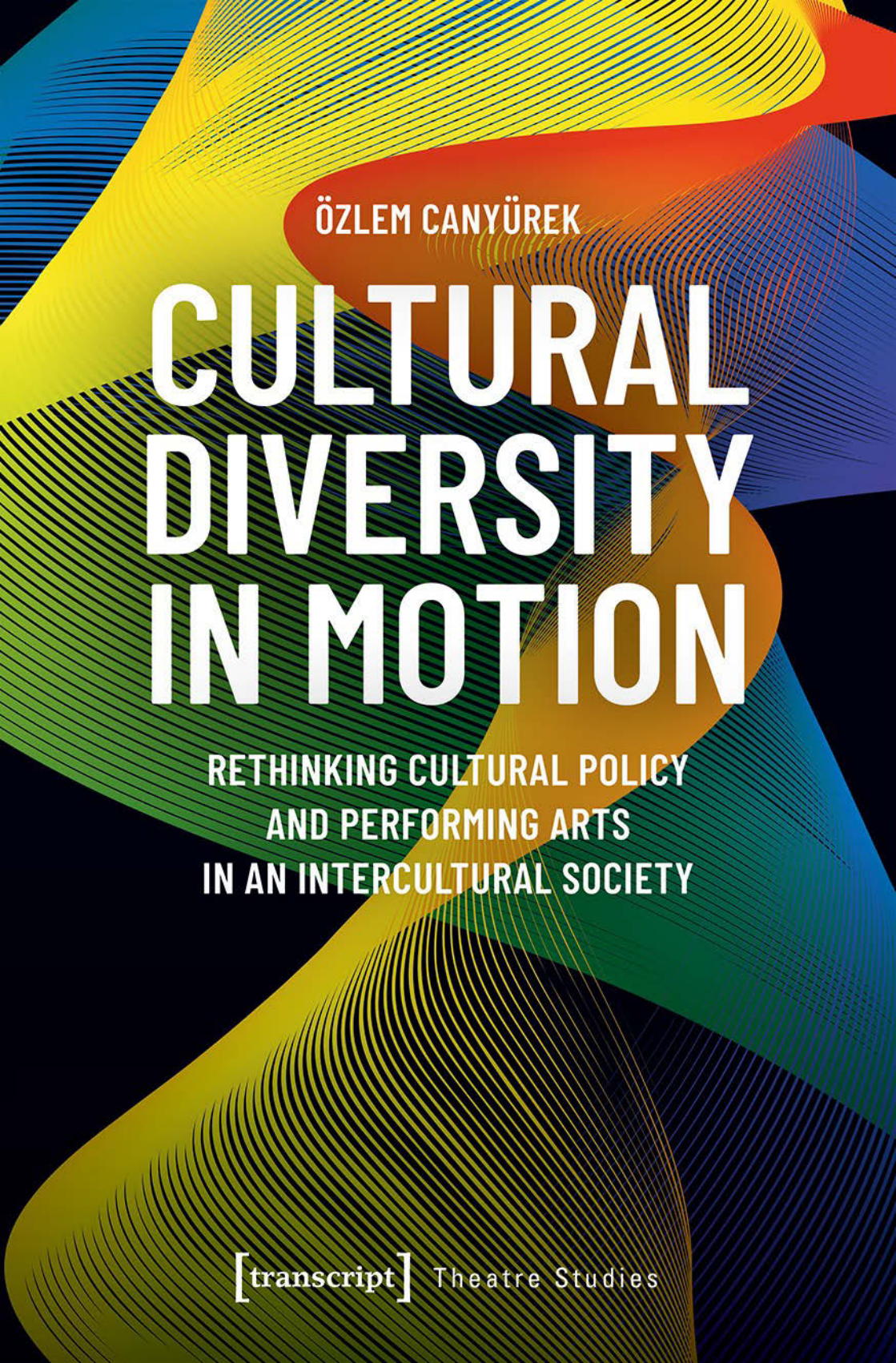
Cultural Diversity in Motion: Rethinking Cultural Policy and Performing Arts in an Intercultural Society

Canyürek, Özlem


ÖZLEM CANYÜREK
CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN MOTION
RETHINKING CULTURAL POLICY AND PERFORMING ARTS IN AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY
[transcript] Theatre Studies

Özlem Canyürek
Cultural Diversity in Motion

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Özlem Canyürek is a cultural policy researcher and lecturer. She studied sociology, cultural management, and cultural policy in Istanbul. In 2021 she completed her doctorate at the Institute of Cultural Policy at Universität Hildesheim. Her research areas include critical diversity discourses in cultural policy and the pluralisation of the German performing arts scene. She teaches on diversity-led perspectives and intercultural approaches in cultural policy, performing arts, and cultural education.

Özlem Canyürek

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I am grateful to *Zentrum für Bildungsintegration* (*ZBI*; Centre for Diversity, Democracy, and Inclusion in Education) of the University of Hildesheim, especially Prof. Dr. Viola B. Georgi, director of *ZBI*, and Nurten Karakaş, coordinator of the doctoral programme of *ZBI*. Without the doctoral grant of *ZBI*, this research would have required several more years to complete. More importantly, I benefited greatly from the exchanges of *ZBI*'s doctoral colloquiums. Notably, the chapter on systematic exclusion and structural racism was enriched by the discussions with my colleagues.

Considering my short history in Germany, being an "outsider" provided advantages I had never imagined having. My position gave me the opportunity to obtain a necessary closeness and distance to be able to read the layers of cultural-political meaning and suggest an equality-based cultural policy framework for the performing arts scene in Germany. Through this humble attempt, I would also like to thank countless researchers, scholars, and artists who dedicated themselves to the pluralisation of the White German performing arts field. I can only hope that my research will be a contribution to their tremendous efforts towards the production and circulation of theatrical knowledge outside the Western canon.

One of the main objectives of this study was to explore the meaning of a diversity-oriented performing arts scene, and consequently to introduce the

indicators of a fairness-based diversity concept. I am indebted to the theatre initiatives *boat people projekt*, *Hajusom*, and *Ruhrorter* as well as the *PostHeimat* network, which constitute the empirical part of the study. This transdisciplinary knowledge exchange enabled me to reify and determine various attributes of the conceptualisation. Here, I take the opportunity to thank to all interview partners. Their views provided valuable insights into the lack of cultural diversity in the German performing arts field.

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Finally, one last note to myself. Writing a doctoral thesis is a challenging and exhausting task for almost everyone who has the audacity to engage in such intellectual struggle. It was an awkwardly ambivalent process for me since most parts of the writing were completed during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. Paradoxically, in these turbulent times, the doctoral thesis itself became a way to cope with the bizarre feeling of being away from Istanbul, the place I once called home.

Inter-Cultural-Policy
Performing Arts as a Model of Diversity Development

Preface by Wolfgang Schneider

Germany is a country of immigration. But is this reflected in its cultural scene? Who represents whom? And to what extent is the personnel structure in the arts culturally diverse? This question of cultural policy has been asked many times in the last quarter of a century, and numerous studies have provided answers. Art institutions continue to be dominated by White men, the German language, and a primarily Eurocentric orientation. On top of this, the visitor structure of publicly funded theatres and museums lacks diversity, and the idea of plurality is rarely present in educational institutions. These issues have been the centre of many debates, and have indeed led to the launch of various diversity management programmes. However, at the same time, there has been a resurgence of the idea of *Leitkultur* in Germany, which has proven to be just as counterproductive for society as nationalism, xenophobia, and racism.

The summer of 2015 promised to bring change, at least at first. Close to one million refugees arrived in Germany after fleeing war and persecution in their home countries. The Chancellor famously announced, "We can do this!"; artists spontaneously put up "Refugees Welcome" posters, and projects were launched in towns and cities throughout the country to ensure refugees experienced a *Willkommenskultur* – a culture of welcome. Artists displayed their solidarity with refugees through their artistic practice. The focus was on participation; it was important for the institutions to respond, to show that they were paying attention, and their mutual interest was to establish some form of communication. At the very least, municipal theatres opened their foyers, and most of the independent theatres got involved in intercultural projects. A year later, additional funding was given to the performing arts throughout Germany. There was hope that cultural policymakers would use this opportunity to change their direction in terms of cultural diversity.

Artistic Work and Migration

Özlem Canyürek has been studying these developments. In her research *Cultural Diversity in Motion: Rethinking Cultural Policy and Performing Arts in an Intercultural Society*, she enquires about the contemporary relevance and inherent inertia of theatre, and looks at the potential for structural reform.

> Despite the White, male, heterosexual domination in the German performing arts scene, the form of diversity investigated in this research is limited to migration, and the main focus is on unequal access conditions (including both the performing arts field and funding policy instruments) for the so-called people with a "migrant background". (Canyürek, 2022, p. 17)

On the one hand, Özlem Canyürek's research is designed to observe the role of art and culture in social transformation processes, while on the other, she attempts to generate insights into intercultural policymaking that may also light the way forward for cultural policy. This is why she examines certain theatre groups and public funding programmes centred around different facets of diversity development. More specifically, she asks the following questions: Why are these theatres engaged with immigration and displacement? How do they address immigration-related diversity in their productions? How do they interpret aesthetics and artistic forms? How are immigration and displacement manifested in their organisational structure? How are their strategies, artistic forms, and narratives received by their audiences?

A Critique of the Concept of Cultural Integration

The titles of the chapters alone are a testament to her extensive knowledge on cultural policy and, above all, the theatrical scene, the incisive use of key terminology a signifier of her dedication to the topic at hand and a quality-conscious linking of theory and practice. Özlem Canyürek draws on perspectives from sociology, cultural studies, and political science, takes on the role of observer in field research, and conducts interviews with relevant experts. The questions she poses reflect her profound understanding of migratory movements, the art of theatre, and a guiding epistemological interest in fathoming the connection between the social and the artistic, and identifying cultural policy structures. The key experiences of the actors are incorporated into the discussion as statements, then analysed and integrated into the results.

The initial consideration of the text is that the lack of diversity within the organisational structure of public cultural institutions is evident, especially in the

public theatre scene. The research is based on a critique of the theatre system as an arts business.

> It searches for a concept of diversity that would provide a dynamic and fluid meaning that narrates the notion of diversity as an ongoing process *in motion*, in line with the contemporary understanding of cultural identity in a transnational world. (Canyürek, 2022, p. 77)

The author also examines the concept of cultural integration to uncover the motives behind the transition of policy discourse from multiculturalism towards interculturalism. "The research argues that the confusion around the multicultural perspective on a political level in Germany is also related with marginalising differences by focusing on ethnicity and religion." (Canyürek, 2022, p. 85) A thread running through the dissertation is an examination of the notion of "us" and "them" in the public debate on integration, aiming to shed light on the interplay between diversity discourse and inclusion policies. She also criticises the concept of *Leitkultur* and the clumsy actionism of many projects in urban and rural areas, which all too often fail to be real partnerships of equals, or adopt a rather smug, paternalistic approach.

Özlem Canyürek investigates theatres working with refugees and trying to run participatory projects using public funds. "The future of theatre as a mirror of a democratic civil society entails participatory forms of theatre, in which citizens of various cultural affiliations have access to the creation and decision-making processes." (Canyürek, 2022, p. 135) Her initial findings are somewhat critical:

> This research demonstrated that, in a country of resettlement, accessing information and networking is vital for artists seeking refuge. It also confirmed what the policies promoting the inclusion of these artists into the cultural sphere are lacking in. Cultural policies and their funding instruments mainly focus on the development of projects for/with/by refugees but do not pay enough attention to identifying structural requirements and introducing strategies and support schemes coherent with these needs. (Canyürek, 2022, p. 144)

Criteria for Future Cultural Policy

Canyürek criticises the projects for their lack of sustainability and finds that most of the programmes have no impact on long-term funding. She notes that although the productions may be very avant-garde in terms of artistic expression, they have largely failed to establish networks among the actors or pave the way for future theatrical collaborations. And although, in theory, politics and civil society view cultural policy as an instrument for promoting unconventional artistic formats,

in practice it leaves much to be desired. It is possible to detect only rudimentary attempts at a strategy of changing cultural policy to reflect a changing society.

The artists alone have demonstrated what is possible under changing circumstances. By mapping out the practice of 140 performing arts initiatives engaged with immigration-related diversity, Özlem Canyürek identified a number of funding criteria for future cultural policy: dynamic engagement, awareness and openness, empowerment, artistic reflection, multilingual performance, and intercultural encounter. Drawing from the analysis of selected theatre initiatives, she highlights the following practices:

> [The theatre collective addresses] the working conditions of professional refugee artists in their new localities. (Canyürek, 2022, p. 171)
>
> The realisation of their [young refugee artists'] individual autonomy and the inclusion of the audience in productions are recognised as mutually transformative processes. (Canyürek, 2022, p. 189)
>
> [The theatre initiative supports] the self-empowerment of performers not only in and for theatre but, more importantly, in their personal lives. (Canyürek, 2022, p. 196)

She draws a clear conclusion for cultural policy:

> Both the findings of the casing analysis and the networking efforts indicate that the creation and cultivation of a new, pluralistic discourse for an equal, non-hierarchical theatre landscape are inherently linked to developing cultural policy strategies to support non-institutionalised structures. (Canyürek, 2022, p. 211)

Another noteworthy aspect of the research is that, based on extensive theoretical and empirical analysis, it introduces a new concept – *thinking and acting interculturally* – and identifies the essential features of conceptualising a change in mindset in the performing arts field. The conclusion then reads like an exposé for an intercultural concept of future cultural policy and defines almost two dozen points that should be borne in mind. It is this degree of specificity that makes this research remarkable. By taking a clear-eyed look at the theatrical landscape, Özlem Canyürek has not only managed to ask the right questions but, above all, has generated insights into how social upheaval can be accompanied by and reflected through artistic means, and hence contribute to strengthening democracy.

Professor Dr. Wolfgang Schneider

Former Founding Director of the Department of Cultural Policy at the University of Hildesheim

1. Why Cultural Diversity in Performing Arts?

The scope of this research are the responses of cultural policy to immigration-related diversity in the German performing arts field. The focus is particularly on theatre practice and public theatres, mainly *Stadttheater* (municipal theatre) and *Staatstheater* (state theatre) since they are the backbone of the cultural identity of the nation-state. These traditional institutions are still conceived as the vehicle of ideas, cultural values, and aesthetical reflections of the 20th-century notion of *Kulturnation* (cultural nation) and are almost entirely publicly funded. German high culture, however, speaks primarily to the *Abiturpublikum* (well-educated audience); it fails to reach 50% of the population (German Commission for UNESCO, 2010, p. 6). There has been a decrease in audience numbers despite the expanding range of offers; in the last three seasons alone, German theatres have lost a total of one million viewers (Schmidt, 2013, p. 194).[1]

The research precisely places migration into focus to think the role of cultural policy and performing arts anew in the 21st century, in which the transition of society is understood as a continual process. In addition to present-day immigration, with the arrival of people seeking refuge from war-torn countries since the peak of the so-called "refugee crisis" in 2015 and 2016, the demographic structure of Germany will undoubtedly continue to change. The current society in its diversity can no longer be described or experienced collectively in the usual manner of traditional high culture; the dissolution of the boundaries between high culture and cultural education or socio-culture[2] is inevitable (Heinicke, 2019, p. 193). The performing arts field cannot remain indifferent to the fact that processes of societal transformation are dynamic and have been reshaping the cultural fabric of the country. It is vital for theatre to be a cultural nexus that embodies a profound perception of performing arts in order to break down obsolete barriers between theatre, performance, theatre pedagogy, and participation-oriented social work. Thus, the explicit emphasis of the study on municipal and state theatres is

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from German to English were done by the researcher.

2 The concept of socio-culture emerged in the 1970s, opposing the elitist character of the arts and promising culture for all. The socio-culture practice is introduced in detail in Section 5.3.

twofold. Firstly, these institutions mainly adhere to dissolved categories, bourgeois aesthetics, and classical drama tradition. Secondly, most of them insist on perpetuating their exclusionary structures regarding staff composition, audience profile, and repertoire/programming.

The future of performing arts is linked to their contemporary relevance, resilience and capacity to adapt to a world marked by growing uncertainty and intricacies. The COVID-19 pandemic unveiled what was already known: people did not claim for theatres to be reopened even after the pandemic measures gradually loosened. Policymakers at all levels have been introducing additional financial packages for theatres so that they can survive the pandemic. However, rescuing the theatrical landscape calls for a broader, structural framework. Cultural-political actors today should ponder over the steps that would ensure a demand for theatre because of its substance, relevance, and function (Leucht & Schneider, 2020). Regaining its social relevance and function entails strengthening artistic development (Schmidt, 2013, p. 210), which could be the source of new energy needed for the survival of theatre practice. To that end, the concept of theatre should be more broadly defined, and its narrow and rigid 200-year-old meaning should be expanded (Schneider, 2019b, p. 71). In this context, capturing societal reality cannot be disassociated from supporting the framework conditions for an equality-based performing arts field, nurtured by a novel discourse in which a diverse array of artistic ideas, expressions, experiences, and aesthetics can flourish and be instrumental in the transformation of the performing arts realm. Thus, the reformation of the theatre landscape hinges on an interdisciplinary, intergenerational, and intercultural perspective on performing arts (Schneider, 2020).

From a different standpoint, it should be noted that, under the threat of the COVID-19 pandemic, the "survival" of the performing arts gains a new meaning that entails forgetting the pre-pandemic canons and relentlessly searching for new ways of creating, producing, and sharing art (Ada, 2020). Unquestionably, plans for accommodating diversity should take this reality into account, considering the existing production and dissemination methods in the performing arts field promoted by cultural policies. Hence, an area that urgently requires the engagement of cultural policy research is exploring the requirements of a policy framework that offers not solely recovery subsidy arrangements for performing arts institutions and initiatives in precarious situations; more importantly, cultural policy must adopt an extensive understanding of how to strengthen the ability of a diversified performing arts canon to respond to the fragility of the field so that it can do justice to an intercultural society.

1.1 The Relevance of the Research Subject and Objectives

After decades of political reluctance, in the early 2000s, it was acknowledged that Germany is a country of immigration (Council of Europe [CoE] & ERICarts, 2016). This research argues that although Germany is an immigrant society per se, immigration is to a great degree understood as labour migration of the late 1950s and onwards, resulting in the transmission of the figure of *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) to the "culturally distant" immigrant in contemporary Germany.

With the accelerated pace of forced migration in the 2010s, today, the integration/inclusion framework of cultural policy also applies to people seeking refuge. According to the Federal Statistical Office, in 2019, 1.36 million people seeking protection obtained the right to live in Germany (Destatis, 2020a).[3] However, on account of a lack of comprehensive and coordinated public policies, immigration is still seen as a threat to social cohesion and national identity. Parallel to this, the general public has had the tendency of taking a negative view on immigration, and the discourse on immigration has revolved around foreignness (Yildiz & Hill, 2014, p.10). Given that the growing disapproval for the open-door refugee policy of the central government started to weaken the *CDU/CSU*[4] coalition, and the fact that right-wing extremism, xenophobia, and racism are on the rise, in addition to social, economic, and integration policy, cultural policy has also been searching for new ways to reinforce community cohesion by means of canonised arts.

Despite the White, male, heterosexual domination in the German performing arts scene, the form of diversity investigated in this research is limited to migration[5], and the main focus is on the unequal access conditions (including both the performing arts field and funding policy instruments) for the so-called

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3 A total of 1.839 million people seeking protection were registered in the *Ausländerzentralregister* (*AZR*; Central Register of Foreigners) on December 31, 2019; the status of 266,770 applicants has been pending, and 212,575 applications have been rejected, but the applicants have not yet been deported (Destatis, 2020a).

4 *CDU/CSU* is the centre-right Christian-democratic political alliance of two political parties in Germany, namely the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (*CDU*) and Christian Social Union in Bavaria (*CSU*). Although the conservative bloc secured the leading position in the last federal election in 2017, it had its worst election result in almost 70 years.

5 Although there are no empirical data on the lack of the different facets of diversity, by observation, Whiteness, masculinity, and heterosexuality are known to be the dominating features, particularly in municipal and state theatres. In addition to the unfair representation of artists with various intersecting labels, gender inequality is also undeniable in the German theatre realm. A *BKM*-commissioned study, *Frauen in Kultur und Medien* (Women in Culture and the Media), conducted by the *Deutscher Kulturrat* in 2016 demonstrated the male domination in the theatre landscape. From 1994/95 to 2014/15, only 22% of the directorships were held by women, and 30% of the productions (mostly in youth and children theatre)

people with a "migrant background"[6]. In order to underscore Whiteness as a major signifier of a hegemonic structure in German cultural politics and policy, this analysis deals with the construction of difference through the politically and culturally formulated othering category of "migrant background".

Admittedly, the modes of othering vary, and both individuals and social groups face discrimination and racism based on the intersecting categories of race, gender, sexual orientation, class, age, physical abilities, education, and so on. However, in the hierarchical coding of difference, the researcher asserts that "migrant background", in practice, only refers to "devalued immigrants" (Fernandes Sequeira, 2015) as an overarching label for "the other" in the German context. The author claims that this label not only signifies migrant family histories or personal migration experiences but also denotes the intersecting identities of the "devalued" immigrant (i.e., non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, Black people, POC

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were made by women (Schulz et al., 2016). For the discussion on the Whiteness of the theatre landscape, see Chapter 2.

6 Since the 2005 Microcensus, the Federal Statistical Office defines people with a "migrant background" (*Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund*) as immigrant and non-immigrant foreigners, immigrant and non-immigrant naturalised people, (late) resettlers, and the children of these groups who were born as Germans (Destatis, n.d.). The displaced persons of World War II hold a special status (according to the Federal Displaced Persons Act); they and their descendants, therefore, are not part of the population with a "migrant background" (Destatis, n.d.). The term is widely used in German politics and cultural policy. There is a clear-cut distinction between European/Western and non-European/non-Western immigrants. Although both groups, according to the description provided by *Destatis*, have a "migrant background", inclusion, integration, education, and diversity policies address only the latter group of people. The research uses this highly problematic, severely categorising definition in quotation marks to refer to and emphasise othering in German policy discourse. In Section 2.5, "Structural and Institutional Racism", the researcher discusses how the marking of "particular" citizens with a "migrant background" operates as a form of cultural racism. Throughout the research, the author employs the term "immigrant" in the cases where "migrant background" is not used by cultural-political actors, scholars, or performing arts practitioners. Further, the author uses "migrant background" instead of "migration background", to emphasise the labelling of human beings rather than the action of migratory movement. According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, a "long-term immigrant is a person who moves into a country other than that of her/his usual residence for a period of at least a year so that the country of destination effectively becomes her/his new country of usual residence" (1998, p. 10). However, Germans who are born in Germany to immigrant parents are still conceived as immigrants, and they are not referred to as minorities. The Sorbs, Danes, Frisians, Roma, and Sinti are considered national minorities, whose ancestors had been living in various regions for centuries. This research uses the phrase "immigrant", aware of the fact that it is not a neutral term, since it designates a distance between German and non-German descents. Similarly, here the terms "Black" or "POC" refer to the categorisation of discriminated and racialised individuals and groups in the German context.

[people of colour], and recently refugees). The category of "migrant background" contains dimensions of stigmatisation and discrimination. Anne-Kathrin Will, from the *Deutsche Zentrum für Integrations- und Migrationsforschung* (*DeZIM*; German Centre for Integration and Migration Research), elaborately pinpoints these aspects of the term: a) it silences the war-related immigration of Germans; b) it is exclusionary: even if these people are Germans, their belonging to Germany is questioned by an official category, and they are othered through their separation from the German natio-ethno-cultural mainstream; c) it is bound to "inherited citizenship" which values German descent over other descent (2019, p. 553). In this categorisation, German origin is localised "here", while the immigrant is always equated with foreignness localised "there", in comparison to an "us" based on the dichotomous premise that there are people without a "migrant background" (Lutz, 2011, p. 100).

The language in use is tremendously powerful in the construction of reality. A biased terminology such as "migrant background" puts the negotiation of "Germanness" at risk not only in political terms but also in the fields of art and culture in a society characterised by immigration. In 2019, 21.2 million people with a "migrant background" were living in Germany, representing 26% of the total population, while 52% of them were German citizens (Destatis, 2020b). In 2050, it is estimated that around 30% of the population will have a "migrant background", and already approximately 50% of people under the age of 25 in conurbations in Germany are people with a "migrant background" (German Commission for UNESCO, 2010, p. 6).

Today, although one in four people have a "migrant background" as described by *Destatis*, access to and participation in the performing arts realm for immigrants as artists and culture professionals as well as audiences is far from satisfactory. Notably, since the mid-2000s, the low levels of access and participation of immigrants compelled cultural policy to consider them as potential target audiences and identify the barriers for their participation (Allmanritter, 2009; Allmanritter & Siebenhaar, 2010; Föhl & Lutz, 2010; Graser, 2005; Mandel, 2008, 2013; Mandel & Renz, 2010; Renz, 2015). Questioning the social role of performing arts in a culturally diverse society and the insufficient number of immigrant professionals and diversity-related disparities in the field have also been the central topics of cultural policy discussions (Bicker, 2009; Keuchel, 2012; Mundel & Mackert, 2010; Regnus, 2009; Schneider, 2011; Sharifi, 2011a, 2017; Terkessidis, 2010). Debates about a theatre reform and the corresponding demand for the intercultural opening of public performing arts institutions have urged the *Länder* (federal states) and local cultural policies to introduce an intercultural discourse and corresponding financial support for "diversity/intercultural/transcultural" projects (see Section 3.3).

Within the last five years, there has been a considerable increase in the number of programmes that subsidise outreach projects specifically with refugees[7]. Since a large amount of funding is available for projects realised with refugees, many performing arts initiatives engage with subjects related to displacement. This significant engagement gives the impression of the arts and culture as the ideal playground for the integration of refugees; hence, they are sometimes treated like miracle remedies for refugee policy (Helling & Stoffers, 2016, p. 239). These are mainly participatory projects of the socio-culture field, which are often designed and implemented for and with refugees by the White German artistic workforce but seldom by refugees (Helling & Stoffers, 2016). In most productions, refugees are part of the projects as amateur actors, but they are not involved in the creative process.

Considering the latest developments on the involvement of immigrants and refugees in the cultural sphere, the study is aimed towards a robust equality-based cultural policy perspective for the theatrical landscape. As addressed by cultural policy scholar Wolfgang Schneider, while there is plenty of theatre critique on productions, there is no such critique for theatre policy; the theatre system usually remains unquestioned (2013b, p. 10). The research seeks to embrace the efforts taken in this direction and further investigate the exclusionary structure of the German theatre system and cultural-political decision-making.

In this context, the study has two primary objectives. First, through analysing different facets of national cultural policy, it explores various dimensions of the cultural diversity dispositive (a network of heterogeneous discursive and non-discursive elements, which are strategically linked, i.e., cultural-political discourse on diversity and the manifestation of this discourse in the form of cultural policy measures). By doing so, it aims to examine the involvement of policymaking in the systematic exclusion of the artistic workforce with a "migrant background" from the theatrical sphere. In other words, the objective of this research is to explore how the ideas, values, and reflexes of cultural-political decision-making bodies ascribe specific meaning to culture and the arts, and to what extent those

7 The UN Refugee Convention defines a "refugee" as a person who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951). The author employs terms such as "refugees", "people seeking refuge", or "people in exile" based on their usage by cultural-political actors and performing arts institutions and initiatives, aware of the fact that they are not synonymous. The research seeks to, on the one hand, draw attention to the different applications of the term "refugee" in cultural policy and theatre practice; on the other hand, it aims to underline the difficulty of conceptualising a legislative term without disparaging people to their legal status or contributing to the construction of a collective "refugee identity".

factors have an impact on the unwillingness and inertia, mainly in the public theatre realm, to accommodate diversity. Second, with the help of a theoretical and methodological framework in addition to empirical findings, the research aims to identify fundamental elements of a paradigm shift in cultural policy towards achieving a fair and accessible performing arts scene for all citizens. To this end, it outlines the conceptualisation, strategic planning, legislative framework, funding structure, implementation measures, and other related areas of action required to reimagine the theatre scene in an interdisciplinary manner across and beyond conventional categories (Schneider, 2017a), emancipated from the rigid mindset and organisational structure.

In order to contribute to the development of cultural policy, this research seeks to delineate the framework conditions of an interculturally-oriented policy that would enable the production of new narratives, artistic forms, and aesthetics created and disseminated by an artistic workforce of diverse cultural affiliations and orientations, knowledge, experiences, and world views that reflect and communicate with the reality of an intercultural society.

1.2 Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Strategy

The empirical section of this book is structured into two main parts, since two different methodological approaches – namely discourse analysis and case study research – are applied. The study examines the programmes of three key funding institutions of the national government concerning the promotion of cultural diversity as well as three independent theatre initiatives working with immigrant and refugee professional and amateur actors, and creating work devoted to immigration-related diversity.

The examined funding institutions and their funding programmes are:

- the *Heimspiel* programme of the German Federal Cultural Foundation (*Kulturstiftung des Bundes* [*KSB*]; 2006–2012)
- the *Homebase – Theatre for the Coming Society* programme of the Performing Arts Fund (*Fonds Darstellende Künste*; 2016)
- the Socio-Culture Fund (*Fonds Soziokultur*; 2009–2019)

Further, the analysed theatre groups are:

- *boat people projekt* in Göttingen
- *Hajusom* in Hamburg
- *Ruhrorter* in Müllheim an der Ruhr

With the evaluation of the above-mentioned programmes of the funding actors, the research ponders over the relationship between cultural diversity and immigration in German cultural policy by employing a discourse analysis as a qualitative research method. The discourse analysis in this study embraces Michel Foucault's concept of the dispositive as an analytical research perspective. Through discourse analysis in several chapters, the cultural diversity dispositive is explored from various dimensions to delineate how immigrants are involved in the diversity-oriented[8] policy framework and to what extent these programmes contribute to a structural change in the theatre system towards a more pluralistic theatre realm. In doing so, the researcher aims to shed light on the underlying frames and structures of public funding cultural institutions that give meaning to cultural diversity and, accordingly, the way diversity is funded by these bodies.

1.2.1 The Framework of Discourse Analysis

There have been numerous approaches to discourse analysis in social sciences depending on the field, context, research perspective, and strategies. In this study, discourse analysis is adopted as a methodological framework; its theoretical ground rests upon the Foucauldian discourse theory. The researcher uses discourse as one of the vital "tools of inquiry" (Gee, 1990) within a particular discursive formation in the attempt to underscore the role and function of the "power and knowledge" (Foucault, 1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d) retained by public cultural funding institutions in defining and regulating the framework of cultural diversity. By focusing on the interrelation between heterogeneous elements in knowledge production, the discourse analysis in this research is concerned with discursive formations and their materialisation in response to cultural diversity in the German theatre.

Before introducing the discourse analysis methodology, it is necessary to outline the unities of the Foucauldian discourse analysis adopted by this study. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1972) mentions three concepts: discourse, statement, and discursive formation. These concepts comprise the main elements of discourse analysis. Foucault gives multiple definitions of discourse but does not use the term in a linguistic context; by contrast, he is interested in the mechanisms by which discourses maintain their functions and produce their effects, which are ultimately linked to power relations and the production of knowledge. In

8 In this text, diversity-oriented cultural policy is understood as a cultural policy approach that creates framework conditions for a non-discriminatory performing arts scene, aimed at equal access opportunities and rights for artistic creators regardless of their (intersecting) identities.

other words, Foucault is concerned with the interdependence in what he calls *power/knowledge*, the relation that governs discourses.

Sara Mills states that in the Foucauldian approach, "discourse is regulated by this set of rules which lead to the distribution and circulation of certain utterances and statements" (2004, p. 54). To Foucault, we should look for the rules of formation in discourse. Accordingly, in the analysis of immigration-related diversity discourse, we are not only dealing with groupings of statements but also tracing the regularities of this discursive formation (what is explicitly or implicitly said and what is not said). Moreover, in the Foucauldian sense, "the main reason for conducting an analysis of the structures of discourse is not to uncover the truth or the origin of a statement but rather to discover the support mechanisms which allow it to be said and keep it in place" (Mills, 2004, p. 45).

Following Foucault, the discourse analysis in this research enquires the discursive formation to reveal the historically rooted structures behind the construction of diversity discourse.

1.2.2 Power and Knowledge in the Production of Discourses

In Foucauldian terms, power is not considered a tool of domination and repression that belongs to a specific group, institution, or state. It is neither a negative nor a positive force. Foucault explains that power is productive because it is omnipresent, widely spread, mobile, and that a multiplicity of relations and tactics are connected, since power takes different forms and "it comes from everywhere" (1978, p. 93). Power is an intricate system, a network of forces generated and regulated by multiple entities and social practices in a given society. To him, "power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (1978, p. 93).

In the Foucauldian view, we should point our attention to the potency of the tactical function of discourse in which power and knowledge are joined together (1978, p. 100). To understand the role of discourses, it is essential to examine the relations of power from which they derive. In the formation of reality, it is crucial to identify those in the position of producing and disseminating discourses, the context of when and how it is happening, as "discourse shapes relations of power while relations of power shape who influences discourse over time and in what way" (Hardy & Phillips, 2004, p. 300). When observing the functioning of the mechanism of power and knowledge, "it is necessary first to deal in more detail with the relationship between discourse and societal reality and second, to ask precisely how power is anchored in this societal reality, who exercises it, over whom and by what means it is exercised, and as such" (Jäger, 2001, p. 36). For analysing the impact of power/knowledge in its entirety, Siegfried Jäger from the *Duisburger*

Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung (*DISS*; Duisburg Institute for Language and Social Research) includes the analysis of the dispositive in addition to discourse. Jäger explains why the dispositive should be included in an empirical investigation:

> Since knowledge is the basis of action and formative action that shapes reality, the opportunity arises to analyse not only discursive practices but also non-discursive practices and so-called manifestations/materialisations, as well as the relationship between these elements. The interplay of these elements I call, as does Foucault, dispositive. (2001, p. 38)

These non-discursive practices, i.e., non-linguistic elements of discourses, are also part of the discursive formation as "we are not only dealing with spoken and written knowledge (episteme) but also with the entire knowledge apparatus with which a goal is achieved" (Jäger, 2001, p. 41).

1.2.3 The Concept of Dispositive

In *The History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault explores the processes of discourse production and dissemination in a given field, and how they are regulated not only by power/knowledge but also the interaction of various factors generating power effects. There is an interdependent relationship between power and knowledge, and both notions are connected to certain discursive and non-discursive social and institutional practices in a particular apparatus (Foucault, 1980d). Foucault introduced the term "dispositive" as a conceptual tool to theorise the interconnection between the elements of discursive and non-discursive practices in discourse production, actors involved in this process, and the effects of power/knowledge in the processes of attributing meaning to what is considered common knowledge in a given domain.

Foucault uses the French term *dispositif*, often translated into English as apparatus or dispositive. He describes a dispositive as an ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices, norms, measures, power relations, and knowledge (1980d, p. 194). In defining the dispositive, Foucault (1980d) states further that these heterogeneous elements are connected to one another. According to sociologist Reiner Keller, with the conceptualisation of dispositive,

> Foucault (…) characterises the interwoven bundle of 'means and measures' – including persons, objects, organisations, rules, proceedings and the like – that are the basis for the production of a specific discourse and/or for the production of a discourse's power effects, its interventions into the world. (2013, pp. 52–53)

The concept of dispositive adds another layer to discourse analysis. In discourse production, the assemblage of these interconnected components (discourse, practices, actors, and manifestations) creates a cluster, recognised as a dispositive,

which helps us comprehend how a specific type of discourse is produced and disseminated as societal knowledge in a particular field. The conceptualisation of a dispositive requires an investigation not only of the dispersal of related discourses but, more importantly, of all the dimensions of the power/knowledge relationship along with the strategically interlinked elements of discourse production:

> The apparatus is thus always inscribed in a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain coordinates of knowledge which issue from it but, to an equal degree, condition it. This is what the apparatus consists in: strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge. (Foucault, 1980d, p. 196)

The third characteristic of the dispositive, in addition to heterogeneity and connectedness, is that "it must respond to an urgent need at a given historical moment" (Foucault, 1980d, p. 195). The urgency factor prompts the creation of measures which in turn hold the elements of the dispositive together, safeguarding the existing power/knowledge relationship at a particular time and place in a given field.

