relaxed atmosphere and friendly hosts. It is recognizable for its Roman amphitheatre, the Uljanik shipyard, festivals and creative industries ("eventful city", creative city, "the city of the movie and the book"), and the nearby National park Brijuni. Most complaints and negative associations, both from local residents and tourists, were related to problems with traffic, parking, infrastructure and neglected historic centre. Historic city centres, besides offering a high concentration of heritage referents, usually characterize themselves by their function of centrality and their symbolic contents, particularly their role in representing the city as a whole. Therefore it was very important for us to explore how local residents and visitors perceive this central part of the city (and the oldest historical urban core on the eastern Adriatic coast), with the highest symbolic and identity potential. Our research has shown that local residents are most interested in the quality of life and local infrastructure (liveability of the city), while the visitors attracted by the rich cultural heritage in the historic urban core expect a specific, unique local atmosphere and cultural experience, preserved cultural heritage and well-maintained urban equipment, parks, architecture and facades, tidiness and cleanliness of public areas and better organized traffic infrastructure. Interviewed experts emphasized enormous potential for development of cultural tourism in the urban core and in abandoned fortifications on the periphery, but also the lack of coordination and synergy between the local administration, cultural sector and tourism, the need of education about the heritage and strategic planning of the historic centre regeneration and valorisation of military architecture. The priority are investments in the neglected historic urban core and liveability of the city, modernization and equipping of cultural institutions and museums, strategic planning and valorisation of the ex-military and industrial heritage for civil, cultural and scientific purposes (including interdisciplinary research, situation analysis, documentation and systematized presentation of the current state of the objects).

The content analysis of multimedia sources and monographs (such as *Puna je Pula/Pula is Full* of the well-known Istrian scientist, writer and polyhistor Mijo Mirković/Mate Balota)¹⁸ showed that the key developmental periods, which formed the urban identity of Pula were

¹⁸ Balota (2006).

periods of Roman and Austro-Hungarian rule, and the period after the World War II, when industrial and military city slowly turns into a regional cultural and tourist centre. Pula, however, currently has a rather undefined image of a former military and port city, and is recognized within a broader framework primarily for its shipyard and the Roman amphitheatre. The city unfortunately minimally uses possibilities offered by a rich multicultural history and preserved heritage, and the fact that it is situated in the specific border contact zone when different cultures and identities continually meet and negotiate through history. Ancient urban identity elements are today especially visible in the abundance of cultural heritage sites and archaeological monuments. Archaeology, as a segment very attractive for the contemporary cultural and creative tourists, is still not widely used (there are very attractive, but inadequately valorised archaeological parks in the old town and in the immediate vicinity), but there are new possibilities, especially in the context of cross-border cultural itineraries¹⁹. There is an interesting new idea of creating the museum quarter in the old town, which would be linked to key sights of three thousand years of urban history with a cultural route – Kulturring.

The city and regional marketing still fail to properly use the fact that at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century Pula, as a main Austrian naval port, developed into a multicultural Central European and Mediterranean metropolis and that the nearby Brijuni (Brioni) Islands, managed by the Austrian visionary industrialist Paul Kupelwieser, became a world famous elite tourist destination. This period of intensive modernisation and urbanisation, and also its function in the wider context, gave the city its specific urban identity, similar to other central European "local metropolises" of the time: "The major public and communal investments made at the turn of the century – railway lines, stations, public facilities, local infrastructure and urban design and architecture had a lasting, characteristic impact on the urban landscape of Habsburg Central Europe"²⁰. Austria has left to contemporary local residents high-quality architecture (beautiful districts, villas and parks, but also a powerful fortification system, more than 300 different fortifications and 30 major fortresses in three major defensive rings) and the most important urban facilities, such as the former Arsenal, on whose foundations arose the most famous Croatian shipyard Uljanik, which became a symbol of urban identity of the contemporary city. One of important and unused urban identity checkpoints certainly is Kaštel (The Castle), the Venetian fortress with

¹⁹ www.heartofistria.org, www.revitas.org.

²⁰ Purchla (2013).

the Historical Museum of Istria inside as a repository of collective memory, located on the central of seven hills of Pula. Last year, by opening one of the tunnels, which form a network of 40 kilometres of Austrian shelters located under the seven hills of Pula, the valorisation of this completely ignored potential eventually started.

Rich cultural and historical heritage as attraction base requires appropriated approaches to the restoration, revitalization and protection. While the protection of ancient monuments has been systematically regulated under the programs of the Ministry of Culture, the Austro-Hungarian and more recent architecture is still waiting proper heritage management programs. The worst situation is certainly that of the neglected historic urban core, which as a dynamic public space with 3000 years of historical continuity has the largest cultural identity potential. Therefore, the right policies of urban revitalization and regeneration of the historic centre, which will restore life and vitality to the neglected urban tissue, will be of great importance in the future. Finding sustainable concepts and effective models of heritage management of the oldest part of the town and protected historic urban core will include the "treatment" of chronic wounds in the urban tissue by means of culture as a generator of economic prosperity and as the absorber of social tensions in the (post)industrial and (post)transitional cities. The neglected and completely deserted in winter old town and its main "transversal axis" can and must be revived with the help of various forms of cultural tourism, art, creative entrepreneurship and storytelling, based on the redefined identity of the city.

Conclusion

To develop competitive products and projects based on a distinctive cultural identity, it is necessary to point out special features and enhance the unique characteristics of the destination. This means that the planning priorities have to be investing in main cultural resources of the (re)defined urban identity, such as the historic urban core, cultural heritage and cultural industries, extending the season through inclusion and integration of attractions in events and cultural routes, valorisation of the former military zone and the fortification system for different cultural and scientific purposes and design of new integrated cross-border projects, which could receive international funding.

Our research has indicated the great potential for sustainable cultural and tourism development through attractions, events and stories covering the most recognizable elements of urban identity and

cultural heritage (Roman heritage, Austrian fortresses, former military complex that could be put in the cultural and tourist function, Mediterranean and Central European identity, industrial heritage, military heritage, alternative scene in the cultural centre "Rojc" etc.). Research has shown that Pula also fits in the concept of eventful²¹ and creative city, as "the city of the movie and the book", with all its festivals (Pula Film Festival, The Book Fair, music festivals). Investing in heritage and the valorisation of creative diversity of the city through development of cultural and creative districts could bring important social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits, regenerate the neglected urban tissue in the historic city core, increase the quality of life of local residents and pleasure of their guests, attract investors and the new creative class which could stimulate sustainable development of this unique Mediterranean and Central European town. Reflecting the strategic cultural development of the city through creative concepts such as the European Capital of Culture, after they solve infrastructure requirements and choose the best heritage management model, the key stakeholders could "play" with stories and identities of the at the same time ancient and postmodern city, using the creative potential of its citizens and experts, some of whom participated in this study.

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²¹ Richards and Palmer (2010).

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MULTIPLE CULTURAL STRATA AND ONE URBAN IDENTITY: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN PATRAS, GREECE

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Introduction

Modern cities built on top of ancient ones are quite common in Europe¹. The continuous habitation for thousands of years of the region has marked the landscape with numerous traces. Each cultural phase from prehistory till now has formed one or more separate strata, some of them still to be seen as archaeological sites amidst the contemporary urban setting, others hidden underground. Mixed as they are with recent structures, they all compose the modern face of the city, as a single entity and unique identity. Patras, the European Capital of Culture 2006, will be used as a case study, in order to examine to what extent the different archaeological layers of the city are integrated in the common identity and which elements of this identity are better acknowledged. In order to answer the questions, two principal methods are applied: a) a systematic examination of the urban planning schemes of Patras, with regard to the mapping of archaeological sites and b) the interviewing of foreign students of the local University. The answers are considered valuable in revising planning decisions; so, a third question arises, as to what can be done. Spatial Analysis is engaged in order to provide tools to this direction.

Multiple cultural strata (Historical background)

Modern Patras is more or less the result of a building and planning process that started in 1828, after liberation from Ottoman

1 The travel expenses for participating to the UNeEC conference in Marseille were paid by the University of Patras. I am grateful to the Rector, Prof. Panagiotakis, the former Vice Rector, Prof. A. Roussou, the current Deputy Rector, Prof. Kyprianos, and my colleague, Ms E. Georgoudaki, for their support, and Prof. Pappas (Dept of Architecture) for his valuable insights.

occupation and the establishment of the Greek state. Archaeological evidence of habitation dates as far back as the Early Bronze Age, c. 2500 B.C.² Research throughout the city has revealed prehistoric settlements and cemeteries of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, as well.³ The archaeological evidence is quite poor as regards the following centuries, with a few burials and scattered finds. Classical and Hellenistic periods are better represented, with remains of the city wall, streets, burials and a road network that has dictated the main road axes ever since⁴. As the city passes to the Roman era (146 B.C.), it experiences a new stage of development, the town expands to the sea and a colony is founded by Augustus in 14 B.C.⁵. A dense road network of the Roman times has been discovered along with numerous public and private buildings, workshops, cemeteries, the harbor. The city flourishes until the end of the 3rd c. A.D. Over the course of its long history afterwards, Patras will undergo great upheavals, when periods of population degradation and impoverishment will be succeeded by periods of prosperity in economic, social and intellectual life and vice versa, under the Byzantine rule⁶. During the period 1446-1828 Patras is part of the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of the 30-year-long occupation by the Venetians (1687-1715). Several travelers and writers describe a settlement with small poor houses, churches, a mosque and a central market⁷ built round the Castle, a fortification dating from the A.D. 6th c., that succeeded a Prehistoric and Classical citadel at the same location.

All changes that have taken place in the city are physically documented, thanks to a long series of rescue excavations and preserved monuments that are standing in situ. They all comprise the urban palimpsest, which is under continuous reshaping. Even though more cultural layers are added every time, the city is one and the spirit of place remains constant throughout the centuries⁸.

One urban identity? The planning process

The first plan of modern Patras was designed by Stamatios Voulgaris, in 1829. Voulgaris, being aware of the strategic location of the town,

² Stavropoulou Gatsi (2001).

³ Papazoglou Manioudaki (1993), Petropoulos & Rizakis (2005): 6.

⁴ Papapostolou (1991): 305.

⁵ Petropoulos & Rizakis (2005): 17.

⁶ Lambropoulou & Moutzali (2005), Koumoussi Vgenopolou (2006), Georgopoulou Verra (2005).

⁷ Georgopoulou Verra (1997), Viggopoulou (2005).

⁸ Khirfan (2010): 323.

submitted a plan that considered all its advantages, such as ground morphology, climate, proximity to major road and sea routes, existing archaeological resources. All of them were combined to the aesthetic satisfaction of the inhabitants and visitors of Patras⁹.

The basic division of Patras in upper and lower part respected an ancient spatial organization, which allowed different functions of the town to evolve, as the upper town, with an altitude of c. 100m, was more suitable for housing and the lower part, at the sea level, served trade, manufacture and communication. The original plan reserved a zone free from building in the middle of the two sections. The zone contained the Castle as well as monuments dating from the Classical to the Ottoman era. Had it been realized, it would have consisted one of the first archaeological parks of the 19th c.¹⁰. In this way, the original planning managed to connect the protection of the archaeological heritage with the important role of green zones not only as ornamental factors, but as factors that enhance peoples' well-being, health conditions, and climate¹¹.

Local authorities protested at Voulgaris' proposition from the very beginning. Among others, they objected to the existence of such a big open space by the Castle¹². Voulgaris' design was never fully realized and several plans followed in the 19th and early 20th c., as in other Greek towns, each one adding more urban space and setting the bases of the urban development¹³. The post-war sociopolitical development in Greece allowed the emergence of certain characteristics that shaped the pathology of the Greek urban planning system in the second half of the 20th c., such as unauthorized expansion, illegal construction, lack of efficient control mechanisms, insufficient mapping of private and public land¹⁴. Since 1829 the city has expanded in all possible directions, engulfing rural land and privatizing communal space¹⁵. By 1999, total area of the city was 5 times as big as in 1929 and 31 times as big as it had been according to Voulgaris' design.

The free-from-building archaeological zone in the middle of the two parts of the city gradually diminished, monuments disappeared and private housing emerged on the spot. The rebuilding of the city and the necessary ground disturbance activities brought to light parts of

⁹ Papadatou Giannopoulou (2001), Moulias (2000): 27.

¹⁰ Gatopoulou (2005): 295-6.

¹¹ Gomez & Salvador (2006): 92.

¹² Loukatos (1990): 332.

¹³ Ioannou & Serraios (2007): 210.

¹⁴ Oikonomou (2000): 44.

¹⁵ Gatopoulou (2005): 299.

the earlier layers of the palimpsest. For over a century their management was minimal and limited to selective private or state initiatives. It was only in the 1970s that the Archaeological Service of Patras became more systematically involved in the construction works and started conducting rescue excavations. Their task was reinforced by the implementation of the New Archaeological Law (Law 3028/2002), which demands that protection of monuments and archaeological sites be taken into account at all levels of planning policies and development schemes (Article 3).

The New Planning Legislation on the other hand, shifted towards strategic spatial planning (Law: 2508/1997), implemented at different levels with different types of plans¹⁶. The three types that concern Patras are the Master Plan, the General Urban Plan and the City Plan. A thorough look at the latest plans of Patras, shows how (and whether) cultural resources are treated and embodied at the different stages of planning.

The Master Plan was submitted in 2007. This is the plan where the basic developmental axes for the greater area of the city and ways of implementation are identified. The major load of financial upgrading is taken over by the construction sector, which is to mitigate the consequences of the increasing deindustrialization and unemployment¹⁷. The Master Plan fails to determine the immediate intervention of the construction sector in the cultural heritage management, because of the antiquities recovered at the construction sites, although the need to preserve the existing cultural resources is expressed as one of the targets of the plan¹⁸. The distance between mere reference to some known archaeological monuments¹⁹ and strategic urban planning is not bridged. Overall, the issue of culture is not used to contribute to molding the vision for the city, and "if culture cannot help, then who can?"²⁰.

The General Urban Plan²¹ was submitted in 2006 and was approved in 2011. The spatial scale at which this plan operates is reduced to the municipality of Patras. There is a more detailed description of the archaeological sites and land plots inside the city. The proposal of the General Urban Plan as regards the protection and promotion of archeological resources is targeted at 7 selective monuments. In this way, the archaeological palimpsest is ignored, although the planners

¹⁶ Christophilopoulos (2002): 133-134, 156-157, 283, 296.

¹⁷ Theorema (2007): 41-42.

¹⁸ Theorema (2009): 6.

¹⁹ Theorema (2009): 39-41.

²⁰ Arvanitaki (2011): 70.

²¹ Philon (2006).

appear to be familiar with it²². As a result, the archaeological resources are treated as potential museum exhibits and not as dynamic entities that can contribute in the development process. The abundance of archaeological resources, whether discovered or to be discovered during the construction works is vaguely considered a strategic advantage, but the plan does not reflect this idea eventually.

The City Plan is the third and narrowest of the three types. It comprises the "Official Building Regulations", which describes the building terms, the land use and the communal space, accompanied by a map that depicts all of them. Despite the fact that archaeological sites and monuments along with parks, road network and squares comprise part of the communal space, they are not fully mapped and described. With the exception of four major Greek Orthodox churches, built on top or next to archaeological remains, only three purely archaeological sites, with no connection to the prevailing faith are mapped. These are the Prehistoric site at Pagona, the Roman Aqueduct and the Roman Bridge. A fourth monument, the Roman Odeion, is mapped but not the adjacent archaeological sites and excavated house plots.

The above-mentioned sites and monuments are listed in the Catalogue of Listed Monuments, of the Ministry of Culture. Seven other archaeological sites, also listed in the same inventory, have totally disappeared from the City Plan. Their locations are mapped as urban building blocks, i.e. land eligible for building. This is the case for the Anglican Church, the Cathedral of Patras, the Roman amphitheatre and the Turkish baths. There is a very unclear depiction of the archaeological site by the Psilalonia Square. A blank stands for the location of Pantocrator church, a 19th c. Greek Orthodox church, the location of which has always had some religious significance and different religious buildings had been erected on the spot, including a Classical temple, a Roman temple, an Ottoman mosque and a Catholic church²³ (Fig. 1). Furthermore, 34 other excavated house plots, most of which have been purchased by the state because they contain antiquities that must be preserved and made available to visitors, are completely ignored, as if they had no role to play in the planning of the city.

There is an evident weakness of the Municipal Urban Planning Office to integrate the preserved archaeological resources into the common

²² Philon (2006): 107, Theorema (2007): 224.

²³ Athanassoulis (2002): 353, Papapostolou (1991): 307.

identity of the city, in the sense of individuality or oneness²⁴. A certain bias is observed towards resources that are not linked to the Greek Orthodox religion, as if the Municipality of Patras (a state service) has no contact or exchange of information with the Archaeological Service (another state service). Indeed, lack of communication between the two services is widely acknowledged by scholars and practitioners of both disciplines, namely planners and archaeologists²⁵.

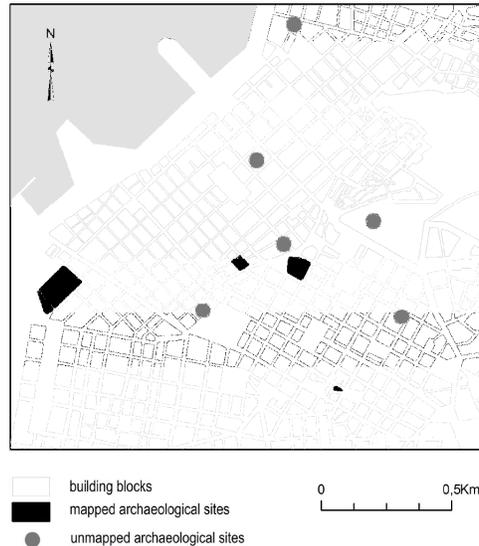


Fig. 1: Mapped and unmapped archaeological sites of Patras in the central part of the City Plan.

Challenges (or what city residents say)

It is challenging to consider the consequences of this lack of communication between public services over the antiquities in particular, and the image of the city in general. To explore this challenge, structured interviews with city users were conducted. This paper will focus on the answers given by a specific type of city residents, 50 incoming Erasmus students of the University of Patras in the years 2010-2013, with most of the respondents staying in Patras during the spring semester of the academic year 2012-2013. The choice of this specific class of interviewees was guided by the

²⁴ Lynch (1966): 8.

²⁵ Simoni (2013a): 189-203.

need of the International Relations Office of the University of Patras to identify the determining factors for the flow of foreign students at the University. Furthermore, this was a good opportunity to understand their attitudes towards their host environment and their degree of familiarization.

The small number of respondents prevents us from stating that a statistically significant result has been sought. As in similar surveys, the material collected indicates that "substantial group images do exist and are in part at least, discoverable by some such means"²⁶.

The pie chart (Fig. 2) is based on the answers of the respondents to the question: "Why did you choose the University of Patras, as your Erasmus destination?"

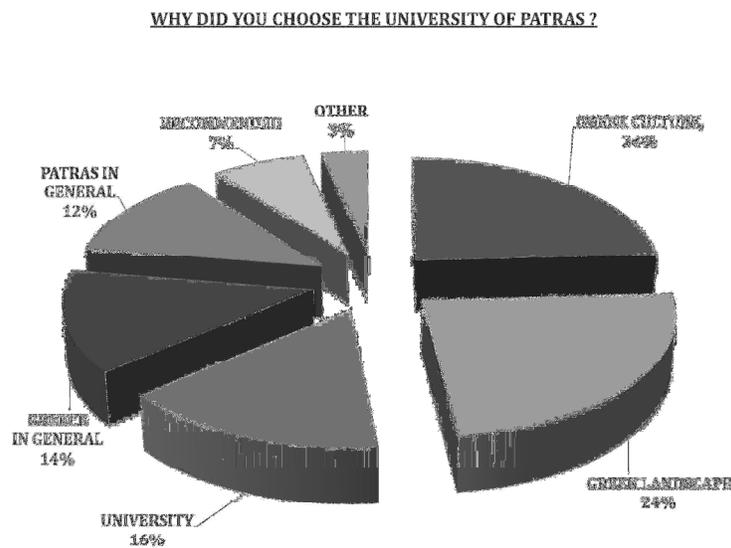


Fig. 2: Factors that influenced students' decision to spend their Erasmus period at the University of Patras.