1.2.4 Investigating a Dispositive as a Research Perspective

The concept of dispositive in discourse analysis enables a comprehensive understanding of how discourses function and what the other factors involved in this functioning are by introducing non-linguistic aspects in the production of social reality. Jäger stresses that, in discourse analysis, discourses cannot be investigated on their own:

> Discourses are not phenomena which exist independently; they form the elements and are the prerequisite of the existence of so-called dispositives. A dispositive is the constantly evolving context of items of knowledge which are contained in speaking/thinking, acting and materialisation. (2001, p. 56)

Although Foucault conceptualised the dispositive as part of discourse analysis in context of the power/knowledge relationship, he does not offer an explicit theory on how to examine it; concerned instead with discovering the agencies that attribute meaning in a domain in a particular time and place. Following Foucault, there are various stances on whether discourse analysis could be extended to include the dispositive or should dispositive analysis be treated as a new empirical methodology. In the German-speaking world of discourse analysis, some scholars incorporate the dispositive within discourse theory and analysis (Bührmann & Schneider, 2008, 2012; Caborn, 2007; Jäger, 2001; Keller, 2005; Werner Schneider, 2015).

Andrea Bührmann and Werner Schneider argue that "the dispositive or dispositive analysis does not indicate a specific research methodology that should be carried out in empirical research, nor a canonised methodological-operational programme with individual steps of data collection and evaluation" (2012, p. 14). For Werner Schneider, dispositive analysis is "a research perspective with specific epistemological foundations and conceptual-theoretical components that characterise a 'style of thinking' associated with the analytical concept of dispositive" (2015, p. 23).

Joannah Caborn considers dispositive analysis as "a useful extension of discourse analysis" (2007, p. 121); the inclusion of elements of a dispositive into the enquiry makes it possible "to analyse objects and actions as well as text, by doing discourse analysis of the attribution of meaning in their accompanying paratexts" (Caborn, 2007, p. 118).

Similarly, Jäger states that "discourse analysis, extended to include dispositive analysis, aims to identify the knowledge (valid at a certain place, at a certain time) of discourses and/or dispositives, to explore the respective concrete context of knowledge/power and to subject it to critique" (2001, p. 33). Jäger includes the dispositive as a part of discourse analysis to investigate the manifestations of discourses.

Correspondingly, Keller expresses:

> In addition to being actualised in the linguistic practices of discourse production, discourses are stabilised by means of dispositives – institutionalised infrastructural elements and assemblages of measures (such as areas of responsibility, formal procedures, objects, technologies, sanctions, educational procedures and as such). (2013, p. 71)

The analytical method described here is influenced by both a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis, and ideas drawn from the type of research analysing the dispositive, enabling us to go "beyond the textual level to be able to analyse the concrete manifestations of discourses" (Keller, 2013). To achieve this goal, the study follows the view of the scholars mentioned above and investigates the dispositive as a research perspective within discourse analysis. Consequently, the research examines cultural diversity as a dispositive. Including the notion of dispositive into the inquiry provides the means of determining the cultural actors occupying the positions entitled to generate, regulate, and disseminate discourse on cultural diversity. Similarly, the dispositive is instrumental in understanding the materialisation of discourse in the forms of institutional measures and norms that exercise power effects, forming a specific cultural diversity framework. In doing so, the research not only analyses the construction of meaning within the diversity frame of cultural policy through discourse but, more importantly, it pinpoints the effects generated by cultural actors, discursive and non-discursive practices,

and the materialisation of this construction of meaning and transmission of knowledge.

In this empirical investigation, the elements of dispositive comprise "institutionalised data production, socio-material infrastructures, networks of articulation and distribution" (Keller, 2005, para. 25). Hence, the methodological framework includes the combined analysis of discursive (discourse in forms such as statements, texts, etc.) and non-discursive (institutions, their measures, norms, and actions) practices. By deliberately involving the dispositive into discourse analysis, the research aims to problematise the interplay between the complex ensemble of discursive and non-discursive elements in knowledge production that form the establishment of public funding programmes with a particular focus on "promoting diversity" through the field of performing arts. By employing the concept of dispositive, this research delves into how the cultural diversity paradigm, in an institutional setting and through specific actions, operates as an inclusion/exclusion mechanism for "particular" immigrants. In short, the dispositive strategy is implemented as a road map for examining the relationship between the discourse on cultural diversity, the actors of this discourse and their actions, the materialisation of power/knowledge relations, and the consequences of these actions.

The study argues that the cultural diversity dispositive consists of a network of heterogeneous strategically linked discursive and non-discursive elements addressing an urgent need. In the first layer of this apprehension, cultural diversity is constructed as a cultural policy paradigm for tackling societal issues through artistic practices. In this construction, cultural diversity is seen as an overarching phenomenon. In the second layer, its contribution to social cohesion depends on a precondition: it requires "the inclusion of the ones, marked as different" (Puwar, 2004).

These two levels – cultural diversity and inclusion/integration – become interrelated through discourse, cultural actors, and specific instruments responding to the "issues/challenges" considered to be results of immigration. In this regard, various cultural funding institutions introduce special incentive programmes and awards for performing arts institutions and initiatives promoting cultural diversity.

The empirical investigation applies the dispositive strategy as a methodological tool of discourse analysis to examine the various aspects of these two levels within the national cultural policy on cultural diversity. Chapter 3 delves into the discourse of cultural policy on diversity and the related concepts employed, to illustrate what the objective of "promoting diversity" means. Chapter 4 analyses the involvement of politics in cultural policy and the role of the political actors' normative ideas in positioning diversity within an inclusion framework. Chapter 5 investigates special programmes and awards of the policymaking bodies of the federal government

as consequences of the concrete manifestation of diversity discourse. Lastly, in Chapter 6, three theatre initiatives are examined as another dimension of the diversity dispositive.

Drawing on Foucault, the methodology utilised in this work reflects on the question of how the interrelation of discourse, non-discursive practices (actions), and the institutional manifestation/materialisation (outcomes) of cultural diversity can be examined as a dispositive.

The analysis of these interrelated elements of the dispositive primarily deals with the following catalogue of questions:

1. What are the elements of the cultural diversity dispositive concerning immigration in cultural policy?
2. What are the strategically linked cultural policy objectives on cultural diversity regarding immigration?
3. How are political and policy actors involved in the production of discourse on immigration-related diversity?
4. What measures and instruments are introduced as a response to an urgency?
5. What strategies and concepts do national cultural funding institutions employ to promote immigration-generated diversity?
6. Who are the addressees of the discourse on cultural diversity in the programmes of these funding institutions? What roles are ascribed to immigrants and refugees in these programmes?
7. What impact do diversity-oriented cultural policy strategies and measures have on the German performing arts scene?
8. What shortcoming or shortcomings of cultural policy are the reason that although "promoting diversity" is continuously one of the priority objectives, these efforts are not reflected in the programming, staff, and audience composition of most public theatres?
9. How do the funded theatre initiatives address immigration-related diversity in their productions?
10. How do the funded theatre initiatives interpret aesthetics and artistic forms?
11. How are immigration and displacement manifested in the organisational structure of the funded theatre initiatives?
12. How are the strategies, artistic forms, and narratives of the funded theatre initiatives received by their audiences?

1.2.5 Data Sampling and Data Selection

As already emphasised, this empirical study does not focus on linguistic analysis. Instead, it investigates palpable policy processes with the aim of pointing out how

cultural politics and policy influence the shaping, regulation, and transmission of particular knowledge on immigration-generated diversity. It also deals with the question of how this knowledge construction determines the framework of access conditions to the theatre scene for the ones marked as "particular" immigrants and refugees. Therefore, it analyses the documents that are considered as characteristic or exemplary data for the discourse content of the current cultural diversity paradigm.

The scope of the empirical material presented in Chapter 3 includes documents related to interculturalism. Since the second half of the 2000s, policymakers at different levels have been advocating for the intercultural reorganisation of cultural institutions. The research tackles this dialogue-oriented shift to comprehend the correlation between the rejection of a multicultural view and the embrace of an intercultural one in political and policy circles.

The empirical investigation in Chapter 4 mainly consists of an examination of the key national cultural policy documents and concepts that associate immigration-generated diversity with inclusion. In Chapter 5, various data on the funding programmes of selected federal cultural institutions is analysed. Additionally, the data corpus of Chapter 6 comprises participant observations and interviews conducted by the researcher.

This study argues that in the second half of the 2000s, a change in mindset took place in the German political discourse on immigration. After decades of reluctance, only following the enactment of the new immigration law, the Immigration Act of 2005, finally, Germany was publicly acknowledged as a country of immigration (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 7). This cornerstone in the immigration history from the 1970s onwards in the Federal Republic brought forward the realisation of the (cultural) identity aspect of integration. At the end of a long political process, a slow change in perspective started to take place, accentuating the inclusion of diversity in social and cultural life, in addition to its role in the German economy. Since the recognition of culture as a vital pillar for combating the "issues of immigration" after the failed assimilation plans and strategies of immigration and integration policies, cultural policies have become essential instruments for responding to immigration-generated diversity and finding alternative ways for including "particular" immigrants into society through the canonised arts. Secondly, corresponding to this continued progress in acknowledging the immigrant character of the country, the notion of inclusion has been one of the priorities of national cultural policy, pursued through enhancing cultural participation and integration of people with a "migrant background" as well as promoting intercultural dialogue and exchange (CoE & ERICarts, 2016). Recently, after the so-called "refugee crisis" of 2015 and 2016, people seeking refuge in Germany were added to this category of the ones that need to be included in the nation (Puwar, 2004).

Another significant aspect of the change in mindset towards favouring the promotion of diversity is connected to the ratification of the UNESCO 2005 Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions by Germany in 2007. Since then, cultural diversity has been the primary cultural policy paradigm in Germany. Both the *Enquete-Kommission* (Commission of Enquiry) and national cultural policy advocate fostering cultural diversity in line with the UNESCO 2005 Convention.

This research assesses the above as cultural policy measures essential for the reconstruction of discourse on immigration-related diversity. Furthermore, these measures provide a broad array of insights into the discursive formation of cultural diversity as a dispositive.

1.2.6 Data Evaluation

In his discourse theory, Foucault did not develop an empirical method for implementing a discourse analysis. As Keller expresses, although Foucault's theoretical approach to discourse has been very influential for researchers, a coherent strategy is almost nonexistent regarding how one should conduct an empirical discourse analysis research:

> In the secondary and research literature that relates to Foucault, we may find, with regard to methodological implementations, predominantly terminological and theoretical explanations for conceptualisation, but almost no hints – at least from the perspective of qualitative social research, nothing satisfactory – about concrete strategies for the processing of the material. (2013, p. 55)

In conducting discourse analysis, this work follows the proposal of Keller. Hence, in the first stage, "the analytical technique consists of simple reading and 'evaluation' of the information that seems to be of importance (…), then specific, controlled analytical and interpretative techniques are utilised" (Keller, 2013, p. 98) to establish the validity of underpinning discourse processes. For the interpretative analysis of the selected data, "triangulation" (Denzin, 1978; Flick, 2009) is employed to combine various materials and methods in order to maintain a multidimensional view on the production of a particular discourse structure in cultural policy regarding the involvement of immigration into the cultural diversity framework.

In the next stage, a structural analysis as suggested by Jäger is carried out as a general guideline for processing data (2001, pp. 54–56). However, the inquiry does not follow all the proposed steps, instead, the method is adjusted to the theoretical approach of the study and is aimed at providing an adequate degree of verification for the research questions. The investigation consists of:

- a brief characterisation of national cultural policy texts and related concepts regarding the promotion of cultural diversity,
- a description of the objectives of the selected funding institutions on immigration in context of addressing cultural diversity,
- an overview of the funding programmes promoting diversity and an evaluation of the conveyed subjects and topics concerning immigration (see Chapter 5 for the justification of programme selection),
- a sample analysis of several theatre projects subsidised by these programmes to illustrate the discourse positions from which the programmes approach cultural diversity (see Chapter 6 for the criteria of case selection),
- an overall analysis of the discourse structure on immigration-related diversity,
- an examination of other elements (e.g., cultural politics) of the cultural diversity dispositive responding to an urgency, and
- an investigation of three theatre initiatives funded by various public institutions as the materialisation of the cultural diversity discourse.

Finally, the analysis culminates in a summarisation of the concluding interpretation and processing of the empirical findings, providing a snapshot of the cultural diversity dispositive.

1.3 Case Study Analysis

In Chapter 6, in addition to the dispositive-oriented discourse analysis, a qualitative case study research is also conducted to investigate three independent theatre initiatives. This decision is closely related to three factors. First, case study provides a distinctive advantage over other research methods in instances where "a how or why the question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin, 1994, p. 9). Second, the researcher considers case study analysis "a research strategy that comprises an all-encompassing method with the logic of design incorporating specific approaches to data collection and data analysis" (Yin, 1994, p. 13). The specificity of case study research is suitable for the questions raised in this study, as it instructs the researcher to analyse a few cases intensively and describe and explain them in detail from various dimensions with the help of diverse empirical evidence including interviews, participant observation, direct observation, artefacts, documents, and so on (Gerring, 2007; Hancock & Algozzine, 2006; Ragin & Becker, 1992; Vennesson, 2008; Yin, 1994, 2018). Finally, the applicability of case study research in different disciplines and subfields for developing a theory or a concept, its usefulness in performing an empirical inquiry on numerous subjects rigorously in order to understand a case or cases, and its relevance "to use theory to make sense of

evidence and to use evidence to sharpen and refine theory" (Ragin & Becker, 1992, p. 225) allow the researcher to become actively involved in the subject in question.

1.3.1 Case Study Research Design

Case studies commonly involve the examination of "persons, processes, institutions, social groups, and other contemporary phenomena (e.g., a particular event, situation, programme, or activity)" (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 15). The purpose of such a wide range of engagement is having "diverse objectives, characteristics and results" (Vennesson, 2008, p. 225). For this reason, there have been various approaches to research design in case studies; hence, "the classification of a research design always depends upon the particular proposition that a researcher intends to prove" (Gerring, 2007, p. 29). Consequently, case studies are distinguished from one another depending on the focus of research and the interest of the researcher. In terms of the intent of the analysis, commonly, there are three categories: intrinsic, instrumental, or collective (multiple) case studies (Creswell, 2007; Hancock & Algozzine, 2006; Stake, 1995). The research design of this case study can be classified as a collective case study, as the subject of concern is embodied in three cases – three independent theatre initiatives: *boat people projekt*, *Hajusom*, and *Ruhrorter*. In the design of this research, these theatre groups are conceived "as several instrumental cases to allow an enhanced ability to theorise about some larger collection of cases" (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 35). The research examines how these theatres approach matters of immigration, displacement, identity, and otherness. Through empirical evidence from the investigated cases and a conceptual proposition, the research explores a feasible cultural policy concept that advocates a pluralist theatre landscape in Germany.

To retain a broader perspective when describing and explaining the cases, the investigation deploys several case study strategies. Hence, the case study part of this research entails a triangulation between three forms of research design "to compensate for the limitations of each method" (George & Bennett, 2005). According to Sharan Merriam (2001), case study research may also adopt a disciplinary method such as ethnographic, historical, psychological, or sociological. Following this line of thought, the research design of this work rests upon a sociological perspective with the aim of achieving a comprehensive investigation of the empirical evidence and hopefully finding answers to the research questions via the conceptual foundation explaining the findings.

Theory-building plays an integral part in case studies, and "developing a theory prior to the conduct of any data collection distinguishes case studies from other related methods such as ethnography and grounded theory" (Yin, 1994, p. 27). The design of this research is concerned with concept creation. In this regard, the proposition of the concept of thinking interculturally (McDonald, 2011) is further

developed to *thinking and acting interculturally* in performing arts. Conceptualisation is designated as the basis for identifying the main features of a future-oriented performing arts scene, one that views diversity as the norm of society. *Thinking and acting interculturally* is derived as a viable concept for formulating the preconditions of involving immigrant and displaced artists, new narratives, artistic forms, and aesthetics in the German performing arts scene.

Finally, case study research strategies can also be classified as exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory (Yin, 1994, 2018). The design and conduct of this case study have an exploratory motive as the examination of three theatre groups as cases entails "illustrating certain themes within an evaluation in a descriptive manner" (Yin, 2018). Additionally, the exploratory design is instrumental here, as "it seeks to define research questions of a subsequent study or to determine the feasibility of research procedures" (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 33). The exploratory strategy also enables us to underscore various features of the conceptual proposition.

1.3.2 Cases and the Casing

The term "case" can be understood and described from different viewpoints, and it has been continuously discussed and questioned (Ragin & Becker, 1992; Vennesson, 2008; Yin, 1994). Various applications of the term include "data categories, theoretical categories, historically specific categories, substantive categories, and as such" (Ragin & Becker, 1992, p. 217). Hence, it is essential to clarify what this empirical analysis refers to when using the term "case".

According to Gerring, "case connotes a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time; comprising the type of phenomenon that an inference attempts to explain" (2007, p. 19). An investigator should retain a critical position in determining the borders of the case or cases (Bennett, 2004; Vennesson, 2008; Yin, 1994). Creating cases demands the interest and active involvement of the researcher in data collecting and the conceptualisation of the research design; cases are "the product of theory and conceptualisation – as when we ask what something is a case of, set the boundaries of the case or use conceptual tools to understand it" (della Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 13). The investigator decides which class of events, which facets of the phenomenon, and which variables to focus upon (Bennett, 2004). More importantly, the role of the researcher in limiting the cases is critical since "case study does not presuppose a relatively bounded phenomenon, nor is it based on the need to select such a phenomenon; the boundaries of the phenomenon are defined by the investigator" (Vennesson, 2008, p. 230).

This research design of case study aims to bridge the gap between the conceptual framework and the empirical data. To link these two strands together,

Ragin and Becker suggest the alternative phrase *casing*, "as a research tactic to resolve difficult issues in linking ideas and evidence" (1992, p. 217). They consider casing "an essential part of the process of producing theoretically structured descriptions of social life and of using empirical evidence to articulate theories" (1992, p. 225). Considering this suggestion, the enquiry views casing "as a methodological step" (Ragin & Becker, 1992) taken to integrate the theoretical ground and empirical data, but more importantly "to avoid manipulating the empirical research in favour of verifying the theoretical framework" (Platt, 1992; Ragin & Becker, 1992).

Furthermore, the way researchers are involved in the creation of cases is an essential attribute of the qualitative methodology as "researchers are not passive; they engage in casing" (Vennesson, 2008, p. 229). The interest of the investigator delimits the boundaries of the cases; thus, the construction of the theoretical framework and collecting the matching empirical evidence to exercise the relevance of the conceptual proposition is characterised more appropriately by casing. Evidently, the casing in this work is stimulated by concept formation and it "involves not selection on a random basis or the basis of typicality, but on the basis of theoretical interests in cases" (Ragin & Becker, 1992, p. 222).

1.3.3 Data Collection for the Casing

One of the defining features of case study is an in-depth evaluation of various empirical data through which the researcher seeks to determine the components of the concept formulation. The data in this research includes interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. The cases are selected through purposeful sampling since the researcher believes they are illustrative of different dimensions of the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally*. Purposeful sampling is also applied in determining the range of the empirical material, as the researcher has assessed that the selected data is relevant for conceiving, observing, and envisaging a performing arts field that matches the requirements of this concept. Thus, cases are chosen "according to the intensity with which the interesting features, processes, experiences, and as such are given or assumed in them" (Patton, 2002, as cited in Flick, 2009, p. 122).

The case study design of this research is based on different methods and procedures of data-gathering. The central part of the data analysis consists of participant observation and interviews with the members of the mentioned theatre groups.

Additionally, participant observation was chosen as a data collection technique as it combines document analysis and interviews with direct participation and self-observation (Denzin, 1989). Here, the aim of participant observation is twofold: first, to gain knowledge on the theatres' artistic forms chosen for constructing

the casing on immigration and displacement; and second, to discern the theatres' methods of working with professionals and amateurs labelled as immigrant and refugee artists. To attain this goal, the researcher took part in the rehearsals of some of the productions of these theatre groups.

In this research, participant observation includes three phases:

- Descriptive observation: To provide an orientation at the beginning to the field under study. It consists of nonspecific descriptions and is used to grasp the complexity of the field as far as possible and to develop (at the same time) more concrete research questions and lines of vision.
- Focused observation: To narrow the perspective on those processes and problems, which are most essential for the research questions.
- Selective observation: To find further evidence and examples towards the end of the data collection. (Spradley, 1980, p. 34)

In terms of pursuing the objective of developing the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally*, participant observation provides "methodological flexibility and appropriateness" (Flick, 2009) needed to uncover the specific aspects of the concept supported by consistent and additional empirical evidence.

1.3.4 Content Review

As part of introducing a triangulation of diverse perspectives into the case study, in the last phase, the casing is evaluated based on a set of criteria developed by the researcher, comprising the core elements of a theatre that *thinks and acts interculturally*[9]. Developing "method-appropriate criteria" (Flick, 2009) can prove beneficial in overcoming the challenges of gaining validity and reliability. In this study, attaining validity is achieved through demonstrating "credibility" (Eisner, 1991). By providing the criteria of credibility, the researcher seeks to meet the condition of bringing together evidence in a meaningful way to support the conceptual formulation. According to Eisner, "the confluence of evidence that breeds credibility allows us to feel confident about our observations, interpretations and conclusions" (1991, p. 110).

Since the case study presented in this research is concept-oriented, in the first step of the analysis, the data is arranged into relevant components of category formation, to generate a standpoint that signifies the theoretical framework (Madison, 2005). These categories are seen as supporting evidence displaying multiple characteristics of the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally*. Based

9 See Section 7.1. for the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally* and the indicators of interculturality in Section 7.1.1.

on the categories, the empirical data is continuously examined and interpreted in a processual cycle "in order to reach tentative conclusions and to refine the research questions" (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 56).

Reviewing the data concerning the formation of categories consists of describing the cases in detail, developing subjects or dimensions using a classification system, and providing an interpretation of the theoretical and conceptual perspective (Creswell, 2007). Although the aim of this research design is not plainly to describe the cases, description is unavoidable as all types of case studies are, to a certain extent, descriptive by nature (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006, p. 16).

Description is one of the early steps of the analytical strategy along with database classification and interpretation. This work uses "direct interpretation" (Stake, 1995) as a form of data evaluation, with which the researcher aims to establish patterns and search for correspondence between the categories (Creswell, 2007). Through the interpretative processing of interviews, observations, and other related documentation, the goal is to comprehend each case (Flick, 2009, p. 374) and delineate the main features of the conceptualisation of *thinking and acting interculturally* for the performing arts scene.

1.4 The Structure of the Study

The research investigates, from various dimensions, how German cultural policy frames immigration-related diversity in performing arts. Striving for a comprehensive portrayal of cultural policy approaches to cultural diversity and how the objective of "promoting diversity" is embodied in the performing arts scene, this study analyses cultural diversity as a dispositive. Moreover, to gain multiperspectivity, it also adopts an interdisciplinary research analysis methodology, drawing perspectives from sociology, cultural studies, and political science.

Chapter 1 of this study delineates why the reformation of the German performing arts field should be accompanied by accommodating immigration-related diversity. Then, it introduces the methodological framework, namely dispositive-oriented discourse analysis and case study research. The discourse analysis of this research employs Michel Foucault's concept, the dispositive as an analytical research perspective. It examines the cultural diversity dispositive to identify the cluster of heterogeneous but interrelated discursive and non-discursive elements in the functioning of immigration-related diversity discourse and how this discourse is produced and maintained by policymakers and disseminated as societal knowledge. It also describes how the chosen data corpus is conducive to underscoring the power effects of the cultural diversity dispositive

in terms of motivation, objectives, utterances (not only what is said, but also what is implicit) of cultural policy documents, statements of policy actors, funding programmes, and funded theatre initiatives. The second part of this chapter explains the case study research perspective for the investigation of the chosen cases of independent theatre collectives. The case study is designed to outline the main components of forming a concept for a pluralistic performing arts scene. Using casing to bridge the gap between the conceptual framework and empirical data (Ragin & Becker, 1992), the research seeks to reify the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally* as a cognitive tool to think diversity anew in the performing arts field.

Chapter 2, firstly, describes the theoretical background of the research, which focuses on the interrelation between cultural policy and systematic exclusion of immigrant artistic workforce from the performing arts field. It argues that the normative ideals, values, and aesthetical conventions of policymaking bodies play a crucial role in the maintenance and regulation of inequality, particularly in the public theatre domain, as well as between the institutionalised and the independent and amateur theatres. It makes use of historical institutionalism and Pierre Bourdieu's field theory for a coherent comprehension of the power of policymaking in perpetuating the inert organisational structure of public theatres and engendering resistance to change in these institutions (Béland, 2009; Bourdieu, 1989, 1993a, 1993b). In other words, it analyses the association between a historically grounded embodied system of beliefs, attitudes, and reflexes of cultural-political actors and the habitus of the agents in the theatre field to determine how decisive this interplay is for the lack of equal opportunities for cultural professionals with a "particular migrant background". Then, the second section shortly outlines what cultural diversity means for municipal and state theatres where a lack of diversity is most present, and whose legitimacy has been questioned, especially in the last two decades. Next, it discusses the crucial role of the mutual relationship between the independent scene and post-migrant theatre in the development and proliferation of the notion of pluralistic diversity in German theatre.

Lastly, in the following subsection, the research claims that people with a "particular migrant background" with intersecting identities (i.e., non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, Black, POC) and lately refugees are subjected to othering. It attempts to illustrate how the culturalisation of politics after the post-war period in Europe replaced the concept of race with culture, and that culture has become a category for establishing differences as binary oppositions (Balibar, 1991a; Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1992b; Hesse, 2007; Goldberg, 2006; Lentin, 2005). The section discusses the role of Eurocentric perspectives and the stigmatisation of cultural differences of "the other" in generating structural exclusion. Next, it investigates the reflection of the arbitrary category of "migrant background", which

is recognised in this work as a hierarchical coding that negates difference and operates as a form of racism manifested in spaces. These are namely national space (cultural-political policymaking) and cultural space (public theatre). The research argues that national space being constructed by cultural politics has a profound impact on the exclusion of "the other" from the domain of public theatre.

Chapter 3 critically interrogates the vague language of diversity discourse (Vertovec, 2012) in German cultural policy. Through analysing concepts related to the goal of "promoting diversity", namely multiculturalism and interculturalism, the research examines the relationality between cultural integration and diversity. Furthermore, it probes various conceptualisations of interculturalism and intercultural dialogue employed by the *Länder* and local cultural policies, to illustrate what "promoting diversity" means and if or to what extent these perceptions and strategies might be beneficial to the federal cultural policy in offering an intercultural perspective for the pluralistic structuring of the performing arts scene.

Chapter 4 explores the political dimension of the cultural diversity dispositive. It analyses the impact of specific values and ideals of cultural-political actors in the construction of hierarchised diversity, comparing Germany after labour migration from the 1950s onwards with Germany after the unification. It illustrates how political manifestations are involved in the regulation of the binary division between "us" and the "culturally distant" immigrants ("them") and how those ideologically overloaded cultural-political concepts define the policy objectives of "promoting diversity" and creating a conditional inclusion framework for "particular" immigrants.

After debating different discourse dimensions of the cultural diversity dispositive, in Chapter 5, the research assesses some incentive and subsidy programmes of primary cultural funding institutions of the federal government, to comprehend how the discourse on immigration-related diversity is implemented through varying actions supporting different segments of the German performing arts scene. The inquiry is also concerned with whether or to what extent these funding programmes can contribute to an equality-based renewal of the performing arts field.

By conducting a dispositive analysis and case study research, Chapter 6 evaluates three independent theatre initiatives funded by the very same policy institutions that constitute the second layer of materialisation of immigration-related diversity discourse. The aim of the analysis is, on the one hand, to obtain an extensive insight into how cultural diversity is put into practice. On the other hand, the aim is to explore to what extent these examples might be gainful in underpinning the main components of the conceptualisation of *thinking and acting interculturally* in order to envision the performing arts realm as a democratic space in which knowledge production can be diversified, and how the presence of various

artistic articulations can support the future relevance of the field and fulfil the expectations of an intercultural society.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the findings of the theoretical and empirical analysis; then, it introduces the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally* and outlines the preconditions of the conceptualisation. Lastly, it offers a precise intercultural vision and an accompanying strategic planning perspective that seeks to stimulate a change in mindset towards policymaking for the pluralisation of the performing arts scene. It also identifies the core elements of an interculturally-oriented cultural policy framework for dismantling segments of structural inequality and achieving equal opportunities for all in the realm of performing arts.

2. Cultural Policy, Systematic Exclusion, Structural Racism

The study argues that the lack of diversity in German public theatres is explicitly connected to cultural policy and its funding structure. This suggests that a structural change in the way public theatres operate is intertwined with a shift in approach in cultural policy, and accordingly in its funding mechanism. In this book, policy is understood as a "cognitive-normative framework" (Burns & Carson, 2005), employed by public institutional bodies with legitimacy to make decisions on what actions should be taken, how they should be implemented, and whom they should address. The study postulates that power and knowledge (Foucault, 1978) in the field of cultural policy, guided by deep-rooted habits and values of cultural politics, support the perpetuation of an exclusionary theatre structure. Hence, exclusion and inequality in the German theatre realm cannot be disassociated from cultural policy. As Peter Hall argues, a policy paradigm "specifies not only the goals of policy and kind of instruments that can be used to attain them but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing" (1993, p. 279).

In the following sections of this chapter, by applying historical institutionalism as a theoretical perspective, the research first examines how and to what extent cultural policy and its agenda-setting have an impact on the systematic exclusion of people with a "migrant background" from the domain of public theatre. Two concepts by Pierre Bourdieu are implemented in this exploration, namely field and habitus, to unfold the internalised structure of the theatre field and the influence of cultural policy bodies and their support mechanism on the construction of outsiders.

2.1 The Role of Policymaking in Maintaining Systematic Exclusion

In this section, the study investigates the interrelation between historical institutionalism and the cultural diversity dispositive to shed light on the role of normative ideals, values, and habits of cultural policymakers that generate, maintain, and regulate unequal access conditions for theatre-makers with a

"migrant background" in the public theatre landscape. The discussion aims to bring the role and power of a specific cultural environment within a concrete institutional setting into focus, which "privileges some interests while demobilising others" (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 937).

The research argues that the embodied system of cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and reflexes are a product of a specific historical background (Béland, 2005) embedded in the cultural policy paradigm. Together, they shape the framework and funding scheme of cultural policy. From this perspective, it is essential to examine the agendas, frames, and policy paradigms for a more comprehensive understanding of the executive aspect of cultural policy (Béland, 2009) and its impact on the lack of cultural diversity in public theatres.

Cultural policy is "thought to describe the values and principles which regulate or guide any entity involved in cultural affairs" (Eräsaari, 2009, p. 56). Therefore, it reflects the preferences of governmental decision-making bodies that utilise specific instruments to implement the choices of political power. For a better grasp of how the ideas and interests of decision-making policy actors/institutions perpetuate a theatre system that produces outsiders, the following subsections are devoted to the impact of policymaking.

In this examination, the researcher exercises the applicability of a theoretical approach of political science – namely historical institutionalism – to cultural policy, to discuss the enduring role and function of policymaking and its funding institutions in safeguarding the absence of immigration-related diversity in the personnel, repertoire, and audience structures of (mainly) public theatres.

The research acknowledges cultural funding institutions as the public bodies of three levels of government dedicated to culture, and it demarcates the notion of institution in line with the definition of historical institutionalism, as "the formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organisational structure of the polity" (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 6). For an analytical understanding of how cultural policy and funding institutions operate in a certain way, the research utilises Bourdieu's field theory as a conceptual tool. The study follows the suggestion of political sociologist Daniel Béland, who claims that "the field concept of Bourdieu is instrumental to historical institutionalism to describe the nature of social inequality and the origin of actors' preferences and strategies, taking into account the interaction between ideas, interests, and institutions" (2005, p. 30).

The study considers historical institutionalism contributory in explaining the underlying institutional configuration and logic behind the actions of cultural policy. This exploration aims to discuss the relevance of historical institutional theory, interlinking it with Foucaldian dispositive analysis (see Chapter 1) and Bourdieu's field theory, to pinpoint the involvement of cultural policymaking in the

(re)producution and regulation of unfair access conditions for immigrant theatre-makers.

2.2 Historical Institutionalism: Inertia in Institutional Structures

For historical institutionalists, "institutions are seen as relatively persistent features of the historical landscape and one of the central factors pushing historical development along a set of paths" (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 9). Historical institutionalism highlights the interconnection between the ideas, values, and beliefs of an institution and their historical background in action-taking (Béland 2005, 2009; Steinmo, 2008). The historical institutional theory enables us to understand the impact of the historical framework on the functioning of institutions. According to Béland, "historical institutionalism is grounded in the assumption that historically constructed institutions (i.e., public policies and formal political institutions) create major constraints and opportunities that affect the behaviour of the actors involved in the policymaking process" (2009, p. 702).

Historical institutionalists assume a world in which "institutions distribute power unevenly across social groups" (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 9). In this view, the role and power of ideas in policymaking is one of the central factors in understanding "why a certain choice was made and/or why a certain outcome occurred" (Steinmo, 2008, p. 126). By "ideas", Parsons refers to "claims about descriptions of the world, causal relationships, or the normative legitimacy of certain actions" (as cited in Béland, 2009, p. 702). The power of ideas is considered crucial here, as their influence tends to be long-lasting. Ideas can guide and shape the behaviour of an institution due to its historical backdrop. Although institutions undergo dynamic processes, historical institutionalists provide shreds of evidence that "ideas, once embedded, have framing effects and consequently become something like basic templates upon which other political decisions are made" (Steinmo, 2008, p. 130). Identifying these ideas is instrumental in revealing the framework of the policy agenda and determining the policy priorities and how they address the burning issues of a given field. For Béland, "this social and political construction of problems is related to policy legacies, as actors regularly assess the impact of existing programmes on such problems" (2009, p. 705). However, these problems are conceived and approached from a particular perspective that might underestimate or not necessarily manifest the importance of certain matters to society. Ideas and beliefs do not only rule the agenda-setting of public institutions entirely, but they are critical in making strategic choices concerning the support of policy objectives, such as "promoting diversity". This line of thought ultimately points out the element of institutional power in policymaking. Institutional power

may, in some cases, be disguised, but it can be traced and exposed in the effects of decisions.

One of the hypotheses put forward in this chapter is that German cultural policy introduces measures that respond to immigration-related diversity inefficiently, without aiming at a systemic change in the theatre landscape. Cultural policy decisions do not address the absence of equal opportunities. This reluctance is highly associated with the institutional structure, since "each paradigm is grounded in a particular set of fundamental beliefs and incorporates core principles, values, and normative ideas that are deeply embodied in concrete institutional and identity-giving practices will tend to be durable and resilient" (Burns & Carson, 2005, p. 288). Historical institutionalism suggests that "the fragmentation of political power and the presence of enduring policy legacies can become strong obstacles to reform, even when reformers succeed in putting together a coherent set of new policy ideas" (Pierson, 1994, as cited in Béland, 2009, p. 709).

Béland, however, argues that historical institutionalism requires a methodological perspective to better comprehend the role of the interaction between ideas, interests, and institutions and explain "the nature of social inequality and the origin of actors' preferences and strategies" (2005, p. 30). He suggests the incorporation of Bourdieu's field theory for a coherent insight into "symbolic violence, social inequality, and the relationship between micro-level individual behaviour and macro-level institutions" (2005, p. 45). The research interprets this proposition of the field concept as an adequate thinking tool for investigating and understanding the interplay between cultural policy, decision-making institutions, and the perceptions and preferences of their actors (who exercise power in these cultural institutions). They determine the internal rules of policymaking, which ultimately affect cultural policy outcomes and the creation and implementation of strategies, some of which include objectives related to immigration-generated diversity.

2.3 Bourdieu's Field Theory for Framing the Rules of the Game

Bourdieu's field theory draws from his key concepts, namely *field*, *habitus*, and *capital*. Comprehending the relationality between these concepts is crucial when explaining the role of historically situated positions and relations since for Bourdieu "habitus and capital are valid only in relation with a field" (as cited in Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p. 260).

Further, the study endeavours to capture the relational process between field and habitus in order to enforce the theoretical framework of historical institutionalism and demonstrate "the agenda-setting and the construction of the

problems and issues policy actors seek to address" (Béland, 2009, p. 703). Moreover, it aims to uncover how policy habits and decisions determine the rigid operational system of public theatres in terms of systematically excluding theatre-makers with a "migrant background".[1] Thus, in this section, the research briefly introduces field and habitus as conceptual tools to understand (a) the dynamic between field and habitus concerning the logic of decisions and actions in policymaking that play a part in the systematic exclusion of people with a "migrant background" from the German public theatre scene, (b) the impact of internalised perceptions (firmly linked to European/Western theatre aesthetics) on the practices of public theatres, and (c) the nature of values and perspectives behind the legitimisation of the director-mandated organisational system of municipal and state theatres.

According to Bourdieu (1984), the world consists of various social fields, such as culture, education, power, religion, economy, politics, science, and each field is a (relatively) autonomous social structure governed by specific rules, knowledge, and related forms of capital. For Bourdieu, a field is "a meta-theoretical open concept that circumscribes the structure of a space within which agents operate" (Albright & Hartman, 2018, p. 4). These social actors – whether individuals, groups, or institutions – hold the dominant positions in a given field based on the scale and composition of their capital. A field is also, in this sense, "a system of forces which exists between these positions; a field is structured internally in terms of power relations" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 53). The interaction between the disposition of actors and the rules of the field creates symbolic power, which obtains its force from the habitus and the acquired capital in a given field (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 21). Habitus and capital, thus, primarily affect the formation of the field since "the ways fields are structured shape what we know and how we come to know it – the limits of knowledge produced and what can be recognised or goes misrecognised" (Albright & Hartman, 2018, p. 8). For Bourdieu, this knowledge production is realised through habitus, a notion that refers to the learned norms that guide the behaviours and habits of cultural agents within a field "to the extent that they become dispositions or tendencies that actors can enact in a wide variety of social situations" (Albright & Hartman, 2018, p. 12). Habitus, therefore, "provides a lens for understanding practice and knowledge within the social milieu in which they are contained and generated" (Costa & Murphy, 2018, p. 6).

According to Bourdieu, habitus "generates practices, beliefs, perceptions, and feelings" (1993b, p. 87). The structure of a field and the habitus of its actors affect one another. The learned behaviours and acquired knowledge of the actors are transferred into the practices of the respective field. Therefore, habitus is understood as the place where power relations are internalised.

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1 Sharifi (2011a) discusses some other aspects, such as the role of cultural capital and social class in generating the exclusion of post-migrant theatre-makers in Germany.

The functioning of a field depends on the actors of the game equipped with the required habitus (knowledge and recognition of the inherited rules of the field; Bourdieu, 1993b, p. 72). Habitus, capital, and the configuration of the field shape the practices within it. In this context, the public theatre field is a field of forces and struggles (Bourdieu, 1993a), including the one to legitimise a specific capital that represents the aesthetics and practices of national culture.

Habitus, a system of dispositions acquired by implicit or explicit learning which functions as a system of generative schemes, generates strategies (Bourdieu, 1993b, p. 76). One of the outcomes of these strategies, in the struggle for position, is that dominant actors consider themselves superior to others. From this standpoint, the concept of habitus offers valuable insight into the dynamics of the German theatre system by enabling us to understand the role and symbolic power of the dispositions of artistic directing in the field of public theatre. Moreover, habitus explains how the perspectives, values, and beliefs of actors and the structure of policymaking in the theatre field shape one another, and how this interdependence affects the production of outsiders, particularly in the domain of public theatre. Habitus is also useful for identifying the motives of the continuity in decision-making, institutional stability, and resistance to structural reform in the theatre system.

Within the context of field theory, in this work, cultural policymaking bodies are considered "institutionalised cultural authority" (Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 39) endowed with the right to make theatre policy and allocate financial resources accordingly to promote public theatres. Likewise, public theatres are seen as the key actors of representing the rich historical German theatre landscape as the vehicle of the cultural identity of the nation. The research, with the help of historical institutionalism theory, interprets the notion of habitus as the institutional positions of the decision-making actors in cultural policy and the field of public theatre, although Bourdieu mainly uses habitus in terms of defining social class relations.

Accordingly, together with historical institutionalism, Bourdieu's field theory is the central framework for the investigation of cultural policy "as the product of the practices and representations of the agents involved in it, these practices and representations being determined by the social characteristics, interests and objective positions of the agents, and therefore the structure of the relationships among them" (Dubois, 2015, p. 204). In the following two subsections, based on a theoretical and methodological analysis, the research first examines cultural diversity in German theatre. Then, it traces the evidence of structural and institutional racism by investigating the construction of the othering category of "migrant background".

2.4 German Theatre and Diversity

The theatrical landscape of the Federal German Republic is rooted in a tradition over three-centuries old, characterised by different theatre genres and a mixture of varying formats. Public theatres are defined through various categories, such as multi-disciplinary (drama, music – musical and opera – and ballet/dance) theatre, repertoire theatre, permanent ensemble, puppet theatre, children and youth theatre.

In 2018, there were a total of 142 public theatres (municipal, state, and regional theatres – which can also be puppet, children, or youth theatres), 199 private theatres, 85 festivals, 128 symphony and theatre orchestras, around 150 theatre and performance venues without a permanent ensemble, and about 100 touring troupes without a fixed stage (Deutsche Bühnenverein, 2019). In addition, countless amateur theatres and *Bürgerbühnen* (citizen's stages) play an essential role in enhancing the active cultural participation of citizens, particularly in rural areas.

Compared to many other European countries, public subsidy for the theatrical sphere is extensive. Although half of the population has never been to a theatre, a high value is ascribed to it; "no other country in the world can afford such a broad, publicly funded theatre landscape with a permanent ensemble and repertoire" (Mandel, 2013, p. 137). In 2015, the public sector provided a total of 10.4 billion euros for culture, and 35.4% of the total federal, state, and municipal cultural expenditure was in the theatre landscape (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2018, p. 29). Since culture is a state task, and the *Länder* share this responsibility with local governments, they carry out most of the financing. In 2015, municipalities supplied 54.4%, the *Länder* 44.6%, and the federal government only 0.9% of the funding for public theatres (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2018, p. 32).

The *Länder* and municipal governments favour financing public theatres structurally and annually, whereas independent theatres are supported precariously, from project to project; thus, they suffer from chronic underfunding. Public funding institutions provide only 41% of their budget (Bundesverband Freier Theater, 2015, p. 14). While institutionalised theatres usually receive public subsidy for five years, the majority of the independent groups finance their work through individual project applications, mostly from municipal funding (Rakow, 2013).

The *Deutscher Bühnenverein* (German Theatre and Orchestra Association), founded in 1846, one of the oldest and largest theatre associations in the world, is responsible for the artistic, legal, organisational, and political concerns of theatres and orchestras. Although the organisation aims to preserve, promote, and develop the diversity of the German theatre and orchestra landscape, it disregards the role of independent theatres in the development of a diversified theatre scene (Weiler, 2015, p. 219).

The federal umbrella organisation *Bundesverband Freie Darstellende Künste* (*BFDK*; German Association of Independent Performing Arts) advocates a fairer funding structure and the improvement of the financial situation of independent theatres and theatre-makers. Founded in 1909, the *BFDK* represents the interests of around 1500 members across Germany, including individual artists, groups, dance and theatre venues, and production structures to raise awareness and recognition of the independent dance and theatre scene among the general public, as well as in the political, administrative, and economic sectors (BFDK, n.d.). The equally crucial organisation, which promotes the independent theatre scene at the federal level, is the Performing Arts Fund (*Fonds Darstellende Künste*). The *BFDK* and Performing Arts Fund work in close cooperation. Other federal funding institutions such as the German Federal Cultural Foundation, the Socio-Culture Fund, and *Hauptstadt Kulturfonds*[2] (Capital Cultural Fund) also support the contemporary independent theatre scene through project funding.

Audience development is the predominant subject of diversity discussions in the German performing arts field, followed by the need for contemporary artistic forms and aesthetics, particularly in municipal and state theatres. Furthermore, "parallel systems of the municipal and state and independent theatre scene" (Fülle, 2013) and the unequal distribution of financial resources between these two worlds stir the most criticism towards German cultural policy. However, the urban-rural discrepancy regarding theatre offers is often overlooked in cultural policy discourse.

Conversely, children and youth theatres, touring, and amateur[3] theatres significantly contribute to fostering cultural diversity and participation, particularly in provinces (Schneider et al., 2019). For instance, amateur theatres outnumber municipal and state theatres nation-wide; there have been 1.000 amateur theatres in Lower Saxony alone (Schneider, 2019b, p. 71). Together they are instrumental in bringing closer the fields of art, socio-culture, and cultural education. These theatre forms enable diminishing obsolete categories that determine what the arts and socially engaged art are; what professional and amateur theatre is; what diverse aesthetics and engaging in the arts means; who the artist is and who the spectator is, especially in a world marked by diversified forms of active participation that have tremendously changed the relationship between supply and reception in the performing arts.

2 The Capital Cultural Fund only promotes projects that take place in Berlin.

3 "Amateur theatre" refers to traditional and contemporary forms of non-professional theatre and is distinguished from professional theatre for two reasons: financial motivation does not play a role in amateur practice, and actors may not have professional training; they are driven by a desire to play and interact with other people (Renz & Götzky, 2014, p. 1).

The discovery of new artistic impulses and diversity of cultural forms of expression find space to be articulated not only in the independent scene but also in these disregarded theatre practices. However, the discourse about what is ultimately good theatre is exclusively urban, even though 70% of the population in Germany lives outside big cities (Stolz, 2019). What is good is also imposed by institutions without a collaborative process with artists or the public explicitly agreeing on the criteria; if this consensus could be reached, then maybe the goodness of art would be associated with education, neighbourhood, and participation (Terkessidis, 2016).

Nonetheless, amateur theatre plays a marginal role in German cultural policy discourse, although participation is the driving force of the practice. In theatre policy, amateur theatres are still not accorded a permanent – let alone equal – place alongside professional and independent theatres (Schneider, 2019b, p. 70).

This study, within its limited scope, cannot do justice to the contribution of amateur, children, and youth theatres to the expansion of the definition of performing arts in Germany. Given that the focal point of this research is immigration-related diversity in the performing arts realm and how the sphere of cultural policy addresses the structural exclusion of immigrant artists, particularly in the public theatre domain, this chapter provides a brief overview of public and independent theatre scenes only. There are two purposes to this synoptic outline; first, public theatres, with their rigid production and organisational structures and Eurocentric aesthetical conventions, are at the core of theatre reform discussions. In this context, theatre reform entails these institutions re-establishing themselves as centres of urban culture as well as reflecting the narratives, experiences, and artistic perceptions of contemporary German society. Through pointing out various issues in the current White-dominated public theatre system, the following subsection aims to demonstrate why theatre requires of cultural policy to not "save the institution" but "save the medium of theatre" so that it can regain its social function and legitimacy. Second, a snapshot of the independent scene is crucial, as it illustrates how independent theatre is a benchmark of experimentation and the artistic development of a multidisciplinary theatre landscape in Germany. It also serves as a reference point – in the condition it is currently in – for the risk of segregating immigrant artists in the post-migrant theatre as a niche fraction of independent theatre. To put it differently, by focusing on some of the aspects of the two worlds of public and independent theatre, the research underscores why vertical governance between three levels of cultural policy is crucial in supporting exploratory artistic processes that contribute to identifying and nourishing immigration-related diversity as the norm in the theatre landscape.

2.4.1 Municipal and State Theaters

Theatre practice is almost synonymous with municipal and state theatres in Germany, which still mostly reflect the 18th century German Enlightenment aesthetics and are the vehicle of national culture. They retain permanent ensembles and are distinguished by a repertoire system, which is marked by a complex production structure. Each theatre produces approximately 25 to 30 new performances every year; this makes a total of more than 2500 new productions by around 142 public theatres per year (Schmidt, 2017). The rehearsal-oriented production process of the repertoire system is often identified as one of the main reasons obstructing innovation and exploration of new aesthetical impulses and narratives in these theatres. Under the pressure of making an excessive number of productions, institutionalised theatres have become "assembly lines in a sense" (Goebbels, 2013, p. 31). Thus, it does not come as a surprise that although 90% of the public funds allocated for performing arts is invested in the municipal and state theatre system, 90% of the innovation in theatre does not come from these institutions (von Hartz, 2011). Since the goal is to preserve the status quo, novelty or identifying the new demands of their cities and inhabitants still play almost no role in the functioning of many established theatres. An inward-looking nature is also one of the defining features of municipal and state theatres. These theatres produce theatre in a city for a city and occasionally for a region, but never for the world (Balme, 2013, p. 35).

Sabine Reich (2015), the chief dramaturge and deputy artistic director of *Theater Dortmund*, states that overproduction precludes municipal theatre from being a space open to experiment and failure, engaging in process and risk-taking, as well as perceiving art in a broader sense. She states that this generates a mentality that offers success-oriented, mass-produced goods for consumption and repeats traditions without questioning them (Reich, 2015).

The mandate-driven structure of municipal and state theatres is a highly influential factor in maintaining traditions and a lack of response to demographic changes in the country. The vision of the *Intendant*in* (artistic director) has a determining impact on the decision-making regarding programming, theatre aesthetics, and the recruitment policy of a given theatre. Municipal theatres often resemble "small principalities", whose directors are romanticised as the sole rulers while overlooking the dark side of power (Boldt, 2015). In this director-centred governance model, the dark side also manifests itself as an abuse of power (Schmidt, 2019).[4] Theatre scholar Christopher Balme stresses that in the

4 According to the study *Macht und Struktur im Theater* (Power and Structure in Theatre) conducted in 2018 with 2000 participants (71.5% were performers and artistic staff), 55% of the participants experienced abuse (verbal, physical, psychological, or sexual), 59% of which

German public theatre system, the function of the artistic director is decisive in the reciprocal relationship between aesthetics and institution since the director is endowed with exceptional power (2019, p. 53). Balme adds that artistic direction as a form of leadership should prompt theatre researchers to question institutional aesthetics, including production conditions, institutional frameworks, and the resulting aesthetical strategies and decisions (2019, p. 53). This study claims that the aspect of institutional aesthetics, regulated by White artistic directors or artistic directing teams, is one of the factors hindering access to public theatre work for immigrant artists.

Although some directors, particularly in the last decade, who have brought diversity-sensitive perspectives to municipal and state theatres, are interested in new artistic forms and aim to reach a broader section of society, the personnel profile of most public theatres is still predominantly White. Despite the lack of cultural statistics on employee structure, the homogenous staff composition of public theatres is evident from sheer observation. From only glancing at appointments to directorships and the staff of municipal theatres, it is apparent that they are almost exclusively White institutions (Weiler, 2015, p. 226). There have been a few immigrant artistic directors and artistic management team members in municipal theatres. Nevertheless, employees with a "migrant background" are by no means given influential positions such as dramaturgy (Michaels, 2011, p. 126).

A recent study by *Zukunftsakademie NRW* (*ZAK NRW*; Future Academy North Rhine-Westphalia) indicates that in terms of concrete implementation of diversity in publicly funded cultural institutions in North Rhine-Westphalia, creating more equal opportunities in personnel selection still plays a lesser role; it was one of the measures identified by the least number of respondents (2019, p. 16).[5]

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were women (Schmidt, 2019, pp. 103–104). The research does not provide any information about discrimination and racism against immigrant artists as a form of abuse of power. One can only speculate that this might be related to the fact that the low number of those artists in public theatres was not representative for the survey, or the study might have dismissed the categorisation of the identity of the artists as immigrants.

5 In 2019, cultural institutions funded by the state of NRW were surveyed on the relevance and implementation of diversity. Among 262 institutions, 64% participated in the survey, while performing arts institutions had the highest response rate of 56% (ZAK NRW, 2019, p. 5). Eight concrete measures were defined based on their responses: (a) cooperation and networking with institutions or individuals of the urban society, (b) use of diverse, target group-specific communication channels, (c) flexible working hours, (d) raising awareness of managers and staff on diversity, (e) anchoring the promotion of diversity in strategy or mission statement, (f) involvement of representatives of underrepresented groups in the development of the programme, (g) providing equal opportunities in personnel selection, and (h) creation of a department and/or person responsible for diversity (ZAK NRW, 2019, p. 14).

In comparison to the deficient number of immigrants in decision-making positions, the chance of working in public theatres for actors with a "migrant background" is relatively higher. However, for non-European/non-Western actors, a foreign-looking appearance and having an accent can be disadvantages in getting involved in an ensemble. Theatre researcher Azadeh Sharifi argues that state and municipal theatres fear their established audiences might criticise factors such as physical attributes and even a slight accent when speaking German, but theatres would never openly admit it (as cited in Uludag, 2011). Journalist Özgür Uludag (2011), who was formerly a theatre-maker working for more than nine years at the *Deutsches Schauspielhaus* in Hamburg, explains that these are the decisive aspects in why immigrant artists do not make it to the stage:

> However, some of the "foreigners" are third-generation immigrants, meaning that they are residents who received their education in Germany, and not only do they speak fluent German, but they are integrated to the highest degree. They deal with the classics of German literature and now want to bring their interpretation of, for example, *Faust* to the stage. Their pronunciation does not differ in any way from that of a "German German" [emphasis added]. (…) Immigrants may be given the roles typically held by immigrants; Turks may play Turks, Africans may play Africans, but not Faust, King Lear, or Ivanov. Since the plays most frequently staged by state and municipal theatres are those by Kleist, Chekhov, or Shakespeare, the chances for Arabs, Turks, or Black Africans are extremely poor.

Likewise, Zainab Al Sawah, an ensemble member of the *Oldenburgisches Staatstheater*, confirms in an interview that for immigrant artists not only is obtaining recognition in public theatre challenging, but they are commonly exposed to discrimination:

> I am lucky that I now have a German degree in acting. But generally speaking, it is very hard to get accepted and acknowledged as a professional if you are not from here. A lot of foreign actors and actresses suffer from discrimination in the field, and most of them get cast only to play roles with a "migration background" [emphasis added], mostly because they look different or maybe have an accent. (Goschy, 2020)

Achieving cultural diversity is perceived by municipal and state theatres mostly as reaching out to "culturally distant" immigrant audiences by adding certain productions to their primary programming. Opening the institutions to diversity is not understood as the core task of theatres; it is limited to special or mediation projects (Sharifi, 2011b, p. 43). Thus, lately, many municipal theatres have been focusing on audience development due to the decline of middle-class audiences and the constraints of having to justify their legitimacy. However, these attempts

to diversify audiences are bound to be unsuccessful. Dramaturge Björn Bicker aptly reveals where one of the main issues lies:

> Artistic directors sit in their theatres and say, "We need the Turkish audience to come to the theatre. I know a Turkish writer. Let's invite them to produce a play." And then, they are so disappointed when the Turkish audience does not come to the theatre after the premiere. Why should they suddenly want to go to the theatre? (…) Bringing in a Turkish dramaturge within an unaltered concept and understanding of art will not change anything. Just because a Turk writes the play does not mean that the Turkish community will come to the theatre. These people need to change the way they understand art and what art is supposed to be. (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017)

Although an orientation towards participation has recently gained momentum in theatre, the diversification of the theatre staff is rarely considered. However, a few public theatres are well-known for their heterogeneous ensembles, the most famous one being the municipal theatre *Maxim Gorki Theater* in Berlin. The staff composition of the theatre reflects Berlin's de facto culturally diverse population. At *Gorki*, not only are most of the actors from multi-ethnic origins, but more importantly, 51% of the decision-making positions (e.g., artistic director, dramaturge, technical staff, press, and administration) are occupied by immigrant theatre-makers (Citizens for Europe & DeutschPlus, 2014).

Artistic Director Shermin Langhoff's perspective on diversity is a major determinant of the employee structure of *Gorki Theater*. Long before she became the artistic director of *Gorki* in 2013[6], she was known for having founded the platform *Akademie der Autodidakten* (Academy of Autodidacts) in 2004 for talented immigrants without academic training. In 2008, Langhoff reopened *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* in the immigrant district, Kreuzberg, where she introduced post-migrant theatre, which questions the meaning of identity, nation, belonging, and the narrow understanding of theatre aesthetics. *Akademie der Autodidakten*, which still operates under *Ballhaus Naunynstraße*, promoted young and talented immigrant artists. Internationally acclaimed film, theatre, and opera director Neco Çelik, award-winning theatre directors and authors Nurkan Erpulat and Hakan Savaş Mican, celebrated film and theatre director and actor Tamer Yigit are just a few of the artists who gained access to the German public theatre scene through the support of *Akademie der Autodidakten* and *Ballhaus Naunynstraße*.

Towards the end of 2016, *Gorki Theater* established *Exil Ensemble* to provide a space for professional artists living in exile so that they could continue pursuing their careers as theatre-makers in Germany. The project *Exil Ensemble* illustrates the

6 Shermin Langhoff's artistic director contract at *Maxim Gorki Theater* was extended until the summer of 2023.

vision of *Gorki Theater* in a country where talents with a "migrant background" are not promoted. In an interview, Langhoff explains *Gorki*'s perception of diversity, regarding setting up *Exil Ensemble*:

> Working with artists who have emigrated is in our own interest because the theatre has to react to the fact that this country is changing as a result of immigration; many of the refugees will become part of this society. That is why we deliberately do not speak of a "Refugee Ensemble" but an "Exil Ensemble". Exile also means that it is not just about the trauma of the ravage and the first months of arriving, but about a long process. Those who arrive here bring with them new biographies, new stories and narratives, new perspectives. (Laudenbach, 2016)

In a more recent interview, Langhoff stressed that diversity in post-migrant theatre includes various dimensions of identity and goes beyond them; hence, she defines *Gorki* as a theatre with contemporary stories about a pluralistic German society (Parbey, 2019). Through the transmission of multiple voices, *Maxim Gorki Theater* presents itself as the mirror image of society in constant transition, in which the concept of culture is continuously renegotiated. *Gorki* is often shown as the best model of how post-migrant perspectives can be the driving force of the change that is urgently needed in the public theatre realm. Its exemplary approach under the pioneering artistic direction of Shermin Langhoff has been portrayed in depth by theatre researchers (see Kömürcü, 2016; Sharifi, 2020). Nevertheless, examples that truly explore the role of theatre in a pluralistic society with such determination are rare in the public theatre landscape.

The connection between theatres and the societal reality of their locality is also confronted with the prevailing method of designating artistic directorship. Artistic directors are appointed by city councils or ministers of culture of the federal state and hold the position for an average of five years (though there have been plenty of directors staying in the seat for many more) in the appointed institution. Political decision-making plays a decisive role in the appointment and revocation of artistic directors, as the process is not transparent and lacks objective criteria (Mast, 2004). Additionally, artistic directors face the challenge of working in different cities and federal states, while unaware of what strategies the local realities entail. Bicker stresses that this structure is one of the causes of the alienation of municipal and state theatres from society:

> Artistic directors come from Berlin to Munich, knowing nothing about the community or the city here. (…) They go from one theatre to another, from city to city, and they know nothing about the place they are going to, the social reality there, where they are working, for whom they are working. This is a big problem. For example, Shermin Langhoff from *Gorki Theater* knows the city, its issues – she knows the people. You need this kind of knowledge to create the kind of art that

> includes the people living in the community. (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017)

An examination of the approaches to cultural diversity of the entire public theatre scene would be beyond the extent of this research. Instead, through particular cases, the study illustrates that even when there is a vision, attempts of diversifying the programming and staff structure are often discontinued with the arrival of a new artistic director. This is why the deeply rooted lack of immigration-related diversity in the municipal and state theatre system requires cultural policy measures and a structural framework, which would provide the impulses for these institutions to regain their social function and contemporary relevance.

2.4.1.1 The Artistic Director's Vision of Diversity

Münchner Kammerspiele is one of the distinguished German municipal theatres with a clear social-political focus. Primarily, under the management of Artistic Director Frank Baumbauer between 2001 and 2009, *Münchner Kammerspiele* was creating participation-oriented avant-garde theatre and narratives about immigration, and this became the central part of its programming, which was uncommon for municipal theatres at the time. In 2004, the *Bunnyhill* project examined the relationship between the city centre and the periphery and sought to bring together the residents of these two strictly separated worlds, which then inspired the establishment of the *Heimspiel* Fund in 2006 by the German Federal Cultural Foundation (see Section 5.1 for the analysis of the *Heimspiel* Fund). Another important project was the festival *Doing Identity – Bastard Munich* in 2008, which dealt with social reality and aimed to open *Münchner Kammerspiele* to the city and all its inhabitants. The successor of Baumbauer, Johan Simons, from 2010 to 2015, focused on creating an interdisciplinary, international theatre, bringing in artists from other European countries.

The following artistic director, Matthias Lilienthal adopted a hybridised approach, putting together internationality, collaboration with independent groups, project development (e.g., the *Open Border Ensemble*, *Queer and Now Festival*), and the repertoire system. Under his five-year artistic directorship, *Münchner Kammerspiele* concentrated on intercultural exchange. The theatre organised the *Open Border Congress* in 2015 with artists, scholars, activists, and the old and new inhabitants of Munich, to discuss how to open the doors of the theatre to artists seeking refuge in Germany (Canyürek, 2020). The Congress was followed by the *Open Border Ensemble Festival* towards the end of 2016. The festival presented theatre, music, and films of artists in exile and resulted in the creation of the project *Open Border Ensemble*, with actors from Syria within *Münchner Kammerspiele*.

In the long term, *Münchner Kammerspiele* aimed to establish the *Open Border Ensemble* as an integral part of the house ensemble (Canyürek, 2020). However,

when Barbara Mundel took over artistic directorship in the repertory season 2020/21, the *Open Border Ensemble* was dissolved since the new director embraced a different approach. Barbara Mundel, who headed *Theater Freiburg* for 11 years until 2017, is also known for her engagement with cultural diversity and interculturality in theatre. Mundel plans to continue questioning representation, with the motto of the new season being *die Wirklichkeit nicht in Ruhe lassen* (do not leave reality alone) and bring actors with "intellectual disabilities" to the house (Dössel, 2020).

Similarly, *Schauspiel Köln* in Cologne had a multi-ethnic cast when Karin Beier was the artistic director between 2007 and 2013. *Schauspiel Köln* mainly focused on immigration and participatory projects. Beier introduced a quota system; the theatre recruited nearly 30% of the ensemble from people of non-German descent in a city where one in three citizens has a "migrant background" (Canyürek, 2020). However, they were mostly actors rather than directors and dramaturges; the management of the theatre instead relied on international projects (Sharifi, 2011a, p. 102). Nonetheless, the multi-ethnic ensemble was almost dissolved after she left.

Around 2019, state theatres such as *Staatstheater Hannover* and *Staatstheater Nürnberg* appointed a position, called "diversity agent", funded by the German Federal Cultural Foundation for four years as a part of the 360° – Fund for New City Cultures (*360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft*) to address cultural diversity in their programming, audience, and staff appointments (see Section 5.1.5 for more on the funding programme). However, this decision should be approached with caution, by questioning whether or to what extent hiring a diversity agent can address power inequality, structural exclusion, discrimination, and racism in a White public theatre structure without a precise cultural policy framework that aims to tackle these issues.

Individual attempts of artistic directors or mediation measures for diversity, as shown here, may prove to be unsustainable. As expressed by migration studies researcher Mark Terkessidis (2011a),

> It is not enough to simply hire people with a "migrant background" [emphasis added]; the entire atmosphere has to change in a way that actors are not internally confronted with certain clichés, are not assigned to certain roles or have the feeling that they are only functionalised in the service of external communication.

Similarly, appointing a few immigrant directors without an explicit diversity-led recruitment policy runs the risk of diverting the attention from the main problem of unbalanced power relations in the theatre system to pseudo-representation.

Up until now, cultural policy in Germany has not engaged itself either with inequalities in the performing arts scene or introduced diversity-based planning to – at least – encourage the public theatres that have been putting various diversity perspectives into practice. In the absence of a comprehensive policy framework, existing attempts to accommodate diversity remain contingent upon

the remarkable vision and ability of the artistic director as in the case of Shermin Langhoff.

2.4.2 *Freie Szene*[7] (Independent Theatre Scene)

The independent theatre scene, which started flourishing in the 1970s, developed as a structure of the system parallel to municipal and state theatres – institutions of high culture in Germany (Fülle, 2013, p. 275). It emerged as an alternative to the monopoly of bourgeois theatre, as a theatre for the audiences that had been excluded, such as workers, children and young people, educationally and culturally distant strata, "guest workers", and the rural population (Fülle, 2013, p. 276). Unquestionably, reaching out to new audiences is interrelated with various processes including the liberation of bourgeois theatre aesthetics, striving for the removal of the longstanding borders between high culture and socially oriented art, connecting artistic practice to socio-political reality, and overcoming the conventional barrier between theatre-makers and passive viewers.

For independent theatres to become the locomotive of change in the traditional way of theatre-making, it is imperative that they engage in discovery and innovation. The independent scene has not only been continuously developing new artistic formats and long transcending the boundaries between various artistic disciplines, which are still strictly separated from one another in municipal theatres, it has also developed flat, flexible, and faster production methods along the way (Schmidt, 2013, p. 191). From the onset, the organisation and production structures of independent theatres were fundamentally distinguished from municipal and state theatres; collectivity, self-determination, freedom from hierarchy (and somewhat later, self-realisation of the actors) were the central (value) standards for the development of their forms (Fülle, 2013, p. 276).

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7 In this work, *Freie Szene* is translated into English as "independent scene" and *Freie Theater* as "independent theatre". Although the funding is often project-based, independent theatres receive public subsidies to a certain extent. *Freie Theater* is unique to Germany and refers specifically to theatrical activity that takes place outside the system of state-funded municipal and state theatres (Fülle, 2017, p. 275). Theatre scholar and maker Annemarie Matzke (2012) claims that there is no such thing as "free theatre"; in addition to municipal and state theatres, there have been countless different theatre institutions and organisational forms, theatre groups, and directors' collectives that have been working beyond predetermined structures. Likewise, interdisciplinary urban scholar Friederike Landau states that "reference to independence describes a mode of artistic production instead of independence of or autonomy from the political system or (parts of) the art world" (2016, p. 30). In this book, the author uses the term "independent", signifying autonomy/self-determination in artistic production that is considered innovative, experimental, and in confrontation with politics.

Independent theatres are diverse in form. Venues such as *Kampnagel* in Hamburg, *Hebbel am Ufer* (*HAU*) and *Sophiensäle* in Berlin, *Mousonturm* in Frankfurt, and *Forum Freies Theater* (*FFT*) in Düsseldorf provide space for independent groups to showcase their productions. Independent theatres also present their works in theatre festivals, such as *Theatertreffen* and the *Performing Arts Festival* in Berlin, I mpulse in North Rhine-Westphalia, *Favoriten* in Dortmund, and *Politik im Freien Theater* (every three years in a different city). Further, performance collectives such as *Rimini Protokoll*, *She She Pop*, *LIGNA*, and *Showcase Beat Le Mot*, with their varying styles and motivations, contributed to the redefinition of theatre by blurring the boundaries between theatre and performance.

Particularly, *Rimini Protokoll* gained wide recognition internationally by involving "everyday experts" as actors, and fictional and documentary stories of daily life into their productions. *Rimini Protokoll* introduces "strangers" to the theatre, people who are different, foreign, or insufficiently known due to their occupational, class, and ethnic backgrounds, such as long-distance truck drivers, immigrant workers, diplomats, call centre employees, cross-cultural adoptees, third culture children, and members of forcibly resettled communities (Mumford, 2013, p. 154).

2.4.3 Post-Migrant Theatre

Second and third-generation Turkish German and other immigrant artists and theatre-makers have found the opportunities to showcase their work outside the fringes of Berlin to a wider audience, and their contribution to theatre has been acknowledged and validated through the discourse of post-migrant theatre. The post-migrant theatre flourished parallel to the developments in the independent scene. The exploration of new aesthetics and thematic perspectives in the realm of independent theatre was enriched by the knowledge, experiences, and visions of immigrant artists. Cultural researcher Dorothea Kolland describes post-migrant theatre "as an engine of innovation, as a disruptive factor, as a break with the concept of White German 'high culture' expected to renew German theatre" (2016, p. 403).

Shermin Langhoff and *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* have played a significant role in the emergence and recognition of post-migrant theatre. The first *Beyond Belonging Festival* in 2006, curated by Langhoff at *HAU*, could be recognised as a cornerstone in the history of German theatre. It marked the beginning of the post-migrant movement in theatre by putting migrant experiences at the centre of programming for the first time. With the establishment of *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* in 2008, the first German independent post-migrant theatre, cultural diversity was associated with the works of artists emerging from this theatre, and it gave impetus to a new path of change in the national theatre landscape (Kömürcü, 2016, p. 27). Gradually,

Ballhaus Naunynstraße has become a hub for the excluded and marginalised artists and today, it is securely established as a multidisciplinary space for post-migrant theatre.

Post-migrant theatre initiated an artistic process of creating collective memory in a culturally, ethnically, and religiously diverse contemporary German society where cultural politics has confined cultural diversity discourse to a one-sided inclusion/integration framework for decades. In this context, the emergence of post-migrant theatre is remarkable since it challenged this integration discourse and reminded that migratory processes affect the entire German society (Sharifi, 2020, p. 497).

Kolland states that post-migrant theatre creates a new German theatre in which the "new Germans" of the 21st century have taken over the responsibility to act (2016, p. 403). Sharifi also interprets this action-taking as a way of rejecting the homogenising idea of identity attributed to post-migrants through the medium of theatre:

> It is much more about dealing with the culture and tradition of the origin and the experience of migration and finding one's way in a new society. Post-migrant theatre could be understood as a balancing of assumed identities imposed by German society or by parents and family, which must be aesthetically redefined by the post-migrant artists and cultural workers. It is a matter of post-migrant artists and cultural practitioners creating an identity of their own in German society and the theatrical cosmos in which they operate. (2011b, p. 43)

Similarly, dramaturge Necati Öziri (2017), following post-modernist philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, stresses that the prefix "post" can either refer "to" or "against", and in this regard, he defines the concept of post-migrant as narratives that come after immigration (i.e., labour migration) as well as those of second and third generations who are no longer immigrants. In a sense, post-migrant theatre in Germany represents the voices of artists marked as marginalised and the perspectives of "the other". Öziri (2017) claims that political theatre should be post-migrant theatre, articulating the expressions of excluded people to reflect contemporary society. For Öziri (2017), it is not just "the others" who rely on such spaces, but more importantly, society needs these perspectives.

Despite the major contribution of post-migrant theatre to a discourse change towards pluralisation, it operates under the independent theatre scene as if it represents a separate discipline that has a diversity approach different from the rest of the independent scene. In the field of independent theatre, diversity discourse is hitherto mostly characterised by internationalisation, flexibility in production methods, heterogeneity of aesthetics, artistic expressions and formats; it is less often associated with the inclusion of stories of the post-migrant society. From

this point of view, it is questionable whether or to what extent the independent scene has succeeded in internalising the discourse of post-migrant theatre.