It can be clearly seen that criteria linked to the Greek culture (including history, language, people, life etc.) and the Greek landscape (including climate, location, proximity to sea etc.) functioned as decisive factors for nearly half of the respondents. An additional 26% of students chose the University of Patras because of

²⁶ Lynch (1966): 15.

"Greece in general" or "Patras in general", two answers that might justifiably be grouped together with "Greek culture" and "Greek landscape", thus accounting in total for just fewer than three-quarters of the students' responses. On the other hand, the University of Patras managed to attract 16% of them. Interestingly, only a small minority moved to Patras on recommendation or because there was no alternative, with their proportions at 7% and 8% respectively.

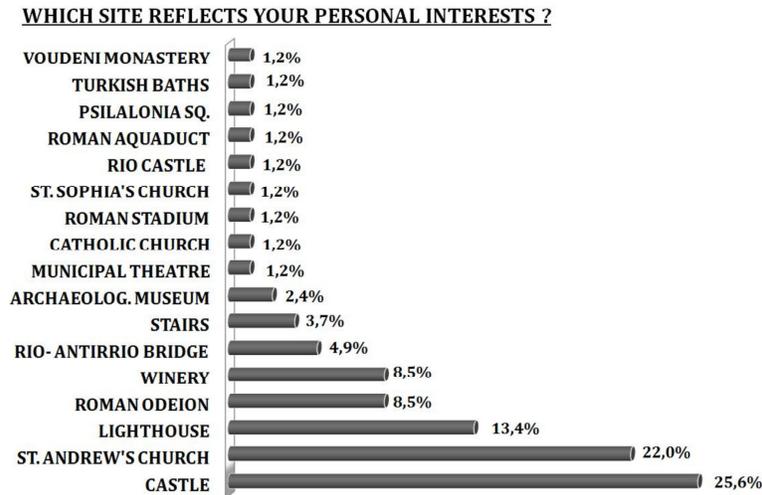


Fig. 3: Cultural sites of Patras that reflect the Erasmus students' personal interests.

The horizontal bar graph (Fig. 3) illustrates the percentages of Erasmus students who expressed a personal interest in discrete cultural sites in and around Patras.

WHICH SITE DESERVES TO BECOME THE SYMBOL OF PATRAS ?

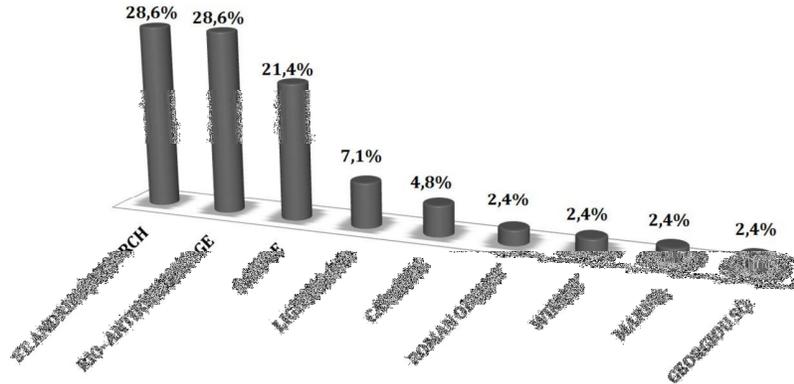


Fig. 4: Cultural sites of Patras that deserve to become symbols of the city, according to Erasmus students.

The vertical bar graph (Fig. 4) shows which cultural sites of Patras deserve to become symbols of the city according to the same sample of Erasmus students. The students did not select the sites from a given list, so they expressed themselves freely. Overall, there seems to be a divergence between what is close to their personal interests and what can act as a potential symbol.

To begin with, it can be seen that St Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church is both highly popular and considered worthy to become a symbol. Figures concerning the Castle of Patras vary, as it tops as a site that reflects the students' personal interest, but comes third as a potential symbol of the city.

Other archaeological or archaeologically associated sites appear more often in the list of personal interests than in the list of symbols. On the other hand, modern structures or landscaped squares qualify better as symbols of the city. This is confirmed by the preference of St Andrews' church as a symbol over the Castle. The archaeological status of the former is not prevailing, while its dominant feature is by far the huge Orthodox Church erected at the end of the 19th c. The church has been chosen by one-third of the respondents.

Surprisingly, another one-third of them chose one of the most recently built structures in the region, the Rio-Antirrio Bridge, situated c.10 km away from the city center and launched in 2004. The noticeably lower percentage, at 5%, in the horizontal bar graph

indicates that a different interpretation is given to the same monument, when the questions change.

To sum up, it is clear that different criteria are used by the students. In the former question they describe their personal interest which could be regarded as a subjective choice led by private /individual motives. The answers given to the latter could be taken as an attempt to formulate a more objective answer, associated with what is considered worthwhile for the public.

The outcomes of this survey are comparable to other surveys conducted in the past. Surveys among inhabitants and international tourists in Bilbao and Thessaloniki, testify that tourists feel more attached to innovative architectural design than the local built heritage in their travelling destinations. By contrast, locals prefer built heritage²⁷. Surveys that explore the influencing factors of Erasmus students for choosing the destination of their temporary study abroad have demonstrated a clear preference for cultural aspects of the host country and city. Erasmus students value higher the quest for cultural experiences and the learning of foreign languages than the academic prestige of their hosting institution²⁸.

In the light of the above, it is true that Erasmus students, as temporary inhabitants of a city, are not tourists and can single out landmarks that are attractive for private (personal interest) or public (potential symbols) purposes. For example, the Castle of Patras used to dominate the landscape in the past, when it was surrounded by low houses. Nowadays, eye contact of the monument from the city center is disturbed by densely built high blocks of flats and one has to "discover" it. So, it may not qualify as a symbol, but its morphology, location, and seclusion may offer emotional personal experiences.

Turning the various archaeological sites to potential urban symbols requires that they obtain a clear form or some prominence of their location. The transformation is not an automatic one. It is achieved after careful planning. So, the interviewees' answers are challenging to planners, who must suggest ways that will allow the students to satisfy their initial expectations and their personal interests by offering multiple cultural and emotional experiences, in a rich multicultural setting. But how can the city's cultural resources be planned, if half of them are not even mapped?

²⁷ Gospodini (2004): 240-241.

²⁸ Teichl (2004): 405-406.

Opportunities (with a little help from technology)

The different cultural layers of Patras are not adequately recorded in the formal urban planning designs of the city. Being absent from the mosaic of the city as outlined in the plans, they affect city residents' perceptions in a negative way. What is suggested here is that technological advancement in the field of Spatial Analysis can provide the opportunity to change the current situation and lend the archaeological evidence of Patras the prominence it deserves. Spatial Analysis is performed in the platform of G.I.S.

Though G.I.S. applications in historical cities and centers so far have placed emphasis on visualization and database compiling, there is a demand for applications that can offer alternative opportunities to the challenges presented. Such research was performed at the University of Patras²⁹. A database about digging operations (with or without archaeological finds) from all over Patras was linked to a digital map of the City Plan, with points representing the dig sites. 947 records of the period 2004-08 were produced, each corresponding to a single dig either in a house plot or on the road network. Different G.I.S techniques were applied (Fig. 5) in order to test whether the ground disturbance sites recorded during this period form a representative sample of the archaeological record in Patras that could be used for more refined spatial analysis.

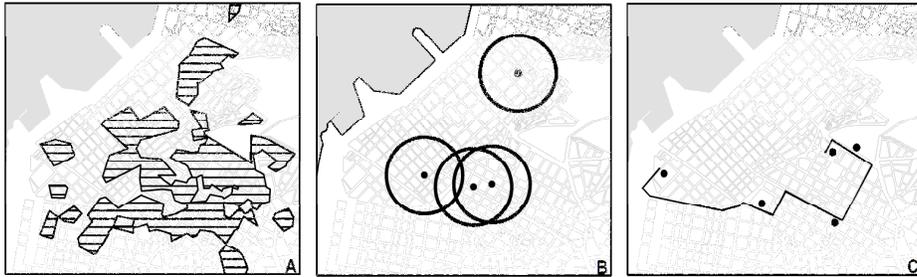


Fig. 5: GIS applications of Spatial and Network Analysis in the central part of Patras.

Analyzing data of investigated archaeological and non-archaeological sites from all over Patras proved to be a quick and functional way to record the archaeological palimpsest buried underneath and to create a predictive model of the archaeological potential³⁰ (Fig. 5A). Besides predicting where archaeological sites exist, a series of questions related to archaeology and development elsewhere in the same city

²⁹ Simoni (2013a).

³⁰ Simoni (2010).

can be answered. Such a question might be "How deep can one dig in any given part of the city without putting buried antiquities at risk" and use the maximum-known depth of archaeology-free soil deposits as a potential predictor, useful for planning and development³¹.

Furthermore, more questions can be posed if the city is viewed as a network, where various cultural sites act as nodes within a network of topological relationships, usually depicted as lines. Such relationships are analyzed with Network Analysis, another methodological process available within a GIS environment³². Common network problems can be solved, such as: a) finding the best route to drive from one location to another, b) specifying the most interesting (according to predefined criteria) route to walk through the maximum number of representative heritage sites within minimum time (Fig. 5C), c) calculating how many new archaeological sites need to be promoted as landmarks and where, e.g. in terms of distance from schools, museums, other landmarks etc. (Fig. 5B).

Urban planners and heritage managers can contribute their skills in integrating an archaeologically informed approach to the general schemes of urban development and land use. Informed citizens benefit in many ways. Not only do they wish to know where and how deep they should plan their construction works in any given part of the city without putting buried antiquities at risk. They recognize the historical background of the place, too. They familiarize themselves with the cultural landscape and widen the subjective value attributed to place at a given moment³³. Their interest in history and art is renewed³⁴. The historical complexity of the city becomes evident and the planning process shifts from physical to social³⁵.

Conclusion

The paper has focused on how the archaeological multiculturalism of Patras is represented in the planning schemes of the city and how the perceptions of incoming Erasmus students of the local university about the cultural mosaic of the city are determined. Lack of correct mapping of the archaeological resources and absence of the archaeological deposit in the dominant public image of a city seem unconnected, yet the interviews show that they are not. The more archaeological information enters the urban planning schemes of a

³¹ Simoni (2013b).

³² Pappas (2011): 4, 51.

³³ Fairclough (2003): 310.

³⁴ van Leusen (1995): 28.

³⁵ Christophilopoulos (2002): 41.

city, the more recognizable the archaeological qualities of the cityscape become. Examination of the city plans and the responses of interviewed students show the drawbacks of insufficient mapping.

Multicultural archaeological sites are not fully represented in the City Plan. As a result, the archaeological deposit does not integrate into modern urban environment. Monuments are hidden. Erasmus students, who are primarily interested in discovering culture and history in a rich Mediterranean context, end up with a biased notion of it. Moreover, they fail to distinguish landmarks of local tradition and feel more comfortable with globalized innovative structures that remind them of a common technology shared by many countries, including theirs. Spatial and Network Analysis are used for spatial data management and for modeling and testing the measures that need to be undertaken. Geographical Information Systems offer a flexible platform for processing spatial information and encourage data exchange among heritage practitioners.

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VALLETTA: AN EPITOME OF MULTICULTURALISM

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Hospitaller Order of St. John (1530-1798)

When in 1530, Emperor Charles V granted the Maltese islands as a fief to the Hospitaller Order of St. John, the old isolation of Malta melted into thin air. The terms offered by the Holy Roman Emperor were so generous that with time the Order turned the island into a veritable sovereign state in all senses of the word.¹ Various categories of foreigners, attracted by good work opportunities, settled in Malta, importing social, cultural and ideological components which were different from those originally predominating in the island.

It may be said that the Ottoman Siege of Malta of 1565 brought about a radical transformation to life in the island - a break with the past manifested itself at all levels. The new system created a dual social structure that developed immediately after the Knights Hospitallers set foot on Malta in 1530 and became even more apparent after the siege of 1565 and the building of Valletta. This duality did not only exist at the social level, but it also pervaded the mental and cognitive structures of Maltese society. Two different cultural blocs, strictly separated from each other, formed two opposing camps, namely, Mdina and its suburb of Rabat as the seat of the countryside; Birgu (Vittoriosa after 1565) - and later Valletta - the seat of the urbanized harbour area.²

On the one side there were the typical classes of an agrarian society, consisting of landowners, notaries, priests and clerks, and a mass of peasants. These had their own 'cultural traditions', to which they

¹ Bosio (1602) iii: 29-30.

² Cassar (1993): 431-432.

were strongly attached. On the other side, there were the new town dwellers and other settlers, often in direct employment with the Order, who were 'alien', lived in the city, 'cosmopolitan' in their orientation and with no 'ancient culture' of their own. Yet in the Harbour towns social distinctions prevailed, the fundamental difference based on economic affluence. The property owners and independent members of the town such as merchants, artisans, shopkeepers and professionals spurned those who were subservient or economically dependent by virtue of being labourers, apprentices and servants.

The Order of St John came to represent a concentration of international capital, which, coupled with an incredible reserve of human resources, made possible a vast programme of urbanization, successfully carried through, since its advent in 1530. Even so, it is surprising to realize that it was possible to achieve all this on an island with a population-base of merely 30,000 (1590) increasing to a mere 100,000 by the time the French conquered Malta in 1798.

The creation of a new urban area around the Grand Harbour had effectively revolutionized the human geography of Malta and the life of its people. Nevertheless, after 1565 the emergence of Valletta – as the administrative capital of the Maltese islands – came to dominate and condition Maltese life. Urban theory recognizes cities to be not merely dense concentrations of people but, above all, concentrations of people doing different things, where the urban character derives more from that variety of activity than it does from sheer numbers.

In reality, to speak of the Harbour area is to speak of a conglomeration of four towns: Valletta was the political and economic capital. In the upper part of the city, the Grand Master, the Grand Council and high society lived and exercised their authority. The common people lived mostly in the lower districts. The 'Three Cities' of Vittoriosa (known as Birgu before 1565), Senglea (or Isola) and Cospicua (previously known as Burmola) stood on the south bank of the Grand Harbour. Between them, the four towns had a population of approximately one-third of Malta's population from the late sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century.³ The 'Three Cities' eventually came to form part of the popular district, together with lower Valletta with their narrow streets packed with foreigners, merchandize, sailors and slaves.

³ Cutajar & Cassar (1985):47-48.

Valletta dominated the entire economy of Malta. The political influence of the Harbour towns on the countryside, the power of the Grand Master, the highly concentrated nature of trade, all combined and contributed to the vast development of the Harbour area. This growth imposed order on the area it dominated, and established a wealth of administrative and trading connections. By the early seventeenth century, the Harbour zone had not only developed into a very busy area, but it practically handled all Malta's foreign trade, and had become a cultural centre of some value.⁴

The Harbour towns were multifunctional and together they performed roles that were essential for the whole society. The creation of an efficient and well-organized bureaucracy was to form the basis for the economic and political dependency of the countryside. Thus the more technically efficient the Harbour towns became, the more they increased the potential dependency of the countryside. The virtual monopoly of Valletta over importation of all commodity items and exports including that of cotton (the major cash crop) enabled the new city, from very early on, to control all the production and redistribution within the Maltese islands: it was, above all, the central sorting station. Whether bound inland or abroad, everything had to filter through the Valletta harbour.

The Harbour town dwellers were well aware of the influence that the state had on their daily existence. The intensification of traffic and trade, the new technical possibilities of administration, and the economic development of the Harbour area are part of the picture of the systematization of authority and the strengthening of the Grand Master's political role.

The Urban Culture of Malta

The heavy influx of foreigners and people from the countryside into the new urban areas, from the sixteenth century onwards, altered the ethnic character of the population of Malta. The newcomers may not have brought a distinctive culture of their own, as the case seems to be. Nevertheless, their physical preponderance managed to transform the distinctiveness of the Maltese lifestyle whose cultural patterns are usually associated with an urban lifestyle. After all, what is essential here, are not the internal contrasts of urban culture, but its different character from that of the countryside.⁵

⁴ Cassar (2000): 91-94.

⁵ Id.: 255-262.

It was common for the early modern middle classes in the Harbour area of Malta to mingle with the ordinary folk because of the ever-growing demographic pressures. Thus, both wealthy Maltese and the Knights often occupied sumptuous buildings, while the workers lodged wherever space was available. The ground floor of these imposing edifices usually contained a stable, stores and a workshop with an entrance from the street, sometimes with displays extending into the street itself. Fernand Braudel argues that a city had to agglomerate and bring together shops, markets, houses, artisans and residents⁶

Very often a number of families had to share the same dwelling in order to be able to pay the rent obligations. Matrimonial contracts indirectly refer to the shortage of space within the Harbour towns. Thus, whereas it was normal for peasants to own a regular house, maybe consisting of some rooms at ground floor level, it was common for poor artisans to live in one-room cellars, whose only source of light and air was the street door. The mezzanines, constructed above them, were likewise small and ill ventilated.⁷ Except for the houses of the rich, most tenements in the harbour area could pass as cheap housing. Such an atmosphere made family life difficult, and therefore most of the socialization processes took place not in the family, but in public spaces. When commenting on town housing in eighteenth century France, Arlette Farge similarly argues that 'an apartment building was a public theatre... no one had any privacy'.⁸

Urban culture did not simply renew or transform earlier cultural practices, but organized them according to fundamentally new principles based on a 'market economy'. Obviously, city life, independent of class attachments, ethnic identity, and other traditional prejudices, was labelled as 'alien' by the indigenous population, right from the very beginning of the Order's rule.⁹

Nevertheless, the immense surge of activities generated both by the foundation of Valletta and by the Order's presence – with its manifold interests – made the island one of the busiest centres of the Mediterranean. It served to create a cosmopolitan atmosphere that impressed itself on the character of Valletta and helped to enrich the country especially in the more creative activities. The Order of St John had thus managed to establish a ruling system which seeped down the social scale and gave character to the Harbour area.¹⁰

⁶ Braudel (1989) 1:181.

⁷ Cassar (1993):328-329.

⁸ Farge (1989): 575.

⁹ Cassar (1993):429-437; Bonello (1998): 60-69.

¹⁰ Cutajar & Cassar (1986): 148.

However, these dominant cultural patterns failed to infiltrate the entire structure of peasant society. As early as 1611, the English traveller George Sandys observed the great differences between the character of the townsmen and that of the peasants. 'Those of the country', he wrote, 'are indeed a miserable people; but the citizens are altogether Frenchified'.¹¹ Philip Skippon, writing in 1664, could visibly distinguish city dwellers from villagers. He sums up the situation, by noting that while most city dwellers speak Italian well, the natives of the countryside speak a kind of Arabic.¹² The Maltese historian Godfrey Wettinger tends to agree with Skippon's view. He argues that,

Gradually the townspeople became largely indistinguishable in outlook from the inhabitants of other towns in southern Europe... In the countryside, however, old forms of cooking, old musical instruments, much of the old types of houses... remained very much in use. There they still repeated the same old Maltese proverbs... worked the land in largely the same old way, hunted... and held homely festivities.¹³

In practice, however, the Great Tradition certainly influenced village life that went on to absorb and adopt elements of city life in such a way as to make it its own. The cosmopolitan character of Valletta helped enrich the island-state, especially in the more creative activities. The architectural boom spilled from the new city into the surrounding countryside and by the early seventeenth century, the parish churches of larger villages could boast a parish church that was built on a magnificent scale.¹⁴ Probably the Cathedral Church at Mdina is the best example. Thus, one could say that urban culture possessed such a great integrating force that it quickly achieved hegemony. It was able to create a mode of behaviour and a way of life largely acceptable to the whole society.

The political centrality of the city underlined its cultural magnetism. Functioning as an administrative capital, Valletta broadcasted the fashions and values of the Grand Master's court. 'Ideas and styles, fashions, manners, and habits, artists, architects, and Belgian tapestries, were all imported from "trading Europe", and paid for by the Order's accumulating capital. It attracted litigants to its Law Courts, and passed on the government's proclamations to the rest of the island.

¹¹ Sandys (1637): 234.

¹² Skippon (1732): 632.

¹³ Wettinger (1989): 62.

¹⁴ Mahoney (1988): 173-210.

In the economic field, the city became the harbinger of modernity with markets that “were as much a meeting place for social intercourse as they were for business transactions”. Valletta, like any other early modern European capital, was the powerhouse of cultural change.¹⁵ The dissemination of artistic and cultural influence, information, and news reached the Maltese countryside. Together with the other towns of the Harbour area, it monopolized the economic and administrative resources of the new state.

British colonial rule (1800-1964)

As the Order’s presence was snuffed out by the French forces led by General Napoleon Bonaparte, who conquered Malta while on his way to Egypt in 1798,¹⁶ Valletta tasted a two-year Republican interlude. Though for most of the time the city of Malta was blockaded by the Maltese following an insurrection of the general population, yet, during this period life within the walls was highly Frenchified and the citizens breathed an air of republicanism and revolutionary practices. It was in September 1800 that the French garrison finally surrendered to the British troops that reached Malta to assist in the blockade.¹⁷ Now the citizens of Valletta, as well as those of the rest of the Maltese archipelago, were introduced to the Anglo-Saxon way of life, thoughts and practices at the political, economic, social and cultural levels.

The British immediately valued Malta as a naval base that served especially to monitor maritime activities in the Mediterranean by keeping in check all the movements of shipping and military activity. In 1815, backed by the Treaty of Paris and the Congress of Vienna, they managed to reduce the island to a British colony. Valletta thus became the hub of a British possession, which was soon transformed into a fortress colony, serving as a major port of call for the British Royal Navy and hosting regiments and troops from all over the Empire.¹⁸ It also continued to serve as an entry point for merchant shipping. With the soldiers and sailors, along with the civilian travellers, came new ways and manners. This cultural mix had already been most visible and identifiable under the Order but became even more so under the British, whose soldiers and sailors hailed from all over the globe and reached Valletta either to serve on garrison duties or in transit on their way to some hot spot in the

¹⁵ Cassar (2000): 252.

¹⁶ Terrinoni (1867): 11-47.

¹⁷ Testa (1997).

¹⁸ Elliott (1982).

region. Indians,¹⁹ Australians, New Zealanders,²⁰ English people, Scots, Irish people, and others reached Malta and with them came novel tastes and customs. As early as the 1830s US military vessels reached Malta from where they staged attacks on the Barbary pirates who interfered with their commercial shipping.²¹ Visits by US personnel started during the Second World War and further intensified during the post-war years, with the regular visits of the Sixth Fleet while flying the Mediterranean.

The massive presence of the British imperial armed forces and their allies naturally left an imprint on the Maltese way of life, especially in the Harbour towns and particularly on that of Valletta. This is testified for example by the food items and recipes on offer on the menus of Valletta restaurants and bars. The introduction of chips, cottage pie, turkey, plum pudding, corned beef and butter are but a few examples from the varied cuisine which was now added to satisfy the visitors and make them feel at home.²² These food items and preparations were in turn also adopted by the Maltese themselves and assimilated into their culinary habits.²³ English and Irish surnames were also added to the long list of other surnames, testifying to the further mixture of the Maltese with people other than those from Arabic, Italian, Sicilian, Greek and continental stock. Marriages between locals – mostly women – and people from the British and Commonwealth Services became commonplace, as were Maltese men marrying English women, with Valletta hosting many new families resulting from such mixed marriages.²⁴

Valletta was the most popular site among visitors to Malta possibly due to its function as a stopping station and depot for commerce and merchant shipping. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Valletta became a centre for *entrepôt* and transit trade, thus absorbing the many influences which flowed with this maritime vocation. The Maltese sailed to all parts of the Mediterranean basin, transporting goods and supplies, and came regularly in contact with people in different ports bringing back to Malta their experiences while at sea.²⁵ These sailors disembarked in Valletta, eyewitnesses to what went on in the Levant, the Black Sea areas, North Africa, and the many other ports of call. Valletta served as a conglomeration of

¹⁹ Laferla (1947): 19; Abela (1997): 169-177.

²⁰ Laferla (1947): 201.

²¹ Cassar (1976): 73-89.

²² Schofield & Morrissey (2013): 143, 176,

²³ ilovefood.com.mt (n.d.).

²⁴ Cini (2010): 180.

²⁵ Dacoutros (2013): 70-76, 88-104.

economic and human activity which generated an intense interaction of people from different countries and regions. As the Maltese maritime historian Victor Wickman has observed:

All this activity was centred around the Valletta marina as well as around St. Paul Street and Merchants Street further up in Valletta. Traders, cotton brokers, ship chandlers and suppliers of navigational instruments had their businesses in these two streets. The old establishment 'Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company' has strong ties with Malta going back to the early days of the company. This company provided mail and passenger services from London to the Mediterranean and then to the famous 'overland route' to China, India and Australia.²⁶

Valletta was, and still remains, the political hub of Malta. Orders, directives, and directions were sent from there and they reflected a British approach. The policies practised and the structure used, permeated into the local day to day functions of the locals and was reflected in and through the many thousands of employees who were engaged with the colonial government and its institutions.²⁷ This left its mark on the cultural structures, and has generally continued to manifest itself to this day in the local parliamentary practices and their implementation. Valletta is the primary witness to such legislative attitudes. All the administrative activity starts here and travels to the rest of the localities, bringing with it changes, operational modes and structural reassessments.²⁸

With the new colonial status of Malta, the faces of the buildings and the open spaces took on a more 'British' appearance with the ushering in of new architectural trends and concepts. The neo-classical style of the official and administrative buildings, the nineteenth and twentieth century renovated facades and restructured blocks, the monuments and the street furniture, the post boxes and the telephone booths, all added an anglicised spirit and aura to the Valletta urban texture.²⁹ The British even made sure to build a new opera house besides the Manoel Theatre, which dated back to the eighteenth century. The Royal Opera House, as it was called, presented more cultural products, in the form of performing arts, to the people, many from Valletta, who came together in their hundreds.³⁰

²⁶ Wickman (2001): v.

²⁷ Pirotta (1996).

²⁸ Pirotta (2006).

²⁹ Thake, Hughes & Cilia (2005); Borg (2001).

³⁰ Bonnici & Cassar (1990); Miceli (2001): 1-68.

Valletta has for centuries lived a blend of tradition and innovation. While never losing sight of its heritage it also incorporated the ways of the colonial overlords. People of all classes met and mixed. The feasts, celebrations and manifestations of old continued but inevitably new ones were introduced. The Maltese continued to make merry during carnival and give praise to their patron saints in the annual parish feasts. They participated devotionally in the Good Friday celebrations and processions, cheered to music and fun during the traditional band marches by the local band clubs. However, they also celebrated Empire Day; followed the military music performed by regimental bands who paraded up and down the main street in Valletta, fittingly called Kingsway or Strada Reale (presently called Republic Street); and participated in the commemorations of the sovereign's birthday, besides other events, victories and anniversaries of the Empire. They congregated on St George's Square, then known as the Main Guard, to attend the demonstrations of the might of the British Empire with soldiers parading and regiments trooping their colours, and governors and high ranking officers taking the salute. All this made Valletta the centre stage of the British colonial ethos. Yet, Valletta retained its own spirit especially in the lower and peripheral streets where the common folk thrived at times living in the single-room residences, or slums. In this emarginated backwater of a bustling city no one came across sophisticated people. Refined clothing did not exist, and neither was there any place for polished language or high culture. Often the lower classes lived in misery and they had no other option than to try and eke out a living to survive in any way they could.³¹

On the other hand, in the heart of the city one could say that 'modern style' tourism in Malta started in Valletta. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, a multitude of hotels opened and operated in the town. These were run by English entrepreneurs, as well as by other hoteliers, including Maltese, who saw an economic viability in such investments.³² The more the hotels, the more the foreigners, and the large choice of hotels suggests that the volume of people that visited and lodged in Valletta was quite impressive. This influx of tourists who came for business or pleasure added to the mix of cultures and the interaction of peoples entitling Valletta to claim that it was a dynamic city in the central Mediterranean.

All this has made Valletta what it is today, the embodiment of European and other traditions, a champion of Maltese heritage and

³¹ Schofield & Morrissey (2013); Cini (2010): 130-141.

³² Macmillan (1915): 345, 353, 358, 361, 374.

customs, and a melting pot of peoples with wide ranging cultural backgrounds.

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MULTILINGUALISM AS AN INDICATOR OF MULTICULTURALISM: THE CASE OF RIGA

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Introduction

Globalization is changing the world as we have known it. Multilingualism and complex cultural exchanges are essential features of contemporary society and it is very important to find a common language in this multicultural environment.

Europe, including Latvia, has always been multicultural and multilingual. The survey of Eurobarometer "Europeans and their Languages"¹ claims that there are 23 officially recognized languages and 60 indigenous regional and minority languages in the EU. However, the study "Valuing All Languages in Europe"² indicates that at least 440 languages are spoken in Europe. The most widely spoken languages in Europe are: Polish and German (17 states), French, Arabic and Russian (16 states), Spanish and Turkish (15 states), Romani (14 states), English and Mandarin (13 states). At present, there are 156 nationalities and ethnic groups³ in Latvia. The largest nationalities are Latvian (1 310 546 people), Russian (594 769), Belorussian (75 854), Ukrainian (53 372) and Polish (49 575). In Riga out of 696 666 declared inhabitants 295 824 are Latvian, 278 237 – Russian, 28 130 – Belorussian. The most popular languages spoken in Latvia are: Latvian (1.16 million speakers), Russian (698 757 speakers), Lithuanian (2 164 speakers), Polish (1 774 speakers), Ukrainian (1 664 speakers). However, the study "Valuing All

¹ http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf

² Broeder, Mijares, Latomaa & Martyniuk (2007): 26-27

³ http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/dokuments/2013/ISVN_Latvija_pec_TTB_VPD.pdf

Languages in Europe"⁴ indicates that there are 26 languages spoken daily in Latvia.

Europe's cultural richness lies in its diversity. Recognition of linguistic and cultural pluralism means acknowledging the multiplicity of languages and cultures⁵. Therefore, this paper addresses the issue of multilingualism as an indicator of multiculturalism in the urban environment, namely Riga – the European cultural capital in 2014.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study is formed by the theories of multiculturalism, multilingualism and plurilingualism as well as theories of linguistic landscapes.

1. Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and Plurilingualism

The term multiculturalism has been topical since the 1960s. It

refers to the increasing cultural diversity of societies in late modernity. It is defined as one nation-state in which the public domain is based upon the equality between groups, while the private domain permits diversity between groups.⁶

Multiculturalism and multilingualism are interrelated. Languages and culture do not exist in isolation. Language might also be considered the most influential factor in the dynamic relationship between cultures. Hence, the concepts of multilingualism and plurilingualism have to be studied.

Multilingualism gained momentum in the 1980ies due to the increasing globalization and growing multiculturalism. Plurilingualism gained its popularity with the introduction of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages in 2001. However, it is important to differentiate between these two terms. The literature review shows that their definitions vary. For example, Jørgensen, Rindler-Schjerve & Vetter⁷ consider that multilingualism is associated with "the knowledge and use of two and more languages by the individual and in society at large", whereas plurilingualism "has a clear focus on the individual dimension of languages".

The Council of Europe and European Centre for Modern Languages have made a clear distinction by stating that "plurilingualism differs

⁴ Broeder, Mijares, Latomaa & Martyniuk (2007): 28

⁵ Coste, Moore & Zarate (2009): 9

⁶ Faryadi (n.y.): 2

⁷ Jørgensen, Rindler-Schjerve & Vetter (2012): 3-4

from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society"⁸. Moreover, plurilingualism concerns individuals revealing their ability of using different languages, whereas multilingualism is associated with the society whose members speak different languages. Thus, it is a speaker's competence.⁹ Multilingualism is a necessary condition for communication amongst diverse cultural groups.

To sum up, in the present study multilingualism is perceived as the knowledge of a number of languages and their co-existence in a given society, whereas plurilingualism is referred to an individual dimension of languages to denote a speaker's competence. Thus, in this study the focus is on multilingualism and multiculturalism.

2. Linguistic Landscapes

As pointed out by Gorter¹⁰: "Language is all around us in textual form as it is displayed on shop windows, commercial signs, posters, official notices, traffic signs, etc." and most of the time people do not pay much attention to these surroundings.

The concept of linguistic landscapes in the field of language policy and planning was introduced in the 1970ies when the studies became topical in the regions of linguistic clash, e.g., Flemish/French in Belgium, English/French in Canada.¹¹ They have gained in popularity since the 1990ies when Landry and Bourhis¹² published their research in sociolinguistics on language signs in urban environment.

The term "linguistic landscape" "refers to linguistic objects that mark the public space".¹³ According to Landry and Bourhis¹⁴, such linguistic objects as road signs; names of sites, streets, places, buildings, institutions; commercial shop names; advertising billboards; commercials; etc. form the linguistic landscape, which includes both public and private signs. As "linguistic landscape refers to the social context in which more than one language is present"¹⁵, it is an indicator of multilingualism in the society. Different signs and images,

⁸ Council of Europe (2001): 4

⁹ Boeckmann, Aalto, Abel, Atanasoska & Lamb (2011): 78

¹⁰ Gorter (2006): 1

¹¹ Backhaus (2005): 103-121

¹² Landry & Bourhis (1997): 23-49

¹³ Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht (2006): 7

¹⁴ Landry & Bourhis (1997): 25

¹⁵ Gorter (2006): 1

- monolingual and/or multilingual, illustrate the role the texts play in forming the look and the character of the neighbourhood.¹⁶

On the one hand, the linguistic landscape provides certain information on the space. On the other hand, it has a symbolic significance as it communicates the relative power and status of linguistic communities in a certain territory.¹⁷ Texts and visuals in the linguistic landscape have three functions: functional, informational and symbolic¹⁸.

Studies of linguistic landscapes have been conducted in various countries all over the world. Spolsky¹⁹ indicates that most of them study the role of different languages in the urban graphic environment and the signs are analysed in connection with the languages used as well as studying the relationship between different languages and their speakers. For example, the recent study in Japan²⁰ analyses official multilingual signs that mainly demonstrate the existing power relations and non-official monolingual signs which use foreign languages in order to show solidarity with non-Japanese people. The study in Israel²¹ focuses on private and public signs of the three major languages of Israel – Hebrew, Arabic and English. Botterman²² analyses linguistic landscape and ethno-linguistic vitality in Ghent focusing on the signage on public displays in the streets of the city.

More recently linguistic landscapes have been associated also with computer-mediated communication, media discourse, tourist advertising, national and war monuments.²³ Globalisation has also influenced linguistic landscapes. Today a familiar universe is found in most cities, e.g., Coca-cola, Starbuck's, McDonald's²⁴, and the influence of English is felt everywhere in Europe, including Riga. Cenoz and Gorter²⁵ point out that the use of English in public signs has an information function for tourists, and has a symbolic function for the local population. Being a global language, English definitely impacts on the local language.

¹⁶ Papen (2012): 57

¹⁷ Spolsky & Cooper (1991): 74-94

¹⁸ Shohamy & Gorter (2009): 1-10

¹⁹ Spolsky (2009): 25-40

²⁰ Backhaus (2006): 52-66

²¹ Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht (2006): 7-30

²² Botterman (2011): 6-12

²³ Jaworski & Thurlow (2010): 2

²⁴ Bolton (2012): 30

²⁵ Cenoz & Gorter (2006): 79

In the present paper, the definition of linguistic landscape by Landry and Bourhis²⁶ has been adopted and the criteria for the analysis have been derived from it.

Research Framework

The authors conducted a case study²⁷ exploring the linguistic landscape of Riga city and compared the results with similar studies conducted in other European countries (UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Lithuania, etc.). The purpose of the research was to investigate the multilingualism of the cultural capital of Europe 2014, Riga, by exploring the linguistic landscape of the city, and to offer suggestions for sustainable multicultural development in the city.

The study was conducted during a period of 2 years (2012-2013), taking into consideration the possible changes that might appear in the linguistic landscape of the city. The study consisted of 4 stages: 1) analysis of theoretical literature and context analysis, 2) observations of the signage in Riga, 3) exploration of the language competence of the staff of public institutions, and 4) formulation of suggestions on sustainable multicultural development in the city.

To ensure the validity of data, mixed research methods were applied. First, based on theoretical analysis, the criteria for evaluation were derived from the definition of Landry and Bourhis²⁸. Second, different parts of Riga were visited: the city centre and the ancient territory Old Riga, as well as the suburbs: Ziepniekkalns, Vecmīlgrāvis, Bolderāja, Āgenskalns, Imanta, Zolitūde, Teika, and the language use in public signs and other visual linguistic information in the city were evaluated. The data were analysed and conclusions were drawn. In the data analysis process, two dimensions – public and private – were considered. Finally, language use in public institutions was investigated, applying the method of the mystery shopper²⁹, conclusions were drawn and suggestions were offered.

²⁶ Landry & Bourhis (1997): 25

²⁷ Kamerāde (2011): 59-60

²⁸ Landry & Bourhis (1997): 25

²⁹ Veal (2011): 214

Findings

1. Riga and the Linguistic Situation in Riga

Riga, founded in 1201, has turned from a small trading village and harbour into a modern cosmopolitan metropolis with a rich cultural and historical heritage. The official municipal portal of Riga www.riga.lv provides the key data on Riga and its population. The total territory is 304.05 km² and the city is divided into six administrative districts. The largest district is Kurzeme District (79 km²) and the smallest is Central District (just 3 km²). According to the number of population, the largest district is Latgale Suburb (191,722 people).³⁰

Among the 696 666 inhabitants of Riga there are Latvians, Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, and other ethnic groups. While the city is geographically compact, the urban space is ethnically mixed. Latvian and Russian are the most frequently spoken languages in the city. In contrast to Huebner³¹, who has pointed out that in large cosmopolitan urban centres there are distinct identifiable territories with their own linguistic culture, in Riga it is not so. However, historically, certain parts of Riga have been more Latvian (e.g., Mežaparks, Vecmīlgrāvis, Āgenskalns) or Russian (e.g., Bolderāja) than others. Nevertheless, these districts cannot be considered as monolingual only.

Considering the incoming tourism trends in Riga, other frequently spoken languages are English, Lithuanian (1 958.7 thousand tourists), Estonian (1 384.6 thousand tourists), Swedish (323.5 thousand tourists), German (261.8 thousand tourists).³²

Thus, alongside with Latvian, Russian and English, there are many other languages spoken daily in the city.

2. Signage in Riga

Signage in the Riga city area can be investigated from different points of view, and we can distinguish between top-down and bottom-up, or official signs placed by the government or related institutions and non-official signs placed by commercial enterprises, private organizations or persons.³³

³⁰ https://www.riga.lv/EN/Channels/About_Riga/default.htm

³¹ Huebner (2006): 32

³² <http://data.csb.gov.lv/DATABASE/transp/Ikgad%C4%93jie%20statistikas%20dati/T%C5%ABrisms/T%C5%ABrisms.asp>

³³ Gorter (2006): 3.