In addition to the independent scene, cultural policies also overlook the fact that the current diversity paradigms such as interculturality and transculturality cannot be disassociated from post-migrant theatre. Fülle expresses that cultural policy fails to deal with the separation of parallel universes in the German theatrical landscape (2013, p. 294). Moreover, all three levels of cultural policy disregard the fact that through special incentives, they confine second and third-generation theatre-makers and the narratives of the German immigrant society to "diversity" or "intercultural" funding schemes. Instead of confronting such labels, this reductive approach contributes to deepening the marginalisation of immigrant artists. One of the steps towards the question of "where do you come from" losing its meaning is creating a support structure for the independent scene and promoting diversity-led collaboration between independent and public theatre, so that they can become a catalyst of post-migrant theatre, stimulating the developments in the German theatre system in this direction.

2.5 Structural and Institutional Racism

Almost 15 years after the paradigm shift at all levels of German cultural policy towards advocating the promotion of cultural diversity and strengthening the access to cultural institutions and participation in culture for all, public – municipal and state – theatres, still mostly remain White institutions.

Being conscious of the "intersectionality"[8] (Crenshaw, 1989) of the markers of identity such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, faith/religion, able-bodiedness, and class, in this research, the exploration of structural and institutional racism concentrates on people, recognised as having a "migrant background". This category refers to not only first-generation immigrants but also people who were born in Germany and had no personal migration experience, and yet are referred to as citizens with a "migrant background" (see Chapter 1 for the analysis of the terms that have been linked to conditional inclusion in politics, policy, and practice). This precise focus of the research is related to the long-lasting denial of the immigrant nature of German society and the web of racism and discrimination that immigrant artists and theatre professionals encounter,

8 The concept of intersectionality, coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, indicates that overlapping identities affect how oppression, discrimination, and racism are experienced. The concept rejects that identity is singular and fixed; it recognises it as dynamic and multiple, an entity which cannot be reduced to only one component. Hence, the concept suggests that modes of racism frequently intersect.

especially in the domain of public theatre. Camouflaged forms of racism remain as hidden barriers for those who are denied access to the theatre realm.

Racism is a complex phenomenon that incorporates interrelated historical, political, economic, social, global, and institutional structures. By no means does this research deal with the more profound historical traces of racism, anti-Semitism, and racial othering as an ideological phenomenon in the nation-building or colonial legacy of Germany. It adopts the approach of *Rassismuskritik* (racism critique), which, through the code of race, focuses on power structures that often remain invisible (Mecheril, 2004). Hence, the scope is limited to the interplay between institutional racism and systematic exclusion of people with a "migrant background" from theatre. Accordingly, the study first explores the dynamics of the production and positioning of the "*Migrationsanderen*" (migrant others; Mecheril, 2003) as a contemporary racial category within the national narrative; then, it pursues the reflections of this hierarchical coding of negating difference that operates as a form of racism in certain spaces. The aspect of spatiality is twofold in this examination: national space, and theatre as a cultural space. The mechanism of excluding "the other" in national space has a profound impact on the exclusionary structure of cultural spaces. The inquiry thus aims to display how the construction of "migrant others" in national discourse corresponds to the canon of theatre in Germany.

First and foremost, to understand the construction of those "particular" immigrants as "migrant others" through complex power dynamics, the processes of racialisation require some clarification. Over the past decades, the racialisation of "the other" has been brought to the fore. The concept of race gained a new contemporary meaning in the West. It is not only limited to a simplistic dichotomy between Black and White anymore. In the post-war Western world, culture has become a category used to distinguish differences (Balibar, 1991a; Hall, 1992b). Through alternative conceptual tools based on culturalist interpretations, such as ethnicity or, more recently, identity, difference is imposed by Europeans on others as a means of coping both with the recent history of the West and the diversification of its societies (Lentin, 2005, pp. 382–394).

Brah et al. argue that in the emergence of the new politics of difference, the harmonisation of national policies within the European Union, especially regarding legislation on immigration and political asylum, and the construction of "Fortress Europe", is a significant factor that contributes to the convergence in theorisations of racism (1999, p. 8). In this conceptualisation, skin colour is no longer the dominant signifier of race. As Lentin (2005, 2008) stresses, in the culturalist approach of post-colonial European societies, racial categorisation is replaced by cultural distinctions since culture does not convey the negative connotation of race; instead, it postulates and celebrates difference as a positive quality, at least in theory. The history and structure of racism differ from one

society to another in Europe, and racism has different dynamics and effects. However, when we think of the system and culture in terms of "the system and culture of white supremacy producing the phenomenon racism" (Cress Welsing, 1991, p. 2), it is possible to suggest some established commonalities in European societies which indicate the local character of everyday and institutional racism in Germany.

In the post-9/11 era, in European immigrant societies, (cultural) identity appeared in disguised forms of racialisation, such as ethnicity, religion, and nationality (Hall, 1992a, 1997; Lentin, 2005), and the construction of the racialised other as a "challenge", "issue", or "problem" for the nation is employed in diversity discourses of varying policies to justify inclusion and integration strategies. In Germany, immigrants who are ethnically and religiously distant from "German" and "European" culture have become the target groups of such policies.

Since the early 2000s in Germany, the lack of people with a "migrant background" in public institutions has been a subject of discussion within the new liberal inclusion plans of cultural policies. However, the discourse on race has been reduced to the discussions on exclusionary practices. This research claims that rather than focusing on the hegemonic power relations that (re)produce structural and institutional racism, the debates are governed on false grounds, perpetuating exclusionary frameworks for those "migrant others", and neglecting the normalisation of the representation of Whiteness in public cultural institutions.

Moreover, the discourse of diversity politics, which determinedly emphasises the appropriation of cultural differences and underlines those differences as an enrichment to society, develops, however, a narrative of a "culture in the universal sense" that contributes to individual and social development. Within the existing power relations, "the dominant culture represents itself as 'the Culture' [emphasis added]; it tries to define and contain all other cultures within its inclusive range and its views of the world, unless challenged, stands as the most natural, all-embracing, universal culture" (Clarke et al., 2003, p. 12).

Undeniably, there are diverse forms of difference, and they may be situated at the core of individual and community identities. The subject of analysis in this study is the racial ascription of difference in cultural politics and policy. In other words, the research deals with the perspective on difference that constitutes a form of arbitrary racial hierarchy.

2.5.1 Eurocentrism and Stigmatising Cultural Differences as a Form of Racism

Modern racism, as described by Étienne Balibar (1991a), is based on culture instead of biology; hence, it signifies a shift towards a mode of racial difference determined

through culture. To understand the function of cultural difference in new racism, it is crucial to explore it "in a wider political-historical context: namely, the culturalisation of politics that marks the post-war period in the West and the inextricable relationship this has with racism in the history of modernity" (Lentin, 2005, p. 380).

Thus, the process of othering is the critical factor in comprehending how differentiation is translated into racism through modes of classification. "Racialised modernity" (Hesse, 2007), through the claim of "universal Western culture", produces a mechanism of differentiation between "self" and "the other". In this understanding, with its old and new markers, as Lentin states:

> Race, though always imposed upon and experienced most forcefully as *racism* by non-whites and non-Europeans, is always constitutive of both self and other; of Europeans in their hegemony and of non-Europeans in their subjugation; a concept, deeply embedded in the conception of the idea of Europe itself" (2008, p. 492).

In a similar vein, Homi Bhabha recognises cultural difference as a product of the emergence of Western modernity, which functions as a mediator or metaphor for otherness that contains the effects of difference (1994, p. 31). According to Bhabha, "the colonial signifier is an act of ambivalent signification; splitting the difference between the binary oppositions or polarities through which we think cultural difference" (1994, p. 128). As a result, forms of race are articulated as a historically fundamental demarcation between European and racialised non-European. David Theo Goldberg powerfully frames the racial outlines of the contemporary European self-conception and its historical exclusiveness, describing it as "regional racial Europeanization":

> The 'Europeanization of Europe' presumes Europeans to be white and Christian. The taboo of racial characterisation and at least the official avoidance of racial expression or categorisation, reinforce the long historical presumption of Europe as the home of, and so to, whiteness and Christianity. It follows that any person of colour or non-Christian (at least genealogically) in Europe presumptively is not of Europe, not European, does not (properly or fully) ever belong. Just as, historically, anyone whose ancestry was considered to emanate from elsewhere was deemed non-European. (2006, p. 352)

Within the current framework of diversity politics, this European/non-European antagonism becomes the means of appreciating and valuing otherness, but it fails to deal with the normalisation of the dominant position of the European. Through various diversity concepts (i.e., multiculturalism, interculturalism, transculturalism), such policy approaches in different fields advocate the valorisation of differences of "the other" (difference seen not as a deficit but

enrichment). However, albeit in different forms, these approaches overlook the aspect of political and historical sovereignty of Whiteness in the process of forming the non-European as an object. The language of diversity politics accrues value to difference (Ahmed, 2012) and in doing so, it makes the sign of exclusion disappear (Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004). Hence, "thinking culturally about difference is the default position for not talking about 'race' and avoiding the charge of racism" (Lentin, 2005, p. 394).

Barnor Hesse argues that, in his view:

> What race/modernity studies have so far neglected, conceptually if not historically, is the formative signifier of Europeanness, as a defining logic of race in the process of colonially constituting itself and its designations of non-Europeanness, materially, discursively and extra-corporeally. (2007, p. 646)

Hesse describes modernity as a colonial process and highlights the blurred relationship between the political formation of race through modernity and the constitutive colonial difference between European and non-European:

> European coloniality can be read as symptomatic of modern hegemonic formations, processes, knowledges and identities (e.g., capitalism, secularism, civilisation, rationality), which congealed from the social transformation of particular cultural differences into 'non-Europeanness' (e.g., histories, religions, bodies, cultures, territories). It is between these modern regulatory vectors of structural administration within the colonies and discursive authorisations from the metropoles that the category of race becomes instituted and naturalised around the boundaries between colour coded European sameness and non-European otherness. (2007, p. 652)

The reinforcement of a distinct difference between "self" (European/Western) and "the other" (non-European/non-Western) already signifies a form of racism in which the "self" defines "the other" dialectically. According to Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown, the self/other dialectic is found at the core of all racisms:

> (…) the way in which racism identifies an Other as a 'race' and attributes negatively evaluated characteristics to that population. But (…) the imagination of the Other is simultaneously an imagination of the Self, each reflecting and refracting a kaleidoscope of contrasting attributes. We might, therefore, conclude that the moment of racism as an ideology is one in which Self and Other simultaneously embrace and repel by reference to a set of imagined attributes that carry a duality of evaluations, negative and positive. (2003, p. 86)

Stigmatising difference through culture and creating a clear-cut dichotomy between European and non-European ensures the otherness of racialised groups and people. The negative representation of "the other" is maintained in

contemporary European immigrant societies, although "the other" is found in various racialised communities. However, the objectification of the non-European supports the rhetoric of Europeanness. As pointed out by Maureen Eggers, the racialisation of "the other" poses a dilemma:

> The underlying ambivalence, arising from the fact that post-modern societies are constructed as enlightened and humanistic, is that they perceive themselves as rationally committed to the fundamental value of equality of all human beings, and yet reproduce and reinforce stratified realities, (…) which act as an engine for the ambivalent shaping of post-modern racialised forms of articulation. (2005, p. 221)

In addition to the forces of modernity, colonialism, and imperialism, the production of an "essentially different other" as a racialised category is also interconnected with other historical and political processes, e.g., nationalism and the global capitalist economy (Brah, 1991; Braidotti, 2016; Hill, 2004; Miles & Brown, 2003). Especially, nationalism plays a decisive role in the racialisation of certain groups in Europe, including Germany. The spread of xenophobia and racism, the rise of right-wing extremism, and the growing support for far-right parties in present-day European societies are clear indicators of the connection between nationalism and racism; as articulated by Balibar (1991b), they are dependent on each other to survive. Nationalism and racism are the product of a specific historical development; "both ideologies are not independent and autonomous forces but are generated and reproduced within a complex interplay of historically constituted economic and political relations" (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 148). For Miles and Brown, "racism and nationalism arose together, are often articulated together, and have an influence on each other" (2003, p. 9).

In the case of Germany, racism belongs to the culture of the past, therefore today, it is almost a taboo word in political and cultural policy contexts; "racism is largely out of the question, especially because of the connotation it obtained after the Nazi regime" (Regus, 2009, p. 130). Concerning the national socialist past and its violent history, the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) obscures the present-time racism, and it operates as a sort of defence mechanism to avoid talking about racism. Nevertheless, racism surfaces in concealed forms; "it is always considered an exception in social functioning, a break in the otherwise peaceful 'normality'" as expressed by Terkessidis (2004, p. 8). The rejection of the reality of racism is also associated with the democratisation processes of modernity. In the modern state, "nazism, genocide, and annihilatory racism are interpreted as anomalies, as regressive aberrations, resulting from the temporary social breakdown (Linke, 1999, p. 214).

Since 2008, on the contrary, there have been researches revealing how the increased xenophobic and racist attitudes are located at the very centre of German

society (Decker et al., 2008, 2010, 2012).[9] In fact, the *Institut für Kulturpolitik* (*IfK*; Institute for Cultural Policy) confirms the results of the research:

> The positive assessment of the "power of diversity" apparently no longer meets the approval of some parts of society. On the contrary: "The fomenting of hatred against immigrants, minorities, and various people defined as 'others' has found its way into the mainstream – and that in Germany of all countries, whose politics and culture were founded after the end of National Socialism with the demand 'never again!'." (see Mishra in this book and Mishra 2017). (Blumenreich et al., 2018, pp. 13–14)

However, in context of immigration, contemporary racism is discussed mainly in terms of xenophobia and right-wing extremism. In these discussions, the less extreme expressions for hostility are used, such as *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* and *Fremdenfeindlichkeit* (xenophobia)[10], instead of racism, shifting the focus towards the hostile attitudes, feelings, or actions of a "native" population against a "foreign" population (Terkessidis, 2004, p. 8). This "foreign" population is an integral part of the racially, ethnically, religiously, and linguistically diverse German society and yet their identity is politically constructed, and they are recognised as citizens with a "particular migrant background". This marking of difference is strongly connected with the construction of national identity in post-war Western Germany. Eggers states that "the essentialist ideas about the German origin, nation, and racial belonging, and the great blood and violence play a central role in cultural representations of German identity and citizenship" (2005, p. 109). Similarly, Uli Linke affirms that German national identity is the product of specific historical processes:

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9 All of these studies reveal that elements of right-wing extremist attitudes are accepted in large parts of the population in Germany, and it is not as much of a marginal problem that only exists in Eastern Germany as it is often claimed by politicians and the media.

10 Although both *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* and *Fremdenfeindlichkeit* denote xenophobia in English, there is a subtle difference in meaning in the German language. This difference is related to the historical and political factors attached to the usage of words *Ausländer* and *Fremde* (foreigners) in the positioning of the "migrant others". *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* and *Fremdenfeindlichkeit* literally mean hostility towards foreigners. Immigrant citizens are still seen as foreigners. Maria Alexopoulou argues that "*Ausländer* and all of its substitutes are racialised concepts: they construct a distinct group with particular characteristics which are cast as other to 'the Germans'" (2019, p. 51) and "discourses and practices around this binary in the context of immigration reproduce racist knowledge that has been transferred historically, albeit it was also transformed or even questioned" (2019, p. 50). Alexopoulou adds that "*Ausländerfeindlichkeit* is the substitute or cover term in order to avoid naming racism as 'racism'" (2019, p. 59).

> The German nation/state was envisioned as a homogenous ethno-national community, a vision materialised in 1945 through the effects of genocide, and the perpetual closure of political boundaries to immigrants, especially after World War II. The white space of German politics is thus not built on cross-racial symbiosis but a self-referential imaginary of whiteness. (1999, p. 220)

Regarding national identity, in the absence of explicit recognition of racism, racist discourses are sometimes regarded not as racist but nationalist views. Such discourses may have attained some legitimacy due to the fact that extreme right-wing parties have made a habit (since the 1950s) of referring to themselves as nationalist, not racist (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 4). Likewise, *Alternative für Deutschland* (*AfD*; Alternative for Germany) claims to be a right nationalist party but not a racist one; it aims to protect the national territory and its Europeanness from the ethnically and religiously different other.

To better understand how the marking of people with a "migrant background" as "the other" operates as a mechanism of racism, Avtar Brah provides a useful approach for differentiating varying constructions of difference:

> The concept of difference (…) refers to the variety of ways in which specific discourses of difference are constituted, contested, reproduced, or resignified. Some constructions of difference, such as racism, posit fixed and immutable boundaries between groups signified as inherently different. Other constructions may present difference as relational, contingent and variable. In other words, difference is not always a marker of hierarchy and oppression. Therefore, it is a contextually contingent question whether difference pans out as inequity, exploitation and oppression or as egalitarianism, diversity and democratic forms of political agency. (1996, p. 125)

In the case of Germany, the position of the immigrant is established politically and culturally, and in this construction, the relationship between "self" and "migrant other" is characterised by inequality. Further, in this hierarchically-ordered perception, the population with a "migrant background" does not include every person who falls under this category. There is also an unambiguous distinction between European/Western and non-European/non-Western immigrants. Although both groups, according to *Destatis*, have a "migrant background", inclusion, integration, education, and diversity policies only address the latter. This suggests that even among immigrants there is an unequal division: "There are the devalued foreigners and the revalued foreigners; the revalued foreigners are not exposed to racism" (Fernandes Sequeira, 2015, p. 36). Dileta Fernandes Sequeira points out that people referred to with terms produced by the majority society such as "Black people", "POC", and "people with a migrant background" are considered devalued on the basis of a certain origin, religion,

culture, or certain appearance and are exposed to racism and discrimination (2015, p. 37). This research argues that the notion of "migrant background" is the overarching intersecting label for the "devalued".

In terms of injustice, political theorist Iris Young identifies oppression as a structural concept and classifies "five faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence which function as criteria for determining whether individuals and groups are oppressed" (1990, p. 64). In Germany, immigrants with varying intersecting labels such as Black people, POC, non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, and recently refugees are the "devalued" ones who have been systematically experiencing injustice. They are stereotyped, oppressed, excluded, discriminated, and exposed to racism.

However, "the racialisation of the stranger is not immediately apparent; it is disguised" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 3). Terkessidis adds that the obscured hierarchy between "self" and "foreigner" is overlooked in Germany:

> No one would be hesitant to admit that there are classes or social strata in Germany today. Likewise, no one would deny that women and men do not have the same opportunities in this society. However, when it comes to "Germans" and "foreigners", it is assumed that there is no question about a relationship of inequality – the difference is considered natural. (2004, p. 9)

The normalisation of inequality through cultural difference is furthered by the misconceived diversity discourse of German cultural policy. Promoting cultural diversity has been one of the main tasks of federal cultural policy since the early 2000s. Nevertheless, "promoting diversity" is understood as searching for strategies to include the "particular" immigrants that are culturally different to "Germans" (see Chapter 3 for the discussion on these strategies). The policy and practice on the inclusion of non-European/non-Western people into German society rest on the assumption of an "essentialist concept of difference" (Brah, 1996), which not only postulates ethnic and religious difference as the primary marker and an inherited group identity, but also assumes the group perceived as culturally different to be internally homogeneous (Brah, 1996, p. 99).

In cultural policy, diversity plans go hand in hand with inclusion and integration schemes (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). These plans conceptualise the figure of non-European/non-Western immigrants as a homogeneous community, and their entitlement to (partial) belonging is conditional on the success of their cultural integration. In this understanding, the cultural marking of difference for the non-European/non-Western operates by restraining the boundary of "the other" – the "devalued" immigrants. Here, difference does not carry a positive connotation, but is rather understood as a signifier of a challenging "new diversity", referring to the diversity of non-European/non-Western immigrants living in Germany. For the policymakers, there are two distinct diversities: internal diversity

(unification of the former East and West Germany) and external diversity (labour migration and refugee "influx"; for the discussion, see Section 4.3).

The link between the negative evaluation of the cultural differences of "devalued" immigrants and the objective of their cultural integration already indicates their exclusion from the nation. Ghassan Hage claims that "nationalist domestication is not necessarily about excluding/destroying otherness, but primarily about the power to position 'the other' as an object within a space that one considers one's own, within limits one feels legitimately capable of setting" (2000, p. 90). According to Hage:

> Nationalist practices seem to be necessarily grounded in an image in which the nationalists construct themselves as spatially dominant, as masters of a territory in which they have managerial rights over racialised/ethnicised groups or persons which are consequently constructed as manageable objects. Their specificity does not lie in their inferiorisation or essentialisation of the other but in the construction of the other as an object of spatial exclusion. This will to exclude is not explained primarily either by race or ethnicity, but by the specific image of the racialised nation that the nationalist is aiming to construct. (2000, p. 48)

This perspective is not limited to cultural politics and policy; it also finds resonance in cultural spaces and practices. Particularly, German state and municipal theatres are exclusionist, elitist artistic spaces. Theatre played an instrumental part in the building of national identity over the centuries in the Federal Republic of Germany, and is still seen as the vehicle of the intellectual heritage of the *Kulturnation* (von Beyme, 2012; Bloomfield, 2003a; Deutscher Bundestag, 2007; Klein, 2018; Schulte, 2000; van der Will & Burns, 2015; Wesner, 2010).[11] Preserving the historically rich German high culture is one of the main objectives of national cultural policy. The public funding structure also continues to heavily support the public performing arts scene, which is not common in other European countries, especially since the economic crisis of 2008.

Nevertheless, this unique and vibrant performing arts scene does not reflect the reality of immigrant Germany. The lack of immigrant artists and cultural professionals, especially in public theatres, is justified with various arguments, although their exclusion from the theatre sphere is nowadays often a topic of debate. However, exclusion is hardly ever called into question when it comes to institutional racism. In the following subsection, the study discusses whether the White German theatre realm can be free of the debate on structural and institutional racism while racism is situated at the centre of society, manifesting itself in everyday life and social practices (Friese et al., 2019). This work highlights

11 See Section 4.2, "Value-Based Cultural Policy and the Construction of Hierarchised Diversity", for the detailed analysis of the concept of *Kulturnation* and culture as a federal task.

the necessity for racism critique since "racist forms influence, lead, direct and govern all members of society, albeit in very different ways" (Kooroshy & Mecheril, 2019, p. 27). The concept of racism critique tackles the power regime and the reflection of power dynamics on actions, institutions, discourses, and structures (Kooroshy & Mecheril, 2019). For this reason, an analysis of the spatial dimension of systematic exclusion and institutional racism is fundamental since systems and structures are involved in the production, reinforcement, and regulation of forms of racism towards the racialised other.

2.5.2 Spatiality, Othering, and Reproduction of Racism

In this section, the research addresses the reproduction of racism in the field of German theatre. The aim is to point out the impediments to equal access conditions for those perceived as "migrant others" and unveil the dynamics of structural and institutional racism. Especially within the last 10 years, theatre and cultural policy scholars and theatre-makers have drawn the attention to the lack of diversity in German public theatres in terms of repertoire, staff, and audience structure, and questioned the role of theatre in a culturally diverse society (Mundel & Mackert, 2010; Regnus, 2009; Schneider, 2011; Sharifi, 2011a, 2017; Terkessidis, 2010). Although lately, fierce debates about the pluralistic transformation of the theatre scene have been taking place, issues concerning the inclusion of immigrant artists into German public theatre usually revolve around the term "exclusion" rather than structural and institutional racism. Nonetheless, some theatre scholars, researchers, and practitioners explicitly mention structural racism in German public theatre and refer to the Whiteness of municipal and state theatres (Daude, 2014; Heinicke, 2019; Kalu, 2012; Nising & Mörch, 2018; Sharifi, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2017; Terkessidis, 2010; Weiler, 2015; Wissert, 2014; Yigit, 2011).

However, structural and institutional racism remains unexplored in terms of cultural policy due to "the systemic fantasy of imagined inclusiveness" (Puwar, 2004, p. 137), via which the misinterpreted old (multiculturalism) and new (interculturalism) frameworks of the task of "promoting diversity" distance themselves from structural and institutional racism (see Chapter 3 for the rhetoric and policies containing these concepts). These diversity approaches make it difficult to pinpoint how forms of institutional racism operate; instead, they attribute racism to the bigoted attitudes of individuals.

Moreover, as pointed out by Sara Ahmed, institutional racism is concealed as a result of the interconnection between different forms of power:

> The struggle to recognise institutional racism can be understood as part of a wider struggle to recognise that all forms of power, inequality, and domination are systematic rather than individual. In other words, racism should not be seen

> as about individuals with bad attitudes (the 'bad apple model'), not because such individuals do not exist (they do) but because such a way of thinking underestimates the scope and scale of racism, thus leaving us without an account of how racism gets reproduced. (2012, p. 44)

The researcher thus sees it vital to discuss what exclusion denotes considering institutional racism in the German public theatre landscape. Hence, the objective here is to understand how racism permeates the theatre scene. To unmask how othering operates as a racist categorisation, the study argues that we need to not only focus on racist discourses and practices, but also demonstrate the power relations behind them, which reproduce, stimulate, and regulate an exclusionary mechanism in the theatre practice.

Spatial exclusion and institutional racism are intertwined since power relations are located in spatial forms. Space is not only a means of production but also a means of control, and hence of domination and power (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). Accordingly, the reciprocal relationship between space and race (Goldberg, 1993; Massey, 1994; Soja, 1996) is integral for understanding how the racialisation of "migrant others" takes place in spaces, and that inequality should also be understood in terms of spatial injustice since inequality becomes visible in space (Soja, 2010). As expressed by theatre scholar Christine Regus, "racism has always occurred in spatial dimensions – for example, separate spaces for people with light and dark skin – but also through the exclusivity of certain spaces, social practices, and discourses" (2009, p. 154).

The research claims that there is an unwritten, invisible code-of-conduct in public theatres that historically, structurally, aesthetically, and culturally excludes "migrant others". Colonial continuities, particular cultural values, and aesthetical conceptions and norms play a decisive role in maintaining structural exclusion. Both the field of cultural policymaking and the field of theatre are governed by specific rules, knowledge, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993a). The way these two fields are internally structured is closely linked with the habitus and capital of their actors (Bourdieu, 1989). The concepts of habitus and capital are effective in characterising "the hegemonic dominance of western norms in knowledge production" (Mudimbe, 1988). Following Bourdieu, power relations gain their force through habitus and capital in the policymaking and theatre fields, and theatrical knowledge is generated and disseminated by the cultural actors and institutions of these fields. In this sense, not only is public theatre White, but decision-making bodies (cultural politics and cultural policy) are White institutional structures. Therefore, both policymaking and public theatres (with a few exceptions) as White institutions determine and maintain the rules of the theatre field and impose specific Eurocentric artistic perspectives and aesthetics that are recognised as inherently universal art forms and practices.

Goldberg argues that "racisms become institutionally normalised in and through spatial configuration" (1993, p. 185). The White German/European "nationally-ethnically-culturally encoded we" (Kooroshy & Mecheril, 2019) maintain the hegemony over the theatre scene through established systems and structures. Exclusion does not materialise in a void; the racialisation of spaces is inseparable from the system of power (Massey, 1994). The systematic exclusion of the racialised other described by Hage precisely reflects the logic behind the internal formation of the exclusionary structure of the German theatre scene and the privileged cultural actors' perception of the nation-state as the territory of the "us":

> A nationalist practice of exclusion is a practice emanating from agents imagining themselves to occupy a privileged position within national space such as they perceive themselves to be the enactors of the national will within the nation. (…) In this process, the nationalists perceive themselves as spatial managers, and that which is standing between them and their imaginary nation is constructed as an undesirable national object to be removed from national space. (2000, p. 47)

The distorted image of "the other" continues to be an object of knowledge and power of the West, as claimed by Edward Said (1978) in his most famous book, *Orientalism*. Concerning the imaginative geography and history, colonial subjugation maintains its hegemonic position by dramatising the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away (Said, 1978, p. 55).

Distancing the "migrant other" from national space is deeply rooted in the construction of a homogenous European identity through a linear history. As described aptly by Fatima El-Tayeb, persistent attempts of institutionalising a collective past refuse the national belonging of racialised immigrants to Europe and, by fabricating a cultural distance, locate those immigrants into a pseudo time and space projection in which their presence in the history of "Europeanness" is conceived impermanent:

> In Europe, migrants and their descendants are routinely denied access to the common history. The internalist story can neither acknowledge the profound interconnectedness of cultures at the heart of the rise of Europe and of the very idea of Europe itself, nor how colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade shaped not only the new but also the 'old world'. Instead, such a narrative requires a clear separation between what is European and what is not – an impossible task that invariably produces tensions that threaten its coherence. Historically, these tensions have centred on race and religion as markers of non-Europeanness. Therefore, Europeans who are not white and Christian exist not only in a strange place but in a strange temporality: they tend to be eternally read as having just arrived or even as still being elsewhere – if not physically, then at least culturally. (2015, p. 287)

Diversity-oriented cultural policy measures for the inclusion of "migrant others" into the enclosed milieu of public theatre do not aim to address the origin of structural exclusion.[12] Racism and inequalities are overlooked by diversity practices in institutions (Ahmed, 2012). Conversely, as pointed out by Shermin Langhoff in an interview, theatre is not immune to reproducing racism:

> Racism can be reproduced in the theatre if the questions of who performs, what is performed, for whom and how it is performed, i.e., the questions of authorship, directing, and cast, are not thought out. These questions per se are essential in theatre, and they must be thoroughly dealt with, both internally and externally. (Parbey, 2019)

In the absence of a clear identification of the background of structural racism in theatre, discussions on racism remain limited to racist practices such as blackface. This is also related to the fact that in 2011, White actors were cast to play Black people in productions such as *Unschuld* (Innocence) at *Deutsches Theater*, and, shortly after, *Ich bin nicht Rappaport* (I am not Rappaport) at *Schlosspark Theater Berlin*, which prompted a heated debate on racism in public theatre. Theatre researchers and scholars analysed these instances of blackface from various perspectives, detecting: racist ascription of otherness through historically loaded processes of appropriation and degrading difference (Kalu, 2012), representation and construction of non-Europeans (corresponding to helplessness, illegality, victimhood, and foreignness) as the opposite of White (Otoo, 2014), colonial power and the racist projection of practices, images, and words (Micossé-Aikins, 2013), Western-colonial theatre tradition in which White, male, heterosexual directors are the sole ruler of artistic direction (Heinicke, 2019), absence of critical self-reflection in public theatres (Milagro, 2012), the domination of the White perspective and a representational imbalance in theatres (Sharifi, 2013), etc. While theatre scholars and practitioners address the arbitrary attributions to racialised others through the reproduction of stereotypes, clichés, and images, some White theatre-makers of municipal and state theatres justify the repetition of racist practices by claiming that there is not a sufficient number of Black and POC actors or that casting choices are part of their artistic freedom. However, racist content in German theatre is not limited to the practice of blackface. There is also the practice of casting actors of colour in ethnic roles and characters, and contracting artists of colour only for "immigrant" theatre productions (Sharifi, 2017, p. 326).

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12 Some federal funding programmes with the objective of fostering cultural diversity in the German performing arts scene are analysed in Chapter 5 to give insights into how the notion of diversity is perceived and implemented through funding programmes, and to explore their impact on the pluralistic transformation of the theatre scene.

In a similar vein, Daniele Daude (2014) discusses three levels of racialisation that take place in the opera scene; namely racialised dramaturgy (construction of characters and situations based on race), racialised stage (reconstruction of characters linked to colonial imagery through, i.e., costumes and settings, the repertoire of gestures, sexualisation, exotic bodies), and racialised embodiment (racialisation of stage elements – from stage direction to casting policy).

More recently, in April 2018, actress Maya Alban-Zapata was exposed to racist insults at *Theater an der Parkaue* (Berlin State Theatre for Children and Youth). The actress left the production of *Around the World in 80 Days* during rehearsals after Volker Metzler, then employed as theatre director and interim artistic director of the theatre, had addressed her several times in a racist manner using the "N-word" (Schmidt, 2019). The incident happened almost around the same time when two diversity programmes started within the same institution. One of the programmes was *Projektbüros Diversity Arts Culture*[13] (*DAC*; Diversity Arts Culture Project Office), funded by the Berlin Senate Department for Culture and Europe, and the other was part of the 360° – Fund for New City Cultures (*360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft*; see Section 5.1.5 for more information about the fund) of the German Federal Cultural Foundation (Treblin & Wagener, 2019). After the racist incident became public in 2019, the artistic management team was replaced. As part of the two diversity funding programmes, the position of cultural agent was created, the theatre management completed a two-day diversity training course, and the staff participated in workshops raising awareness of everyday racism (Schmidt, 2019).

In addition to discriminatory and racist practices in theatre, recently, debates on racism sparked once more with the anti-racism clause dispute, which contributed to exposing power structures in public theatres. To combat structural racism and obtain equal opportunities in the German theatre scene, in 2018, an anti-racism clause was formulated by theatre director Julia Wissert and lawyer and dramaturge Sonja Laaser.[14] The anti-racism clause aims to provide a legislative framework for the protection of freelance Black and POC artists against racist statements by employees of the contracted theatre houses. A statement is recognised as racist based on the definition enshrined in a clause of the United

13 The Project Office was founded in April 2017, recently renamed to Diversity Arts Culture. Its goal is to encourage and support diversity-focused structural change within Berlin's cultural sector.

14 Julia Wissert was appointed artistic director of *Schauspiel Dortmund* in 2020. She is the youngest and first Black artistic director in a public theatre and author of the book *Schwarz. Macht. Weiß* (Black. Power. White; 2014), in which she analysed structural racism and the working conditions of Black theatre-makers on German-speaking stages.

Nations Convention (Kanzlei Laaser, 2019).[15] In case of a racist act, the contracting theatre is responsible for offering educational workshops to its staff and raise their awareness of racist structures and racist vocabulary (Heppekausen, 2019).

The same year, the performance collective *Technocandy* demanded to include an anti-racism clause in their contract negotiations with the municipal theatre, *Theater Oberhausen*, for their play, *Shaffen* (Creation). According to a member of the collective, Golschan Ahmad Haschemi (2019), they continued their rehearsals without a written contract due to the unwillingness of the administration staff of the contracted municipal theatre. After a month-long review, the administration declined to include the anti-racism clause in the contract, and *Technocandy* was forced to sign the regular contract a few days before the premiere took place for legal protection.[16] Paradoxically, *Theater Oberhausen* is known for its cultural diversity work, mainly in its programming, and is supported by the 360° – Fund for New City Cultures.

The dispute about the anti-racism clause intensified the awareness of the need for a more extensive and transparent discussion on structural racism in German theatre. For instance, a group of theatre-makers, theatre scholars, and cultural activists initiated a solidarity statement on the anti-racism clause to support the demand for equal opportunities in the performing arts scene (Offener Brief Anti-Rassismus-Klausel, n.d.). Following these developments, two theatres, namely *Schauspielhaus Bochum* and *Staatstheater Hannover*, have taken the responsibility to deal with any prospective racist incidents within their houses and included the clause in their contract negotiations. Nevertheless, without structural plans concerning the development of an equality-based diversity discourse in the theatrical field, measures – albeit introduced with good intentions – remain insufficient for addressing institutional racism.

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15 The definition of racism in the clause is based on Article 1 of the United Nations convention against racial discrimination. Article 1/1 states that the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, or any other field of public life (for more information, see International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination that entered into force on January 4, 1969).

16 Ahmad Haschemi (2019) explains that a week before the premiere in February 2019, the collective, in consultation with the artistic director of *Theater Oberhausen*, gave an interview for a local newspaper. The interview was published on the day of the premiere, causing a fierce debate and criticism towards the municipal theatre. After the interview was published, the artistic management team of *Theater Oberhausen* withdrew their support of the anti-racism clause as they felt designated as racist.

3. Integration, Intercultural Management, Migration Mainstreaming

All levels of German cultural policy have been engaged in the latest debate on the lack of immigration-related diversity in cultural institutions (Federal Foreign Office 2016, 2020). Although promoting cultural diversity is one of the main objectives of cultural policies and implementation strategies of public funding institutions, the theatre realm, and especially public theatre, is the most prominent subject of such discussions since it is reluctant to respond to demographic changes in a long-standing immigrant country.

This chapter focuses on the interpretation of the phenomenon of "diversity" in German cultural policy, as a critique of the "white multicultural gaze towards to the ethnic other" (Hage, 2000, p. 138), referred to in this work as citizens with a "particular migrant background".

Before investigating the different dimensions of the cultural policy objective of "promoting diversity", the study poses an inevitable question: Why should we concentrate on the meaning of cultural diversity when diversity is self-evident in a country like Germany?[1] Seeking an answer to this question is essentially interrelated with the claim that diversity discourse is semantically vague (Vertovec, 2012) when it comes to cultural policy and theatre. Secondly, it further raises the issue of "what does diversity 'do' when it is 'put into action'?" (Ahmed, 2007, p. 237). And thirdly, in terms of citizenship and civil rights, it concerns the need to explore policy responses to diversity addressing inequality and social justice (Ahmed, 2012; Benhabib, 2002; Cooper, 2004; Faist, 2009; Mouffe, 1992).

Although diversity discourse includes a wide range of contexts, this analysis concentrates on its implementation in cultural policy. The research focuses on the diversity arising from immigration in Germany and distinguishes the long-established patterns of diversity from the newer forms of immigration-generated

1 The research explores various diversity aspects of public and independent theatres in Chapter 3, the politics of diversity in Germany in Chapter 4, and how diversity is understood and addressed by the federal cultural policy funding actors and some of their programmes in Chapter 5.

diversity (Brubaker, n.d.). Since a great deal of diversity discourse in German cultural policy and theatre practice centres around the objective of "achieving diversity", their interest in "being diverse" compels the researcher to delve into the discourse of cultural policy on diversity. Dealing with cultural diversity as a policy objective and its application is thus imperative for this study as it could be a basis for formulating recommendations for an interculturally-oriented cultural policy framework for the German theatre scene, one that could reflect the needs and expectations of an intercultural society.

Searching for a cogent meaning of diversity also requires comprehending the concepts in circulation used when addressing immigration-related diversity in cultural policy. Additionally, varying political stances have to be taken into consideration, as indicated by Thomas Faist:

> Diversity as a concept and a set of not necessarily coherent policies, programmes and routines straddle many worlds: it appeals to those who emphasise individual economic competence and self-reliance of immigrants ('neo-liberals'), to those who cherish the public competence of immigrants in public affairs (republicans), as well as to those, like the European Commission, who push for structural reforms to turn incorporation into a two-way process. (2009, p. 173)

The study focuses on structurally developed cultural policy measures, strategies, and programmes that include all individuals and groups as subjects of diversity discourse and discussions, instead of targeting only "particular" immigrants. Furthermore, it searches for a diversity framework that would emphasise equal opportunities rather than obligations (of "particular" immigrants), one that does not confine those immigrants to inclusion and (cultural) integration schemes. This way of approaching diversity is also connected with the existing degrading formulation of national identity that does not correspond with a liberal democratic perspective since it excludes or marginalises some citizens (Carens, 2015, p. 264).

The researcher ruminates about the critiques of diversity discourses of policy and practice, summarised by sociologist Steven Vertovec (2012)[2], and argues that they reflect to a great extent how German cultural policy perceives, conceptualises, and implements diversity in the theatre sphere, detecting the following:

- It is instrumentalist, conceiving that some people comprise 'the diverse' who are to be managed by someone else.
- It reinforces normativity, with the White, male, able, sexually straight person as the model from which others are different.

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2 Vertovec refers to the vast array of critiques uttered by academics, social movements, and community organisers. He stresses that "the critiques themselves are scattered across variegated programmes and meanings of diversity" (2012, p. 301).

- It is patronising, claiming to function for the benefit of some purported downtrodden group.
- It amounts to social engineering, attempting to artificially create a (normatively conceived) perfect team, company or society.
- It equalises differences by way of assuming that, in terms of experiences of discrimination (following this rationale, measures for anti-discrimination), race is like gender is like disability, and so on.
- It dissipates politics (especially of group-based movements), carrying a divide-and-rule logic to extremes of individuals and their innumerable attributes.
- It shifts attention from inequality, placing emphasis on esteem and 'feel-good' measures rather than real improvement of structural conditions.
- It is just a 'formality' or façade for companies or other institutions to make it look like they are doing something positive for minorities.
- It is easily cut-off from other programmes within a company or public institution – that is, just something for the minorities rather than for all.
- It is little more than 'counting people who are different', which some – especially those deemed 'different' – might find offensive. (Vertovec, 2012, p. 300)

The research recognises these critiques as a frame of mind. Starting from the latest discussion on the intercultural opening of cultural institutions, specifically theatres, in the German cultural policy discourse, it searches for a concept of diversity that would provide a dynamic and fluid meaning that narrates the notion of diversity as an ongoing process *in motion*, in line with the contemporary understanding of cultural identity in a transnational world. The need to reframe the meaning of diversity is ultimately interconnected with (a) the accessibility of theatres for "the other" who are categorised as people with a "particular migrant background" and (b) the role of cultural policy in "creating a barrier-free" (Terkessidis, 2013, p. 17) theatre landscape.

3.1 (Cultural) Integration and the Failure of Multiculturalism

Conceiving the intercultural opening of theatres, the researcher calls into question "the rise of loose talk and normative programmes surrounding 'diversity' and the term itself having no clear content or overall aim in public discourse and policy" (Vertovec, 2015, p. 3) in order to envision diversity *in motion* by suggesting a viable cultural policy concept for the theatre scene. This effort requires disputing the role of theatre in the 21st century in which migration is one of the factors most responsible for changing the cultural fabric of society due to the processes of advanced globalisation and the climate of rising conservative populism, right-

wing extremism, and racism. The current condition of transnationalism with its implications in various dimensions (e.g., political, economic, social, cultural) is forcing cultural policies and the cultural sphere to rethink the highly complex, multi-layered facets of (cultural) identity in the face of migration and forced displacement, in an attempt to reconceptualise the phenomenon of cultural diversity.

With the aim of determining the cognitive and political framework of the language of diversity and grasping the grounds of its changing terminology, it is crucial to investigate the policy paradigms of diversity and the perspectives of these paradigms on (cultural) identity and cultural differences, as critical indicators revealing the reversal of the policy discourse on cultural diversity.

Since the 2000s, a clear shift from multiculturalism to interculturalism has taken place in German cultural policy circles, following the same trend present in other parts of the world at the time. Only in the last few years have German policymakers started discussing transculturalism at the discourse level. It should be noted that, in comparison to interculturalism, engaging with the notion of transculturalism is a relatively recent development. There is one mention of "transculture" in the national cultural policy, updated in February 2020, as reference to a brochure provided by the *Goethe Institut* (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 28).[3] As an emerging concept, transculturalism has recently been employed by some funding institutions of the federal government such as the Socio-Culture Fund (*Fonds Soziokultur*; see Section 5.3.2 for the Fund's transcultural perspective) but is yet to be applied as a cultural diversity concept in the German cultural policy context. Hence, the analysis in this chapter only focuses on perspectives related to multiculturalism and interculturalism.

Regarding the recognition of cultural diversity, in the last two decades, many scholars have been discussing the differences and similarities between the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism in policy terms, mostly in Canada, Australia, and Western Europe, albeit from different aspects, but most often in contexts surrounding the claim of the "failure of multiculturalism" (Barrett, 2013; Bharucha, 1999a, 1999b; Bouchard, 2011; Cantle, 2012; Girishkumar, 2015; Hammer, 2004; James, 2008; Kymlicka, 2010; Levey, 2012; Mani, 2005; Meer & Modood, 2012;

3 The brochure consisted of a brief introduction to transculture which offered a working definition for the term: "Transculture describes a dynamic understanding of culture in which different cultural influences meet and blend with one another. We no longer speak of clearly defined differences, but of a set of diverse cultural influences that are simultaneously effective not only in a country but also in individuals themselves. This diversity is often only present subconsciously since the coexistence of people is characterised by certain norms and values. Recognising and differentiating cultural diversity is always dependent on a process of reflection" (Wolfram & Föhl, 2018, p. 2).

Modood, 2014; Modood & Meer, 2013; Parekh, 2007; Schönwälder, 2010; Taylor, 2012; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010; Weinstock, 2013; Wood et al., 2006). As stated by Nasar Meer and Tariq Modood, "in both theoretical and policy discourses, multiculturalism means different things in different places" (2012, p. 179). Notably, the key features of Canadian and Australian multiculturalism distinctly differ from the European interpretations since immigration has different roots in the two environments; European countries have significantly varying historical, political, and legal legacies and sociocultural structures. Hence, "dealing" with immigration includes a wide range of strategies and perceptions, contrasting those of their Canadian and Australian counterparts.

When the term multiculturalism emerged in Canada and Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, it was linked to the liberal values of individual freedom, social justice, and the promise of equal citizenship on a non-discriminatory basis (Meer & Modood, 2012, p. 180). In the earlier years of the post-war mass immigration to Europe, multiculturalism was first determined by race, and the arrival of migrants provoked resentment and hostility within the host societies (Cantle, 2012, p. 55). In France, Germany, and Britain, although in different forms (a more liberal approach in Britain until pre-Brexit), the multiculturalist view was unanimously associated with integration policies (Cantle, 2012; Collinson, 1998; Schönwälder, 2010). However, different models were adopted; while France favoured assimilation, Germany leaned towards the form of "guest worker" in which long-term citizenship and rights were denied (Cantle, 2012, p. 112), while the Netherlands, Sweden, and Britain advocated for the recognition of a "multiracial" society (Collinson, 1998, p. 154). Meer and Modood write:

> In Europe [multiculturalism] came to mean, and now means throughout the English-speaking world, and beyond, the political accommodation by the state and/or a dominant group of all minority cultures defined first and foremost by reference to race, ethnicity or religion, and, additionally but more controversially, by reference to other group-defining characteristics such as nationality and aboriginality. (2012, p. 181)

However, the multicultural perspectives of Western Europe have been described as unable to respond to integration-oriented plans of different policy areas (e.g., social, education, etc.) and associated with the issue of ethnic segregation. In his book (2007) *Abschied von Multikulti* (Farewell to Multiculturalism), political scientist Stefan Luft refers to multiculturalism as the cause of the development of "ethnic colonies" which resulted in the "integration crisis" of German immigration policy. This apprehension foreshadowed the current consensus on the "failure of multiculturalism", which has been blamed on the inability of third and fourth-generation migrants (more specifically, Muslims) to live up to European standards

– standards to which they remain entirely external – which also illustrates the assumption of why they are the target of racist attacks (El-Tayeb, 2015, p. 296).

Charles Taylor, one of the proponents of multiculturalist policies in Canada, Quebéc, argues that this "ghetto-inducing idea of the point of multiculturalism is widely shared in Europe" (2012, p. 414). The semantics around the failure of multiculturalism in Europe, according to Taylor, are a case of misinterpretation:

> Anti-multicultural rhetoric in Europe reflects a profound misunderstanding of the dynamics of immigration into the rich, liberal democracies of the West. The underlying assumption seems to be that too much positive recognition of cultural differences will encourage a retreat into ghettos and a refusal to accept the political ethic of liberal democracy itself.
>
> (…) Consequently, the European attack on 'multiculturalism' often seems to us a classic case of false consciousness, blaming certain phenomena of ghettoisation and alienation of immigrants on a foreign ideology, instead of recognising the home-grown failures to promote integration and combat discrimination. (2012, p. 414)

As a matter of fact, Germany has not practised an active multicultural strategy (Kymlicka, 2012), and no present or past federal government nor the *Länder* have inscribed a deliberate multicultural agenda; multiculturalism has so far mainly existed at the level of discourse but not a consistent political programme (Kraus & Schönwälder, 2006, p. 202), especially not on the federal level (Schönwälder, 2010, p. 152). Wasmer expresses that the German public debate about the "multicultural society" usually refers to the existence of a multiplicity of cultures rather than a particular public policy approach of multiculturalism (2013, p. 170).

As pointed out by Sarah Collinson, "there is little reference to the notion of multiculturalism in official circles in Germany; the emphasis is placed firmly on improving immigrant minorities' social and economic status rather than on cultural matters" (1998, p. 162). Indeed, almost 20 years later, the latest federal policy document reveals that the need for cultural policy to specifically address fostering cultural participation in terms of the impact of the cultural contribution of citizens with a "migrant background" is still not explicitly on the agenda of diversity strategies of the federal government (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020). Moreover, the abandonment of the term multiculturalism is evident in the formulation of the national cultural policy. There is one vague mention of multiculturalism in the policy document referring to the debates around it without specifying what these discussions were about, only emphasising the importance of furthering intercultural understanding as one of the crucial aspects of cultural policy at all levels of government in the coming years, for the purpose of strengthening national cultural cohesion (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 20).

In order to progressively frame the discussions around interculturalism/interculturality[4] and be able to conceptualise the term and the development of related strategies and implementation plans of the *Länder* and municipal governments under the ongoing motto of "valuing cultural diversity", it is essential to first grasp the way German cultural policy and politics perceive multiculturalism.

The aim of this research is not an in-depth analysis of the political and historical setting of the rejection of multicultural approaches. However, a brief examination of the existing (incomplete) elements of multicultural policies provides a valuable insight into the official policy not favouring an active promotion of minority rights and identities and being antagonistic to immigration and institutionalised plurality (Schönwälder, 2010, p. 153). Understanding multiculturalism is a prerequisite for gaining knowledge about how this negative aspect of immigration-related cultural diversity can direct the development of an explicit intercultural policy framework, particularly considering the acceptance of intercultural discourse but the absence of it in practice.

Furthermore, the view on multiculturalism is indispensable when observing the continuous relation between cultural diversity and inclusion policies associated with cultural policies after the enactment of the Immigration Act in 2005. This study argues that the oversight of the multicultural viewpoint at fault for the failed integration policy (referring to the cultural integration of "particular" immigrants) are the futile attempts to integrate people into one culture, which brought forth the overlooked aspect of cultural identity (of those "particular" immigrants) as a critical resistance factor responsible for the failure of such plans.

Until the early 1990s, integration was to a large extent affiliated with economic benefits; therefore, the strategy of incorporating diversity into the German economy was focused on the integration of immigrants into the labour market (Bendel, 2014, pp. 2–3). Over the last decades, integration has been perceived as the structural integration of immigrants, while issues of cultural and religious diversity have received less attention (Wasmer, 2013, p. 169). Thomas Röbke and Bernd Wagner stressed that neglecting cultural policy in the debates around a "multicultural society", despite cultural issues being immanent to the social integration of immigrants, was partly a consequence of the inability of cultural policy actors to recognise the significance of the arts and cultural work in integration (2003, p. 51).

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4 Both terms are used by policymakers and cultural scientists in various countries and related literature. The author employs the term "interculturalism" in some cases and in others "interculturality" to make reference to their usage by policymaking bodies and scholars. For instance, in the German policy discourse, the term "interculturality" is applied instead of "interculturalism".

According to the *Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat* (*BMI*; Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community), although there has been a significant change of tone in integration discourse and the inclusion of the cultural sphere in integration policies, the core areas of action of the Immigration Law of 2005 remain more or less the same and immigrants are expected to fulfil numerous duties while not getting access to a broader range of rights:

> Integration should ensure that immigrants have equal opportunities and chance to participate in all areas, mainly social, economic and cultural life. To do so, people who come to Germany intending to stay must learn the German language and acquire basic knowledge of our history and our legal system, in particular, the significance of Germany's free and democratic order, the party system, the federal structure, the welfare system, equal rights, tolerance and religious freedom. Moreover, they should be familiar with Germany's constitution and laws and should respect and abide by them. (BMI, 2019, para. 2)

In terms of recognising cultural diversity and ethnic differences, although the claim about integration places "an emphasis on mutual exchange and living together" (Schönwälder, 2010, p. 154) and is described as "a two-way process" (BMI, 2019, para. 3), the rhetoric of "promoting the integration of foreigners" is still in use (BMI, 2019). In that respect, Wasmer writes that little was done to increase the majority's acceptance of culturally different groups. A change in this direction could lead to a positive recognition of diversity – a clear sign of multiculturalism (2013, p. 170), which could ultimately contribute to the alteration of perceiving some German citizens as "foreigners".

In the German political sphere, the struggle of multiculturalism is to some degree affiliated with the incompatibility of dominant political views and the ideas at the core of multiculturalism. These ideas suggest that, for example:

> Many cultures should live together without being merged into one or subsume under a superior, overarching culture and an appreciation of cultural diversity, which compares favourably to all other supposedly monoculturalist views that resist or at least lament the diversification of national cultures. (Fernández, 2013, p. 52)

In Germany, supporting national identity, embellished with the reformulated idea of *Kulturnation*, is still actively promoted by cultural politics and policy without considering what it means to be "German" and what to make of cultural and artistic practices in an intercultural society. Almost 20 years earlier, Röbke and Wagner reflected on the exclusion of immigrants from cultural policy discussions: "Cultural policy is fixated on the conventional, Eurocentric cultural heritage, whether in the form of traditional cultural and educational institutions or its sociocultural expansion" (2003, p. 52).

Today, in general, immigrants are held responsible for the failure of their integration, and accused of self-segregation; primarily, the allegation about Muslim immigrants being closed off from the majority society brought Islam to the centre of public debates on multiculturalism (Wasmer, 2013, p. 172). Setbacks in "successful" integration plans, concerning the unwillingness of "particular" immigrants such as Muslims to integrate into the majority society provided a ground for conservative parties to base their strategies on an image of a German society they aim to construct. The claim voiced by Karen Schönwälder on the political rejection of multiculturalism indicates how the concept was exploited by politicians:

> Attacks on multiculturalism are, to a certain extent, rhetorical and not necessarily accompanied by a consequent move to abolish any pluralist intervention. Indeed, Christian Democratic attacks on multiculturalism may mainly be directed at their own supporters. By creating an imaginary picture of a multicultural past, they can present their own policies as innovative and distract from the fact that, rather than breaking with a multicultural past, they have revised their own policy. (2010, p. 162)

In light of this firm connection between the discourses of politics and policy, the public statement of the German Chancellor, AngelaMerkel, on the failure of multiculturalism makes more sense. At the *CDU* meeting in Potsdam in 2010, the Chancellor said that the attempts at creating a multicultural society in Germany have utterly failed (Siebold, 2010). Her verdict caused little controversy, received by the public, as El-Tayeb writes:

> (…) as the belated official recognition of something already part of common knowledge, namely the end of tolerance for those never considered real Europeans in the first place – labour and postcolonial migrants from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, and their descendants – and a return to a less fractured, more simple and true notion of European culture. (2015, p. 286)

A proclamation of failure displays another picture when integration and multicultural policies and (the absence of) cultural pluralism are considered in the German context. The rationale behind the rejection of multicultural policies (based on the definition of Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka)[5] described by Kraus and Schönwälder confirms the above argument of El-Tayeb. The authors provide powerful insights into conservative political views, which recognise the "cultures"

5 They refer to policies which "go beyond the protection of the basic civil and political rights guaranteed to all individuals in a liberal-democratic state, to also extend some level of public recognition and support for ethno-cultural minorities to maintain and express their distinct identities and practices" (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006, p. 1).

of those "particular" immigrants as a threat to stabilising "Germanness" and "Europeanness":

> Elements of multiculturalism policies do exist in Germany – albeit not within a concept characterised by a commitment to minority rights and public support for the maintenance and expression of distinct identities. Objections to more fully developed multiculturalism policies arise mainly from three sources. First of all, such policies usually require an acceptance of the minority groups as longer-term parts of a given society. Second, the retention of national or ethnic group solidarities is often seen as backwards-looking and anti-modern, unnecessary for the realisation of individual rights, and occasionally even as hindering individual development. Thirdly, stronger, more visible, and vocal ethnic communities are seen as a danger to the overall cohesion of modern societies and as parallel societies[6]. Finally, recent transformations of the German welfare state might encourage a shift towards a more assimilationist orientation. (Kraus & Schönwälder, 2006, p. 220)

For some time now, German politics and cultural policy have distanced themselves from the term multiculturalism; "it is now almost exclusively used as a negative image of the past, as a synonym for the ills and illusions of a liberal left that allegedly caused many of the problems German society currently faces" (Schönwälder, 2010, p. 152). Nevertheless, there has been a strong correlation between the rejection of the multicultural approach and the embrace of intercultural approaches in political and policy circles. Interculturality is treated as a reconciliatory concept since its interpretation is based on dialogue between "conflicting cultures", and the notion is thus understood as advocating for the respect and appreciation of all cultures. From this perspective, interculturality shifts the attention from the negative connotations around multiculturalism in Germany, and it allows the possibility of contact between those assumed to be fundamentally different cultures. However, local and regional policies with intercultural features seem to mingle intercultural approaches with multicultural ones:

> Official political acceptance of immigration co-exists with negative attitudes towards ethnic diversity, including the widely held opinion that immigrants should adjust to German ways. At the same time, there is scope for partial pragmatic acceptance of diversity. While, on the national level, official policies recognising and promoting ethnic plurality are non-existent, several cities have

6 The authors are referring to the debate of *Parallelgesellschaft* (parallel society) from 2004 and 2005. The term summarises the fear that "ethnic communities were contributing to disintegration by withdrawing into secluded communities or parallel societies" (Kraus & Schönwälder, 2006, p. 213).

> committed themselves to 'intercultural' policies, and policies that may be regarded as components of a multicultural approach do exist on the local or regional level.[7] (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010, p. 25)

Within this framework, a search for a new concept of diversity (i.e., intercultural dialogue, the intercultural opening of public institutions) could be discerned as part of a sufficient cultural integration policy that aims to give culture a mediating role for community cohesion.

The research argues that the confusion around the multicultural perspective on a political level in Germany is also related with marginalising differences by focusing on ethnicity and religion. The critiques pointed out by Christian Fernández outline the German political and policy backlash against multiculturalism, exhibiting aspects of ethnocentricity, discrimination, national chauvinism, cultural repression, and its inability to provide a conceptually and normatively appropriate theory of how to accommodate cultural diversity (2013, p. 52). A retreat from multiculturalism is also, according to Kymlicka, "partly driven by fears amongst the majority group that the accommodation of diversity has 'gone too far' and is threatening their way of life" (2010, p. 32).

The ethnicity and religion-oriented reading of the multicultural approach perceives cultures as homogeneous and fixed essences belonging to different cultural groups, disregarding other markers of identity. Accommodating diversity is inseparable from the identity dimension of culture since promoting diversity (through concepts and associated plans and strategies) requires explicit recognition of not only the community/group components of identity but also its individual strands. Culture is not fixed, instead constructed (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1992c), and therefore has to be seen as dynamic and continuously renegotiated (Sandercock, 2004). Correspondingly, identity is a process (Brah, 2007) that changes and transforms as it is increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multifaceted (Brah, 2007; Hall, 2000; Parekh, 2006; Sen, 2006) and intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989; Hall, 2000). In this respect,

> Some of the components of identity feature more strongly in the overall conception and vary in strength at different times and in different contexts, including the way people define themselves in relations to employment, language, culture, faith, ethnicity, nationality and locale. (Cantle, 2012, p. 36)

A static comprehension of identity fails to recognise the complex nature of culture and confines it to a national framework. Consequently, in this case, the value attributed to culture is exceedingly restrictive; it is determined as a set of qualities of a specific culture. Moreover, this comprehension does not embrace the existing

7 Examples of this are examined in Section 3.3.

cultural diversity as normality; instead, it contributes to the separatist view of "us" and "the others". Amartya Sen argues that "putting people in boxes in this way or representing society as a federation of communities can create sectarian extremism and deny people the capacity to interact with each other as citizens" (2006, p. 164). In that sense, constructing such categories based on (mainly ethnic and religious) group identities operates as a justification for the different treatment of some people with a "migrant background" through policy measures. This way of seeing society as an agglomeration of disparate group identities described by Sen reveals that German cultural politics and policy are concerned with "how society should be, but not society as it is" (Terkessidis, 2010). That being the case, diversity remains an empty word for the ones who are targeted by diversity plans and programmes as articulated by Volkan T. from the *Akademie der Autodidakten*:

> Why is there no sense of diversity in my life? What is this diversity supposed to suggest and above all, what do I have to do with it? I am not a colour, not diversity; I am an individual. Why are we always being turned into a political issue? Why cannot we simply live but must explain and justify ourselves? What does this diversity bring us? Diversity is just an alibi word without substance. Just like integration. What does integration mean? I mean, we already live in German society. (2017, p. 5)

Furthermore, acknowledging culture mainly based on ethnic group identity is an approach that turns its face obsessively to a shared past and is far from providing room for a sense of belonging and appreciation of a collective future. In this regard, the appeal of interculturality, with respect to valuing diversity as a new cultural policy concept, requires further investigation, especially concerning its relation to cultural identity.

3.2 The Rise of the Intercultural Approach in Cultural Policy

Although interculturalism is not a new term, the conceptualisation and definitions vary across the globe; its perception in Europe considerably differs from that of North America. The discourse of European interculturalism can be traced back to the French and Dutch responses to multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s (James, 2008, p. 2). The departing point of the early form of European perspectives on interculturalism was the effort to create contact between the majority society and migrants. Hence, considering the issues that were regarded as the results of immigration (the "inability" of some immigrants to integrate into "host society"), the adoption of interculturalism as an alternative to multiculturalism has become omnipresent for managing ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity in Europe. From the late 1990s, the European model of interculturalism aimed at encouraging

dialogue between different cultural groups in order to reduce prejudice (James, 2008, p. 3).

Advocates of the British model define five main features of interculturalism: openness, interaction, process, dialogue, and mutual learning (Cantle, 2012; James, 2008; Wood et al., 2006). However, the overlapping elements of interculturalism and multiculturalism and the lack of a clear distinction led to the interpretation of interculturalism as an updated variation of multiculturalism (Lentin, 2005). Similarly, Bhikhu Parekh identifies interculturalism as a model of "interactive multiculturalism" (2007, p. 46). Gérard Bouchard, on the contrary, calls Quebéc interculturalism "integrational pluralism" (2011, p. 468) and sees this model as the integration of minorities and immigrants into a framework of accepting fundamental values of the Quebec society (gender equality, secularism, and the French language; 2011, p. 437); a model based on integration within a single nation (2011, p. 439).

Meer and Modood discuss "political interculturalism" (referring to the assumed critique of multiculturalism in a political framework in contexts of cultural diversity; 2012, p. 177), and they outline and evaluate four overlapping positive features supported by advocates of interculturalism contrasted with multiculturalism:

- first, that as something greater than coexistence, interculturalism is allegedly more geared towards interaction and dialogue than multiculturalism,
- second, that interculturalism is conceived as something less "groupist" or more yielding of synthesis than multiculturalism,
- third, that interculturalism is something more committed to a stronger sense of the whole, in terms of aspects such as societal cohesion and national citizenship, and
- finally, where multiculturalism may be illiberal and relativistic, interculturalism is likely to lead to criticism of illiberal cultural practices (as part of the process of intercultural dialogue).

Following their evaluation, Meer and Modood conclude that interculturalism is not an updated version of multiculturalism; however, they argue that positive qualities such as encouraging communication, recognising dynamic identities, promoting unity, and challenging bigotry are also characteristic of "progressive multiculturalism" (2012, p. 192), which resembles the intercultural approach in Germany. They state that interculturalism requires an original political perspective on concerns regarding complex identities and matters of equality in order to excel multiculturalism.

In addition to these various readings, there is also the dialogue-based European Commission model of interculturalism. The Commission declared the year 2008

as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue with the aim of facilitating an exchange of views and opinions between different cultures. According to the latest assessment of the European Commission, "unlike multiculturalism, where the focus is on the preservation of separate cultures, intercultural dialogue seeks to establish linkages and common ground between different cultures, communities, and people, promoting understanding and interaction" (2019, para. 2).

In Germany, the roots of the term "interculturality" can be found in the field of education. The recommendations of the *Kultursministerkonferenz* (*KMK*; Conference of the Ministers of Education) on intercultural education and training in schools in the *Länder* date back to 1996. The main objectives of the *KMK* were to develop openness towards others, acquire intercultural competencies of respecting other cultures, foster skills for dealing with cultural conflicts, actively oppose discrimination, and promote the linguistic skills of students growing up multilingual (KMK, 1996, pp. 3–4). Intercultural education is still not officially part of the school education policy; it is only carried out by some educational institutions (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 62).

In 2003, the *Institut für Kulturpolitik* (*IfK*) *der kulturpolitischen Gesellschaft* (*KuPoGe*; Institute for Cultural Policy of the Cultural Policy Association) published the *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2002/2003* (Yearbook for Cultural Policy), an extensive document on interculturality. In the introduction of the yearbook, Oliver Scheytt, the former president of the *KuPoGe*[8], stated that culture requires a new perspective if the long-standing German cultural policy objective of "culture for all" and cultural civil rights are not only limited to the citizens of German descent (2003a, p. 12). Röbke and Wagner also discussed the Canadian model of interculturalism applied to German cultural policy (2003, p. 20). The collection of texts dealt with a wide-ranging spectrum of the concept of interculturality, highlighting intercultural work as a task of the cultural policies of the *Länder* (Frankenberg, 2003; Kröger & Sievers, 2003; Vesper, 2003) and municipalities (Flierl, 2003; Magdowski, 2003; Manthey, 2003; Markwirth, 2003; Scheytt, 2003b), interculturality as a new political task for cultural integration, and the requirements of intercultural work in various fields such as political education (Krüger, 2003), cultural education (Böttger & Ruppelt, 2003; Fuchs, 2003), theatre (Heilmann & Ciulli, 2003), socio-culture (Knoblich, 2003), and the demand for the renewal of cultural institutions (Terkessidis, 2003).

Later, Scheytt (2007) announced that the future of cultural policy is intercultural, without explicitly explaining what he meant by the term. However,

8 The *KuPoGe* was founded in 1976 as a platform for cultural policy discussions in theory and practice. It stands for the principle "cultural policy is social policy", and is a partially politically independent nationwide association for the promotion of education, science, and research in the fields of art, culture, and cultural policy (KuPoGe, n.d.). The federal government partly subsidises the *KuPoGe*.

he emphasised the importance of cultural policy for the cultural and social integration of people who live or want to live in Germany regardless of their origins, religious beliefs, and cultural orientations (while acknowledging the existing system of values in Germany); from this perspective, intercultural work is understood as crucial for the implementation of the *National Integration Plan* of 2007 for peaceful coexistence (Scheytt, 2007). Nevertheless, the latest national cultural policy provides neither an interculturally-oriented perspective nor structurally planned implementation strategies (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020).

In association with cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue has been supported at the federal level. The recently updated national cultural policy document conveys a commitment to intercultural dialogue. National/international intercultural dialogue is understood as a vital element of promoting cultural diversity (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 28). The policy report states that "the intercultural dialogue in Germany relates both to conversations within the country (with groups of the population who have a "migrant background" [emphasis added]) and those at the international level" (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 29). Be that as it may, there is still no comprehensive national policy planning or strategy to promote internal intercultural dialogue; instead, it is supported through isolated measures such as additional funding programmes[9]. Against this backdrop, in the early 2000s, the term "interculturality" entered the inventory of the *Länder* and local cultural policies, albeit its conceptualisation and implementation varied depending on the regional and local priorities; the term is still sometimes used interchangeably with intercultural dialogue.

3.3 The Modes of Intercultural Orientation at the *Länder* and Municipal Level

The demand for intercultural orientation and the opening of public administration was articulated in the early 2000s, and there have been concrete suggestions of strategic approaches (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002). According to Sabina Handschuck and Hubertus Schröer, intercultural orientation aims at the recognition and participation of different cultural groups in social shaping processes (2002, p. 1), and supports a socio-political stance that strives for equal opportunities and social justice (2002, p. 3). Hence, the implementation of intercultural orientation requires the intercultural opening of social services, which would entail changes in the structural and procedural organisation, offers, and

9 See Chapter 5 for the analysis of various programmes and their outcomes.

infrastructural measures (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002, p. 2). Accordingly, they emphasised that intercultural work needs to be distinguished from immigration social work, which is strongly deficit-oriented:

> Immigration social work aims to facilitate systematic structural inclusion. We see it as problematic that the approach conceptually implies that immigrants are per se the target groups of social work. This approach runs the risk of being insufficiently address-oriented. Immigrant groups, including those of the same nationality or ethnicity, are not homogenous; they differ in their orientation systems. (…) Differences disappear behind the target definition of immigrants. (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002, p. 5)

Although intercultural openness addresses all members of society, most German cultural policies still inaugurate measures that associate immigration-generated diversity with alternative forms of cultural integration which focus on the alteration of attitudes, improvement of mutual understanding, and building competencies and skills for respecting different cultures. Parallel to this line of thought, intercultural programmes and projects are often designed for immigrant communities (Terkessidis, 2010), sometimes in the form of theatre pedagogy with educational intentions (Soufi-Siavash, 2011; see Section 5.3 for an in-depth analysis). Intercultural projects are frequently aimed at creating dialogue between immigrant and non-immigrant communities to reduce prejudice against "the other". This rendering interprets immigration as a deviation (Regus, 2009, p. 158), and therefore the cultural deficits of those who "came from elsewhere" need to be corrected through special treatment (Terkessidis, 2013, p. 14).

Nonetheless, some of the *Länder* and local governments have been searching for an up-to-date meaning of cultural diversity, and have been very active in implementing intercultural concepts and programmes. *Länder* and cities with a high immigration ratio are usually more engaged in promoting intercultural works. This section examines the new modes of addressing immigration-related cultural diversity, intercultural understanding, and the conceptualisation of interculturality at the *Länder* and municipal level.[10] Notwithstanding the fact that most examples examined here comprehend the concept of interculturality as a resource for a democratic model of integration and social cohesion, they illustrate some invigorating perspectives and engagement with the notion of self-reflection of a plural society through the renewal of public cultural institutions.

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10 The examination is limited to various regional and city approaches since the national government does not offer any intercultural policy perspective, plan, or strategy. However, some organisations at the federal level are actively involved in exploring the potentiality of intercultural perspectives for strengthening community cohesion. Those are also mentioned in the analysis reflecting the efforts towards interculturality.

3.3.1 Cultural Diversity as an Integrative Cultural Policy Concept

One of the crucial initiatives addressing commitment to intercultural work is the *Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt* (National Council on Cultural Diversity).[11] In 2005, with the involvement of the *KuPoGe* and the German UNESCO Commission, the *Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt* was established as a federal cultural association of interculturally active institutions. The organisation aims to address the challenges of an immigrant society and its effects on cultural and artistic practices (Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt, n.d.). The initiative's most important project is the *Federal Congress on Interculture*. Together with the *KuPoGe*, they launched the first federal intercultural congress in Stuttgart in 2006 with the title "Cultural Diversity for All. Differentiating Instead of Generalising". The second congress ("Cultural Diversity and Participation") was held in Nuremberg in 2008, followed by Bochum ("Open for Diversity – Future of Culture") in 2010, Hamburg ("DiverCity. Realities-Concepts-Visions") in 2012, Mannheim ("Moving Homes") in 2014, and Braunschweig ("Land in Sight – Intercultural Visions for Today and Tomorrow") in 2017. In addition to organising intercultural congresses, the council formulates recommendations for measures of practical action in urban and rural areas and for other social institutions for shaping diversity (Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt, n.d.).

Those congresses generated the formulation of some exemplary intercultural documents. For instance, the *Stuttgarter Impulse zur kulturellen Vielfalt* (Impulses of Stuttgart to Cultural Diversity) is the earliest intercultural document produced after the first intercultural congress in 2006. It proposed significant guidelines and recommendations to political decision-makers at the federal, *Länder*, and local level. The guidelines included: (a) the development of policy framework conditions for the recognition and appreciation of cultural diversity, (b) perceiving diversity as a cross-cultural task of related fields (i.e., education, youth, culture, social affairs, and interreligious dialogue), (c) approaching diversity not only from the group identity perspective but also taking into account the individual aspects of identity, (d) initiation of concrete action programmes in line with the international agreements such as the Agenda 21 for Culture, the Millennium Development Goals, and the UNESCO 2005 Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt, 2006). The *Stuttgarter Impulse* also proposed 13 areas of action (Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt, 2006, pp. 2–4):

1. Integration of cultural diversity into all concepts of cultural policy.
2. Intercultural opening of media institutions.