Firstly, considering the signs placed by the government or other public institutions in Riga, the Latvian language dominates almost everywhere. The Latvian language appears on signs and notices as well as informative billboards at the Government buildings (Saeima, all Ministries, etc.); the buildings of local municipality; public sports and recreation areas, such as leisure parks (in Lucavsala), sports centres (Uzvaras parks), houses of Culture (in Vecmīlgrāvis); state clinics and hospitals; post offices; street names and road signs.

Official multilingual signs appear mainly in tourist sites and attractions, especially in Old Riga, which is particularly popular among tourists. Here, we can find English on public road signs; on tourist informative billboards – English and Russian, more seldom – German. Such multilingual notices for tourists can be found almost nowhere in the suburbs of Riga, with the exception of the vicinity of some significant cultural or historic objects (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. The Street Sign in Latgale Suburb

In terms of tourist sites, Art Nouveau Museum, located in Alberta street, should be mentioned as an example. It is famous for its art nouveau architecture, and it is one of the frequently visited tourist attractions. The informative signboard of the museum is placed in the street, it is only in the Latvian and English languages, yet inside the museum the accessibility of information in different foreign languages – Latvian, English, Russian, and German - is excellent.

Another famous tourist attraction is the Open Air Museum located in the suburbs. The usage of foreign languages in the Open Air Museum does not have a unified concept: the notice board of the museum is only in Latvian and English, the tourist stands near the entrance can

be found also in Russian and German. The use of different languages inside the territory of the museum is rather illogical: some of the notices are only in Latvian and English, some – in Latvian, English and German, whereas the newest informative texts at the front door of each historic building are in Latvian, English, and Russian.

The usage of official multilingual signs in the central transport networks should be discussed separately. In the Riga International airport all informative notices are placed only in English and Latvian, except for a notice on the front door in Russian, on how to find the airport information desk, whereas in the Central Bus terminal and the Central Railway terminal, apart from English, there are also signs in Russian. It should be concluded that the presence of multilingual signs in the central transport networks is due to the influx of foreign travellers. However, the multilingual information on signs and notices in the Central Bus terminal is much better organised and displayed, in contrast, the information in the Central Railway terminal appears to be rather chaotic and incomprehensible.

Non-official signs in the language landscape of Riga mainly inform about different commercial objects. Firstly, a wide variety of different international brands, with their logos in different original languages, is displayed in all parts of Riga city, both in the town centre and in the suburbs, such as McDonald's, Renault, Kemi, Dacia, Double Coffee, Good Year, etc. These logos mainly appear at large supermarkets and shopping arcades as well as workshops, service stations, cafes, etc.

The informative signs and notices, which advertise commercial objects, can be classified into two groups: those located near the town centre and Old Riga, and the signs placed in the suburbs. There is a considerable difference: the informative signs placed in the suburbs of Riga are mainly in the Latvian language, only with a few exceptions in Russian (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Workshop in the Suburbs (Ziepniekkalns)

The objects are small local pubs and cafes, rooms for gambling, pawnshops, different services, small workshops, etc. In some parts of Riga, traditionally inhabited by the Latvian population (Vecmīlgrāvis, Āgenskalns), the Latvian language prevails, whereas in some other areas, which have traditionally been more Russian (Bolderāja, Imanta, Zolitūde), translations in Russian are more frequent. In the suburbs of Riga, apart from the display of the big international brand names and logos, no other foreign language usage in signs and notices has been observed.

The language landscape of the central area of Riga and particularly Old Riga differs. The signs that advertise different commercial objects are more frequently translated into English and Russian: small shops and boutiques (see Figure 3), exclusive restaurants, pubs and bars, lawyers' offices.



Figure 3. Pawnshop in the City Centre

The use of English is quite considerable, especially in Old Riga. Besides, here are some places – restaurants and cafes – where the Latvian translation in notices and signs has not been provided at all. This can be explained by the regular presence of foreign tourists who are the main target audience of these establishments.

The Central market has always been one of the most attractive local destinations for foreign travellers; therefore, the language situation in it should be discussed separately. Despite its popularity, the Central market faces the insufficiency of visual information in a written notice form, and this information tends to appear rather chaotic: informative notices can be found only inside the pavilions; besides, most of them are ~~put~~ only in the Latvian language. Translations in the Russian language appear very seldom, and they are rather insignificant. No translations into German or any other less popular language are provided.

From the lexical point of view, in some cases the signage is just translated into other languages, but there are a lot of cases where the translations are illogical and might be misleading or they are grammatically incorrect – mistakes in word order, spelling, lexis.

3. The Language Competence of the Staff of Public Institutions

From the point of view of language use, different places in Riga were observed. Regarding the public transport where a passenger has to buy a ticket at the bus driver's, the bus driver is usually not capable of communicating either in English or German, only in Latvian and/or Russian.

The staff of the Central market, just like in any other market in Riga, do not communicate in foreign languages; however, taking into consideration the specific nature of markets, this fact should not be regarded as a major disadvantage.

The situation in the Central Bus and Railway terminals is different – the employees of the ticket offices can communicate in Latvian, English, and Russian but their English and/or Russian language skills are very poor.

Regarding the museums and galleries, the situation is considerably better: an example is the Art Nouveau Museum, where the staff is kind and hospitable, attractive, and capable of communicating in foreign languages, especially English, on fewer occasions also German. The staff of the Open Air Museum is kind and responsive, but the foreign language competence level is different: on some occasions the employees can communicate, albeit deficiently, in English.

The command of foreign language is more advanced in the city centre, especially Old Riga, where the employees of shops, cafes, and restaurants understand English as well as German. However, apart from Latvian, Russian, English, and sometimes German, the ability to use any other language is very poor or non-existent. This could be put down to the Latvian education system, as the previously mentioned languages are taught in most schools.

Another observation: from the point of view of the employees' age, the younger generation (aged 20-35) are more capable of communicating in English, whereas the command of the Russian language is better among the middle aged and elderly population. The explanation is the complete change in the political system in Latvia in the 1990-ies, when the orientation to the Western cultures began and more emphasis was put on teaching and learning English and German, while the Russian language became an optional subject in most schools.

It may be concluded that the only foreign languages spoken in Riga are Russian, English, and more seldom German; the younger generation speak English, while the older generation speak mainly Russian; foreign languages are more frequently understood and spoken by people with higher education; the command of English is better in the institutions which are located closer to the city centre than in those located in the suburbs.

Considering the population of other nationalities of Riga, in some cases they can use their native language but, in general, they can use it more in the family or when interacting with representatives of their nationality only. For example, for some nationalities it is possible to have compulsory schooling in their native language (e.g., Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Polish, Ukrainian), whereas most minorities do not have such a possibility (e.g., Belorussian, Kazakh, Armenian, etc.) and their children have to attend schools with Latvian or Russian language of instruction. When dealing with official institutions, the medium is the official language – Latvian. However, in many cases the staff will be helpful and will provide the information in Russian and/or English as well, if addressed in one of those languages.

Discussion

In order to compare the linguistic landscape of Riga with those in different cities in Europe, first the neighbouring countries of Latvia were observed, mainly because of the historical and economic, as well as cultural parallels that can be drawn between the three Baltic

states: Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia regained their independence at the beginning of the 1990-ies, therefore the accent shifted from the previously dominating Russian language onto the English and other foreign languages.

Not surprisingly, there are quite many things in common: apart from the native languages of the three countries, Russian and English are used in the signs and notices, and the English language is more frequent, especially in the old parts of the towns and the city centres. This can be put down to commercial factors, such as the presence of foreign tourists who are interested in the old parts of the towns. This is common to all metropolitan cities: „the intrusion and use of English in the public spaces of the world’s cities alongside national languages and local languages has received increasing attention over the last fifteen years or so”.³⁴ However, a similar study conducted in Vilnius, Lithuania, pointed to the use of more foreign languages, such as French, Italian, Spanish, and German.³⁵

Regarding other European countries, English in the linguistic landscape of the city is also frequently used in Berlin, Germany, particularly in its Northern part, especially in signs and notices, advertising shops and stores, and other commercial objects.

In an ad hoc survey of street signage in Uppsala, Sweden and Zurich, Switzerland, about 45 per cent of Uppsala signs and 58 per cent of Zurich signs used English, sometimes in bi- and multi-lingual signage.³⁶ Referring to the use of English, the increasing spread of English in Europe can also be seen both in Friesland and in the Basque Country. In both regions, English is becoming part of the linguistic landscape, just like in other European countries.³⁷ The increased use of English in public spaces worldwide may be seen as the instantiation of processes related to economic and cultural globalization.³⁸

Compared to the situation in Riga, the present study did not show such an extensive usage of English in signage, which might be explained by the fact that the legislation on language use in public places restricts the use of other languages than the national (Latvian) language.³⁹ However, just like in other European capital cities, the use

³⁴ Bolton (2012): 31

³⁵ Ryvityté & Lukošiušė (2009): 157

³⁶ Bolton (2012): 31

³⁷ Cenoz (2006): 70

³⁸ Bolton (2012): 31

³⁹ <http://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=238195>

of internationally recognisable brands can be observed in Riga, too, and most of them are in the English language.

The situation in Riga may be compared to the one in the Basque territories in Europe. The Basque region, like Riga, also has a strong presence of monolingual signs with about one in every eight signs.⁴⁰ In Riga, monolingual signs in the Latvian language are obviously prevailing, mainly, as described above, due to the legislation – for example, only the Latvian language may be used for street signs.⁴¹ Russian in the linguistic landscape of Riga is used more seldom; however, the usage of this language in signs, notices, and advertising can be explained by commercial aspects, since a significant part of the local inhabitants of Riga belong to the Russian minority.

Conclusions

The findings indicate that most employees of public institutions (shops, stations, public transport, drugstores, medical institutions, etc.) can speak Latvian and Russian, and some of them English. Currently it seems that elderly and middle-aged generations are fluent in Latvian and Russian, whereas most of the younger generation speak Latvian and English.

Regarding public signs and instructions, they are written in Latvian, while in tourist sites there are also signs in English. From a linguistic point of view, there are many examples of Latvian signs demonstrating the direct influence of Russian or English, especially in the names of shops.

Considering that Riga will be European cultural capital in 2014, it can be concluded that the amount of visual information in foreign languages is insufficient. The informative signs and notices have most frequently been translated into English, considerably more seldom into Russian, and very seldom into German, disregarding the fact that most of the incoming tourists are from Russian and German speaking areas. On the one hand, it can be stated that the government of the Republic of Latvia is protecting the national language (Latvian) and has therefore introduced legislation regarding the use of languages in public places. On the other hand, there is no unified concept when it comes to the issue of supplying translations into foreign languages, which especially concerns tourists.

⁴⁰ Cenoz (2006): 70

⁴¹ Schmid (2008): 16

Based on the results of the theoretical study and the case study conducted, the following suggestions for language use in the city have been formulated:

- It would be useful to have instructions in health care institutions, post offices, tourist sites, and airport in three languages – Latvian, Russian and English.
- Considering that the languages used by the elderly population are Latvian and Russian, it would save many problems if doctor's visits were allowed in Latvian and Russian.
- Brochures concerning medical issues and ethnic context should be printed in two languages – Latvian and Russian – so that they can reach the target audience.
- Although the appearance of public signs in the city is regularly checked, more attention should be paid to the quality of signs from a linguistic point of view (both grammar and lexis).
- To attract foreign tourists and promote tourism in the city and country, information in international exhibitions and museums should be provided in three languages – Latvian, English and Russian.
- Similarly, public signs in sports recreation centres should be in three languages – Latvian, Russian and English.

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BUILDING UP A NEW INTERCULTURAL URBAN IDENTITY THE CASE STUDY OF GENOVA04

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Introduction

This paper aims to explore how local cultural policies handle multicultural societies, namely in the context of the “diversity turn” within urban, cultural, and migration studies.

Since multiculturalism is now considered an outdated paradigm, new forms of policies have to be found in order to reconcile multiple cultural affiliations with the need to identify interlocutors in public discourse. The heterogeneity of migration flows, of social and economic structures, of urban systems, of national legislation about migration makes this process highly place-specific. Nevertheless, some features can be identified as recurring and allow us to sketch a pattern of best practices and diversity-oriented governance. In this frame I will analyze the case of Genoa, which was European Capital of Culture in 2004. On this occasion the city tried to build up a new urban identity, by launching several projects among which an already existing “Festival of Cultures” was integrated. This festival, named “Suq,” started in 1999, still exists and sparks off very different reactions among inhabitants, politicians and scholars. I will try to analyze the structure and characteristics of this Festival, better to understand why it produces such different – not only from a merely aesthetic perspective – reactions.

GeNova04: a new identity for the city

European Capital of Culture in 2004 occurred in a moment of economical and highly symbolic crisis for Genoa. De-industrialization imposed on the city, once focused on the port and on some related industrial activities, to re-think its identity, in order to maintain itself attractive in the competition among cities for engaging enterprises and investments. The whole plan was mainly oriented towards

creating, for inhabitants, a renewed feeling of belonging to the city, and towards providing a new image of Genoa for tourists, as it comes out quite clearly from the choice of name of the event: GeNova04, where "Nova" echoes Italian adjective *nuovo* in its feminine declension.

Focusing on the need to re-build a certain degree of self-esteem into the city¹, the organizing committee primarily worked on the legacy left by specific and glorious moments of Genoese history. This is the case, for example, of the exposition "The age of Rubens" of the "Museum of the Sea" and of the restoration of some historical streets and palaces, which had been for decades out of the citizens' and local administration's care. This typology of the European Capital of Culture is centered on the valorization of the heritage² as a trigger for the development of a new urban identity, both internal and external.

The multicultural issue

Even if Genoa was already a deeply multicultural city, GeNova04 did not elaborate any specific project to deal explicitly with its multicultural dimension during this process of re-creation of an identity. Its pluralistic character was generally taken for granted since it was acquired in the past centuries and the difficult dialogue with new minorities in the city was mainly felt as a social problem, rather than a cultural one. Cleverly, the organizing committee mainly worked on the rehabilitation of the historical centre, where foreign residents were about 20% of the local population, without assigning specific governance to them. This avoided ghettoization and the objectification of differences, but provided no response to a general climate of diffidence. Some exigency to tackle the issue was felt and a very simple solution for GeNova04 was indirectly to delegate the task to someone with consolidated expertise.

Since 1999 Festival Suq had each year realized a ten days' "world culture festival" in the form of a market, where virtually every culture can put itself on display. The market is recreated with a scenic design

¹ The mayor in 2004 Giuseppe Pericu had worked in this direction since its first election in 1997: "The first thing to be clear for me was the need to make the city rediscover its cultural identity. This city was hit by a deep both social and territorial disaggregation. (...) The dock worker of the Compagnia Unica, the technician and the engineer of Italsider and Italmontedotti, the specialized worker of Ansaldo were very strong social figures. All that completely disappeared in some couples of ears, or at least was so deeply modified that it was hardly recognizable. What I asked myself was: what does it mean, today, to be Genoese?" Pericu-Leiss (2007): 33, 60.

² Grésillon (2011).

made of 40 stalls, animated on one side by traders, artisans and restaurateurs and on another side by music, theatre and dance performances on a central stage. Talks and debates also have a place among the events.

For all these reasons, Festival Suq was included in the labeled events of GeNova04, receiving financial support mainly for communication and for moving from the historical center to the very center of the Old Port. This move is worth analyzing briefly. The birthplace of Festival Suq was Loggia della Mercanzia in Piazza dei Banchi, a big space that was historically used as a market, while reserved, in the last few decades, just for special exhibitions and performances. Anyway, due to its past, this place had to be most likely a multicultural market, since it received traders from all the towns and the ports connected to Genoa. Therefore, placing a "world culture festival" in this context made a strong link between the past and the present and highlighted the spontaneity of cultural encounters, which once occurred here mainly thanks to commercial reasons. Festival Suq is a Festival, but at the same time it is a *Suq*, which is the Arabic word for market and which means a place to exchange not only goods, but knowledge, skills and opinions too. So originally Festival Suq was born as a modern version of the ancient market, where people go to shop and to share experiences. It did not matter here which ones were the participants in this exchange: it was just a place of mixity.

On the occasion of GeNova04 Festival Suq was moved to the Old Port, which was renovated in 1992 and was conceived as a pretty touristic area, known for the famous aquarium and the panoramic lift. This area constitutes the new skyline of the city, represented in postcards and advertised in tourist guides. Thus, Festival Suq was placed in the epicenter of the part of the city that had to be shown to the world, the part where most of the events took place (even if another great area was in need of renovation).

This displacement was to signify that mixity was used to good advantage and integrated in the exhibition of the "Genoese culture" in the year when Genoa had to show what it was composed of. With this change, Festival Suq acquired notoriety on a national level. People went more and more to Festival Suq to have dinner with friends, to taste different foods, to do shopping or to attend music, theatre, and dance performances.

Festival Suq: best practice or a policy?

Since 2004 Festival Suq has received several public rewards³, as patronages of Italian Ministries, patronage of UNESCO and the qualification as one of the "European best practices for intercultural dialogue". Furthermore, Festival Suq received public commendations by politicians and by well-known artists, writers, thinkers: it raises the approval of political and cultural world⁴.

Does this best practice represent Genoese reality, or is it just an ideal model, not expressing but trying to shape a Genoese multicultural identity?

If viewed as a policy of local administration⁵, Festival Suq doubtless succeeded in spreading knowledge and in promoting curiosity, instead of diffidence, towards migrants. Many inhabitants started to appreciate migration as a source of cultural enrichment instead of a guilty part of degradation or as potential competition in finding work. This contribution was fundamental to making foreigners accepted in the symbolic Genoese urban identity and in this sense Festival Suq helped to shape this more inclusive identity. Surprisingly, yet it does not generally raise the approval of foreigners themselves and of inhabitants of "multicultural areas". Its closest neighbours and apparently the people it is representing do not feel seriously represented by Festival Suq.

³ Since 2007 "Piazze d'Europa, piazze per l'Europa" (Università di Venezia); since 2009 Patronage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; since 2010 Patronage of the Ministry of Environment; since 2011 Patronage of Unesco; since 2012 Patronage of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Patronage of the Ministry of Integration; since 2013 qualified as one of "European best practices for intercultural dialogue".

⁴ "It would be great if Italy were like this public square: intelligent, happy, calm and full of energy" (Laura Boldrini, President of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy); "We are always worried when we have to encounter the stranger. But through knowledge and conviviality stranger is no more a menace. With encounter we share common values, belonging to humanity. Genoese 'Festival Suq' goes that way. There should be one in every major city" (Fadéla Amara, Secretary of State for Urban Policies in government of French Prime Minister François Fillon); "Suq is a marquee by the waterfront where you can meet different people and surprisingly makes you realise that we are more similar than you think. Tear down barriers and build bridges" (Cecilia Strada, President of Emergency); "The Suq lends to culture. Where just meeting each other brings peace. Suq lends to rebirth. Suq lends to the future. From here we set off again" (Moni Ovadia, writer and actor).

⁵ Festival Suq is not strictly a public initiative: it was created and is lead by a private association, Chance Eventi. Its sustenance is assured by the incomes of the Festival (about 78000 € in 2012), by sponsors (40000 € in 2012) and by funds from public institutions (about 82000 € totally from Regione Liguria, Provincia di Genova and Comune di Genova in 2012). It acquires a public relevance since it is the most visible effort of the city in matter of intercultural dialogue. Obviously it is nor the only nor the most onerous: it is just the most evident.

I argue that this variance has to be analyzed historically and in the context of multiple different strategies of integration.

Representations

The historical centre of Genoa has been highly populated by foreigners⁶ since the last decades. They mainly come from Maghreb, Central Africa, Southern America, China, India and Sri Lanka. They sometimes have lived in Italy, or in Genoa, for a long time, they have families and they work there. This is a place of diversity, of mixity, where dialogue is not always simple and where people ask for some intervention from the local administration in order to resolve common problems. For example, the Muslim community asks for a space of prayer, while a large number of inhabitants do not want it in their proximity. Other problems are linked to the school system, which suffers from a lack of linguistic and cultural mediators. Another kind of difficulties is specific to the district in itself rather than to its multicultural character: it is mainly connected with illegal traffic, with prostitution and with a fast gentrification process.

Until the end of 2000s the Genoese historical centre was a demographic exception in the local context: migrants were mainly settled in this part of the city. Festival Suq in 1999 and still in 2004 represented this exception and tried to capitalize on this difference, by showing the cultural richness it could bring to the city and, more generally, to urban identity.

Nowadays, in 2013, the foreign population has spread out all around the city and the historical centre is no more an exception. According to the transnational situation, we cannot speak of a multicultural reality anymore: several generations of migrants have succeeded one another and it is not so easy to distinguish between different communities. The ethnographic work I conducted in the historical centre of Genoa shows that inhabitants of foreign origins do not necessarily feel as members of an ethnic group: they feel more as

⁶ At the beginning of 2000s, 16.857 foreign residents in Genoa were the 2,7% of the whole Genoese population. They mainly settled down in the historical centre, where they represented the 18,6%. Other districts now considered as multicultural were very far from this percentage: e.g. Cornigliano (4,2%), Foce (3,5%), Oregina-Lagaccio (3,0%) and Sampierdarena (2,9%). After ten years, foreign residents in Genoa represent the 8,3% of the whole. They are no more just concentrated in the historical centre: only the 11,0% of them live in this part of the city, while in the last 1990s it was 33,2%. The highest percentage of foreign residents is listed in Cornigliano and Sampierdarena (14,5%).

members of a local community, geographically rather than ethnically defined.

While society evolved, Festival Suq has kept its structure unchanged since its birth, in 1999. Therefore the spontaneous link of symbolic representation that developed between the festival and the society is no longer as serviceable as it used to be fifteen years ago. Articulated in this way, the issue looks like a problem of representation.

Festival Suq lends stands to retailers and hosts artists who are actually there as representatives of their communities. About 40 communities are therefore given public relevance in this festival, but they did not choose their representatives and they never delegated them to show their culture in this either commercial or artistic way. Moreover, most of these communities are just assumed to exist, while not always existing in reality, since they may have been artificially created by public discourse in a top-down action, which defines the birthplace of people (or of parents, in the case of young generations) as the parameter for identifying meaningful groups of people. But in fact, especially nowadays, inhabitants have plural allegiances, which do not allow us to place them in one or another community.

Moreover, inhabitants do not easily claim community recognition, as Festival Suq would suggest while making them show "themselves". A retailer stands for himself, and not necessarily for all inhabitants having the same national or geographical origins. Similarly, an artist stands for himself and not for someone else.

Since its move from Loggia della Mercanzia to the Old Port, Festival Suq has been losing its character of spontaneity. Multicultural encounters are no longer something happening naturally in the daily life of the urban space, but are exhibited within a specific framework. With the European Capital of Culture these encounters were put to advantage, but at the same time, they were de-contextualized and brought out as an extraordinary case. The main result is that Festival Suq places multicultural encounters within the dimension of exoticism: it could be helpful to stimulate a dialogue using the expedient of curiosity and conviviality in the early 2000s, but it is an outdated model in contemporary societies, where alterity is part of our daily life. In 2013 such a strategy falls back into the paradigm of multiculturalism, being under-representative of the existing plurality. Exoticism is a representation, but it is not representative. Multi-culture in the form of conviviality has helped intercultural dialogue when the alternative was diffidence and fear. Today, multiple cultural affiliations make it impossible to speak about intercultural dialogue by using the old category of "community".

Communities are just a little part of a (multicultural?) contemporary pattern. But, even if multiculturalism has been proclaimed dead, the legacy of previous discourses and systems of classification persists in the present and still has a strong influence on politicians and institutions. In spite of that, we go on grouping people artificially on an ethnic basis.

Those "foreigners" who have lived for a long time in Genoa – as in lots of other places – share many experiences with local "indigenous" inhabitants and maybe even more than they do with their original "community". They have a common past and they do not ask for a context in which telling what they have lived before the experience of migration should be relevant. Moreover, some of these "foreigners" were born in Italy, went to school in Italy, and have no deep sense of belonging to a different culture.

In other words, in daily life they feel that their culture is accepted and they do not ask for a special frame of legitimation, which would constitute a form of exoticism. And that runs parallel to the spread of immigration in the whole city.

The role of art in society: an epistemological and ethical question

Even with the best purposes, Festival Suq raises polemics over its action among the inhabitants of the historical centre. Critics have mainly focused on concrete points: only those who can pay for a place in the market may have a place assigned, the artistic project has to be clearly related to a structured culture, social issues are not seriously debated, but overshadowed by performances. The general climate of the festival is that of a party, of a serene context, while in the inhabitants' opinion it is expected to address social criticalities.

I think that what is at stake here is more generally the role of art (or of festivals) in itself.

In response to critics about its representativeness, Festival Suq organizing committee could say that a festival is a form of art and not a form of government: it has no commitment to respecting social composition in developing its program. Nevertheless, one of its explicit aims is to promote intercultural dialogue. Which cultures are supposed to engage in dialogue here? And is this dialogue a goal in itself, or is it an instrument for something else?

European Capital of Culture in Genoa wanted to build up a new urban identity, at the same time more European and more inclusive. A festival that shows differences as positive elements of this urban

identity could be a good trigger in 2004, but not a policy in 2013. Cultural differences often get blurred in front of inhabitants' claims. Nonetheless, inhabitants can form "multicultural groups" with common aims in opposition to other ones. Here the relevant difference is some form of cultural difference which is not an ethnic difference. In spite of that, what Festival Suq goes on showing is an ethnic difference, which is no longer that important for inhabitants. Should it change its format? Is it legitimate to think of a festival as a public policy, if it was not created for this purpose, but just became one symbolically, in public opinion?

These questions lead to further queries: is it possible to conceive a way to show these new cultural differences in a festival? And before that, is it the goal of the festival? Is it possible to translate these feelings and these claims into some form of art? This is both an ethical and an epistemological question.

From the epistemological point of view, which is also a methodological issue, I think that it is possible, for a festival, to be more representative. It is just more difficult to represent and to promote the values of existing communities than to handle imagined communities. And such a task might be too difficult for a festival, which might lose all its allure and simply become boring.

Art has always been engaged in society and often has a political aim: that suggests that theoretically a festival can also do it. It is just a problem of feasibility.

From the ethical point of view, a festival would have to define its aim. If it is not committed to representing society, it can just do art for art's sake. However, if it becomes a sort of multicultural policy, it is no longer just a festival. It is a strategy, and in this sense it starts to have an unchosen, but effective commitment to the people concerned, unless it keeps clear the distance.

Conclusions

Literature on the role of culture in society has historically focused on the epistemological issue, arguing that culture – or art, or creativity⁷ – has the power to generate urban development⁸. It is on this premise that several initiatives ask for funds, by justifying their

⁷ *Culture, art* and *creativity* are different concepts, not to be confused in analyzing their roles and power in urban development. Unfortunately, they are often used as synonyms in literature. A critical typology of their usages can be found in Landry (1991).

⁸ Florida (2002).

artistic proposals with added social value. European Capitals of Culture also integrated this approach: as Beatriz García says,

The ECOC started as a rather sanguine EU initiative but has been transformed into what is perceived as an attractive catalyst for cultural regeneration, generating enormous expectations in cities from countries as diverse as the UK, the Netherlands and Greece. (...) It has evolved over the past couple of decades in parallel with the growing debate around definitions and uses of culture-led regeneration and has touched all EU countries in turn⁹.

Florida's assumption is far from being uncontested from several perspectives, mainly articulated around the notion of creative city sprung from the creative class¹⁰. Most of the critics invalidate the theory, putting forward concrete case studies and demonstrating that no necessary link between cause and effect is to be established and that it is not so clear whether the settlement of the enterprises is the reason or the consequence of the rise of a creative class¹¹. Moreover, it is not clear what is the real influence on the city of the existence of a creative class in comparison with other social parameters¹². The famous slogan "One euro invested is ten euros gained" used in ECOC Lille 2004 is contested by economists. Other critics point out that long-term effects are not so easy to estimate when it comes to their social and cultural impacts as opposed to economic and physical ones¹³.

But before asking ourselves if culture *can* serve urban regeneration I think we should ask ourselves whether culture *should* do it. This is no more an epistemological issue, but an ethical doubt. We should just keep these levels separated and distinguish between primary goals and collateral effects.

Moreover, speaking about multicultural issues does not mean just working with multiple cultural initiatives, but also exploring the interaction among them. Multicultural or intercultural projects are not always straightforward, clear-cut cultural projects. I think that in "cultural" and "multicultural" policies there is often a confusion of aims, effects and methods. The Festival Suq experience shows us that each of these layers should be analyzed separately. Furthermore, the relationship between cultural policies and intercultural dialogue should not be taken for granted; it has to be viewed within specific contexts.

⁹ García (2005): 841.

¹⁰ Landry (1991)

¹¹ Martin-Brelot, Grossetti, Eckert, Gritsai & Kovács (2010).

¹² Nichols Clark (2003).

¹³ Evans & Shaw (2004).

And since European Capitals of Culture are explicitly directed towards "be(ing) an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city"¹⁴, greater attention has to be paid in order to distinguish between spontaneous, supposed, and wished effects.

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**INTERACTION AND IMPLICATION THROUGH A PARTICIPATIVE
INSTALLATION: "LA PAROLE EST AUX USAGERS"
AT LE CORBUSIER'S *CITÉ RADIEUSE***

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Introduction

In October 2013, during Marseille's status as European Capital of Culture, a project dealing with an installation involving inhabitants took place in Cité Radieuse, a world-renowned building, which embodies Le Corbusier's Brutalism. Meanwhile, at the end of 2013, a major commemorative exhibition on Le Corbusier's work was carried out in J1 Museum (a disused dock in the harbour), a new place created within the framework of Marseille Provence 2013 (MP2013). The exhibition "Le Corbusier et la Question du Brutalism" was part of the official programme of MP2013 Association, as with a participative installation, "La Parole est aux Usagers" (which could be translated as "Users May Speak) designed by the American composer Bill Dietz and German set designer Janina Janke.

As a member of a research group about practices and publics during the European Capital of Culture in Marseille, I was asked to follow the different stages of the entire creative process of this installation. From the beginning of the residency to the final event (workshops/visits, sound installation on the whole front side, a conference/concert with inhabitants/researchers and a chamber ensemble), I tried to analyse how the inhabitants were involved as a part to the project and how this installation should parabolically portray their lives in Cité Radieuse, but also how urban planning (and architecture) cannot be considered without their social and cultural expression. Before presenting the project itself and my reflexions (also referring to Bourriaud's Relational Aesthetics, and Varèse/Corbusier/Xenakis Pavillon Philips) on its creative/interactive process, we will focus on some facts about Cité Radieuse, its creation, history, and social background.

Contextual Presentation: Le Corbusier's *Cité Radieuse*

- Historical Background, The First *Unité d'Habitation*

After World War II, the French Government, through the "Reconstruction and Urbanism" department, wanted to relocate people who had lost their homes after bombings, more particularly people from Marseille's Vieux Port (The Old Harbour). The project started in 1947, with the creation of what Le Corbusier called "Unité d'Habitation", a short term for "Unité d'Habitation de Grandeur Conforme" ("Habitation Unit of Conform Height"). This long-lasting project in Marseille was finally the first Unité d'Habitation (U.H.) in 1952. After a 5 year-construction, other U.H. were built in France with Rezé (1955), Briey (1963) and Firminy (1965). France was not the only country boasting about U.H. projects, since The Corbusierhaus was built in Berlin in 1957 (on the west side of Germany, ex-FRG) - in which "La Parole est aux Usagers" was also carried out in 2012, as we will see later.

Unités d'Habitation were Le Corbusier's first works using Modulor (a scale based on the golden ratio, as we will see at 2.4.). They are the symbol of his modernism, later called *brutalism*, with their huge masses of rough concrete, the power of uncluttered geometry of the buildings, as well as the genuine use of new materials and techniques. It was in accordance with his "Charte d'Athènes" (1941) in which he designed new city perspectives with a 95-proposition urbanism project manifesto.

Cité Radieuse was part of the few (or maybe the only) projects that were funded by the French government through the Public Commission¹ (other U.H. were commissioned by regional districts). Le Corbusier said about this innovating project of *Cité Radieuse* in Marseille: "We have independence towards regulation or uses"². He had an urbanistic vision with *Unités d'Habitation*: creating vertical cities within cities, based on the needs of "modern human-beings".

- The *Cité Radieuse* Location

Located on Boulevard Michelet between Rond-Point du Prado and Rond-Point de l'Obélisque (two traffic circles), *Cité Radieuse* is not properly located in the city centre. It is more than 5 kilometres away from Vieux Port and located near Stade Vélodrome (a football stadium), where car dealers, as well as some other residential areas and buildings have also been erected.

¹ According Xenakis (2006): 43.

² Le Corbusier (1948): 430. Nb: As my quotes were originally in French, I translated them.

At the beginning, *Cité Radieuse* was built in the middle of the countryside, surrounded by no other buildings. There was even a farm next to it, as an inhabitant who had been living at *Cité Radieuse* since childhood told me. When carrying out this project, Le Corbusier wanted it to be nearby the sea as well as the mountains. Because of its height and the use of pilotis, the apartments still have a very wide panorama with a crossing based on the axis North-South:

Let me picture the great power of Marseille's Landscape. Each home will have, through a huge picture window and balcony, a view on the Mediterranean Sea, Château d'If, Sainte-Baume, Montage Sainte-Victoire, Notre-Dame de la Garde and L'Estaque.³

- Construction of the Building Itself

Compared with other buildings in the area, *Cité Radieuse* has impressive shapes, with its width of 137 metres and its height of 56 metres⁴. The structure is 55,000 tons of "Béton Brut" (rough cast concrete) on 34 7-metre pilotis, supporting an "artificial ground" on 17 porticos. The density of the walls makes the apartments well soundproofed and we will notice that this was an important feature for "La Parole est aux Usagers" project design in Marseille.

In the middle of its 18 storeys, a "shopping area" was created on the seventh and eighth floors. Le Corbusier wanted the building to be self-efficient and wanted to make available all kinds of products and services to the inhabitants. There used to be a laundry, a butcher's, a hairdresser's, a grocery, and now there is still a bakery, a library, a hotel & restaurant, an architecture bookshop and some other services such as doctors, physiotherapists, real estate agencies, architects, designers...

Another specific floor is the terrace-roof, hosting a nursery school for children from three to six years of age. The terrace-roof also had a gymnasium, which is now closed. Designer Ora-ïto moved into it to create MAMO⁵, a museum dedicated to design (opened in 2013). The terrace-roof overlooks an impressive panorama of the whole city.

Both inhabitants and visitors enter from the main hall, in which there are 3 elevators, with a 24/7 security service to access the "streets" (Le Corbusier wanted the word "street" to be used for "floor" and "corridor", as they are considered as indoor streets, where people can meet). The hall, the shopping & service street and the Terrace-Roof are the only open-to-public floors.

³ Le Corbusier (1948): 440.

⁴ All dimensions extracted from www.marseille-citeradieuse.org/cor-cite.php

⁵ For "Marseille Modulor".

The Building itself gained "Monument Historique" nomination and protection in 1995. In 2012, an important fire damaged two resident floors, and they are still being renovated.

- Cité Radieuse Today

With 337 apartments with 23 different sizes based on a "regular" duplex of 100 m² (with a height of 2.26m for each floor, based on Modulor), *Cité Radieuse* hosts approximately 2,000 inhabitants. The inhabitants mainly come from middle-upper class, including professionals, teachers and researchers, culture/art sectors employees, retired people (there are also a few art and architecture students renting studios)... Most of them have been living here for a long time (family related, inherited apartments...). For example, last October, a 100 m² duplex was for sale at the amount of €360,000, which is more than an average apartment of the same size in this district of Marseille.

"La Parole est aux Usagers"

1. General Presentation

According to MP2013 website:

"La Parole est aux Usagers" is the subtitle of *Le Modulor 2*, a work by Le Corbusier published in 1955. (...) American composer Bill Dietz (Ensemble Zwischentöne) and German Set designer and stage director Janina Janke (Oper Dynamo West) visited the two Unités d'Habitation of Le Corbusier in Berlin (2012) and Marseille (fall/autumn 2013) to meet the residents and learn about their own stories and the building. The recordings they performed represent a kind of biography of the building. The sounds collected by the artists were also turned into a sound installation inspired by Le Corbusier's Modulor system (and Pavillon Philips as we will see).⁶

After introducing the building, we will focus on how "La Parole..." project mirrors Le Corbusier's reflection and work. Designed as a 3-part project, "La Parole..." consists in a 1-month residency during which the artists interviewed many inhabitants to know more about their lives, concerns about Le Corbusier, as well as their cultural habits (music they used to listen for example). The second stage was a weekly workshop (called "dérive sonore") occurring every Saturday. During these workshops, inhabitants were invited to "play" with their musical likes and perception of sounds made in the streets, with "modulorised" proceeded sounds (the durations were based on Modulor). For example, "users" ("les usagers") were invited to walk

⁶ <http://www.mp2013.fr/evenements/2013/09/la-parole-est-aux-usagers/>

through the street, where several music excerpts were played from apartments, seeking the threshold between noise/music and silence. Another activity was the synchronisation of HIFIs put on the balconies to do a spatialized sound installation on the main front face wall.⁷

The last day was the public opening of the project, including a workshop as an interactive visit (different interview excerpts were played on small speakers through the streets) combined with the sound spatialization of the front facade with synchronised excerpts (with modularised durations) from the residents' favourite tunes. It ended with a conference round table with inhabitants (from Corbusierhaus and *Cité Radieuse*), researchers (including a demographer and me), a concert with Ensemble ZwischenTöne Trio (accordion, flute and cello) playing inhabitants' favourite song transcriptions (arranged by Bill Dietz) based on a modularised scale (the duration of each intervention during the conference was also based on Modulor!).

2. Influences of Pavillon Philips

According to the artists, this project (at least, the sound installation part) was inspired by Le Corbusier's work on Pavillon Philips in Brussels, during 1958 Universal Exhibition (World's Fair). It was a collective work conducted with composer Edgar Varèse and with architect, engineer and composer Iannis Xenakis. The electronic company Philips commissioned this project to Le Corbusier, as they wanted to show newest techniques and technologies on sound research.

The building itself was a "Hyperbolic Paraboloid", a very sharp geometrical shape (which required an important work to create specific glass walls). In the building, there were about 400 speakers, playing music through 15 different channels. An 8-minute piece called "Poème Electronique" was composed by Varèse and spatialized by Xenakis, who also composed a 2-minute interlude called "Concret P.H."⁸ Another interesting fact is that Xenakis was also involved in *Cité Radieuse* as one of the engineers responsible of the design creation of this very strong concrete cast. He also designed "streetlights" inside the different indoor streets.

Another similarity between Pavillon Philips and *Cité Radieuse* could be thus demonstrated. Le Corbusier designed the structure of his *Unité d'Habitation* as a "bottle rack" and wanted the Pavillon to be similar

⁷ A blog was run by the artists with all the activities here: <http://les-usagers.eu/>

⁸ P.H. stands for "Hyperbolic Paraboloid", as he used this geometrical figure (he did the conception and the sketches of the pavilion) as a score (he also used Modulor).

to a bottle: "I will not create a pavilion; I will compose an electronic poem in a bottle".⁹

3. The First Version in Berlin

"La Parole..." version at Corbusierhaus in Berlin was like in Marseille in its conception but the development was not exactly the same. The artists chose to perform different workshops, because of poor sound insulation of the building. As it was due to a building defect (the builders did not follow Le Corbusier's recommendations during construction), it is considered as a disturbance for inhabitants. The workshop aimed to spatialise sounds within the streets through the floors, walls, roofs (which should have been impossible in Marseille, because of the thick walls).