11 The Secretariat of the Nationwide Advice is located at the *KuPoGe*.

3. Active implementation of the UNESCO 2005 Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in local cultural policies.
4. For the respect and recognition of diversity – thinking of interculturality together with internationality.
5. Accommodation of cultural diversity in the staff, audiences, and programmes of all cultural institutions.
6. Creation of new forms of funding structures and cooperation models that support not only projects but also processes.
7. Strengthening diaspora groups and their political, cultural, and economic participation in Germany.
8. Cultivation of multilingualism and appreciation of languages of the immigrants' origin.
9. Implementing intercultural mainstreaming in education.
10. Networking schools into the local communities.
11. With the aim of reinforcing the intercultural opening of youth work – access of immigrant organisations to funding bodies and a strong presence of immigrants in all political positions, including leadership positions.
12. Enhancing the active participation of women in intercultural and interreligious dialogue.
13. Developing systematic methods and strategies for furthering dialogue and forms of communication between different religious communities.

The recommendations of the *Stuttgarter Impulse* differ from many other approaches related to interculturality, often affiliated with one-sided integration plans. For instance, Baden-Württemberg is strongly impacted by immigration; 33.4% of the population had a "migrant background" in 2018, and the city of Stuttgart had the highest number of immigrants in this federal state, with 36.3% in the same year (Destatis, 2018). Hence, the interpretation of interculturality introduced by the *Stuttgarter Impulse* could be considered as pioneering in the sense of perceiving the concept as a mutual learning process and taking into account the individual dimension of identity as well as suggesting areas of action which would facilitate diversity as the norm of society.

In 2008, another important document, the *Kölner Appell* (Cologne Appeal) declared by the *Städtetag Nordrhein-Westfalen* (North Rhine-Westphalia Association of Cities), emphasised that cultural diversity should be promoted from an intercultural perspective, specifically at the municipal level, using the Basic Law as the normative basis. However, the sustainability of promoting diversity through cultural policy was understood as enhancing intercultural dialogue between different ethnic-national groups; thus, cultural policy was referred to as integration policy (Städtetag Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2008, p. 2). The necessity of

implementing the UNESCO 2005 Convention at the city level is also underlined in the *Kölner Appell*, accentuating the promotion of intercultural work in budget decisions, intercultural opening of programmes and repertoires of municipal cultural institutions, fostering participation of immigrants, and strengthening civic engagement for the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue (Städtetag Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2008, pp. 2–3). North Rhine-Westphalia is also one of the *Länder* with a high percentage of the immigrant population; inhabitants with a "migrant background" made up 30.4% of the population in 2018 (Destatis, 2018). Düsseldorf with 32.6% and Cologne with 30.6% were the cities with the largest immigrant population in the region in the same year (Destatis, 2018). Compared to the *Stuttgarter Impulse*, the *Kölner Appell* did not offer a consistent programme; nevertheless, it identified interculturality as an overarching local policy objective.

3.3.2 The Professionalisation of Intercultural Project Management

Roughly within the same timeframe, North Rhine-Westphalia introduced the *interkultur.pro*, a project aimed at the professionalisation of intercultural art and cultural work.[12] The state-wide project *interkultur.pro* was carried out between 2007 and 2011, and it focused on achieving systematic intercultural project management. In order to develop new strategies, the project was divided into several areas: network-oriented project management, data-facts-living worlds, press and public relations, theory-practice-discourse, flying workshops, and financial management; the programme brought together various stakeholders including artists, managers of intercultural projects, employees of cultural administrations, local politicians, and journalists (interkultur.pro, 2008). The core focus of the module data-facts-living worlds was to obtain knowledge about the cultural habits and expectations of the immigrant population based on the latest empirical surveys as a basis for creating appropriate cultural offers (interkultur.pro, 2008, p. 14). The flying workshops entailed assisting projects and institutions in intercultural contexts, particularly in phases of acute crisis such as intercultural misunderstandings between different parties, communication issues between administration and political decision-makers, as well as dealing with decision-making structures and management styles (interkultur.pro, 2008, p. 15). The most inspiring event series,

12 North Rhine-Westphalia was the first federal state to establish a department for intercultural work in 2002. The first pilot project *Kulturelle Vielfalt in Dortmund* (Cultural Diversity in Dortmund) took place in 2007, followed by an empirical survey in 2008, titled *Lebenswelten und Milieus von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland und Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Living Environments and Milieus of People With a Migrant Background in Germany and North Rhine-Westphalia; Ministerpräsident des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2010).

theory-practice-discourse, acknowledged that "the term interculturality means neither multiculturalism nor simply the integration of people with a 'migrant background' [emphasis added]" (interkultur.pro, 2011, p. 1). In the final event of this module, participants tackled the questions of what exactly "intercultural" means and what the prerequisites of the intercultural opening of the cultural sphere are. One of the focal points of the discussions was raising intercultural awareness and providing training to bolster public institutions in their intercultural opening. The following fields were identified as areas that require systematic professionalisation and the consolidation of offers (interkultur.pro, 2011, p. 4):

- local, regional, and international orientation,
- development of research and knowledge transfer,
- high-profile marketing,
- future of cultural institutions in a society marked by immigration, and
- expansion of networks of intercultural actors.

On the subject of the opening of cultural institutions, it was established that interculturality is not a single field to be promoted through particular intercultural programmes; it must be an integral part of cultural policy planning, strategies, and funding structures (interkultur.pro, 2011). During the final session, Mark Terkessidis stated that interculturality demands a new concept of culture, one that opposes integration:

> Interculture offers a new perspective. It is not about "improving" certain population groups towards a norm. Nor is it primarily about different ethnic groups, but rather about creating a shared space in which individuals, regardless of their origins and circumstances, can move without barriers. The focus lies on opening and changing institutions. (interkultur.pro, 2011, p. 5)

After intensive and productive work within the project, two intercultural academies were founded in North Rhine-Westphalia, the *Interkulturelle Akademie* (Intercultural Academy) in Oberhausen in 2010 and the *Zukunftsakademie NRW* (*ZAK NRW*; Future Academy North Rhine-Westphalia) in Bochum in 2013.[13]

The *Interkulturelle Akademie* intended to promote content on interculturality and develop it further through cultural projects. Its four fundamental components were (Stadt Oberhausen, 2010, p. 5):

- the networking of diverse approaches and projects,

13 Both academies contributed to the discussions around promoting diversity through the intercultural approach but could not provide cultural policy impulses on how these perspectives could be put into action.

- creativity in developing something new together,
- intercultural exchange and the cooperation of different actors in Oberhausen and the region, and
- a cultural policy that takes these issues into account and cultural institutions that act as an engine in this process.

The *ZAK NRW*, on the other hand, was founded and financed by the Ministry of Culture and Science of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, the Mercator Foundation, the City of Bochum, and the *Schauspielhaus Bochum*. The institution was based in Bochum but operated throughout Germany. It was thought of as a centre, striving towards equal access to culture, cultural education, and cultural institutions for people of various cultural backgrounds, supporting cultural institutions in becoming diverse, and providing diversity training and advice (ZAK NRW, n.d.). Although the *ZAK NRW* was actively involved in knowledge transfer, organised many events and workshops, and started a large number of collaborations mostly with public theatres with the objective of strengthening the structures that would enable openness towards cultural diversity, the founders decided to dissolve the association at the end of 2019.[14]

3.3.3 Intercultural Integration and Gender Mainstreaming[15]

In 2010, a new concept, intercultural integration, was introduced by the city of Munich. Immigrant residents comprised 44% of the total population in 2018 (Statistisches Amt der Landeshauptstadt München, 2019)[16]. In 2010, the municipality presented an intercultural integration report, *München lebt Vielfalt* (Munich Lives Diversity). The report underlined the oversights of systematic integration of immigrants as well as significant inequalities in the educational system that have been going on for decades (Landeshauptstadt München [LHM], 2011, p. 13). It also reflected on the intercultural orientation and opening of the city administration, the measures taken by the departments within the framework of the intercultural opening process, and the plans for the coming

14 According to the press release issued by the sponsors, the project idea, which was born in the Capital of Culture year of 2010, could not be further implemented for structural reasons, despite the continued relevance of the topic of diversity (Westfalenspiegel, 2019).

15 Gender mainstreaming is a concept developed almost four decades ago, then applied from a binary perspective on gender; the researcher, however, applies the term in a way inclusive of the entire spectrum of gender identity.

16 Residents with a "migrant background" made up 16% and foreigners the remaining 28% of the total population in 2018. The term "migrant background" refers to German citizens with origins other than German, and the term foreigners applies to residents who hold citizenships other than German (Statistisches Amt der Landeshauptstadt München, 2019).

years. The report analysed core areas of integration in six fields of action and aimed to reduce discrimination through these measures: the intercultural opening of public institutions, promotion of social participation of inhabitants with a "migrant background", education (and further education), training, labour market, and language support for children with a "migrant background" (LHM, 2011). According to the report, the concept of intercultural integration referred to intercultural opening, understood as equal participation opportunities and equal access conditions to public administrative services for all city residents (LHM, 2011, p. 21). The intercultural opening was seen as a process that involved all inhabitants and city administration, and the basis for all actions and strategies of the city of Munich (LHM, 2011, p. 10). From 2011 onwards, action plans of the cultural department of the municipality included offering intercultural training courses for employees and managers in cultural institutions, implemented by the *Stelle für interkulturelle Arbeit* (Office for Intercultural Work) as well as workshops for fostering intercultural competencies of the administrative staff of the municipality (LHM, 2011, p. 33).

Although the report highlighted that intercultural work was intended not only for the residents with a "migrant background" – immigrants described as the subject of the primary areas of action – the intercultural integration plans targeted mainly immigrants. Intercultural integration conclusively aspired to discover the unused potential of immigrants through the opening of institutions to them (LHM, 2011, pp. 16–22). The intercultural orientation of inhabitants of German descent, however, was limited to the development of intercultural competencies and skills of the administrative workforce of the city.

München lebt Vielfalt provided one of the rare cultural integration concepts in Germany that in detail thought about and intended to tackle structural discrimination, and introduced fundamental ideas such as equal access conditions for all and gender mainstreaming. Nevertheless, strategies for gender mainstreaming and the concept of cultural diversity as the norm were not connected to one another. Handschuck and Schröer suggest that intercultural orientation should be combined with comparable approaches in cases such as gender mainstreaming and managing diversity:

> Where gender mainstreaming is already well developed, the intercultural orientation can use structures, experiences and instruments that are available and thus also benefit from synergy effects. Where managing diversity is in the foreground, an attempt can be made to change goals and strategies in such a way that economic interests do not dominate but that socio-political ideas also gain weight. For the intercultural orientation and opening up of administration and social services, as well as for gender mainstreaming, it makes sense to use the ongoing (administrative) reform processes. (2002, p. 8)

This connection could have been beneficial since "gender mainstreaming and diversity management both aim to reorganise, improve, develop and evaluate decision-making processes in all policy and work areas of an organisation" (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002, p. 6), enabling the principle of equality to be acknowledged as part of the process of pluralisation.

3.3.4 Intercultural Exchange as a Way for the Development of Intercultural Practice

In 2010, Baden-Württemberg published a comprehensive future-oriented policy document titled *Kultur 2020: Kunstpolitik für Baden-Württemberg* (Culture 2020: Art Policy for Baden-Württemberg). The art policy focused on the immigrant character of the state and the requirements of intercultural orientation.[17] The report highlighted the necessity of cultural education and intercultural perspectives in cultural and art policies in an immigrant society. The document stressed four main pillars of art policy (Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kunst Baden-Württemberg [MWK BW], 2010, p. 38):

- liberality: The state has no influence on the content of the arts with respect to the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of art.
- plurality: Art policy must allow a diversity of art forms, a broad spectrum of artistic expression and manifestations, and a wide range of offers.
- subsidiarity: The state provides secondary financial support when a specific state interest is determined. Municipalities play the most prominent role in this regard.
- decentrality: The arts must be experienced everywhere across the country, not only in larger cities and metropolitan areas but also in rural areas.

The document perceives interculturality as a mutual dialogue between different cultures, a process that could be a valuable contribution to a successful integration (MWK BW, 2010, p. 44). Culture is understood as homogeneous, and immigrants are seen as representatives of the "cultures" of their countries of origin even if they have had no personal migration experiences. Nonetheless, what is implied by "successful integration" is a sufficient cultural mediation that utilises the participation of more people with a "migrant background" as artistic creators as well as audiences in the cultural life of the region (MWK BW, 2010, p. 44). In achieving this goal, the intercultural opening (diversification of the staff, programme, and audience) of traditional cultural institutions such as operas,

17 In 2018, one in three residents in this state were residents with a "migrant background" (Destatis, 2018).

museums, theatres, and concert halls was considered vital as it would reflect the reality of German society (MWK BW, 2010, p. 44).

The *Kultur 2020* emphasised three dimensions of the development of intercultural orientation. First, it pointed out that interculturality should be understood as a cross-sectional task (not only of the cultural sector but also the media) which requires a broader approach of observing what takes place in academia and practice, collecting information, and evaluating the present perspectives on the promotion of cultural diversity. In that sense, networking and regular intercultural exchange between various actors, the examination of municipal mechanisms and existing calls for proposals, prizes, funding and award guidelines, and the encouragement of research projects were considered crucial (MWK BW, 2010, p. 45). The document identified funding policy as the second central aspect of putting intercultural principles into action. The document recommended specific support measures for intercultural projects that would give diverse cultural expressions a platform until promoting cultural diversity becomes an overarching funding guideline (MWK BW, 2010, p. 45). Lastly, intercultural education was deemed vital in strengthening intercultural competencies and intercultural understanding as well as promoting diversity of artistic and cultural expressions (MWK BW, 2010, p. 46).

Towards the end of the report, it was expressed that intercultural opening requires systematic concepts and programmes and structural changes, and that interculturality is not a partial aspect of cultural work or a self-contained artistic genre; it must be integrated into all areas of the arts and culture as a comprehensive concept (MWK BW, 2010, p. 356). However, this intensive assessment of intercultural orientation did not provide knowledge on how these ideas would be put into practice – they remained recommendations. Furthermore, some of the articulations were in contradiction to one another. On the one hand, the document accurately pointed out that intercultural opening means a change for everyone and for all sorts of institutions:

> Intercultural work is not a niche topic but a strategic cross-cutting task for all areas of cultural work; it affects all forms of culture, divisions, and genres. (…) Intercultural work neither refers to marginalised groups nor is a cultural policy instrument solely for integration policy purposes. It is about "culture for all", a cultural policy based on the realities, needs, and challenges of a culturally diverse society in a world characterised by migration and globalisation. The addressees and actors are, therefore, people with and without a "migrant background" [emphasis added]. (MWK BW, 2010, p. 359)

On the other hand, while referring to the engagement of some municipalities, institutions, and associations with intercultural work, it emphasised that overarching intercultural planning at the state level would not be attainable due

to high financial expenditures and time requirements (MWK BW, 2010, p. 359). Although the document offered a robust intercultural approach, this perspective puts the willingness and commitment of the state government to intercultural opening into question, since it was assigned only as a task for the municipalities.

3.3.5 Migration Mainstreaming and Administrative Reform

Mannheim, the second-largest city in Baden-Württemberg, is one of the municipalities committed to interculturality. In 2007, the local council joined forces with the *Netzwerk Interkultur* (Network Interculture) – a network comprising public institutions, artists, NGOs – to develop the *Handlungskonzept Interkulturelle Kulturarbeit* (Concept of Action for Intercultural Cultural Work). For the first time in Germany, in this report, migration mainstreaming was identified as one of the leading strategic principles for an entire urban policy (Stadt Mannheim, 2007). The paper innovatively formulated equal rights and opportunities, social justice in the context of migration mainstreaming, and its dependency on interculturality. It underscored that the equality of participation of immigrant people must be taken into account in the planning, implementation, and analysis of cultural measures and projects (Stadt Mannheim, 2007, para. 5). The action plan listed the following objectives (Stadt Mannheim, 2007, para. 8):

- to anchor intercultural work in cultural institutions; to facilitate access to cultural institutions for people with a "migrant background" and to enable their participation in the cultural offer,
- to recognise and promote the diversity of cultures, artists, and people living in Mannheim,
- to strengthen the intercultural competencies of organisers and visitors of cultural events,
- on a further level, for migration mainstreaming to promote the discussion of migration processes in arts and culture, and
- to take a greater account of immigrants in personnel policy and planning.

Pursuing these goals called for employing concrete measures that would enable cultural institutions to look for answers to the following key questions (Stadt Mannheim, 2007, para. 9):

1. How can access to publicly funded cultural institutions for people with a "migrant background" be improved?
2. Is the cultural activity of artists with a "migrant background" being recognised, promoted, and presented?
3. How can a dialogue between different cultures be developed in the city?

4. How can the majority of society gain better access to the cultures of immigrants?
5. How can the various communities be reached?
6. How can it be ensured that the concept of action is carried out (i.e., that the goals are being implemented, and who would be making sure they are)?

The action plan identified some of the issues of implementing intercultural work, and proposed migration mainstreaming in cultural institutions. However, it did not provide concrete measures such as diversity criteria or indicators, or a funding scheme following the objective of migration mainstreaming. It also failed to involve monitoring for the evaluation of the progress made in the direction of interculturality during implementation, and pinpoint particular areas that needed improvement. Instead, cultural institutions were expected to develop specific measures themselves by making a change in their organisational structure, programming, and audience composition (Stadt Mannheim, 2007, para. 16). Moreover, as in many similar examples, immigrants were conceived as members of homogenous groups, holding only collective identities.

In 2008, Mannheim initiated an ambitious administrative reform, launching the first phase of a new programme, *Change² I* (2008–2013), with strategic goals and according administrative action with clearly defined guidelines. These strategic objectives – binding for the whole city administration – included: (a) strengthening urbanism, (b) attracting talent, (c) increasing the number of enterprises and (qualified) jobs, (d) maintaining tolerance, (e) improving educational justice, (f) promoting creative economy, and (g) reinforcing civil society commitment and participation (Stadt Mannheim, 2008). After evaluating the first phase, the second phase of the reform programme, *Change² II* (2014–2019), was put into action. The readjusted version included consolidating the modernisation process, focusing on the systematic development of the city administration departments, personnel, and instruments (Stadt Mannheim, 2014). Though both stages of the administrative programme sought to change the city administrations' organisational culture, neither of them proposed strategies or measures to enhance the intercultural awareness, competencies, and skills of the municipality's administrative workforce.

Moreover, there was no correspondence between the concept of action for intercultural work and the modernisation of the city administration. The intercultural action plan, developed in 2007, was not a component of the series of administrative reforms; migration mainstreaming for the municipality administration was mentioned neither in *Change² I* nor *Change² II*. There was also no review or evaluation report on the results of the strategies and programmes related to the concept of intercultural work available to the public. The impact

this conceptualisation made on the cultural institutions in Mannheim remains unknown. This sort of rhetoric of becoming intercultural demonstrates that intercultural opening is not substantively prioritised, it is not offered any systematic approach, nor is it understood as a long-term process that should be incorporated into the administration reform strategies.

4. Cultural Diversity, Inclusion Policy, Intercultural Dialogue

Since the mid-2000s, promoting cultural diversity has been one of the priorities of cultural policy in Germany. This was the result of two consecutive cultural-political decisions. The UNESCO 2005 Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was an essential aspect of advocacy for diversity. The main objective of the convention is to strengthen the creation, production, distribution/dissemination, access, and enjoyment of various cultural expressions transmitted via cultural activities and goods (UNESCO, 2006). Fostering cultural diversity has been the primary cultural policy paradigm since Germany ratified the UNESCO 2005 Convention in 2007.

Prior to this development, the enactment of the Immigration Act in 2005 brought about the public acknowledgement of Germany as an immigrant country. Hence, the cultural integration of immigrants gained importance for the first time. Although (cultural) integration merely encompassed compulsory language and integration courses for immigrants from non-EU countries, the Immigration Act, "as Germany's first comprehensive immigration law ever, marks a symbolic threshold in the country's legislative and political history" (Immigration Act, 2007, p. 190). In 2006, the federal government announced that integration was a cross-policy task of all levels of politics and policy (Bendel, 2014, p. 6). With this declaration, policymakers recognised that integration is a rather complex process connected to cultural identity. Consequently, taking measures to integrate immigrants has become one of the main tasks of all cultural policies (CoE & ERICarts, 2016). From 2006, the federal cultural policy has been dealing with matters including:

> (…) cultural interests and rights to participation and self-organisation of ethnic communities in line with the *National Plan for Integration* in 2007 and the *National Action Plan for Integration* in 2012 in which federal government and the *Länder* agreed on goals for the first time, including an increase in the number of people with a "migrant background" [emphasis added] in the public services on the federal and state level. (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 29)

This turn of events sparked discussions on the requirements of a more diverse cultural scene; particularly in the case of public theatre (Bicker, 2009; Mundel & Mackert, 2010; Schneider, 2011, 2013c; Sharifi, 2011a, 2013; Terkessidis, 2010), which was and still is at the forefront of the debates on theatre reform since the (public) theatre landscape is far from reflecting cultural diversity.

The research argues that the cultural policy discourse "constructs the figure of a 'particular' [emphasis added] immigrant as a problem" (Hage, 2000); hence, the goal of "promoting diversity" is associated with the notion of inclusion. Inclusion is formulated and promoted along with other policy objectives such as cultural integration, intercultural dialogue, and exchange. The tasks of strengthening cultural diversity and inclusion are intertwined within a discourse that calls for social cohesion and policy measures that respond to the urgency of the so-called "issues/challenges" of immigration. Cultural diversity is treated as the panacea for societal problems. Diversity is something to be valued; it enriches society and contributes to safeguarding community cohesion.

Nevertheless, the perception of cultural diversity from this point of view is ambivalent. On the one hand, a remarkable significance is attributed to the phenomenon of diversity because of its intrinsic value. On the other hand, it is offered as a universal formula for addressing all social issues. Cultural diversity is regarded as a unifying phenomenon and its potential as something not yet entirely unveiled. Hence, diversity is a destination and it is conditional; it can only be obtained if "issues and challenges" are resolved (Canyürek, 2019a, p. 404).

Puwar claims that "in policy terms, diversity has overwhelmingly come to mean the inclusion of the ones, marked as different" (2004, p. 1). The addressee of diversity and inclusion policies are often ethnic and religious groups. Notwithstanding that a nation is an imagined political community – imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, 2006, p. 6) – in the case of Germany, the targets of these policies are "culturally distant" immigrants and refugees, perceived as being integrated into "German culture" through the strategies and actions of policies, including cultural policy. Those "culturally distant" immigrants are perceived as strangers; "through a set of hierarchies of inclusion, they become included differently" (Puwar, 2004). Thus, within a conditional framework of inclusion, cultural diversity moves away from the notion of cultural democracy. Sarah Ahmed argues that "the arrival of the term 'diversity' involves the departure of other (perhaps more critical) terms, including 'equality', 'equal opportunities', and 'social justice'" (2012, p. 1). Likewise, fostering diversity through inclusion policies overshadows the essence of cultural diversity. The context of conditional inclusion is far from enhancing cultural pluralism and initiating framework conditions for negotiating "Germanness" in an intercultural society and for a collective future.

Before examining federal incentive programmes in the following chapter, the research in this section analyses some key cultural policy documents. The goals of this analysis are:

- to identify which instruments of cultural policy determine the frame of "promoting diversity" regarding immigration,
- to demonstrate how cultural-political actors construct and regulate a conditional inclusion discourse for "culturally distant" immigrants, and
- to underscore how and to what extent specific values and ideals of cultural-political bodies produce outsiders within the nation.

4.1 Politics and Cultural Policy

Culture and politics converge through the objectives, regulations, and implementation strategies of cultural policy. Hence, an analysis of the influence of politics on cultural policy is fundamental for a profound understanding of how federal policy actors perceive immigration-generated cultural diversity and how the values and reflexes of decision-makers are inscribed on plans for diversity promotion. Despite the crucial relevance of the intersectionality of politics and culture, "cultural politics is a field of political practice rarely analysed by scholars of cultural studies either in Germany or in English-speaking countries" (van der Will & Burns 2015, p. 198). In spite of the growing establishment of cultural policy as a self-contained field of politics, it is hardly given attention in political science research and teaching (Klein, 2009, p. 9), and "cultural policy" is predominantly used by cultural scientists as an overstretched term (von Beyme, 2014). Moreover, within the German political science realm, immigration has been a marginal field of research focusing mainly on the social situation and the organisational and institutional integration of immigrants (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2005, p. 12). Also, the immigrants' involvement in diversity discourse is a sub-field of cultural policy that has not yet been adequately explored from the aspect of cultural politics.

That being the case, this research recognises the impact of the interconnection between polity, politics, and policy in terms of determining: (a) how national cultural policy incorporates cultural diversity, (b) accordingly, how polity and politics are involved in constructing the policy discourse on diversity, and (c) how the underlying "normative ideals, values and beliefs" (Béland, 2009) of cultural politics, implemented through policy, define and sustain the position of the citizens with a "particular migrant background" (i.e., non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, Black people, POC) and confine them to conditional inclusion or a cultural integration framework. The investigation of cultural diversity as part of

the dispositive, thus understood in this work, also entails examining the political dimension of policy by exploring the cultural policy field through the lens of political science.

In the German political system, the federal government cannot (directly) intervene in the cultural sphere due to its federal structure in which the *Länder* retain their cultural sovereignty to safeguard cultural decentralisation. Nonetheless, the central government still plays a vital role in terms of shaping the discourse on "promoting diversity".[1] Furthermore, paradoxically, culture is seen as a task of the national and federal state governments, although Article 5.3 of the Basic Law ensures the autonomy of the arts by preventing the state from regulating the field of arts.

The author considers that the interference of federal cultural policy and its institutions in the cultural sphere is strongly connected to the politics of culture. Thus, cultural politics is an indispensable part of the dispositive analysis this study undertakes, as political science deals with the entire structure from "the decisional system (*politics*) to the material results of politics in *policies*" (von Beyme, 2014, p. 103). Considering "the intertwinement of policy and the politics of culture in Germany which refers to the production and distribution of policies and their representation of ideas, symbols and values" (Wesner, 2010, p. 435), an examination of the central concepts of cultural politics is essential as they are substantially reflected in cultural policy. The investigation of these concepts also sheds light on the perception of and support for immigration-related cultural diversity. These ideas and cultural values are deeply interlinked with the notions of *Kulturnation* (cultural nation) and *Kulturstaat* (cultural state). Both embody particular ideas and beliefs which stem from a value system belonging to an intellectual, progressive, and democratic society. Even though the substance of *Kulturnation* and *Kulturstaat* was revised over time and the terms gained new meanings, "values leave traces as finger-prints do; they change but remain recognisable over centuries" (Wesner, 2010, p. 433).

Before exploring these concepts in regard to the cultural identity of a unified Germany, it is necessary to clarify what this study refers to when addressing polity, politics, and policy. Certain aspects of polity, politics, and policy are taken into consideration, following the approach of Anglo-American political scientists described by cultural scholar Armin Klein (2009, pp. 29–30):

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1 As van der Will and Burns state "the development of culture in the Federal Republic is predicated on structural specificities defined by the constitution, which assigns different tasks and responsibilities at three administrative levels: federal government, the *Länder*, and municipalities, and according to the Article 30 of the *Grundgesetz* [Constitutional Law/Basic Law], the exercise of governmental powers and the discharge of governmental functions is the task of the *Länder*, except where otherwise provided for in this Basic Law" (2015, p. 201).

- Polity encompasses the structural, formal, and institutional dimensions of politics, i.e., the framework conditions under which cultural policy occurs in concrete terms. In other words, polity decides on the structures within which its objectives are to be implemented (cultural institutions, funding bodies, etc.) and within which political decision-making takes place (Scheytt, 2008, p. 30).
- Politics refers to the processual dimension of political procedures, e.g., election procedures, voting, lobbying, and influence in the political process. Here, the focus is on political actors, interests, conflicts, and their resolution. The political process of decision-making is based on political bodies (such as parliaments, city councils, county councils, cultural committees, ministries, heads of cultural departments) and the political actors, social groups, and associations that work together (Scheytt, 2008, p. 31).
- Policy refers to the content dimension of politics, i.e., the "political line", the concrete content of politics (i.e., concepts, objectives, guidelines).

Concerning the convergence of cultural politics and policy, the following sections examine national cultural policy and other key policy documents responding to an urgency (the inclusion of "particular" immigrants for strengthening social cohesion) and the statements of federal policy bodies and actors regarding the task of "promoting diversity". The empirical investigation is utilised through a dispositive analysis as a research perspective of the Foucauldian discourse analysis introduced in detail in Chapter 1.

4.2 Value-Based Cultural Policy and the Construction of Hierarchised Diversity

The materialisation of politics in German federal cultural policy and the key policy literature on the promotion of cultural diversity provide valuable knowledge on the underlying principles of the cultural values implied. German cultural policy recognises the arts and culture as progressive instruments with transformative powers on individuals and society; hence, cultural policy acts as a keeper/organiser/developer of cultural values of a certain kind (Wesner, 2010, p. 434). These values, based on a particular understanding of culture formulated as "the arts and culture", contribute to individual and societal development (CoE & ERICarts, 2016; Deutscher Bundestag, 2007).

The idea of a culture-defined nation, *Kulturnation*, is believed to be the cement of national unity. The Unification Treaty provided the primary legal basis for "cultural policy in transition", in which the *Kulturnation* is presumed to have remained undivided for over 40 years despite the existence of two states (Knoblich, 2018, p. 138). The first sentence of Article 35 of the Unification Treaty states that during the

years of division, the arts and culture were the basis for the continuing unity of the German nation (Bundesverfassungsgericht, 1991). The arts and culture were seen as the substance of the reconciliation between the two German states until 1990 and in the following decades as the remedy for overcoming difficulties of different cultural traditions, cultural politics, and cultural policy approaches in East and West Germany.[2] In this context, the *Kulturnation* was considered at best a cultural-political front against the national socialist culture of the German Democratic Republic (GDR; Knoblich, 2018, p. 136).

The *Kulturnation* as a prevailing principle is greatly emphasised in vital national policy documents. It is considered a commitment to Germany as it replaces the lack of state unity, and the Federal Republic of Germany adhered to this tradition during its aspirations for reunification (von Beyme, 2012, p. 107). Hence, the *Kulturnation* – in various forms – signifies cultural unity and is still a powerful concept in cultural policymaking (Bloomfield, 2003a; van der Will & Burns, 2015; Wesner, 2010).

Culture has always been at the heart of Germany's self-definition (van der Will & Burns, 2015), and this national self-image, *Kulturnation*, is the reflection of the "*Land der Dichter und Denker*" (the land of poets and thinkers; Schulte, 2000, p. 45) idea of the 20th century, which is a robust articulation of a strong nation-state in an increasingly connected and globalised world. The researcher claims that safeguarding the concept of *Kulturnation* as a policy objective draws a binary division between "us" (the nation) and "the other" ("particular" immigrants). Furthermore, it defines top-down culture in a disguised manner. It produces a hierarchically ordered distinction of values between the "German" (European, Western, civilised, universal) and the "non-German" (non-European, non-Western, uncivilised, uncultivated). In this context, coloniality, described by Walter Mignolo (2011) as the "darker side of the Western modernity" to denote the matrix of power that underlines Western modernity and civilisation, is still in force in German policymaking circles.

The following subsection explores how the outdated concept of *Kulturnation*, redressed in a new format in line with the notion of neoliberal democracy and the latest European understanding of nation, still shapes the direction of national cultural policy. It also sheds light on how this concept operates as a distinctive

2 Before the unification, while in West Germany cultural sovereignty of the *Länder* had been developed into a cornerstone of the federal system, cultural federalism was unknown in East Germany since the promotion of culture and funding of the arts and cultural institutions in the GDR were run centrally, directed by state and party authorities (Wöhlert, 2009, p. 1). Today, not only is politics decentralised in the federal country, but culture is even more so (von Beyme, 2012, p. 106). Nonetheless, almost 30 years after the unification, a cultural divide continues to exist between the East and West, and the priorities and financial schemes of cultural policies still differ in East and West Germany in terms of preserving their cultural heritage and strengthening the arts and culture.

marker of the construction of hierarchised diversity and its different application in (a) Germany from the labour migration in the 1950s until the reunification and (b) Germany after the unification. Federal policy actors differentiate two presumably distinct communities/societies as internal ("German") and external ("the other") diversity. They also distinguish immigrants from one another as "valued" and "devalued" immigrants (Fernandes Sequeira, 2015). "Devalued" immigrants and refugees are conceived as "the other"; they are recognised as new diversity. Only new diversity is subject to inclusion/integration policies. This view echoes in the formulation of the policy objective of "promoting cultural diversity". In the ethnically and religiously diverse contemporary German society, cultural politics and policy, with their conditional inclusion framework, affirm the exclusion of those "devalued" immigrants from the national space.

As Alana Lentin (2008) powerfully argues, otherness in the form of race (replaced with other indicators such as culture, ethnicity, religion, nationality) functions as an abstract signifier for separating human groups and strictly outlining the boundaries between German/European/Western and outsiders. In this sense, "promoting diversity" through an inclusion/integration framework becomes a "coping mechanism for dealing with a conflicting heterogeneity" (Bannerji, 2000, p. 37).

4.3 New Diversity as a Challenge: The Problematisation of Immigration

In 2007, a parliamentary working group titled the *Enquete-Kommission* published an extensive report on the cultural landscape, *Kultur in Deutschland* (Culture in Germany). The commission made various policy recommendations on numerous subjects and suggested immediate action areas, including legislative and administrative proposals.[3] The report is still considered one of the most significant documents in the inventory of cultural policy, expressively strengthening the role of federal cultural policy (CoE & ERICarts, 2016; Deutscher Kulturrat, 2017). Given that the report was produced around the time when immigration started receiving attention from cultural policy at all levels, the document exhibits noticeable hesitation in tone and an ambivalent expression of views regarding immigration-

3 The *Enquete-Kommission* on culture was set up for a limited period in 2003; comprised of 11 members of the parliament and 11 independent experts, with the task of examining a broad range of issues related to cultural policy in general and the support of culture in particular (CoE & ERICarts, 2016). The final report of the parliamentary working group was published in 2007. The experts disagreed on critical conceptual issues; among various objections to federal cultural policy, legal experts were concerned about constitutional regulations being a threat to the principle of federalism (von Beyme, 2012, p. 186).

generated cultural diversity. Under the heading "Culture Today – New Challenges", members of the commission highlighted that culture and cultural policy play a vital role in reinforcing the conditions for peaceful coexistence in a democratic society by connecting citizens with one another and with society (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 43). Under the next heading, "Cultural Diversity and Identity", they stated that the arts and culture shape and mark the identity of a community and its members, with an emphasis on European culture and identity:

> The basic ideas about society, state, and religion, about social responsibility and solidarity are based on these [Judaeo-Christian] traditions. This cultural heritage is still in constant development today due to the influence of the Enlightenment and modernity. Other religions and cultures bring new diversity to social discussions and debates. (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 44)

German culture is described in terms of European values and ideas rooted in the Enlightenment, modernisation, and industrialisation. However, the federal cultural policy acknowledges that there is no binding definition of culture that could serve as the basis for cultural programmes and measures in Germany (CoE & ERICarts, 2016). The above statement indicates that in addition to the culture that constitutes German culture, perceived as "European", historically grounded in the paradigm of modernisation and the values of Western democratic society, there is presumably a contrasting new diversity due to the religious, ethnic, and cultural differences of its members. Those differences are de facto classified as new diversity, an entity culturally and religiously distant and external from the shared "European identity" and Western civilisation.

4.3.1 *Kulturnation* and *Kulturstaat*: A Binary Division Between "Us" and "The Other"

The *Kulturnation* signifies the German unification, a cultural unity through history, language, and cultural heritage. The spirit of this 20th-century concept of a unified cultural identity as the cement that binds the nation together is prevalent in the *Kultur in Deutschland* report. In the introduction of the document, it is underlined that "the Federal Republic of Germany sees itself as a *Kulturnation*[4] and *Kulturstaat*[5]

4 The concept of *Kulturnation* was first introduced by theologist Otto Zöckler in 1879. It refers to the notion of culture and language holding Germans (German-speaking communities) together without a nation-state, i.e., without the involvement of political power.

5 According to Armin Klein, the history of the *Kulturstaat* is the history of permanent political and social problems that have arisen in the last three centuries or so, and the idea that they should above all be solved culturally (2018, pp. 331–332). Klein defines three levels of meaning in terms of cultural policy: (a) the cultural state as a normative postulate (a content-related goal orientation of the public sector, i.e., federal government, the *Länder*, and

(Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 43). In Germany, "culture" was and still is a central element of the self-image of the state, which is historically rooted (Klein, 2018). Despite their regional and local cultural differences and cultural-political traditions, 16 *Länder* are seen as parts of a whole through the arts and culture that generate the *Kulturnation* (Wesner, 2010; Wöhlert, 2009). The *Kulturstaat* is also part of the rhetoric of cultural politics that designates culture as a state task. Many cultural-political statements and documents repeatedly mention the *Kulturstaat* without sufficiently clarifying what it means (Klein, 2018, p. 329).

Max Fuchs stresses the indisputable role of the concepts of *Kulturnation* and *Kulturstaat* in cultural policymaking and points out that they are used synonymously despite the fact that the latter originates from an authoritarian ideology; he explicates the different meanings they signify:

> If you take a closer look at the terms, you will see that they can be distinguished. Moreover, they lead to entirely different ideas of cultural policy. The concept of *Kulturstaat* emerged in the 19th century, in which Germany was a politically constituted nation-state. If the "nation" was an already strongly culturally motivated form of integration of a community (e.g., by reference to language, art, or history), then this *Kulturnation* Germany existed long before the state with the same name. In this new state, Protestantism played a decisive role, especially "cultural Protestantism" with rather rigid ideas of authoritarian top-down ideological socialisation: The state as an instance of giving meaning and Protestantism as an official state ideology. This anti-democratic origin of the concept of *Kulturstaat* alone causes constant discomfort, to me at least; although one must admit that the concept has a history of its own and is used quite loosely today in most different contexts. (2008, p. 96)

Oliver Scheytt offers a new meaning to the term in light of globalisation and demographic changes due to immigration. Scheytt (2008) describes an "*aktivierende Kulturstaat*" (activating cultural state) as a new model of cultural policy that redefines the role of the state, providing it access to management and action mechanisms in terms of political, institutional, and infrastructural conditions. He claims that with the task of *Kulturstaat*, the cultural policy aims at *Kultur im Staat* (culture in the state) rather than *Kultur des Staates* (culture of the state; 2008, p. 94). Accepting its historical, legal, and political dimensions, which are interrelated,

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municipalities), which emphasises the particular significance of the arts and culture as so-called "merit goods", (b) the cultural state as social reality (the existence and influence of a nationwide range of high-quality public art and cultural institutions), and (c) the cultural state as an organisational principle (the funding, i.e., financing as well as sponsorship of cultural institutions is predominantly in the hands of the state and not primarily in the hands of society or private individuals, such as in the USA or Great Britain; Klein, 2018, pp. 334–336).

he points out that the decisive factors in this context are: what role/what self-understanding the state has in relation to culture, how culture is (co)formed by the state, what is expressed by using terms such as protection, care, promotion, service, neutrality, identity, integration, cultural sovereignty, or cultural autonomy (2008, p. 95).

Regardless of how the *Kulturstaat* is (re)conceptualised, in a country where the primary concern of cultural policy is to support "the arts and culture" that unite the former East and West Germany with an ideological connection, the essential question is how the *Länder* fulfils this responsibility in an intercultural society whose members have different expectations and interests. To what extent could "White" German cultural politics and policy give a more inclusive meaning to *Kulturstaat*? What "culture" will they protect and promote? In the absence of a transparent discussion among diverse stakeholders and a consensus on how and what will be supported, the task of the *Kulturstaat* carriers the risk of turning into "structural conservatism" (Klein, 2009); furthermore, preserving and promoting a particular culture endangers cultural pluralism at a time when right-wing extremism, xenophobia, and racism are already alarmingly on the rise in the country.[6] Fuchs reminds of the potential danger of the concept:

> Since cultural policy also entails a discourse about our self-understanding, ideas of everyday life, and the appropriate social order, the debate about the meaning of *Kulturstaat* will easily lead us to fundamental questions of meaning and values. Especially since the *Leitkultur* [leading/guiding culture][7], which is once again being discussed, semantically fits well with the authoritarian source of the concept of *Kulturstaat*. (2008, p. 96)

The *Leitkultur* refers not to the culture of the many, but rather the culture of the elite setting the tone (Fuchs, 2008, p. 37). In 2005, Norbert Lammert, president

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6 A recent survey conducted by the University of Leipzig reveals the severity of the increase in racist views in Germany. According to the study, extremist ideologies have become more acceptable in mainstream German society, leading to growing support for the radical right-wing party *AfD* and the anti-immigration and anti-Islam movement *PEGIDA* (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident; Decker et al., 2016). In the federal election of 2017, the *AfD* became the third biggest party, gaining 12.6% of the votes, with the strongest support in the east and south of the country.

7 The term "*Leitkultur*" was first introduced in 1998 by Bassam Tibi. In his book, *Europa ohne Identität* (Europe Without Identity), he defined *Leitkultur* as a representation of the Western values of Europe, which include democracy, the Enlightenment, human rights, and secularism. In 2000, Friedrich Merz, chairman of the parliamentary group of both conservative parties (*CDU* and *CSU*) at the time, used the concept against the notion of a multicultural society, calling attention to the mandatory integration of immigrants into the German *Leitkultur*. Since then, the term has become a national political issue.

of the German *Bundestag* from 2005 to 2017, attempted to redefine *Leitkultur* as a "guiding European idea" that draws on common cultural roots, history, and traditions (Scholz, 2017). In 2010, the Christian Democrats adopted a resolution claiming that Germany is based on "Judaeo-Christian heritage" which should be considered the country's *Leitkultur*; this decision should be understood primarily as a political tool in the struggle against Islam (Wasmer, 2013, p. 174). No matter how the concept of *Leitkultur* is defined, whether as a German or European leading culture, it is highly controversial not only as it recognises "German" or "European" culture as inherently superior to others, but also considers this German/European culture "entirely self-generated, hermetically sealed off from any outside influence" (El-Tayeb, 2015, p. 286).

Although both concepts are ridden with ideology and cannot escape the *Leitkultur* discussions, the report of the *Enquete-Kommission* repeatedly stressed the significance of culture as a national and state goal (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007). It particularly underlined the *Kulturnation* in the European context regarding European integration. Hence, the notion of *Kulturnation* reached another dimension in the 21st century as Wesner writes:

> The emphasis shifted from the nation itself to Europe. Although, as in many European countries, the debate focuses on the rich cultural diversity, a search for a common European conceptual framework is gaining momentum in Germany. The concepts of Enlightenment, the occidental-Christian tradition and the humanitarian idea of man are discussed as unifying themes for a European identity. (2010, p. 442)

This tendency of focusing on a European identity and culture is explicit in the design of the *Enquete-Kommission* report. It discusses cultural diversity and identity in terms of the "roots of European culture" and "culture and European integration". In the introduction, just under the subheading of cultural education, the immigrant nature of the country is implied obscurely. Cultural education is understood as the key to social development for strengthening the awareness of cultural diversity and cultural differences between regions, milieus, ethnicities, and genders (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 45).

Lammert criticised the members of the *Enquete-Kommission* for unanimously declaring Germany a *Kulturnation* and a *Kulturstaat*, without questioning the relevance of the two notions for the future of the country, and remarked that they might be dusty formulas in a globalised world (2016, p. 144). Lammert believed that the concept of "Germany as a *Kulturnation* in Europe" is not as harmless as it seems and he expressed reservations about attaining an agreeable version of the term and its suitability as a concept for describing the framework conditions of our world, which had undoubtedly changed radically in recent years and decades (Lammert, 2016, p. 143).

Moreover, the current conceptualisation of the *Kulturnation* is far from fulfilling the task of being inclusive. The concept not only neglects to signify the core values of cultural democracy, but also fails to comprehend the post-war demographic changes resulting from immigration and displacement. Accordingly, it fails to recognise various ethnic and religious identities and traditions as parts of its own. The notion of *Kulturnation* overlooks the intellectual and artistic contribution of immigrants to Germany's future. It clearly and rigidly defines the boundaries of "Germanness".

The *Enquete-Kommission* considered various cultural identities in Germany that resulted from regional differences and the forty years of division (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 45), and then described culture and identity at present impacted by globalisation and internationalisation:

> In the age of globalisation and internationalisation, the arts and culture must have an identity-building effect. (…) Their significance in personal development, in the sense of one's own creative practice and the ability to see, hear, experience, and adopt other perspectives, gives the arts and culture their socialising power. (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 45)

Immigrants, more often seen as "guest workers" for an extended period, who have been living in Germany since the late 1950s, are not mentioned under the heading "Cultural Diversity and Identity". The reader has to be patient in order to discover what constitutes this vaguely mentioned new diversity and if "particular" immigrants (i.e., non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, Black people, POC) were determined as the main component of this new diversity. Nevertheless, towards the end of Chapter 3 of the report, immigration is treated as a separate area of attention. It is reviewed on six pages in a 500-pages-long report.[8]

Globalisation and internationalisation as mentioned by the *Enquete-Kommission* are considered to pose the risk of uniformity and losing national identity. The repositioning of the term *Kulturnation* in this context means shifting towards

8 The outline of the report provides an explicit insight into how culture and cultural diversity are perceived by the members of the parliamentary working group. Chapter 3 of the report is titled "Public and Private Promotion and Financing of the Arts and Culture – Structural Change". In Section 3.5, under the subheading "Funding Areas of Particular Importance", immigrant cultures and interculture (Section 3.5.5) are combined into one phrase. In the next subheading, the "Culture of Indigenous Minorities in Germany" is examined as another significant cultural domain of interest. This chapter ends with the assessment of the "Cultural Effects of Demographic Change". In the introduction, four subjects are highlighted: "Commitment to Democratic Communities", "Culture Today – New Challenges", "Cultural Diversity and Identity", and "Safeguarding Cultural Promotion in All Its Diversity". Not a single sentence about immigration from the 1950s onwards or how society was marked by the cultural impact of labour migration.

advocacy for European identity and Europe-oriented values. In this concept, the impact of the multicultural character of Europe on the change of the European identity is not taken into account. By pointing out the current multicultural essence of Europe and Germany – with its diverse cultural orientations and traditions – Lammert raised the question of whether and how the identity of a society, a state, and a nation could be determined based on formulations such as the *Kulturnation* and *Kulturstaat* (2016, pp. 146–147). Instead, Lammert proposed engaging with the European/Western identity by reassessing what is German and what is European or Western, as a future task for cultural policy (2016, p. 148).

The goal of culture as a state and nation prevailed in federal cultural policy in the following years (CoE & ERICarts, 2016). The core objectives of federal cultural policy were: protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of the reunified Germany, fostering European identity concerning European integration, and promoting cultural education implemented within the current agenda. On the one hand, a policy with these as its central goals treats culture as a phenomenon that "is unquestioned or taken for granted, built on the underlying assumption of culture being something good for the individual and society as a whole" (Wesner, 2010, p. 436); on the other, it stipulates the outlines of "the good culture" that presumably contributes to personal and social development. Hence, the protection and promotion of the cultural heritage of this "positive culture" are understood as a fundamental task of the policy; additionally, cultural education is instrumental for the dissemination of this heritage to future generations.

This perception fabricates a distinct partition between the past (the German reunification in 1990, regarded as the core of European identity) and the present (the demographic changes following labour migration). In this sense, the policy still emphasises the narrow concept of culture and history mediation – the "inner unity" for building bridges between the former East and West Germany – but not the demographic changes that have been taking effect since the 1950s. This late immigration and displacement thus allude to a new diversity perceived as "a challenging task for policy" that triggers divergence from the "main path" of the *Kulturnation*.

4.3.2 The Making of Strangers Through Inclusion Policies

Since 2001, the *KuPoGe* and its organisation *Institut für Kulturpolitik* (*IfK*; Institute for Cultural Policy) have been organising federal cultural policy congresses every two years, and both institutions are actively involved in shaping the discussions around cultural diversity.[9] In her opening speech at the 8th *Kulturpolitische Bundeskongress*

9 The *KuPoGe* is partly subsidised by the federal government. The *IfK* is entirely funded by the *BKM*.

(Federal Congress on Cultural Policy) in 2015 titled "Transformational Cultural Policy", the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media Monika Grütters highlighted how the meaning of culture has gained significant importance due to diversity.[10] Grütters described two types of diversity and identified cultural institutions as intermediaries for the unified nation:

> Germany is a country of immigration – and thus, it has become more ethnically heterogeneous, more pluralistic, simply more colourful over the past 25 years. This presents a wealth of challenges and opportunities, especially for our cultural institutions to distinguish themselves as collective anchors in diversity and as lighthouses in the complexity of the situation. The new cultural diversity has also changed the *Einwanderungsgesellschaft*[11]. (Grütters, 2016, p. 24)

She underlined that the ethnicity dimension, in the timeframe she was referring to, pertains to the heterogeneity after the reunification. Cultural institutions were expected to become spaces that would unite the *Länder* under a common understanding of culture and (cultural) values. Labour migration and the "refugee influx" were perceived as new diversity, a second layer of the *Einwanderungsgesellschaft*.

On its website, the *IfK* states that through federal policy congresses, it aims to set the main themes and focal points in German cultural policy discourse, bring together the actors of various cultural policy (decision-making) levels and contexts, and give them a forum. Accordingly, "Cultural Policy and Globalisation" was the topic of the 9th federal congress in 2017. The intention of this specific focus was not to make a programmatic statement but to indicate a code for the dimensions within which cultural policy matters should be discussed (Blumenreich et al., 2018, p. 18). By focusing on the globalisation aspect, the *IfK* emphasised the role and importance of a global cultural policy, one that withdraws from traditional perspectives and develops a new framework for achieving cultural democracy:

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10 In order to bring together the responsibility for the cultural and media policy of the Federal Government, in 1998, the position of federal government commissioner for culture and the media was introduced in the Federal Cabinet. The commissioner post was held by Michael Naumann (*SPD*) from 1998 to 2001, Julian Nida Rümelin (*SPD*) from 2001 to 2002, Christina Weiss (independent) from 2002 to 2005, Bernd Neumann (*CDU*) from 2005 to 2013, and Monika Grütters (*CDU*) since 2013.

11 The term *Einwanderungsgesellschaft/Migrationsgesellschaft* is used in certain German-speaking discourses to refer to the societal significance of migration, and is not directly reducible to English-language concepts such as "migrant societies" or "multicultural societies"; it refers to the fact that society is affected by migratory processes on every level – in the fields of economics, politics, culture, education, and beyond – and the fact that privilege is distributed by order of belonging (Ziese & Gritschke, 2016, p. 37).

> If a cultural policy is to be oriented towards models such as "cultural democracy" and a more open society, it must not only take note of social realities such as increasing poverty, environmental damage, or growing right-wing populism; it should also take sides. In addition to the "everyday" practical design of funding policy, it is essential to initiate a discourse on the future of culture and thus our ways of life, and define concrete steps towards change. (Blumenreich et al., 2018, p. 14)

In spite of this affirmative reading of the global context and the intention to demand a repositioning of cultural policy concerning global challenges, the question of how cultural policy should be formulated as a democratic policy to adequately address diversity remains unanswered.

In the federal cultural policy congress of 2017, the minister of culture reflected on the duality of fear and enrichment triggered by the phenomenon of diversity in Germany. Her statement not only reveals that diversity is hierarchised but also the way the notion of "us/we" is superior:

> The diversity of cultures, religions, lifestyles, and world views can sometimes be as frightening and disturbing as it is undoubtedly inspiring and enriching. Diversity remains a challenge – for some, even a threat. To integrate those who have taken refuge in the past years in Germany and those who have been searching for a while or perhaps even stay forever is a task for years, if not decades. (…) Against this background, I understand "world cultural policy" as a cultural policy for a cosmopolitan, pluralistic society. My main concern is a cultural policy for a culture of understanding. (…) On the one hand, understanding requires an awareness of one's own identity – clarity about what makes us different as Germans and as Europeans. Only those who know and value their own can give space to a "foreigner" [emphasis added; *Fremde*] without feeling threatened by him/her. Only those who can make a well-founded distinction are capable of defending their own (democratic) values. (Grütters, 2018, pp. 23–24)

Grütters makes an explicit distinction between German/European culture and the cultures of new diversity, expanding on it by specifying people seeking refuge in Germany. The required mutual understanding Grütters describes, perceived as a prerequisite for a plural society, is the crucial aspect of the "inspiring and enriching diversity". However, the integration of the ethnically and religiously "distinct communities" is presented as the formula for reaching this "inspiring and enriching diversity" in order to overcome (cultural) conflicts. In this context, it is unclear how or to what extent this positive pluralist recognition of ethnic difference enables "the coexistence of the plurality of cultural groups without domination" (Toffolo, 2003) in light of the culturally exclusive notion of *Kulturnation*, which instead corresponds to "structurally conditioned pluralism" (Gordon, 1970)

or "uneven pluralism" (Melotti, 1997). Rather than announcing the prerequisites of a plural society without negotiation, as Chantal Mouffe expresses, "what is always necessary for a democratic society to function is a set of institutions and practices which constitute the framework of a consensus within which pluralism can exist" (1992, pp. 13–14).

In the cultural-political context, culture often operates as a distinct line that separates Europeans from the non-European others on the grounds of the democratic values of modernity. Hesse (2007) describes the European construction of modernity as "racialised modernity": "modernity is racial; whiteness, Christian, the West, Europeanness comprise a series of racial tropes intimately connected with organicist and universalist metaphors so frequently assumed in various canonical accounts of modernity" (pp. 643–644).

Some elements of (cultural) identity that unite "Germans" and "Europeans" are based on the presumption of mutual cultural values, while regarding other members of society as "strangers/outsiders". In this ideological construction of European culture, portrayed as a "culture of cultures", the underlying assumption is that there is a consensus for a "European model" of society, a model that does not exist in practice (Shore, 2001, p. 115). In this perspective, "particular" immigrants are recognised as "strangers" (Ahmed, 2000). "Strangers" are the "internal others" (Walzer, 1992) within the nation, those who are included in society through a set of policy measures. Then the figure of the "stranger" is "no longer seen as a threat to the community; the 'stranger' [emphasis added] becomes a reminder of the differences we must celebrate" (Ahmed, 2000, p. 4). Ahmed (2012) claims that the politics of stranger-making perceives some as "strangers" more so than others, and some as the norm.

This study argues that in the case of Germany, those who are "German/European" are considered the norm; "particular" immigrants (i.e., non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, Black people, POC) and refugees are constructed as "strangers". The introduction of inclusion/(cultural) integration-oriented cultural policy measures that target only "culturally distant" groups and individuals in order to strengthen social cohesion is a clear sign of a political outlining of the figure of "internal others". Stuart Hall describes these groups and individuals as being "in but not of Europe" (2002, as cited in Lentin, 2008). The predominantly White "us" is not conceived as part of the diversity discourse. This perception already indicates that the White "us" is presumed as the norm, and through the measures of inclusion ethnic and religious groups "become incorporated into the 'we' of the nation, at the same time as that 'we' emerges as the one who has to live with it (cultural diversity) and by implication with 'them' (those 'specific ethnic groups')" (Ahmed, 2000, p. 95). Hage claims that this sort of positioning of diversity "does not affect the nature of the white 'we'; it remains extrinsic to diversity" (2000, p. 140). Moreover, these "culturally different

immigrants belong to the category that Ahmed refers to when pointing out that those "who do not fit into a standardised pattern must still fit into the nation: they fit, not by being the standard, but by being defined in terms of their difference" (2000, p. 96).

4.4 Intercultural Dialogue for a Successful Cultural Integration

Since the second half of the 2000s, interculturality as a concept of fostering diversity has gained significant importance at all levels of cultural policy in Germany (see Section 3.3) and has been supported by the actions of various umbrella organisations (e.g., the *Bundesfachkongress Interkultur* [Federal Congress Interculture] from 2006 to 2017). Another turning point for the federal cultural policy in bringing intercultural understanding into focus was the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008. In 2012, a survey, the first *InterKulturBarometer* (Intercultural Barometer), was conducted to analyse the cultural interests and attitudes of people with and without a "migrant background".[12]

At the national level, interculturality is approached from several perspectives: (a) reinforcing social cohesion through intercultural exchange and dialogue (referring to cultural integration programmes for people with a "migrant background"), (b) enhancing intercultural cooperation (referring to practices at the international level), (c) establishing intercultural funding programmes (e.g., the 360° – Fund for New City Cultures [*360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft*] of the *KSB*, the *Homebase* Programme of the Performing Arts Fund [*Fonds Darstellende Künste*], various incentives of the Socio-Culture Fund [*Fonds Soziokultur*]), (d) fostering intercultural competencies and skills, (e) demanding the development of strategies for the intercultural opening of cultural institutions, and (f) urging for the framework conditions for intercultural education (e.g., the policy paper, *Interkulturelle Erziehung – eine Chance für unsere Gesellschaft* [Intercultural Education – A Chance for Our Society], presented by the *Deutscher Kulturrat* in 2007).

Despite a broad range of interests, internal intercultural strategies of the federal policy mostly aim to further social cohesion outlined by the CoE through measures supporting intercultural dialogue (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 33).[13]

12 The first *InterKulturBarometer* was carried out by the *Zentrum für Kulturforschung* (Centre for the Cultural Research), funded by the *BKM*, the *Länder* of Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia in cooperation with the University of Hildesheim and the University of Friedrich-Alexander.

13 The CoE (2010) defines social cohesion as a society's capacity to ensure the well-being of all its members –minimising disparities and avoiding marginalisation – with the aim of managing differences and divisions, and ensuring the means for achieving welfare for all members.

Intercultural dialogue is seen as a vital component of cultural policy for the cultural integration of those with a "migrant background" into the majority society, which is evident in announcing the first *Deutsche Islamkonferenz* (German Islam Conference) in 2006 as an example of internal intercultural dialogue with Muslims in Germany (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, pp. 32–33).

The link between intercultural dialogue and cultural integration is elaborated in policy documents. For instance, the experts of the *Enquete-Kommission* considered that immigration, interculturality, and intercultural education have a cross-sectional character; therefore, they should be handled jointly as areas of particular importance:

> By intercultural, we mean the coexistence and the exchange between cultures, mutual dialogue, and a learning process. Immigrant cultures encompass the socio-cultural expressions and collective identities developed in the different milieus of immigrants and evolved through new experiences and exchanges with the host community/environment. (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, pp. 210–211)

Although the working group did not provide a comprehensive definition of interculturality, in this view, the intercultural is understood in terms of European interculturalism, which focuses on dialogue and exchange between different cultural groups as a means to reduce prejudice (Cantle, 2012; James, 2008). Interculturality and intercultural dialogue are understood as synonymous concepts (see Chapter 3 for the discussion on interculturality/interculturalism and intercultural dialogue). It is assumed that immigrants only have group/community identities in which ethnicity and religion are decisive factors. However, these cultural identities are perceived as dynamic entities; they interact with the majority society. Cantle argues that "interculturalism is much more demanding than intercultural dialogue and involves the wider community, structural and political processes" (2012, p. 157). In that regard, this type of approach concentrates on intercultural dialogue between ethnic minorities and the "host society", and it does not address structural issues of racism, poverty, and power (Cantle, as cited in James, 2008, p. 3). This perspective also fails to take into consideration the structural inequalities and power regime that generates a hierarchy between community identities and unfair access conditions to culture. However, contrary to this view, "interculturalism requires the redistribution of political and economic power and the eradication of racism and all other forms of discrimination" (James, 2008, p. 13).

The interplay between the intercultural approach and immigration becomes more evident in the following paragraphs of the report. Intercultural dialogue and exchange are understood as a policy strategy for cultural integration. Intercultural dialogue is recognised as a key for strengthening social cohesion, which can be reached through the integration of people with a "migrant background":

> The integration of people with a "migrant background" [emphasis added] presents a major social challenge and opportunity, the dimensions of which are being recognised more and more in recent years. (…) Successful integration means peaceful coexistence in mutual respect. Public and private actors as well as the third sector (organisations that do not belong to either the public or the market sector) must take on this task together. (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 211)

In this perception, culture is essential for tackling the "conflicts" resulting from immigration. Thus, for the *Enquete-Kommission*, the integration debate should also include the cultural dimension of immigration and its effects on society and the right of residence, social policy, right to vote, education, and as such (2007, p. 211). However, the members of the commission expressed that integration must be based on the principle of mutual respect:

> Integration policy can only be sufficiently employed if the majority society actively accepts living together in an immigration society, which is necessary for integration. The basis for this is the Basic Law and the existing legal system. Therefore, the "host society" [*aufnehmende Gesellschaft*; emphasis added] must offer immigrants orientation on German law, culture, history, and the German state, as well as language support. Many immigrants see the lack of self-assurance on the part of Germans as a deficit. (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 211)

However, the report did not explain in detail what the learning process entails. Instead, immigrants were described as being in the position of learners of how "German society" functions. The report did not contemplate whether federal cultural policy should introduce strategies to improve the intercultural competencies of the majority society. Nonetheless, the "host society" was advised to acknowledge confrontation and to have "tolerance" since "confidently dealing with 'foreigners' [emphasis added] requires confidently dealing with oneself" (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 211). The differentiation of the position of "stranger" still exists even after 60 years of labour migration history. The ethnic marker rationalises the construction of "the other", understood here as "particular" immigrants who are not European, Western, or Christian (see Section 2.5 for a comprehensive analysis of the othering process of the non-European/non-Western).

On the one hand, the report underlined that it is wrong to reduce immigrants to particular ethnic groups since culture is dynamic and it changes through different processes (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 211). On the other, it determined that only "particular" immigrants should go through these processes of "change" (to fit into the defined criteria for integration); the majority society is not expected to "change" (to adapt to the migratory processes). "Immigrant cultures" are welcomed but on a condition: their very differences are perceived as deficits if not adapted to the prescribed national integration plans, as the *Enquete-Kommission* expresses: "despite

many positive examples – even in the second and third generation, people with a 'migrant background' [emphasis added] show significant integration deficits" (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 212). In short, they refuse to embrace the values of Western society and democracy. Lentin warns that fierce insistence on social cohesion and integration into a unilaterally defined narrative causes even more detachment of the immigrants the policy aims to reach (2008, p. 490). This view on integration in Europe, according to Lentin, is one-sided and ill-defined:

> Rather than being inclusive, integration is seen as assimilation with a different label because it is unidirectional: integration de facto signifies an inward process, rather than an outward one that is transformative of the so-called 'host society'. Immigrants and their descendants are promised that by integrating, they will no longer be treated as outsiders in the countries in which they live. However, this promise is increasingly tempered by conditions for citizenship that place the assimilation of what in the global age are increasingly indefinable national 'values' at the centre of the 'integration process'. (2008, p. 490)

The federal cultural policy reflects a similar concern about the disproportionate advocacy for social cohesion:

> Another focus of research and debate has been on the question of whether it is necessary to promote social cohesion even more than prescribed in the Constitution and laws of the country. The latter states the values of society, including the tradition of Christianity and the Enlightenment. (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 34)

Likewise, in the national cultural policy, immigrants, cultural diversity, and intercultural cooperation are dealt with together under one category, and listed as one of the policy priorities (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 15). In Section 4, the "improvement of the situation of people from other cultures and countries living in Germany" (CoE & ERICarts, 2016, p. 28) is discussed under the subheading of "Cultural Diversity and Inclusion Policies":

> For some years, integration of people of different ethnic backgrounds, religious orientations and cultural traditions has been regarded not only as a central task of society but increasingly also as a significant challenge to cultural work and cultural policy. Meanwhile, a very diverse intercultural practice has evolved, but in this field, there is still a considerable need for further development in many large cultural institutions such as theatres, museums and symphony orchestras. The same is true of cultural policy. (2016, p. 29)

To overcome the difficulties of inclusion policies, cultural policy needs to approach "becoming intercultural" as a condition of "celebrating diversity", which recognises everyone as the subject of change. In this view, in becoming intercultural, cultural

institutions are seen as inclusionary spaces for encounter/dialogue/exchange with ethnically and religiously different others. However, public cultural institutions are particularly distant from the idea of intercultural opening in terms of staff and repertoire schemes (see Section 2.4.1 for the discussion).

In light of the perceived superiority of Western Christian values, a constructive debate on an agreeable value consensus is fundamental for cultivating diversity through intercultural dialogue and exchange.[14] For a democratic and open society, cultural politics is called upon to create framework conditions for people to find meaning and orientation in an increasingly complex world in which different cultural values collide, and the search for their own cultural identity becomes more and more urgent (Scheytt, 2018, p. 398).

Furthermore, the context of a democratic society brings the question of cultural rights to the fore. The way the interrelation between culture and society is understood has an implication on the perception of citizenship (Stevenson, 2003, p. 16). Cultural citizenship, as a new set of citizenship claims, framed in the language of citizenship rights, involves:

> (…) the right to be 'different', to re-value stigmatised identities, to embrace openly and legitimately hitherto marginalised lifestyles and to propagate them without hindrance. The national community, in other words, is defined not only in formal-legal, political, and socio-economic dimensions but also increasingly in a socio-cultural one. (Pakulski, 1997, p. 83)

Cultural citizenship is thus a prerequisite for a democratic and open society since it is concerned with "who needs to be visible, to be heard, and to belong" (Rosaldo, 1999, p. 260) without being reduced to "the other" (Stevenson, 2003). As Klein writes: "where, if not within the framework of the arts and culture – and accordingly within the framework of a committed cultural policy – can a society enter a permanent dialogue with itself, 'reconsider' itself again and again" (2009, p. 245) without setting a barrier, a hierarchy between German ("us") and "particular" immigrant ("the other"). A constructive dialogue process rests upon the perspective that "cultural contact today is not an 'intercultural encounter' that takes place between German culture and something outside of it but rather is

14 Despite the firm insisting on the Christian character of the country by conservative politicians and other political actors, according to a survey on religious orientation in Germany, the number of people who declared Christianity as their faith dropped from over 90% in 1970 to under 60% in 2010 (Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland, 2019). Many people have left the Catholic and Protestant churches in the last 10 years. Specified by the same survey, in 2018, around 53% of the population are still members of one of the two churches (28% Catholic, 25% Protestant), 5% Muslim, around 4% other religious communities, and almost 38% of the total population have no religious beliefs and are not affiliated with any religion.

something happening within German culture, between the German past and the German present" (Adelson, 2001/2007, p. 268).

5. Federal Programmes, Intercultural and Transcultural Projects

This chapter analyses some of the public subsidy programmes established by primary cultural funding institutions of the central government promoting cultural diversity. By exploring the public and independent theatre scene as well as the socio-culture field, the research seeks to outline different dimensions of manifestation of the cultural diversity dispositive[1] at the national level.

The institutions and their incentive programmes examined in this chapter are:

- The *Heimspiel* Fund of the German Federal Cultural Foundation (*Kulturstiftung des Bundes*; 2006–2012)
- *Homebase – Theatre for the Coming Society* of the Performing Arts Fund (*Fonds Darstellende Künste*; 2016)
- The Socio-Culture Fund (*Fonds Soziokultur*; 2009–2019)

These funding institutions and their supplementary programmes are financed by the *Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien* (*BKM*; Federal Commissioner for Culture and the Media). The *BKM* was founded in 1998 to combine the tasks of the national government for cultural affairs under one roof (CoE & ERICarts, 2016). Given that Germany is a federal republic, according to the right to local self-government, 16 *Länder* retain their cultural sovereignty and share responsibility with local authorities. Although the federal government has no jurisdiction in the cultural sphere, the *BKM* provides additional funding through its various foundations. These foundations have a strong influence on the performing arts scene. The *BKM* realises concept-based cultural policy indirectly through the German Federal Cultural Foundation, the Performing Arts Fund, and the *Hauptstadt Kulturfonds* (Capital Cultural Fund; Schneider, 2013a, p. 42). This

1 In this research the dispositive is understood as the sum of discursive (discourse – what it is said and how it is articulated) and non-discursive (institutions, their measures and norms, their actions, the outcomes of these actions – distribution and legitimisation of diversity discourse) elements in knowledge production and dissemination (see Chapter 1).

subsidiary interference in theatre policy is highly associated with "the lack of political will and engagement at the *Länder* and local level since structural change is not on the radar of municipal governments and the *Länder* invest in infrastructure and established institutions" (Schneider, 2017a, p. 576). Furthermore, cultural and artistic initiatives are supported by another body of the *BKM*, the Socio-Culture Fund.

The programmes mentioned above are investigated based on a dispositive approach as a methodical tool of discourse analysis. In this empirical examination, the focus is on the interplay between the objectives of "promoting diversity" and the inclusion of immigrants and refugees into the theatre realm.

This chapter provides a concise overview of various subsidy programmes as well as funding institutions and their interests and motivations to engage with theatre, cultural diversity, and immigration. The analysis explores the approaches and perspectives of these institutions supporting different segments of the vibrant German performing arts scene in their responses to immigration-related cultural diversity (see Chapter 2 for the discussion on diversity in German theatre). The research also demonstrates commonalities and disparities between the implementation strategies of mentioned primary public funding actors.

The analysed programmes are considered concrete outcomes of the cultural diversity dispositive, promoting the German performing arts scene. The objective of this inquiry is to map out (a) how key federal funding bodies address immigration-related cultural diversity, (b) which diversity-related concepts they are implementing, (c) how immigrants and refugees are incorporated in this diversity discourse, indicating the extent to which the notion of a more inclusive theatre takes immigration and immigrants into account, and lastly, (d) whether and to what extent these programmes can contribute to a diversity-oriented change in the German theatre landscape.

5.1 The German Federal Cultural Foundation and The *Heimspiel* Fund (2006–2012)

The German Federal Cultural Foundation (*KSB*) was established in 2002 to support artistic productions under the funding responsibility of the federal government. The *KSB* promotes fine arts, performing arts, literature, music, film, photography, architecture, new media, and cross-disciplinary projects. In addition to the general project funding, the institution introduces individual programmes focusing on a particular topic or artistic field. The topics of these special funding programmes change depending on the current subject matter.

The *KSB* heavily intervenes in the theatre realm through these additional funding programmes, primarily addressing municipal theatres. The foundation

incentivises municipal theatres to serve a broader population, internationalise their ensembles and repertoires, and develop international co-productions and collaborations with the independent theatre sector (Schneider, 2017a, p. 576).

To fulfil its objectives, in 2006 the *KSB* first established the *Heimspiel* Fund for municipal and state theatres, followed by *Wanderlust* between 2007 and 2012, which financed theatre partnership and exchange between German municipal and state theatres and international theatres. The third fund of the *KSB*, the *Doppelpass*, has supported joint projects between independent groups and public theatres from 2011 to 2021. Furthermore, the *KSB* promotes the German-language theatre scene through the *Berlin Theatertreffen Festival* every year.

Between 2006 and 2012, the *KSB* carried out a pioneering programme, the *Heimspiel* Fund, to encourage municipal and state theatres to deal with the problems of their respective cities and regions. Although the fund did not explicitly target immigrants, the prerequisites of the programme substantially corresponded to immigration and immigration-related themes. Among the 61 subsidised productions of 44 municipal and state theatres in 13 *Länder* in six years, immigration, unemployment, and poverty were the common subjects addressed by the endowed projects.