Familiar sound and annoying noise could be described with Varèse's own words:

Sound and noise. There is no difference between sound and noise, noise being a sound during its creation. Noise is due to a non-periodic vibration or to a sound too complex in its own structure, or with a too short length to be analysed or understood by ear)¹⁰.

4. Modulor Uses

As stated above, Modulor was used in Le Corbusier's work (Cité Radieuse being the first to use it), as well as in "La Parole est aux Usagers" project. As a scale based on the golden ratio¹¹ implemented on Le Corbusier's idea of average man's height that is 1.83 metres (6 foot). He created *Cité Radieuse* apartments on a height of 2.26m, which is close to the height of a man raising his arm, and also the double of 1.13, the height from foot-to-navel of a 1.83 man. $1.83/1.13$ also approaches golden ratio, approximately 1.61. For the width, Le Corbusier chose 3.66m ($3.66/2.26$ still approaches golden ratio). By using this kind of constraint to durations, intervals or frequencies between notes, Bill Dietz built new musical systems based on Modulor in "La Parole...".

⁹ Jenger (2006): 451.

¹⁰ Vivier (1973): 166.

¹¹ Between two numbers, you have to have the golden ratio ($\phi = \frac{1+\sqrt{5}}{2}$) as proportion ("Fibonacci numbers"), which you can also find between "perfect proportions" in nature or on the human body (proportion between a man's height and from foot-to-navel), also searched during the Renaissance by artists.

Specific study of Marseille's Version

1. Process of the Sociologic Study

I started to take part in this project six months before the art residency, when I met the artists. I was also introduced to Jacques Delemont (President of the Association of *Cité Radieuse* inhabitants), and interviewed him before the event. I did not want to do interviews with the inhabitants during the residency as Bill Dietz and Janina Janke carried them out for the project. I saw some interviews, took part in the workshops and talked with inhabitants during the round table conference. In this context, I did a 12-minute presentation of this study.

I wanted to be a "viewer" of the whole creative process but also a "user", as I think that "participant-observer" method was most appropriate.

2. The Sociologist, between Actor and Spectator

Participative observation is a way to interact with the studied "object". Being part as an active user like other inhabitants, was the best way to both interact and be part in this project. In addition, I did not want to do interviews, in order to avoid creating hierarchies among the other "users" and I. Doing interviews would have also bypassed the artists' work. My "sociologist" status was only pointed out during the conference in which I presented my ideas and work from a sociologic point of view. I also learnt a lot from the inhabitants about *Cité Radieuse*, as they usually are well informed on Le Corbusier's work.

3. Inhabitants and their involvement

As seen above, *Cité Radieuse* and Corbusierhaus are not similar and the differences led to the achievement of two distinct versions of "La Parole est aux Usagers". But inhabitants were differently involved in the project in both U.H. In Berlin, the workshops consisted in connecting neighbours together, as they did not seem to know each other. Those activities generated bonds between "users". Nevertheless, inhabitants in Marseille seemed to know most of the group already.

The project was achieved thanks to inhabitants' participation and their motivation (with their president Jacques Delemont). Many residents were actively involved in *Cité Radieuse* cultural events (including exhibitions, cinema, meetings...). The workshops in Marseille mainly consisted in synchronizing and accurately playing their HIFI equipment together, like an orchestra (Bill Dietz made a modularised Cut-up with inhabitants' favourite tunes dispatched on

several CDs for each HIFI), chaining tunes together through space, which required a great discipline.

Their involvement was necessary to enable the project to develop smoothly, especially during the visits relevantly patterned with interviewees sharing their life experiences (with recorded results played on the small speakers) in *Cité Radieuse*. In Marseille, the participants freely communicated with the artists during interviews, sharing private moments and referring a lot to Le Corbusier. Bill Dietz and Janina Janke collected a great amount of data during the interviews, but most of them seemed to come from active members of the association who are retired persons. As the interviews took place during daytime, active people were unavailable to meet during the interviews scheduled (even if I met some during Saturday workshops).

On the contrary, people living at Corbusierhaus were more concerned about the interviews, i.e. what they would say and how the artists would use their "voice". They did not talk a lot about their private lives, and would rather refer to Berlin's history and their lives before the fall of the wall, or to Germany.

Nevertheless, we cannot minimize Corbusierhaus inhabitants' involvement. Some of them travelled from Berlin to share their experience during the conference/discussion on the last day. One of the life experiences was about a lady who had to wake up at 4am every morning a few years ago, and she mentioned that there were rats in her apartment. We have to keep in mind that Corbusierhaus remained a social building longer than the one in Marseille, with working-class people whereas *Cité Radieuse* was already a collective ownership (Berlin as well since the 80s).

4. Relational Art in this Project

Participative projects are a recent approach in art involving visitors and publics as part of the creative process. This is a way to make publics both spectators and actors in contact of works of art. Nicolas Bourriaud developed this idea in his book *Relational Aesthetics* that emerged from the "glocal" conception of postmodern living. For him, today's works of art are "moments of sociability" as well as "objects producing sociability".

This evolution essentially comes from the birth of world urban culture and from the extension of this city model to cultural phenomena¹².

According to Bourriaud, new art functions are thus developed, including "feeling the resistance capacity of art inside the global social

¹² Bourriaud (2001): 14

field"¹³. This connection between artists and publics then creates new links with the creative process. In this book, Bourriaud shows a similar example of "participative art" in another *Unité d'Habitation*. In 1993, the exhibition "Projet Unité" invited about thirty artists who carried out participative projects with inhabitants in Firminy's U.H. The Italian collective Premiata Ditta led interviews for a "friendship tree", a schema that shows "who knows who" in the building, and Clegg & Gutmann collected inhabitants' favourite music on tapes for an installation.

Urbanism and Architecture as Cultural and Social Expressions

1. "La Parole est aux Usagers": Sound installation and living at *Cité Radieuse* Metaphor

As already said, this participative installation is more a process than a fixed "work", it cannot be defined as a *stricto sensu* "playable" object. From its design, the installation evolved according to the location. It has some undefined variables, generating indeterminacy (same concept used in John Cage's music) depending on time, social context, inhabitants and their different social backgrounds. If "La Parole est aux Usagers" were run again ten years later, results would be different, even if the location were the same.

Another decisive factor in "La Parole..." is the application of Modulor. This fixed measure enabling to spatialize sound on the face front, compositions (with modularised scale) and different durations (musical excerpts, discussion...) was a utopic idea come true, requiring "interpretation" and approximations. People had to synchronise their HIFI equipment (by pushing "play" at the same time). It is already difficult for ten people to simultaneously press "play", using a countdown and a "top" signal, but it is impossible to have all the HIFI systems synchronised, as it also depends on the response time of each music equipment (due to buffer, electronic circuit...).

Then, people had to "deal with" the constraints used by Bill Dietz and Janina Janke. This approximation is a kind of indeterminacy; people were subsequently "improvising" with Modulor without being aware of it. Then we can consider it as a metaphor of living at *Cité Radieuse*. Le Corbusier created the building according to his "visions" on the modern man being 1.83m, but in the 1950s, people were far from being this tall (especially in France, with an average height of 1,70m at that time!). As Modulor had been used for *Cité Radieuse* design, it was quite difficult for the builders to follow it because of scales from

¹³ Id.: 31

an irrational number (golden ratio) used on a six foot-tall man in a country using metric system. The kitchen was also made from Le Corbusier's idea, in a corner of the main room, for he thought it would be easier for the inhabitant to cook and have everything at hand. Even if it was a modern open-plan kitchen, its worktop was smaller than the ones in new functional kitchens. Finally, the practices and habits in living spaces - even if it is still up to date - evolved through time, and current inhabitants have to take ownership of that mid-20th century utopia.

Cité Radieuse could be considered as a work of art made with accurate details (as "La Parole..."), changing with habits and practices according to a specific time. That is also why we cannot ignore the users who live here.

2. Visits through Urbanism

Visiting a building where people live is not the same than visiting a monument. The social dimension of *Cité Radieuse* has to be kept in mind. This aspect is a whole part of architecture and urbanism. Understanding an architecture work as a visitor (or even as an architect), cannot be fulfilled if social aspects are not considered:

Urbanism is a first symphony to set, putting together these four functions: living, working, working out of the body, the mind and circulating.¹⁴

This is also an approach enabled by participative projects and relational art. These collective works of art in an urbanistic context update the vision, "use" and function of a building, especially at *Cité Radieuse*.

Conclusion

As we noticed, "La Parole est aux Usagers" participative installation could be a metaphor of the inhabitants' daily life at *Cité Radieuse*. Urbanism is also a state of awareness of social and cultural habits and expressions. Architecture monuments or projects cannot be thought or visited without involving the inhabitants. It can be extended to tourism and visiting a city, especially from the point of view of a European Capital of Culture such as Marseille in 2013. Visitors/tourists and inhabitants are both "users" of the city and the "Marseillais" are a great plural expression of cultural identity defining their city. During that year, art was exhibited in public spaces with participative projects, interactive installations connecting artists, inhabitants, tourists, who are all "users" in public space. Norman

¹⁴ Corbusier (1948): 440.

Forster's *Ombrière* or Rudy Riciotti's Mucem are two examples of architectural projects (although the first one is more an installation) including space but also Marseille's cultural and historical background.

This "Relational Aesthetic" can also emerge from a mere event. For example, shouting fishermen while selling fish at the harbour of Vieux Port, are considered as symbols of the city. They are part of a traditional, cultural and historical expression of the essence of Marseille. Most tourists take pictures of them when visiting Vieux Port (even if fishermen tend to "overplay" their part!) and totally ignore meaningless animal sculptures exhibited nearby...

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**MULTICULTURAL CITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN TERRITORIES
GREEN CITY PALERMO 2019**

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Introduction

This contribution aims to examine the territory of Mediterranean cities set against the general topic of the GREEN CITY. Our main research hypothesis will show how multiculturalism, the enhancement of cultural heritage and a conscious use of natural resources, are essential factors for a positive change in the development of Mediterranean cities, involving actors, key figures, inhabitants and users.

The preservation of multiculturalism comes under the enhancement of intangible cultural heritage of urban community. The enhancement of multiculturalism and of intangible heritage is, in fact, oriented to the preservation of the cultural and linguistic diversities of each ethnic group that takes part in a community, a city, a state. Multiculturalism is now a matter of fact, a phenomenon that cannot be stopped, but must be considered as an enrichment factor for the cultural heritage of a society. Cities of the Mediterranean area are an example of such a positive coexistence of different cultures. Mediterranean culture and identity are rooted in the cities, which are characterized by many distinct and heterogeneous elements.

The experience of great European contemporary events has revealed the importance to identify places with great multicultural potential that combine tradition and innovation.

The central research hypothesis is to consider the major events as tools for transforming the contemporary multicultural city and is based on the interaction between the ephemeral event and the practice of urban design. There is therefore a close relationship between the event in its urban dimension and in its setting, giving a

superior temporal dimension to the time of the ephemeral. The event, designed to last and to be capitalized on has a connection with the urban project which, in some cases, transforms the city in depth; a relationship between a before and an after in discussion concerning the city which questions itself about its temporal dimension. This setting of city event refers more to the issue of competition, even the rivalry between cities.

The urban project issues are also important in terms of impact on image. The event left a footprint in space and gives rise to a highlighting of the city, in the sense that it becomes a privileged space of reception to mobilize citizens, institutions and business protagonists, and to attract visitors and tourists. It is possible to observe that, also over the last decades, more public spaces for culture and leisure have been built than ever before. In this sense, the urban projects related to these areas appear to offer an interesting field for understanding the changes and challenges of the contemporary city.

The events offer an opportunity, often irreplaceable, to accelerate the transformation of infrastructures, the requalification of abandoned areas, the concentration of activities as well as the depollution of sites finalized and intended for new projects. All these opportunities are more incisive and sustainable if reflections on the project rely on a strong strategic thinking, which involves the diffusion of the operations and their lasting effects.

Recent projects for European Capitals of Culture, even if they provoke lively debates, become reference points to start transformations and to encourage operations in the city and its territory and also to enhance its multicultural identity. The organization and the realization of these events take place over very short periods of time and in not necessarily defined spaces. Positive or negative effects of this phenomenon persist in different ways, compared to a variable system dependent on the urban context, the public and private protagonists and also the duration and the stability of consultations made during and after the project. These new strategies of regeneration might also give local authorities new opportunities to experience shared policies, to create a fruitful dialogue with the different urban communities and to develop new settlement patterns.

The analysis of the relationship between event and environmental requalification, traced here through candidacy projects of Italian cities for European Capitals of Culture, and in particular, the Palermo candidacy for 2019¹ allows for the analysis of the subject of

¹ At the date when this text was written, the cities that have passed the second selection stage, which on November 15, 2013, were: Cagliari, Lecce, Matera,

determining a permanent transformation strategy of the city. This candidacy also confronts the theme of the configuration of an *urban diffuse centrality* between the coast and the city centre. Palermo is an interesting example of such a multicultural city, with different communities living together and sharing their knowledge and traditions since its very origin. This event should promote urban renewal projects based on an integrated approach of quality and sustainability and on the idea of a *melting pot*: the multicultural identity of the city, deeply rooted in the Mediterranean experience, will help build an urban environment that will renew the national and international image of the city. [RL, IM]

The European Capitals of Culture in Italy. A Case Study

The European event has been hosted by Italy three times: in Florence, Bologna and Genoa. Florence was the second European Capital of Culture after Athens, in 1986. The city was chosen because it represents the Renaissance and humanism, with the return of man to the centre of the world; enormously important topics for European cultural identity². *Florence 1986* was an occasion to enhance the city's important cultural heritage and gave the opportunity to show its heritage to Europe and to the rest of the world. Development of the cultural infrastructure was also a theme in *Florence 1986*. This took the form of an important programme of urban and architectural requalification. The main legacy of the experience was represented by the creation of a network among various city foundations and also the consolidation of a practice of collaboration between public and private sectors.

Bologna was the second European Capital of Culture in Italy, in 2000. The city exploited this nomination to promote its rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage. One of the slogans most used for the candidacy was in fact: "the culture of the city." Events, organised for this occasion, enhanced its ancient musical tradition, its artistic and architectural heritage and its university, the oldest in Europe, which, thanks to Umberto Eco,³ specializes in communication. It also enhanced its "way of life", its intangible culture, for example, with the event *Bologna 2000 Culinaria*, which focused on the culture of food.

Among the positive effects of the application of Bologna European Capital of Culture 2000, the most representative was the award by

Perugia & Assisi, Ravenna, Siena. Larger cities such as Palermo and Venice were excluded.

² Sassatelli (2000): 103-104.

³ Cogliandro (2001): 22.

UNESCO of the title of *Creative City for Music*, in 2006, reflecting the importance of its intangible heritage in terms of cultural creativity.

The election of Genoa in 2004 was an extraordinary opportunity to show its history, its future development and to give a refreshed image of the city in Italy and in Europe. Genoa 2004 was an occasion to realize important cultural events; but was also a strategy of enhancement of the artistic and architectural heritage and of an overall urban requalification to make the city a more liveable and attractive place. We recall the regeneration of the waterfront, following the project of the Architect Renzo Piano, and also the enhancement of squares and various road axes, to make the vast City Centre a pedestrian area. The goal of Genoa 2004 was to give culture a wide and articulated meaning and also to develop tangible urban projects for the city.⁴

Italy's past experiences reflect the great attention to the enhancement of tangible and intangible heritage of the city and the willingness to use the European cultural event to launch new strategies for urban regeneration.

Since then, Italy has had no other important events. In 2019 Italy will again host this important European event. In this time of great economic crisis, Italian cities need to enhance their heritage and increase tourism. For this reason, the challenge for the 2019 nomination is very lively. Twenty-one cities had submitted the candidacy dossier by 20th September 2013, the deadline for submission.⁵ In Sicily three cities are candidates: Palermo, Syracuse with the south-east territories and Erice.

What have the Italian candidate cities for 2019 used as reference points? Their references are certainly the past capitals that have used their nominations as a means of cultural regeneration and promotion in Europe. We think about the case of *Lille 2004* that, thanks to its intelligent realization of spectacular events, was a great success in terms of image and enhancement of the city. But Italian candidates also refer to European capitals that have exploited the candidacy as a mobilizing vector of development of their territory and urban regeneration. We take, for example, the experience of *Genoa 2004*, with the requalification of the city centre and the famous project by Renzo Piano, the *affresco* that proposes the complete reorganization of the waterfront. We can consider also the current example of

⁴ Palmer/REA Associates. International Cultural Advisors (2004): 48.

⁵ The Italian cities that had participated in the competition are: Aosta, Bari, Bergamo, Cagliari, Caserta, Erice, Grosseto & Maremma, L'Aquila, Lecce, Mantova, Matera, Palermo, Perugia & Assisi, Pisa, Ravenna, Reggio Calabria, Urbino, Siena, Syracuse & south-east territories, Taranto, Vallo di Diano & Cilento, Venice & north-east territories.

Marseille that has realized its candidacy along with other cities of Provence, trying to create innovative collaboration on cultural policies. Thanks also to the *Euromediterranée* project, Marseille has carried out important works of refurbishment of its waterfront and urban renewal of architectural heritage, that have now become symbols of *Marseille Provence 2013*.

It is possible to find these strategies in the candidacy projects of two southern Italian candidate cities for 2019: Palermo and Syracuse & the Southeast. These cities have developed ambitious cultural projects and urban regeneration interventions for the 2019 event. Two examples of candidacy focused also on preservation of multiculturalism and heritage for the enhancement of community and for the coexistence of different cultures.

Before analysing the case study of Palermo, we will look briefly at the interesting candidacy of Syracuse & the South-East for 2019.

In the candidacy dossier, Syracuse and the South-East, present themselves as a border territory, aspiring to become new centres, turning from periphery into the capital of life of European culture. This candidacy is therefore an opportunity to reverse the traditional hierarchy between centre and periphery, to enhance the potential to be a/the "border of Europe", a multicultural place of exchange and a meeting point.⁶ This candidacy asks Europe to rethink itself from its borders facing to the south and to the east of the world. Places where, on a daily basis, Europe meets different identities, as the landings of migrants currently demonstrate.

The cities involved in this candidacy are the territories of Syracuse, Catania and Ragusa and the cities of Piazza Armerina and Mazzarino. These places have an extraordinary cultural heritage; the South-East cities have three UNESCO sites, the late baroque cities of Val di Noto, Piazza Armerina, Syracuse and the necropolis of Pantalica, as well as two candidate sites, the Cava d'Ispica and Etna.

The central objective of this candidacy is the start of a process of planning and coordination of cultural policies between the territories of South-east Sicily, through the integrated enhancement of its rich natural and cultural heritage and the improvement of multiculturalism of this border territory.

Whilst Syracuse is candidate with the South-East of Sicily, the candidacy of Palermo, instead involves only the city area. Palermo presents its candidacy for 2019, proposing itself as the only Italian city hinge between the north and south of the Mediterranean. The city

⁶ Domanda di candidature a Capitale Europea della Cultura 2019. Progetto a cura della Città di Siracusa (2013): 7.

is presented as a meeting place and fruitful comparison of different cultures; since the beginning of its history it has been the crossroads of the Mediterranean and continental cultures⁷. This multiculturalism is still reflected in the city today as it continues to welcome foreigners from the south of the Mediterranean, without losing its identity. Palermo proposes itself as the only Italian city that can take on the role of pillar for the building of a bridge of peace between the Arab world and Europe. The city wants to use culture as an instrument of acceptance, cooperation and communication between different cultural identities. The candidacy aims to give a positive image of the city, where for a long time immobility prevailed, accentuating its own degradation. For these reasons the project *Palermo 2019* is based on the *relationship between Culture and Rights for the Construction of Peace*.⁸ Therefore, the city candidates itself to become the capital of legality, of peace, of multiculturalism, of solidarity and of sustainable economic development. The municipality has also taken the candidacy as a strategy for urban regeneration of the city. For the staging of the event, the project proposes to use public space as a privileged meeting point between artists and the city.

Palermo recognizes its weakness in dealing with these ambitious urban and social projects. The Sicilian city needs the help of the State and Europe. For this reason the candidacy for European Capital of Culture can be understood as the possibility to share, with Europe, a long and complex process of city regeneration.

The central theme of the urban project, which will continue after the end of the European event until 2030, is the requalification of the waterfront of the city, through the redevelopment of nine ports of Palermo, with their old fishing villages, that during the event should become the access points of the city's culture.⁹ Along the waterfront different cultural infrastructures will be put in place, such as the International Library of Human Rights, the Eco-Museum of Sea, the Museum of Emigration, the City Museum and the Urban Centre.

The coast therefore becomes the privileged axis for urban, social and economic regeneration of the city. The objectives are to increase tourism and regenerate the "urban beaches" for swimming, which is currently forbidden due to the degradation of the coast. In order to facilitate the mobility along the coast, a subway, which will connect the nine ports of the city, will be built.

⁷ Progetto per la candidatura di Palermo a Capitale Europea della Cultura 2019 (2013): 5.

⁸ Id.: 35-36.

⁹ Id.: 51-52.

For the organization of the event *Palermo 2019*, the project includes the rehabilitation and reuse of public spaces and cultural infrastructures in the city centre. Moreover, four major urban parks will be enhanced and used for hosting outdoor events.

The project also involves the requalification of the *Cantieri Culturali della Zisa*, the former Ducrot industrial area, which produced high quality objects of design and crafts. Today this industrial complex has become a public resource of strategic importance to the artistic and cultural production of the city. For *Palermo 2019* the *Cantieri Culturali della Zisa* will become the cultural pole of contemporary artistic events. For this reason ambitious requalification projects of this vast industrial complex have been planned.

To enhance the multicultural identity of the city, the project also proposes the creation of a Centre for Islamic Culture, with a mosque. This new building will become a reference centre for citizens of Islamic religion who live in the city and for foreigners.

The project for *Palermo 2019* identifies different objectives. The first is the recovery of the relationship between the city and the sea, and the consolidation between the city centre and the periphery, from a perspective of the new multicultural metropolitan city. The second objective is the development of cultural infrastructures to make Palermo a place of international artistic production. The last is the promotion of innovation as a tool for sustainable economic development, following the principles of Smart Cities.¹⁰ [IM]

GREEN CITY Palermo 2019

The organization of an International Workshop of Architectural Design revealed the importance of the relationship between academic and institutional figures, even before Palermo submitted its proposal for the candidacy to be European Capital of Culture 2019. Some ideas were already known, while others were only hypotheses to be tested; in this context, the Workshop has used this pretext to take an interest in the city and to highlight the need to work on a large site from the northern edge of the city centre, running parallel to the coastline, to the Valley of the *Oreto* River.

Rather than view the city from the coast line, with all the issues related to the waterfront and those connected to it, the main objective was to orient the view of Palermo from the *Conca d'Oro* plain¹¹ to the sea, framing the city from its consolidated urban edge,

¹⁰ Id.: 10-12.

¹¹ Barbera (2012).

between the *Fossa della Garofala* and the *Oreto* River. Here the city is also extended through the realization of main metropolitan amenities, without regard to the relations between the parties.

The new elements characterized by thematic axes carried out by the Workshop aimed to enhance and transform the existing city heritage, in agreement with the current thinking on sustainable cities. This experience, useful to define the uncertain places in European cities, was very challenging for the scientific community and for the institutions involved, that actively participate to the Interactional Workshop titled *LabCity Palermo-Barcelona TERRITORIES GREEN MEDITERRANEAN CITY PALERMO 2019*. This experience involved 150 students, researchers and teachers of the Faculty of Architecture of Palermo, the *Escola Tècnica i Superior d'Arquitectura La Salle* of Barcelona and *Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Universidad de Málaga*.¹²

The architectural design experience was conducted in Palermo in three areas of intervention selected along a sequence of urban spaces that unfold from the Royal Palace to the Valley of the *Oreto* River, crossed by a linear park called the *internal promenade*, with the aim of propose topics and projects in support of the Palermo candidacy project for European Capital of Culture 2019.

The scientific community must be aware of its role of being at the service of its territory and for attracting international attention on the European city issues, creating positive hybrids in the specific field of urban and architecture design.

Aware that architecture aims to improve the quality of the built environment, the Workshop looked at issues relating to the territory of the Mediterranean city confronted with the general topic of the *Green City*. Innovation and sustainability together with the site, infrastructure and living are the key words around which design hypotheses were developed, with particular attention to public space

¹² The International Workshop of Architectural Design held in the IInd semester of the academic year 2012-2013. The workshop involved the participation of students, researchers and teachers from: *Laboratorio V di Progettazione Architettonica* by Prof. Renzo Lecardane, Faculty of Architecture of University of Palermo; *Projectes III* (V year) by Prof. Josep Ferrando (coordinator), Alfonso de Luna, Patricia Tamayo, Joan Vera, Carlos Albisu, Jordi Mansilla, Marc Nadal, Xavier Bustos, *Escola Tècnica i Superior d'Arquitectura La Salle* Barcelona; by Prof. Guido Cimadomo, *Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Universidad* di Málaga. Representatives of public administration were also present: Prof. Joseph Barbera, Alderman for the Environment, Livability and Innovation, City of Palermo; Prof. Giusto Catania, Alderman for Participation, Decentralization, Last Name Services, Migration, City of Palermo; Francisco Corral Sánchez-Cabezudo, Director of the Cervantes Institute in Palermo.

and spaces in transition that can become the starting points for a redefinition of the city as a whole.¹³

The environmental sustainability criteria, the safeguard of the natural and built landscape, the enhancement of environmental resources, the transformation of the urban fabric, the combination of mixed activities and the development of flexible projects were among the main objectives aimed at initiating a more general process of re-signification of the built city space.¹⁴ Issues of urban and architectural heritage, to the green infrastructure, the wise use of natural resources, become essential factors to induce positive changes and to promote sustainable patterns of urban life.¹⁵ The goal of the exhibition «*Green Life: costruire città sostenibili*» of the Triennale of Milan 2010 was to accept a shared definition of the sustainable city and with it of the *GREEN CITY* based on a plurality of parameters relating to the social, environmental and cultural heritage. This exhibition presented some exemplary architectural and urban operations in European cities: from Freiburg to Hannover, from Stockholm to Malmö, from Linz to Faenza, from Lyon to Rennes.

Starting from these examples, it can be said that a sustainable city is one which gets to retain its identity, its heritage and to cultivate its resilience; a sustainable city is one which assures an undoubted quality of life for its inhabitants allowing the social, generational and functional *mixité*, thanks to new forms of urban density. Therefore a sustainable city is not the result of a juxtaposition of certified green buildings or the searching for an ideal city, but a complex city which combines mobility, density and living space in a long-term project and which identifies the potential urban integration in marginal places. Urban sustainability is a collective project in which the architecture project allows for the testing of new solutions to existing ways of life and living.¹⁶

In accordance with the guidelines of eco-cities and of urban regeneration, the Workshop proposed a series of measures in the wider built heritage and in the natural landscape relating to the principles and best practices of the Green City Index (CO2 and Energy; Transportation; Water, Waste, Air quality) and integrated with the ones that express the social dimension (Competitiveness and Identity; Social inclusion; Districts and Neighbourhood; Land use and Landscape; Safety; Education; Health and Lifestyles). Starting from these assumptions, the city of Palermo could strengthen and enhance

¹³ Boeri (2011).

¹⁴ AA.VV. (2011).

¹⁵ Offner & Pourchez (2007).

¹⁶ Emelianoff & Stegassy (2010).

its own peculiarities, so as to combine urban regeneration, economic prosperity and social integration with a low environmental impact.

Through the experimentation of shared policies, the development of renewed settlement models, the incentive to use alternative energy, it would be possible to offer to the town council new scenarios for renewal. The town council has the role of programming from control subject to creative subject. Finally it comes to achieve a critical approach to a contemporary issue in which is interwoven with cultural and touristic aspects, the management of resources and the research of participatory methodologies.

The Marseille event of European Capital of Culture 2013, shows well how planning has the requisite to retake the city, an opportunity to have a strong impact not only on culture, but also on the social-economy, which culminates with the expectation of tourism development in the city.¹⁷

The Workshop has raised attention to the themes of the event for Palermo, in particular involving other issues related to environmental quality, liveability, accessibility and innovation on large areas, which are characterized by strong socio-economic contrasts and various public and private interests. What is the role of architecture in these phenomena of urban space reorganization? Which requirements must the project event have for the works so as to have a positive outcome for the city? It seems obvious the interest in these issues at a time where major events give the possibilities to experiment flexibility of transformations and where it is necessary the verification after the event.¹⁸

Will the proposals for nominations of Palermo to be European Capital of Culture 2019 allow for imagining a future path of urban regeneration in line with the sustainable city model? This is the question the Workshop has raised, which has set the goal of transforming a part of the existing city divided in the three areas of intervention. These sites are strongly characterized by infrastructural lines and are crossed by an *internal promenade* that tries to redefine the system of open spaces: from the historical gardens to the metropolitan public green spaces. Along the linear element of the *promenade*, which follows the route of the subway, there are existing and future subway stations (*Guadagna, Vespri, Orléans, Tribunali*), large metropolitan services (the *Santo Spirito* Cemetery, the hospital complex *Policlinico-Civico-Ismet* and the University Campus) and road intersections. Beyond this there is, on the one hand, the valley of the *Oreto* River with the agricultural land still largely productive and, on

¹⁷ Lecardane (2010).

¹⁸ Lecardane & Zhuo (2003): 28-31.

the other, toward the city centre, the block complex of the monuments of *San Giovanni degli Eremiti*, the Royal Palace and the historic gardens, which aims at being on the UNESCO list.

There are many connections between these proposed areas of intervention, programmatic aspects prevail on all: to unify the environmental system to which they belong; to make the system of connections, public space and access continuous; to make the design of *promenade* comprehensible; to integrate infrastructure with the settlement dimension; to enhance existing metropolitan services.

The relationship between monuments, subway access and cultural, social, and health services established in this part of the city contributed to the identification of the intervention areas ORETO, POLICLINICO and ROYAL PALACE and also the individuation of project themes. For the *Oreto* River site, we worked on the redefinition of the access to the *S. Orsola* Cemetery, the garden of Mediterranean biodiversity, the service pavilions of the garden, and the flower market of the city. For the POLICLINICO area: the School Centre and the Cinema, the new access to the Hospital, the new Children's Hospital metro station, and the Forum of Culture. For the ROYAL PALACE site: the Research Centre and the greenhouse of biodiversity, the new access to the *Orléans* Garden, the transformation of the *Orléans* metro station, the Theatre of Arts with workshops, the urban block of multiculturalism, characterized by residences for foreigners and commercial services, the redefinition of public space and district services.

The hypothesis of the Workshop *to build on the built* was supported by the opportunity to bind possible synergies between public and private, in terms of planning and investment of financial resources. In particular, the specific area of ORETO, is a site of about 1.5 ha, now occupied by *open-air* sports private services. The planned operation in this area revealed the possibility of combining strategies and actions that take into account the architectural project and also its possible modalities of management and financing. In this case, the location of a flower market of the city and a garden of Mediterranean biodiversity, found a natural place for their proximity to the edge of the *Santo Spirito Cemetery*, with the new *Vespri* metro station and the opening to the valley of the *Oreto* River. These services are necessary but absent in this part of the city, as the garden of Mediterranean biodiversity and the Flower Market architecture were designed to host nurseries for the production and sale of plants. The possibility of setting up a public-private partnership, feasible in legislation, may in fact make places more attractive, in a socially depressed part of the city. The constant reference to similar operations, in other contexts, has led to a decrease in the

individualistic tendency of illegal occupation of public lands that is reflected in the loss of space for leisure. These urban projects have also revealed the success of the involvement of private promoters, also directed to the public good, aiming to return to the city new entertainment and leisure facilities, with a very low or almost zero cost. [RL]

Conclusions

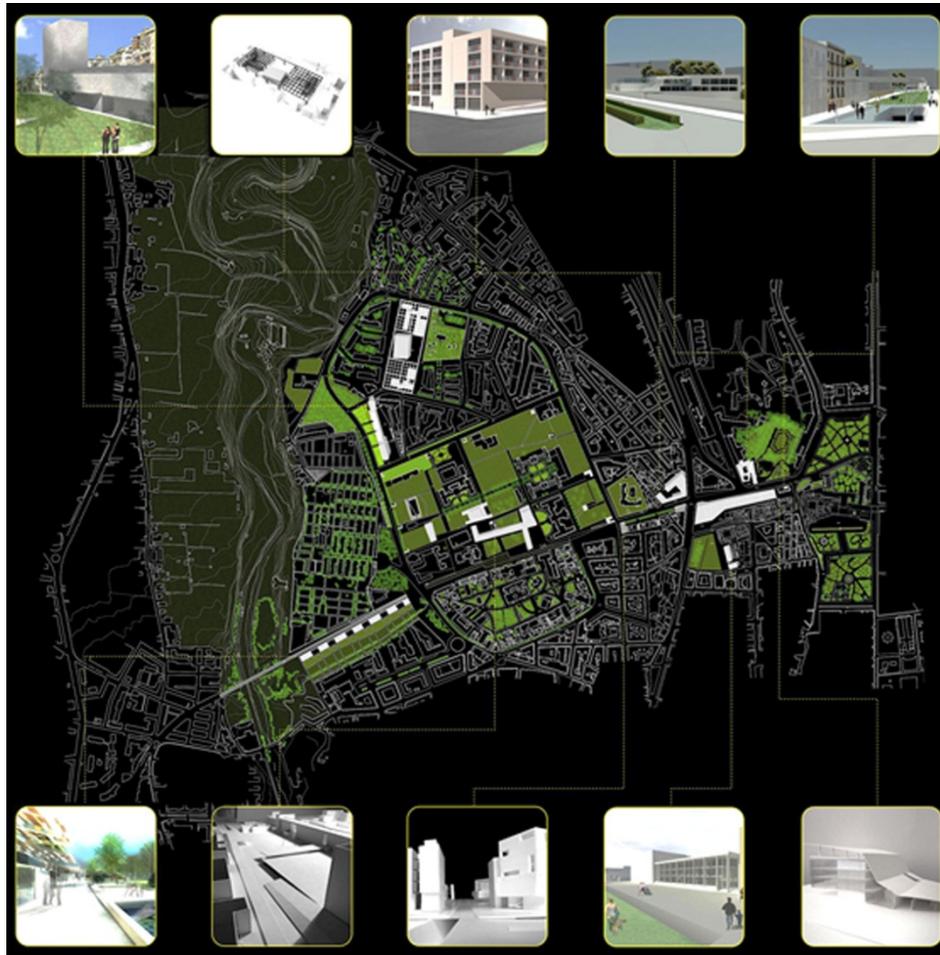
The educational operation on these urban transformation phenomena allowed for the building of the cultural basis for the definition of a renewal hypothesis of the city, combining three dimensions: the quality of public space, the involvement of economic figures, and the attractiveness of the city. These were also supported by the attention to issues of urban and architectural heritage, a conscious use of natural resources and the enhancement of the city's multicultural identity as specific factors in the development of the project hypothesis.

The results of this Workshop certainly cannot be considered exhaustive and conclusive but do lead to reflection, gathering ideas and projects, which grow from the basis of the proposals. The value of these projects, produced in a very limited time frame, is not in itself the solution to problems or in their usability as readily realizable projects. The aim of the Workshop was in fact not this; on the contrary, we believe that these proposals may serve as useful reflections to suggest new hypotheses and to initiate a constant debate on issues and matters concerning Palermo and the main themes of the European city.

As a result of the proposed hypotheses for the candidacy of Palermo as European Capital of Culture 2019, we believe that in the coming years, some projects may also find concrete answers; other projects will benefit from the necessary investigations and the confrontation with the academic world and citizenship, engaged in various titles to the foreshadowing of these scenarios. From this perspective, the Course of the Faculty of Architecture of Palermo aspires to assume a guiding role in the local transformation processes. Its next objective is to fuel the current international debate with a travelling exhibition of the Workshop's outcomes, which will be held in Palermo, Barcelona, Marseille and Malaga, and also with the organization of study days during the opening exhibition.

The comparison with other European universities is a must for researchers and administrations, as it is for the institutions that participate in the city's cultural life. However, this requires a mutual respect among the decision-makers and the protagonists of the

territory, which most frequently is the weak link in the process to capitalize on many experiences that take place on these issues. The enthusiastic answer of the Workshop participants and the richness of proposals must lead us to the careful consideration of the complexities and the potentiality with which today it is possible to offer answers to the city, with a hoped outcome of architectural and urban quality. [RL, IM]



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KURDISH MUSICIANS IN THE MULTICULTURAL FABRIC OF MARSEILLE

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Abstract

Culture becomes more and more an essential tool for promoting a city. If Marseille's cultural diversity is conceived as a major value of urban marketing, it remains to ask how it takes place *de facto* in the field of art in the city. This paper focuses on the artistic initiative of a group of Kurdish migrants, mainly political refugees. It shows how these amateur musicians try to exceed the boundaries of their foreigner status and to take place in the artistic field of the host city. Artistic creation has a double use for these migrants: convey their political claims about Kurdistan and have a cultural presence in these new territories that claim to offer a multicultural social fabric. Following the construction and development process of a Kurdish music group in Marseille, this paper tries to question the role of migrants' artistic works in the construction of a city's cultural patrimony.

Introduction

Culture has become a big strategy of urban revitalization for local governments¹. In the struggle to attract the capital, globalized competition of cities requires an emphasis on exotic and original dimensions of each city face to its rivals. Terms like cultural diversity, cosmopolitanism, multicultural are often used to increase the value of a city in this competition.

These concepts are widely related to the migration phenomenon, and by that, to the opening and closing borders policies. In this sense, a migrant, especially a newcomer, faces a double border crossing: geographic and symbolic boundaries. Therefore, it is even more complicated for them to integrate to the cultural field of the host city,

¹ Arnaud (2008).

as they are already burdened with many problems because of their migrant status such as precarious economic conditions, linguistic problems, discriminatory attitudes towards them, etc. Here, the cultural field that we are talking about encompasses the world of artistic creation and it is not restricted to access to cultural practices.

Being a migrant is to redefine the boundaries, the relation to oneself and the other. Artistic creation is in this sense a form of identity expression that allows a self-construction process by crossing cultural boundaries. This is why it is interesting to analyze the process of cultural project developed by migrants and the role of their path within the immigrant heritage of the host city, in this case, Marseille.

Marseille is a multidimensional city; it hosts multiple cultures, diverse national, religious and ethnic origins. Its cultural wealth based on diversity provides a big potential of cultural and artistic creation and this distinguishes Marseille from other French cities. Built for more than 2600 years by the successive contributions of migration, it offers a chance for emancipation to many artists, whether they are from the region or come from other homelands². The city is a port of transit for some ones and a hosting space for others. In this way, if the title of European Capital of Culture is an opportunity to be seized by the authorities, it is also in the midst of all artists wanting to turn this diversity into an asset.

This paper is based on the study of the music group QWX formed by Kurdish migrants living in Marseille. It sets up an artistic initiative which became a way of taking part in Marseille's multicultural fabric. This is a part of an ongoing PhD research (started in 2011) about professional and political networks of Kurdish migrants from Turkey, in Marseille. It was during the PhD fieldwork that we met this group of musicians who, through a music project, tries to come out from dominant professional patterns within the Kurdish community in Marseille. Somehow, they were representing a form of deviance from community's norms, mainly because of the novelty of this expression form, which is political and artistic at the same time. The methods used for this study were direct observation and two series of interviews with group members done during April 2012 and September 2013. We also had several informal conversations before and after their concerts. The observation helped to focus on their performance and their contact with the city and its inhabitants.

² Richard (2012): 221-227.

QWX: The Prohibited Letters Are in the Streets of Marseille

Migrants from Turkey - without making a distinction between Turks and Kurds - have often been seen as an inward-looking group with very strong community ties³. Without denying the cohesive strength of community ties, we must go beyond reducing and preconceived judgments, and follow actors, to pay more attention to specifics of a group that may seem homogeneous. During fieldwork, we noticed that Kurdish migrants are known in this city by their regular political activities and their protesting identity in connection with the Kurdish issue in Turkey and they are also known by their kebab restaurants and snacks, or as good workers in the building sector. However, in this study case, they occupy the public space in another way: they make themselves heard through their music.

Three percussionists, all political refugees, who had known each other via the "Centre Culturel de Mésopotamie", the Kurdish association in Marseille, created QWX in 2010. The music project was born from a conversation between friends, lovers of traditional Kurdish music, with the idea to show their music to Marseille. The group's name refers to the three letters that exist in the Kurdish alphabet but not in Turkish. These letters symbolize the oppression on the Kurdish language marginalized in Turkey for a long time.

As we can see in the following extract of interview, their words not only refer to their protesting political identity but also to their desire to introduce Kurdish music to French audience:

We wanted the French people to know our rhythms, to dance with them. Every rhythm, every melody symbolizes a culture. Our culture is a forbidden one, but we wanted to show them that the Kurds have also a musical culture. (...) We started with a project of percussion. But QWX is also a political project; our goal is to draw attention to the prohibitionist mentality in Turkey. When we play somewhere, they ask us what QWX is, and in that case, we can explain, even in an indirect way, the Kurdish question in Turkey. People who come to listen to our music now know what the letters Q, W, X symbolize.

The core group has expanded with the arrival of two other musicians, a singer and saz player, following the wishes of the founders to reach a slightly wider audience and to make music not only instrumental but also sung. This decision was actually a response to an offer for the Festival of Minorized Languages in 2011, which was, moreover, their first professional performance. Arrived from Turkey in different times and having different occupations, five companions (men aged between 25 and 40 years) gathered around this project to be able to

³ Tribalat (1995).

make the traditional Kurdish music, sang in Kurdish, as this the use of this language has been forbidden in their homeland countries.

Our goal is to make Kurdish music with Kurdish instruments. Of course, there are other groups that make music similar to ours, but they also use Western instruments like the guitar, violin, etc. It doesn't interest us so much. We use only *saz*, *duduk* and percussion instruments such as *daf* and *davul*⁴. These instruments impress the audience. These are the traditional instruments of our culture, of Anatolia.

As an amateur music band, they have eventually some obstacles in the process towards professionalization; their migrant condition is, on this point, both an advantage and a disadvantage. It represents an advantage in the sense that it offers a different urban identity through traditional Kurdish music; but also a disadvantage given the fact that they still economically depend on traditional professional networks of their community such as building sector. However, QWX musicians are looking to use simultaneously different networks to which they belong: the community networks related to a shared migration experience and the personal and professional networks built with the hosting society.

The Use of Multiple Networks as a Way to Connect to the City

According to Becker, art is a collective action, which includes a strong interaction between the structures of production, distribution and reception. There are some conventions of different nature (material, aesthetic, etc.) that regulate the artistic world⁵. This encourages the artists to follow these conventions in a professional objective. If we consider the QWX an amateur band, we still note their constant effort not to remain permanently in this category. In search of identity and music recognition in this hosting city, a good link to city's cultural diversity seems to be vital to them. To this end, they combine multiple networks they have.

First, and particularly in the beginning of their project, they resorted mainly to personal networks, including the ones with the associative and political organization of Kurdish community. This might remind traditional patterns assigned to newcomer migrants and their use of

⁴ The *saz* (also called *baglama*) is a plucked string instrument, the *duduk* (also known as the Armenian *duduk*) is a wind instrument with single or double reed, the *daf* is a kind of frame drum made of wood and *davul* is a two-sided drum. These instruments are not only used in Kurdish music, but also in traditional Turkish music, Armenian, Persian, Azeri, etc., sometimes with variations in the form of instruments and their name.

⁵ Becker (1998).

migrant networks to find a job⁶. However, we should note that most of the group members speak French fluently and have many French, native or naturalized, people within their network of friends. This is partly due to the fact that most members have lived in Marseille for about ten years, but also their personal and professional goals extend beyond their community.

Their performance at the Festival of Panier in 2012 was also a result of the personal initiative of a member, but it brings a review of their project. Following this concert, the group's confidence in their music project has increased so that they have begun to wish to participate in larger events, such as Babel Med Music -a world music festival in Marseille. They also want to devote themselves more to their musical occupation and to consider it as their main profession, despite economic difficulties:

Festival of Panier was a huge opportunity for us to make ourselves known to as many people as possible. It was a very good performance; the place was full of people. Everyone loved it. There was even an old French guy who came to see us, he thought we came from Kurdistan, he was very surprised to learn that we lived here in Marseille (...) We think sometimes very far, about making a living from music only... But it's complicated, we must be more available for music activities. (...) It is our dream one day to participate to Babel Med, but they shouldn't write Turkey as the homeland country of the group, they must dare to put the word Kurdistan, otherwise we will never accept!

Their willingness to distinguish themselves from traditional Kurdish wedding musicians in the region, accompanied by their personal networks built with different cultural actors of Marseille, often politically engaged; give them the opportunity to invest in different places: Cafe Equitable, Machine à Coudre, Espace Julien, Bar Molotof or the festival Radio Galere in Belle de Mai. If these places can be qualified as Marseille's alternative spaces, QWX musicians want also to play in more traditional spaces as we could see in their performance with a dance crew on Vieux-Port a landmark of city, for Marseille-Provence 2013, for the event called "Août en dance". This change of space and scale of their regular performances is due to the emergence of a second type of network: a professional one built with an association of art agents. Following their convention with these agents, they started to have more regular performances and they could also make a sample of their songs to distribute.

We should not see in these network combinations a contradiction between Kurdish identity as an affiliation to the Kurdish Diaspora and its politically engaged continuity and the interaction with Marseille,

⁶ Dinh (2006): 114-128, Ma Mung (1994): 185-209.

which has its role in the construction phase of the band. Without exposing a tension, it seems to us that there is a plurality of registers of engagement modalities: The first register is in the engagement for the Kurdish cause, and the second register is around an inclusion project in the Marseille's field of musical creation. These commitments may have higher or lower priority; actors - here the actors are Kurdish musicians - can combine, in a Granovetterian sense⁷, their strong ties with their weak ties, depending on their needs. Individuals are free to combine ways of belonging and ways of being in different ways, depending on the particular context in which they live⁸.

Fighting Boundaries via Artistic Creation

With the example of QWX, we try to understand how a music project can become an instrument for a migrant to participate fully in Marseille's cultural life and to overcome an outsider⁹ condition.

Without falling into the trap of traditional integration approaches, it is interesting to see how an art project allows migrants to forge links with their host city. Ethnic boundaries can define and maintain social boundaries. Music can be used to erase them, but also, it can be a marker of differences between "us" and "them". As Martin Stokes says, the term used to describe authentic music can contribute to the justification of borders. It is, indeed, a way to emphasize on what makes "us" different from "others"¹⁰. For QWX, music serves as an expression of cultural difference, and it defies the assimilation categories of nation-state:

We are Kurdish musicians; we do Kurdish music and we sing in Kurdish. We're a little nationalist then, right? (Laughs) It is forbidden to sing in Turkish in our group. Not saying that... it is not forbidden, but we use this word for a bit of irony. We are Kurds and our culture is disappearing, so we must protect it. It is for this reason that we insist to make music in Kurdish. One day, a Turk asks us why we do not sing in Turkish, saying that the songs are brothers. The brother songs... But fraternity was never

⁷ Granovetter (1973): 1360-1380.

⁸ Levitt & Glick-Schiller (2004): 1002-1039.

⁹ We refer here to Howard S. Becker's work about jazz musicians and marijuana smokers; the word outsider is used to define a person who is stranger to society where he lives and who conceives himself as a stranger. Here, there are strangers because of their migrant status, but the deviant dimension of outsider is also there: migrants, because they come from another world, another culture, may be considered as deviants in reference to the host society's norms. But in this specific case of Kurdish activists for the Kurdish movement, there is another aspect of deviance: they can be seen as delinquents or in some cases as terrorists.

¹⁰ Stokes (1997).

mutual. It is up to Turks now to sing a little Kurdish; it's always been for us to sing in Turkish, now it's their turn. Now, singing in Turkish or French is the same for us, it means to sing in a foreign language, it doesn't interest us. But we use the word, forbidden, not just to annoy the prohibitionist mentality but also to annoy a few others.

These words emphasize their goal of exposing the music of an oppressed nation, a culture of another, of people who seek for their cultural rights in their homeland. The use of Kurdish identity is very common in their speech; this reference depends directly on the struggle of their identity claim in Turkey and its continuity within the Kurdish Diaspora in Europe. QWX musicians do not feel yet as "Marseillais" but they are trying to build an identity – a synthesis of their Kurdish origin and their life in Marseille. The reference to the Kurdish identity is still present, but they also have a strong desire to build more links with the city and its residents. Kurdistan, a field of nostalgia and dream of going back, feeds their music production and development of a Kurdish-Marseille identity process. It is in this dilemma between the desire to go back and the obligation to stay; they create, produce and contribute to the musical richness of the city:

When we give a concert for the French people, we don't play a lot of militant songs; they don't understand the words anyway. These songs, we play more at events organized by the party. [PKK¹¹, Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, which means Party of Workers of Kurdistan] But there are some pieces that are important to us, so we have a lot of fun to share. For example, "Sar sare" it's about the life of a Kurdish guerrilla in the mountains.

We observed that all songs with politically connoted lyrics like Sar Sare (Cold, cold) or Rojbaş Gerilla (Hello guerrilla) are quite rhythmic songs that animate the concert hall. Non-kurdish speaking audience may not understand the words, but the group manages to create an exchange across borders. One group member always explains in few words what the song talks about before playing it. We have noted many signs of this exchange, especially when we see the moments after the concert. It happens quite often that the audience

¹¹ Since 1984, the PKK led an armed struggle against the Turkish state with the main objective for the autonomy of the southeastern Turkey, a region populated mainly by Kurds. The PKK has civil levels of organization fighting in several cities in Turkey, but also in European countries like Germany, Belgium and France, countries that received a Kurdish migration. The PKK form the ideological roof of political and associative organization of the Kurdish Diaspora in Europe. It is considered a terrorist organization by Turkey, but also by the European Union countries, including France. For further information on Kurdish issue in Turkey, see the studies of Hamit Bozarslan, Martin van Bruinessen, Olivier Grojean.

participates to the traditional Kurdish dances and that people go ask them some questions about the band, the songs, and especially the meaning of QWX and their music and activism: "They often ask us where we came from and if there will be other concerts in Marseille. We like it so much they are interested in us and our cause."

However, this categorization of "us" and "others", this speech of differentiation must be relativized. We can hardly reduce QWX to an exclusively militant music group. On this point, the contact with the city played a formative role in the project QWX. Marseille, often considered as a very singular city of France with its power to keep the cultural diversity due to its rich history of immigration, offers to the artists to transform their differences in an asset. So, it is in the streets of Marseille that QWX musicians acquired their first experience of musical performance. Even if they have many benefits from the political and cultural events organized by Kurdish migrants, they also try to create a dialogue with Marseille's residents. They communicated their music in urban spaces and, therefore, gained visibility and recognition in the public space. The advantage of playing in the street also gave them the possibility to reach a relatively diverse audience as we can see in the following words of the group: "Everyone can hear you in the street, young, old, everyone, whereas in bars, people choose to be there, to come listen."

Even if the fact of playing in the street at the beginning of their musical experience depended on an absence of settlements for performances in professional or semi-professional places, like festivals, musical bars or concert halls, they continue to invest in the urban space (at the march for May 1 or during "Fête de la musique", on June 21 for example) in order to maintain a direct connection with the public in Marseille.

Conclusion

QWX musicians depict a set of identity referents, a synthesis-identity with plural affiliations expressed through music. They are migrants, Kurds, political activists, musicians, "Marseillais"... The paths of this group, their trips during the professional musical insertion process in the cultural field Marseille, give us the opportunity to see the place that may have migrants, especially newcomers in participation to city's artistic creation. From a micro level of analysis with the QWX example, here we would like to ask how actors do interact with the cultural field of their hosting city. Marseille, who managed to protect the sense of community, of diversity, while soaking up the otherness, see in the case of QWX an emancipation example of migrant heritage in the cultural field, especially of a political anti-establishment

heritage through music. As the sociologist André Donzel said in an interview in the journal "L'Humanité", Marseille has something to say about its history of know-how in terms of integration¹². The city should and must promote its diversity of communities and identities and therefore, the migrant patrimony while emphasizing its multicultural fabric.

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¹² Donzel (24.04.2011): www.l'humanite.fr

**SIBIU – EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE:
BEST PRACTICES FOR PROMOTING MULTICULTURALISM –
THE CASE OF THE ERASMUS PROGRAM**

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“Learning to live together” (UNESCO theme)

The present paper is co-authored by a scholar and a practitioner, giving it added value and enhancing the complexity of perspective; however, its main goal is to highlight best practices and share experiences in dealing with multiculturalism, both from an institutional perspective – at Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu as well as regarding the local community – by looking at the tradition and modernity of Sibiu, former European Capital of Culture. UNESCO’s theme, “learning to live together,” best epitomizes the main idea of the present research paper, i.e. a paradigm shift from the antagonistic “either/or” perspective to a more integrated approach.

Intercultural communication and connections between geographical and cultural areas, whether close to one another or far apart, represent a permanent preoccupation of humankind. Mention should be made, in this context, of Saint John Cassian, an Orthodox Christian monk, born at the end of the fourth century in Scythia Minor nowadays Dobrogea in South-East Romania, a famous author of theological writings – *Conferences* and *Institutes* – also a founder of monastic life in Marseille, best known for the Abbey of St. Victor which also shelters his relics; St. John Cassian died at the beginning of the fifth century in Marseille, having a tremendous influence on the spirituality of Western Europe.

Irina Bokova, Director General of UNESCO, has repeatedly emphasized the importance of connectivity in the contemporary

globalized world, substantiated by intercultural dialogue. "People are more connected than ever, but misunderstandings remain deep between societies and within them. Values, traditions, customs and *cultural expressions* have moved to the forefront of national politics and international relations. Youth are ever more engaged in civic life and they are calling on intergenerational dialogue to have a full say over their future."¹

Culture and cultural diversity are not part of the internationally recognized development goals – but they are key accelerators for meeting them. [...] Cultural diversity – as a wellspring of creativity, dynamism and sustainability. [...] We must make the most of the power of culture and cultural diversity. Culture is a driver of development, led by the growth of the cultural sector and creative industries and the benefits arising from safeguarding tangible and intangible cultural heritage. It is also an enabler for sustainable development ... In this context, intercultural dialogue is essential to make the most of diversity, to deepen the roots of development and share its benefits.²

Informed and unbiased knowledge, coupled with an informed awareness and understanding of "otherness," is a prerequisite in a highly interdependent and borderless world, where each participant in the communication process is equally important and can be valued in a specific context. An intensified emphasis on knowledge creation, dissemination, and capitalization will shift the focus, especially in the higher education system, onto acquiring competencies rather than degrees, such as: entrepreneurship, cultural awareness and interaction, the art of argumentation, learning to learn, information literacy, soft skills. Martha Nussbaum calls to our attention and encourages the need of training students in the "skills for life":

Citizens cannot relate well to the complex world around them by factual knowledge and logic alone. The third ability of the citizen, closely related to those two, is what we can call the narrative imagination. This means the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have. The cultivation of sympathy has been a key part of the best modern ideas of democratic education, in both Western and non-Western nations.³

Intercultural competencies, foreign language skills, the propensity for dialogue and the willingness to understand "otherness" are best acquired and developed in higher education institutions whose

¹ Bokova (2012).

² Nussbaum (2010): 15.

³ Bokova (2013).

mission is also to “attract the brightest global talent” as well as to intensify its international dimension as a means to overcome the challenges entailed by a “rapidly changing world.”⁴

Furthermore, a key document in understanding multiculturalism and cultural diversity – whether local, regional or global – is the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression, which “emphasizes the need to incorporate culture as a strategic element in the national and international development policies as well as in international development cooperation.”⁵

In order to better understand the concept of linguistic diversity, it is worth considering the terms *plurilingualism* and *multilingualism*, as defined by the European Charter for Plurilingualism, where the former stands for the “use of several languages by an individual,” a “means of getting to know and recognise other people” as well as a “basic element of scientific innovation”; whereas the latter refers to the “co-existence of several languages within a given social group.”⁶

Living in a world characterized by cultural interaction among individuals, communities and institutions from various geographical areas, whether nearby or from far away, it is not difficult to notice the sustainable cooperation between the civil society and the academic community of Sibiu, as a successful interaction of town and gown as regards the “encounter of cultures”. The development of Sibiu – as an urban setting with significant regional, national and international impact and visibility – is inextricably linked to the setting up and evolution of Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, which acts as a catalyst of *multicultural encounters in an urban environment*. To underscore this statement, let us provide a few examples to be further delineated. Sibiu, a city of culture and education, is rich in cultural diversity, boasting a long history of multicultural tradition – where a successful co-existence of Romanian, German, Hungarian cultures, civilizations and languages have brought a positive influence to local development mediated by interculturality. Sibiu, which served as the seat of Austrian governors to Transylvania, hosts the Brukenthal Museum, former residence of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, Governor of Transylvania. Gheorghe Lazăr, a Transylvanian born scholar – in Avrig, Sibiu county – was the founder of the first Romanian language school (1818) and a Theological School was founded in 1786 with incessant continuity of educational process in Romanian.

⁴ Vassiliou (2013).

⁵ Convention (2005).

⁶ Charter (1999).

Sibiu is the first city in Romania to hold the prestigious title of European Capital of Culture (2007), which might act as an outstanding opportunity for cultural and public diplomacy and whose impact, we dare say, is similar to awarding a Nobel Prize, considering the subsequent advantages and benefits to be reaped from multicultural encounters, especially in a city where tradition and modernity have marked the evolution of both its community and academic life, town and gown.

Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu places great emphasis on internationalization, as outlined in its institutional strategy and evinced by the number of partnerships concluded with universities worldwide, the importance of student and staff mobility, underscored by the great variety of activities designed to improve the academic curricula and to introduce new research topics or academic disciplines through transnational collaboration between universities. Sibiu is a *unique* city, and Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu hosts the first Confucius Institute in Romania (2007), the Latin-American Cultural Centre (2011) and a UNESCO Chair in Quality Management of Higher Education and Lifelong Learning at LBUS (2011).

The Erasmus Program at LBUS represents the best practice in terms of multicultural encounters and a mosaic of urban identities successfully integrated in the life of the local and academic community. To illustrate this, let us have a look at some of the cultural events and workshops organized by Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu and its Department for International Relations and Community Programs: the intensive Romanian Language Course; the international folklore and contemporary dance choreography workshop; the international painting workshop; the Student Gala; the Romanian Christmas; the games` night; the March 1 prom; cultural excursions to Paltiniş; the Erasmus Day celebration; the library night – treasure hunt; the International Student Day; the Sibiu Dancing Days; the international celebration of the Romanian National Holiday.

To conclude, the significance of the European Cultural Capital title will not cease once the program comes to an end; on the contrary, the internationalization strategies help promote the intercultural and multicultural life of its city and university, local and academic communities. Exposure to new cultures, civilizations and languages will enhance individual and collective intercultural literacy, enhanced by the acquisition of foreign languages, an informed understanding of “otherness” and critical, though unbiased, awareness of and reflection on differences.

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