5.1.1 Immigrants as New Target Audiences for Public Theatres

The two main objectives of the *Heimspiel* Fund were to examine the role of (municipal) theatres and to attract new audiences to these institutions (KSB & Schauspiel Köln, 2011). The programme demanded the visibility of everyday experiences of groups that have been overlooked by public theatres (KSB & Schauspiel Köln, 2011). In order to make these underrepresented voices heard, the *Heimspiel* required municipal and state theatres to search for new narratives by incorporating residents into their projects as amateur actors. Project coordinators were expected to conduct comprehensive research on the main difficulties of their cities, cooperate with residents, and create new participatory narratives and artistic forms.

According to Hortensia Völckers, artistic director of the *KSB*, the *Heimspiel* Fund gave particular importance to productions linked to local stories. These projects were conceptualised and presented with the involvement of local people untrained in theatre practice, which conventionally, "most likely would not be in the programming of public theatres; youth cultures, immigrants, religious themes, or unemployment, all of these become material for theatrical debate" (Mundel & Mackert, 2011, p. 82). Dramaturge Björn Bicker affirms that "*Heimspiel* was a kick-off for municipal theatres to produce social and political works" (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017).

Völckers considered that generating new audiences was vital for the survival of municipal theatres; hence, *Heimspiel* aimed to provide these theatres with the opportunity to find new artistic ways to connect with their cities and diverse cultural milieus in order to be relevant for future generations:

> I think theatres need to rethink their role in the city, what audience they want to attract, how they can appeal to new audiences and how they want to pass on our cultural heritage and expand their repertoire to current topics. I imagine theatre more like a reactor, where art and everyday culture enter to form an energetic connection. (Mundel & Mackert, 2011, p. 83)

For *Heimspiel*, "theatre should once again be understood as theatre for citizens, including marginalised social groups in the city, and take up themes from their immediate everyday life" (KuPoGe, 2007, p. 28). In this regard, the *KSB* defined two main subjects as its primary obligations: opening up the rich municipal theatre landscape to societal themes, and including non-theatregoer groups into the audience (Deuter, 2011). Hence, the *KSB* conceived of an active engagement that would bridge the gap between theatre practice and the city and its inhabitants to widen the audience composition of these institutions. This objective is firmly associated with the country's demographic structure. For Völckers, the sustainability of public theatre pertains to taking essential measures of altering its rigid and traditional framework in order to remain a stimulating artistic hub for society:

> Demographic changes are going to cause theatres much trouble; we can only hope for one thing: that these complex, intricate, highly delicate theatre structures develop a magnetism that would assure their position at the centre of urban culture. Theatres should ask themselves critically and without hesitation what impulses they can use in striving for change, appropriating new forms, and gaining new audiences. They must develop a better feeling for how to react to the current needs and situations in their cities. (Mundel & Mackert, 2011, p. 86)

Within the timeframe when *Heimspiel* was established, the public theatre scene was not familiar with dealing with social and political matters, such as immigration. Moreover, "opening the doors to the audience with a "migrant background" was almost unheard of for many municipal theatres" (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017). In this context, this programme could be seen as the first attempt to stimulate an exchange between municipal theatres and the potential "unconventional" audiences that had been disregarded for decades. This audience is mostly perceived as immigrants lacking cultural capital to appreciate the artistic milieu of these traditional institutions:

> Many public theatres explain the striking absence of the audience with a "migrant background" as a consequence of their own deficits: they do not understand the German language, do not have the appropriate education, are not familiar with the artistic canon, or simply show no interest in theatre. (Terkessidis, 2011b, p. 44)

In this sense, *Heimspiel* provided a platform for raising the question of municipal theatres' programming and audience composition as they did not (and still do not) reflect the cultural fabric of the country. The above statements of the artistic director of the *KSB* underline the demand for a change of perspective if theatres are to survive. Within this scope, *Heimspiel* reflected on the self-image of municipal theatres and recognised that they needed to be accessible to the broader society. However, the programme regarded accessibility in a narrower sense, paying attention mainly to reception and, thus, diversifying the spectrum of cultural content to reach new audiences. Prompting these institutions to develop strategies for having a diverse artistic workforce was not taken into consideration.

5.1.2 *Bunnyhill*: First Encounter with Immigration

Bunnyhill was a concept created by Björn Bicker, Peter Kastenmüller, and Michael Graessner at *Münchner Kammerspiele* in 2004. *Bunnyhill*, created as an imaginary state, was an innovative two-month project that included theatre performances, panel discussions, and other events on the relationship between the city centre and the periphery. It aimed to bring the social and urban reality of Munich to the theatre. In an interview, Völckers stated that *Bunnyhill* significantly impacted the formulation of the objectives of the *Heimspiel* Fund (Mundel & Mackert, 2011, p. 82).

The main focus of the project was a theatre performance, *ein Junge, der nicht Mehmet heißt* (A Boy Whose Name Is Not Mehmet), which depicted the lives of marginalised people from a peripheral area called Hasenbergl. The goal of *Bunnyhill* was to intervene in the urban fabric of Munich, i.e., to create an "interference of the periphery in the city centre" (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017), and facilitate an encounter between the outskirts and the centre of which residents had no contact with one another.

Hasenbergl is at the fringe of Munich, seen as a problematic ghetto area, where most of the inhabitants have a "migrant background". *Bunnyhill* was influenced by the true story of Mehmet, who also lived on the outskirts of Munich. In the late 1990s, he was deported to Turkey because of his many criminal offences. The life circumstances of young people in Hasenbergl were similar to those of Mehmet; "social difficulties mark their lives; they experience what it is like to be a stranger in a society that knows how to demand nothing but integration" (Bicker, 2005, p. 44).

Bicker elaborates on the process of creating *Bunnyhill*, how the interaction between the artistic team and participants was slowly built, and how fragile the process was in terms of dismantling the barriers of othering:

> We started working with Mehmet's story, reading articles, meeting people. Mehmet was not an isolated case, as we quickly noticed. We also noticed how little we knew about this world. It soon became clear that we could not just make a play about a young person; we needed to do something together with young people. (…) And so, we met some young people from Hasenbergl. We drove out to their youth club. (…) We spent a lot of time with them. And we got to know each other, step by step. We started doing our first theatre exercises with some of them. (…) We invited them to the [*Münchner*] *Kammerspiele*. Our vision was sharpened by learning about the lives of these young people, of their abilities, desires, and fears. There was often a lack of understanding. Unfamiliarity. The mutual sniffing and approaching took a long time. In the beginning, the young people looked at the whole thing with a lot of scepticism and restraint. Rightly so. They were afraid of being "presented" once again. We were afraid of not doing them justice. Without casting, without conscious selection, after a few months, a group of two girls and seven boys was formed and all of them stayed until the end. (2005, p. 44)

In 2006, the team persisted in dealing with the political and social reality of Munich, with *Bunnyhill 2*. In this six-week project, linked to the first one, they confronted the critical question: Who owns the city? With the idea of questioning the neoliberal urban policy of the city, the *Müncher Kammerspiele* was moved to various locations in the centre; a new form of theatre was constructed by intervening in public spaces "to explore what possibilities a heterogeneous city centre with diverse ways of living could offer to all inhabitants" (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017). *Bunnyhill 2* represented a different kind of theatre because it connected with the city both through the place and the people (Dambekalna, n.d.).

In this regard, the *Bunnyhill* project, according to Völckers, "gave rise to a new form of theatre work which today – almost seven years later – can be regarded in many respects as an initial spark" (Mundel & Mackert, 2011, p. 38); in addition to being a pioneer endeavour, this project was a reminder of how theatre can gain its social relevance and function.

5.1.3 New Narratives and Artistic Formats Around Otherness

With *Heimspiel*, the *KSB* supported projects of cultural exchange. The goal of the fund was to facilitate collaboration in a creative process between artists and residents in which all parties could learn from one another (KSB, 2012).

To this end, after a lengthy research process, theatres developed projects that revolved around conflicts, communication issues, and prejudices arising from various forms of differences. Identity-based themes brought the attention to the living conditions of "the other": Sinti and Roma people, refugees, guest-workers of the 1970s, other immigrants, marginalised and criminalised youth cultures, and so on. Many of the subsidised theatres used biographical material to convey the narratives of otherness and explore new theatrical forms. This approach was to a certain extent aimed at changing the negative public perception towards various undervalued ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. From this perspective, theatre was perceived as a space for stimulating dialogue between the well-educated, middle-class audience of municipal theatres and "the other" for a peaceful co-existence. On the other end of this conversation were disregarded social and cultural groups, participating as one of the parties of interaction. By including marginalised and unknown communities into productions as untrained actors, the endowed theatres sought to provide these overlooked groups with the possibility to express themselves in front of a broad White German audience.

On another level, the introduction of social and political themes into the working process was aimed at raising awareness within public theatres and encouraging these institutions to search for new artistic methods and strategies that would help them develop a new understanding of their cities and their role within them.

One of these projects, *Illegal* (2007–2008), created by Björn Bicker, Peter Kastenmüller, and Michael Graessner at the *Münchner Kammerspiele* dealt with the issues of people living in Munich without a residence permit. The artistic team explored the lives of these people for several months, accompanied by a field research project at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich (KSB, 2012). The idea behind *Illegal* was to draw attention to people living at the fringe of society:

> Before we produced *Illegal*, we had already dealt with the subject of migration in *Bunnyhill*. Then, for the birthday of the city of Munich, the theatre [*Münchner Kammerspiele*] was asked to develop a project for the anniversary event. The title of this year's celebration was "Building Bridges". Then, after intensive research, I came to the conclusion that there was a big community of people without legal papers in Munich, which made me think about the idea of living here illegally, in such a wealthy, prosperous city. (…) It was an exciting topic for me to work on for this anniversary as this is the reality of Munich. (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017)

The exploration for an aesthetical method of engaging with this topic reveals the conflict of representing "living illegally" and taking a dominant position when approaching the subject. Through extensive research and interdisciplinary

exchange, the team brought the stories of those marginalised immigrants into the public discourse:

> We were doing research and we asked ourselves how we could present this subject artistically. It would be too dangerous to present these people on stage. They could be arrested. The writing process was also very interesting as I thought a lot about the question of representation. Can we represent the so-called "illegal immigrants", or should they represent themselves? Do they need me, or do they need artists to represent them? All of these questions occupied my thoughts, and then I decided to write a text about their legal situation. Because this was the reality of the city, and they could not have represented themselves on stage. So, I needed to make their stories visible in the heart of the city. The text was then performed at the *Münchner Kammerspiele*. We made the production with actors and experts from different fields, and around this production, we made different lectures, encounters, and performances covering this topic. (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017)

In another production, *Trollmanns Kampf* (2009–2010) at the *Staatstheater Hannover*, the discriminated Sinti and Roma minorities were at the centre of attention. The biography of Sinto German boxer of the 1930s, Johann Trollmann, who was sent to a concentration camp by the Nazis and murdered there, was the starting point of the theatre project. Through the life story of Trollmann, the theatre scrutinised the racist history of national socialism towards the Sinti people. By bringing the past into view, the project aimed to illustrate continuous discrimination, hostility, and prejudices these minorities still face. The Sinti community living in a district in Hildesheim was included in the project, and the working process was considered the central part that brought theatre and the stigmatised people together to create a theatre piece (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017).

5.1.4 Who Owns the Stage?

In 2011, the *KSB* together with *Schauspiel Köln* organised a festival titled *Heimspiel 2011*, featuring workshops, theatre productions, installations, lectures, and discussions aimed towards thinking collectively about the future of the German theatre scene. In an interview, Völckers expressed that the idea of the festival was to showcase the possibilities of a future-oriented municipal theatre:

> The festival is primarily something for people with a theatre background, especially dramaturges, directors, or actors, but also for the theatre-loving audience, and there were certainly theatre scholars interested in it as well. The "*Heimspiel 2011*" festival differs quite a bit from other festivals, such as the annual *Theatertreffen* in Berlin (…). There, we show the highlights of a theatre season. The

> "*Heimspiel 2011*", however, is less about presenting best-of pieces and more about showcasing the ability of theatre to renew itself from within, to broaden its range of subject areas, expand the repertoire of artistic forms of expression, and appeal to new audiences. To us, this seems crucial for the future viability of municipal theatres. (Deuter, 2011)

A symposium, which was also part of the festival, focused on the aesthetics of the *Heimspiel* theatre projects. One of the topics discussed at length was how to maintain artistic quality in socially engaged participatory projects. In these debates, the discussion on developing artistic strategies to explore new forms of documentary theatre raised the question of the autonomy of the arts and the meaning of artistic value. The contemporary notion of theatre revolves around whether art can be useful while, at the same time, remaining art (Hegemann, 2011). In this context, author and dramaturge Carl Hegemann underlined that art should inherently be connected to non-art in order to relate itself to society:

> Art defines itself, (…), by making the improbable happen. Art is therefore forced to be related to extra-artistic processes in order to persist as art in this society. It is forced to both integrate into its environment and confront it. Not because society expects this confrontation, but for reasons immanent to art. (2011, p. 4)

Participants of the symposium also exchanged views on the phenomenon of participation. The lecturers articulated a demand for a change in understanding participation; a new perception of the democratisation of production and reception, representation of socially disadvantaged communities, the production structure of conventional theatre, and the development of new theatre aesthetics calls for a contemporary interpretation of the concept of participation (Diederichsen, 2011; Lehmann, 2011). This new understanding of participation, described by Diederichsen and Lehmann, however, requires altering the principles of the theatre field, which cannot be thought of separately from how aesthetics is defined by the habitus and capital of those entitled to determine the artistic quality of the arts (Bourdieu, 1989). In an intercultural society, a change in mentality in this sense would include recognising and valuing a multiplicity of aesthetics in order to liberate the theatre practice from the narrow Eurocentric viewpoint.

One of the roundtables at the symposium dedicated to "immigration, identity politics, and theatre" was an illustrative example of how the reciprocal relationship between the structure of the field and the habitus of its actors (Bourdieu, 1993a, 1993b) are decisive for the way theatre should introduce "foreign cultures". The roundtable focused on two questions: How can theatre projects give insights into

"foreign cultures"?[2] How can the hybrid culture of contemporary cities be brought to the stage? The way the discussion was formulated revealed the perception of immigration and the role of dealing with immigration-related themes assigned to theatres. This problematic formulation is a critical signifier of the division between "us" and "them". In this understanding, theatre is deemed an artistic domain in which White German theatre-makers search for ways to present these "foreign cultures" and their stories on stage. Rightly, Mark Terkessidis, one of the speakers of the roundtable, reacted to this question which displayed characteristics of colonial thinking. Terkessidis stressed that the question assumes a homogeneous "German culture" that exists alongside the cultures of immigrants, and he asked: What constitutes "foreign culture", "who is foreign", and "whose culture is foreign" in an immigrant country (KSB & Schauspiel Köln, 2011)? Terkessidis proposed to replace the expression of "different cultures" with different "reference spaces" (*Referenzräume*; Terkessidis, 2011, as cited in Heppekausen, 2011).

This formulation is particularly striking as it illustrates a mindset about immigration-generated diversity, articulated paradoxically at a festival organised to discuss the future of theatre. Understanding cultures as divided into ethnic compartments is highly controversial, especially in a country where one in four residents has a "migrant background", and the impact of the migratory processes is ubiquitous.

The roundtable discussion was also remarkable in revealing the structural internalisation of the power dynamics in the theatre field (Jenkins, 1992). Rita Thiele, chief dramaturge of the municipal theatre *Schauspiel Köln* at that time, openly expressed that their audience orientation was geared towards the educated middle-class, and that theatre is not social work concerned with reaching immigrant audiences (as cited in Heppekausen, 2011). This precise Eurocentric positioning accurately reflects who exercises and regulates power and knowledge (Foucault, 1978) by exposing who determines what (public) theatre is and for whom productions are designed.

5.1.5 The Future Image of Municipal Theatre

Considering the bourgeois audience and repertoire composition of traditional municipal theatres, as Völckers stated, with *Heimspiel*, the *KSB* succeeded in making the right offer at the right time (Deuter, 2011). However, the question of the survival of these theatres is partly interlinked with the history of the German theatre system. Municipal theatres "represent a formerly dominant population,

2 The participants of the discussion were Monika Gintersdorfer (theatre director), Viola Hasselberg (former drama director of *Theater Freiburg*), Mark Terkessidis (migration studies researcher), and Rita Thiele (former chief dramaturge of *Schauspielhaus Köln*).

and even if they do provoke, they merely provoke the former decision-making sections of society" (Diederichsen, 2011, p. 1). In this regard, their societal relevance continues to be debatable.

To some degree, *Heimspiel* identified inertia in public theatres, their reluctance to explore the multiplicity of experiences and knowledge. However, this endeavour of supporting municipal theatres to become spaces reflecting local realities could not stimulate a structural reform in the years to come. As Völckers explained, *Heimspiel* did not aim to trigger a change in the organisational culture of municipal theatres; it was designed as an additional offer to encourage theatres to add non-conventional cultural content to their existing programming and reach out to new audiences:

> I genuinely hope that our initiative will not vanish into thin air, and that new *Heimspiel* pieces will be produced. Integrating *Heimspiel* pieces into programmes must become the standard. But these projects cannot displace or replace the classical repertoire, nor should they. *Heimspiel* is an additional offer, but it is not the final and sole conclusion as far as the future of theatre is concerned. (Mundel & Mackert, 2011, pp. 83–84)

Conversely, the future of theatre as a mirror of a democratic civil society entails participatory forms of theatre, in which citizens of various cultural affiliations have access to creation and decision-making processes. Bicker claims that the isolation of these theatres from social reality is interlinked with their mindset, which is why *Heimspiel*, in this context, could not achieve the idea of a participatory theatre:

> (…) the question of opening theatres up to this immigrant society, to other communities; *Heimspiel* did not work. Theatres do not want to change their habits. They still have not accepted that Germany is an immigrant country. They would never say it in public, but the mentality speaks for itself. If you are so open, if you want immigrants to participate in your resources, your artistic knowledge and education institutions, just open the doors. I can tell you how you can do this. But they say, "it is very difficult; we cannot become part of society so fast; we need time to change". (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017)

To this day, as in the case of *Heimspiel*, immigrants are often the new target groups of funding programmes in the capacity of audiences. Almost 15 years after the launch of the fund, many municipal theatres have introduced socially engaged new productions. However, how can the goal of a diverse audience be achieved without addressing this rigid institutional framework that has a specific understanding of aesthetics in artistic production, created and disseminated by theatre-makers of German descent? Sharifi points out the source of one of the crucial problems: These theatres want to create diversity within their audiences, a diversity that does not exist in their own structures (2017, p. 324). In the absence of a multiplicity of voices

in artistic production, the question of how to speak of a future-oriented municipal theatre remains unanswered (Canyürek, 2019a).

Nonetheless, it is reassuring that the *KSB* continues to support cultural institutions in contributing to an inclusive cultural sphere. The *KSB* established a new programme, 360° – Fund for New City Cultures (*360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft*), active from 2018 to 2023, precisely concerned with immigration-generated diversity. The subsidy is offered not only to performing arts institutions but also covers the fields of fine arts, music, literature, art and historical museums, architecture, new media, and related forms. The 360° – Fund for New City Cultures promotes cultural diversity in programming, audience, and staff selection. With this programme the *KSB* adamantly recognises the exclusion of immigrant cultural professionals and visitors as well as immigration-related narratives in public cultural institutions:

> Germany is a country of immigration, and its cities are strongly influenced by social diversity. Although many institutions are now actively shaping this new urban society, cultural organisations have been slow to address the cultural diversity of their cities in their programmes, personnel decisions, and target audiences. Neither their managerial staff nor their visitors correspond to the proportion of the general population that has a "migrant background" [emphasis added]. (KSB, n.d.)

The *KSB* finances a staff position called "agent" in subsidised institutions, and allocates additional project funds supporting activities for a period of four years with up to 360.000 € as part of the program (360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft, n.d.). Agents with diversity skills and experience in working with actors from immigrant families are responsible for developing and guiding the diversity-oriented process of change at their respective cultural institution (KSB, n.d.).

With the fund, the *KSB* supports 13 state and municipal theatres. These are namely *Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe*, *Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus*, *Mecklenburgisches Staatstheater Schwerin*, *Staatstheater Hannover*, *Staatstheater Nürnberg*, *Thalia Theater* in Hamburg, *Theater an der Parkaue* (youth theatre in Berlin), *tjg - theater junge generation* (children's and youth theatre in Dresden), *Nationaltheater Mannheim*, *Theater Bielefeld*, *Theater Bremen*, *Theater Dortmund*, and *Theater Oberhausen* (360° – Fonds für Kulturen der neuen Stadtgesellschaft, n.d.).

As one of the most influential public funding institutions, it is encouraging that the *KSB* acknowledges structural exclusion within cultural institutions and promotes diversity-oriented perspectives through a training programme and various workshops for the employees of endowed theatres in addition to financing a diversity agent position within these institutions. However, it is not only controversial to position one person as "the voice" "'speaking for' the many who

are excluded or marginalised from access to the means of representation" (Julien & Mercer, 1996, p. 455), it is also unrealistic to expect a diversity agent to deal with long-established ideas, reflexes, institutional, structural, and aesthetical perceptions. This runs the risk of symbolic representation, which tends to conceal the core problems of the power structure within institutions (Canyürek, 2019b).

In a similar vein, systemic change entails supporting strategies for the acceptance and validation of diverse aesthetics outside the European/Western canon. Borrowing from Bourdieu (1993b), the diversification of personnel, programming, and audience is inherently conditioned by the embedded habitus of the actors in the public theatre field. In the absence of a clear vision and plans to tackle the redistribution of power, such incentive programmes remain conciliatory measures that rather focus on diversity management, masking the basis of unequal access conditions to theatre for all.

5.2 The Performing Arts Fund and the *Homebase* Programme (2016)

The Performing Arts Fund (*Fonds Darstellende Künste*) was established in 1985, and it supports the independent theatre and dance scene in Germany. The fund's main objective is to contribute to the further development of a diverse independent performing arts field. It is designated not only as a funding agency but also a service and consulting partner of independent artists and ensembles (Fonds Darstellende Künste, 2016, p. 11).

The fund operates as a mediator; it brings representatives of public cultural policy and artists together to improve the framework conditions of the independent scene. With the aim of supporting knowledge exchange and discussing the future of German performing arts regarding cultural policy, funding structures, and independent productions, it organises public symposiums and the *Bundesforum* (Federal Forum) together with the *BFDK*.

Furthermore, since 2010 the Performing Arts Fund has annually honoured experimental formats of independent artists and ensembles through the Tabori Award[3]. The award supports the visibility of innovative aesthetical approaches that contribute to the development of the independent scene.

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3 The Tabori Award is a tribute to George Tabori, a well-known theatre director, dramaturge, and writer, who challenged the borders between theatre-making in the independent and public theatre in German-speaking countries. He was forced into exile by the Third Reich and returned to West Berlin in 1971. He directed for the *Berliner Ensemble* and other German and Austrian theatres. The Tabori Award is the utmost nationwide recognition for the performing arts; with this award the Performing Arts Fund honours groups that have demonstrated excellence in continuously developing a unique format (Schneider, 2019a, p. 7).

The Performing Arts Fund offers three funding opportunities for professional ensembles in addition to special incentive programmes. The three main programmes are:

1. Projects Programme: This programme supports nationally exemplary individual projects and productions that primarily address socially relevant subjects, develop remarkable artistic/aesthetical formats, or represent a theatre of a future society through their participatory and interactive approaches to the audience.
2. Initial Projects Programme: This programme is concerned with promoting non-result-oriented projects of artists, ensembles, and collectives who have been working in the German independent performing arts scene over a long period of time. The subsidy supports various research projects, experimental artistic content, and new forms of cooperation.
3. Concept Projects Programme: This programme promotes three-year concepts (either three new productions or two new productions and a strategic/organisational project). It aims to motivate artist groups to stabilise the existing development in the aesthetical discovery of form, and to create sustainable cooperation in support, production, and guest performance networks (Fonds Darstellende Künste, 2019, pp. 4–7).

In recent years, intercultural dialogue has become a widely used concept as an alternative to integration-oriented policy measures (see Chapter 3). In contrast to integration, intercultural dialogue disavows the superiority of mainstream culture; it focuses on a mutual exchange of ideas. Around the time many cultural policies started to employ the concept of intercultural dialogue, the Performing Arts Fund established the programme *Homebase* pertaining to the lasting effect of immigration on German society.

5.2.1 Intercultural Dialogue and Exchange in the Independent Theatre Scene

Continuing to engage with relevant social and urban subjects, in 2016, the *BKM* provided an additional incentive to the Performing Arts Fund to launch *Homebase – Theatre for the Coming Society.* In context of the culturally diverse German society, *Homebase* focused on searching for new narratives and artistic forms that question the conventional understanding of (national) identity. A quote from the Performing Arts Fund's website reads:

> The aim of the programme is to support the creation of new, identity-generating narratives for the coming society with the resources of the theatre. On the one

> hand, the term HOMEBASE literally stands for the starting point of a search, on the other hand as a placeholder for contemporary, changing forms and practices of home. (n.d.)

Homebase specifically supported projects that pursued a dialogue-oriented intercultural approach (Fonds Darstellende Künste, n.d.). This subsidiary fund financed not only theatre productions but also project-preparing research and conceptual phases. Through intercultural dialogue and exchange between artists with and without migration and displacement experiences, *Homebase* focused on matters related to immigration and engaged with the desideratum of the future theatre (Fonds Darstellende Künste, n.d.). In an attempt to envision the independent performing arts scene as a space of ongoing renegotiation, the programme could be a step towards thinking beyond the current perception of identity, artistic quality, and theatre-making.

Especially with the arrival of refugees in Germany from 2010 onwards, many intercultural funding schemes have been inaugurated to promote dialogue between diverse (cultural) identities. However, intercultural work was often understood as projects aiming to establish a dialogue between the majority society and "immigrant cultures". The underlying belief in introducing intercultural dialogue is that bringing people from various ethnic origins together facilitates overcoming prejudice. In this line of thought, people seeking refuge or people with a "migrant background" are perceived as representatives of some ethnic communities and not as individuals. This dialogue-based approach dismisses the individual aspects of identity and treats community identity as a fixed notion, not open to negotiation (James, 2008, p. 3).

In this context, the perception of the Performing Arts Fund on intercultural work is notably different from the majority of public policy and funding institutions. The Managing Director of the Fund, Holger Bergmann elucidates what interculturalism means for them:

> Perhaps the name of the grant tells us what "intercultural" means for the *Fonds Darstellende Künste*. It means the place where you are, where you live, where you do your artistic work. It does not mean where you come from. It does not mean homeland. It does not mean integrating into another culture. *Homebase* was concerned with the concept of identity and belonging. We do not see identity in terms of nationality, ethnicity, or race. Identity is more complex than that. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

Through artistic interaction, the fund targeted enabling aesthetical development, cooperation, and networking between artists, with the goal of contributing to a future-oriented vision of theatre. However, this goal was not followed by continuous efforts to pin down the requirements of a liberal performing arts

scene that deals with historically rooted inequal access opportunities to artistic production.

5.2.2 Artistic Approaches to Displacement, Identity, and Homeland

In order to develop new narratives and artistic formats around diversity, *Homebase* supported 27 interdisciplinary projects, 10 productions, and 17 research projects. Endowed artists and ensembles created projects that questioned the often-debated concepts such as identity, belonging, and homeland in a society marked by immigration. Bergmann explains the diversity approach of *Homebase*:

> We focused on new stories and artistic formats that reflect demographic changes and diversity. Strengthening social cohesion and peace-making is usually what politicians and policy institutions aim to achieve. We do not. We are interested in the complexity of diversity, diverse approaches, visions, and ideas. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

The productions and research projects reflected the issues that are part of the political discussions regarding cultural diversity. Racism, discrimination, exclusion, border-crossing experiences, asylum rights, colonialism, identity, origin and belonging, the role of cultural differences regarding inclusion and exclusion of immigrants, and asymmetric power relations were the primary areas addressed by the project owners.

Homebase was concerned with furthering artistic responses with the aim of combating existing cultural attributions and classifications and fostering the emancipation of refugee and immigrant artists. A common approach in diversity and intercultural funding programmes is to promote productions that intend to "empower" immigrants and refugees. However, in exchange and dialogue-oriented projects, the form of this empowerment is often defined by White German theatre-makers. In such projects, the unbalanced power structure reveals itself in the creation of productions. Immigrant and refugee artists are "given space" to articulate their experiences; yet they are not involved in the phases of decision-making.

In contrast, "the empowerment concept aims at creating equitable distribution and democratic participation (i.e., at strengthening the involvement of citizens in decision-making processes)" (Sharifi, 2017, p. 381). In this context, *Homebase* endeavoured to promote projects in which production and research processes included all parties involved. The objective was "to provide an atmosphere for artists to plan and create together, not only during *Homebase*, but to continue to work together afterwards" (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019).

The Performing Arts Fund perceives the arts in context of their societal relevance: their ability to accommodate cultural diversity. Here, the question of

who decides what should be supported is an essential aspect of addressing diversity with the means of art:

> Our understanding of art is different from the traditional way of thinking about it. It is important for us how a piece of art connects to society. Our selection of jury members also reflects what we understand from our society. The jury for *Homebase* consisted of people with various cultural backgrounds who are either linked to the science of theatre, production houses, or are artists. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

Regarding artistic quality, many funding programmes vaguely define the criteria, often referring to "innovative" projects that meet the requirement of "artistic excellence". Often a White German jury – with unclear funding guidelines and a non-transparent process – determines which projects to promote. The *Homebase* jury comprised diverse members and critical approaches; namely Ute Kahmann, Dr Joy Kristin Kalu, Sabine Gehm, Dr Azadeh Sharifi, Dr Frauke Surmann, Tamina Theiß, and Margarita Tsomou. Their project selection demonstrated the perspective of the Performing Arts Fund on dialogue and exchange:

> The first criterion was the quality of the idea. The second was the motivation to create the project. We were interested in the vision. Another was whether the applicants worked together before or this was only one-time cooperation. Was the project meant to be planned and created together? How were the refugee and immigrant artists included in the projects? Was the collaboration at the *Augenhöhe* [eye level]? These were the aspects discussed by the jury. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

Homebase gave particular importance to artistic cooperation between established ensembles and artists with migration and refuge experiences. *Migrantpolitan* is a remarkable example of such a platform subsidised by the fund. Curator Anas Aboura co-founded *Migrantpolitan* to enable refugee artists to realise self-managed cultural and art projects. Under this label, artists produce different projects such as *oriental karaoke*, *dabke*, *diasporic sounds*, *still alive*, the TV show *hallo Deutschland*, and organise various cultural activities at *Kampnagel* in Hamburg. *Migrantpolitan* started as a project in 2013 at *Kampnagel*, as part of a summer festival (A. Aboura, personal communication, October 11, 2018). Later, it evolved into a laboratory for experimenting with new artistic forms. Aboura describes the project as a meeting point, a community-based cultural platform:

> *Migrantpolitan* is not only a space: it is a community; it is an atmosphere and an attitude. We have *Migrantpolitan* as a physical space, in the garden of *Kampnagel*. It is a wooden house which is not that big in terms of size, around 78 square metres. There, we have lots of activities, events, workshops. Sometimes we just

> chill out, sometimes there are panel discussions. We watch films, football games, or sometimes we listen to music, organise jam sessions, and our theatre group rehearses there. It is a multifunctional space, open to everyone. (A. Aboura, personal communication, October 11, 2018)

Kampnagel is not involved in the staging of productions; however, it provides funding, PR, marketing support, and so on. According to the initiator of the label, in terms of funding, "without *Kampnagel*, *Migrantpolitan* as a platform would not exist; it would not survive" (A. Aboura, personal communication, October 11, 2018). In that respect, *Homebase* brought official recognition and more visibility to *Migrantpolitan*.

In another collaboration project, theatre director Julia Wissert together with the *Akademie der Autodidakten* at *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* questioned the different dimensions of identity, such as gender, homeland, and race.[4] In this biographical and artistic research, the artists displayed their own experiences as representations of being in-between. They examined how multiple identities are shaped and experienced, and what these cosmopolitan and multi-political experiences mean for them as cultural professionals (Fonds Darstellende Künste, n.d.). By reframing various categories of difference, the research workshop dealt with reductive and essentialist markers of identity and experiences.

Another endowed project was realised by *geheimagentur* (secret agency), an artistic activist initiative, artistic experiment, and open collective in Hamburg that works anonymously. Anyone who has taken part in at least two *geheimagentur* projects earns the right to pursue their own projects under the label of *geheimagentur*. They describe themselves as "a practical exercise in the art of being many" (geheimagentur, 2016). This performance network combines theatre with civic action. *Geheimagentur*'s performances take a critical stance toward the "reality" engendered by polity and other mainstream actors. Hence, they produce fictional situations and institutions offering an alternative reality (geheimagentur, 2016). In these interventions in urban spaces, participants are not passive viewers; they

4 *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* is an independent theatre, established by Shermin Langhoff in 2008 in Berlin's immigrant district Kreuzberg. The ensemble explicitly focuses on subjects of migration and refers to themselves as a "post-migrant" theatre. The artistic workforce of *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* was mostly born in Germany or came to Germany at a young age and thus grew up in German society, and studied directing or acting at German drama schools (Sharifi, 2011a, p. 39). Post-migrant theatre mainly deals with issues of identity, belonging, equality, participation, integration, discrimination, religion, and education. The *Akademie der Autodidakten* at *Ballhaus Naunynstraße* supports the cultural self-empowerment of people aged 16 to 27 to motivate them to participate in culture and democracy, and improve their intellectual and social skills (Kubinaut, n.d.). Racialised immigrants such as Black people, POC, and queer people offer access to self-development and professionalisation to young participants.

become part of the performances. In their *Homebase* subsidised project *Checkpoint München*, *geheimagentur* built a checkpoint symbolising a border crossing, to create an encounter between the "host" and resettled communities in the centre of Munich. By this novel approach, the performers questioned the meaning of freedom in an age where fear of terrorism is normalised, to point out how an increased need for maintaining security furthers mutual alienation, a lack of empathy, and potential hostility (geheimagentur, 2016).

In 2018, both *Migrantpolitan* and *geheimagentur* were nominated for the Tabori Award in various categories.

5.2.3 Networking with Artists Seeking Refuge

Homebase illustrated that it is equally essential to support research in order to identify the obstacles and needs for achieving a pluralistic theatre realm. The programme identified the main struggles of artists who recently fled to Germany. In this regard, one research project, in particular, indicated forming an artistic network as crucial for artists seeking refuge.

In this research project, Nina de la Chevallerie, one of the co-founders of the theatre initiative *boat people projekt*, together with Rzgar Khalil conducted interviews with freelance artists in exile living in Lower Saxony. With this project, they aimed to initiate an artistic network in the region. Rzgar Khalil is an artist seeking refuge himself, who fled from Syria to Iraq and arrived in Germany in 2014. Since 2016, he has been working as a freelance actor and dramaturge. The two of them carried out a four-month project that included interviews with 17 networkers and 33 artists in exile in the field of performing arts, 90% of which were from Iraq and Syria (de la Chevallerie & Khalil, 2017); 20% of the interviewees were women, aged 22–40, about 25% of them had an academic degree in an artistic profession, and 75% were autodidacts and cultural activists – there was often no access to such training in the country of origin (de la Chevallerie & Khalil, 2017). According to the report of the conducted research, the challenges of working as artists in Germany identified by the respondents were:

- the language barrier that reduces the possibilities of encounter since artists seeking refuge do not speak German at the desired level,
- no access to sufficient information about the local cultural landscape and funding opportunities for freelance artists in exile, nor further professionalisation opportunities in the artistic profession as they do not know where to seek information,
- not being paid at all or being paid inadequately during cooperation with German cultural and artistic initiatives, and often being subject to

stigmatisation as "refugee artists" and instrumentalisation of their tragic experiences by their cooperation partners, and
- not having sufficient opportunities for creative exchange with each other or with German colleagues.

After *Homebase*, de la Chevallerie continued working on networking, bringing theatre ensembles and artists seeking refuge together. Towards the end of 2017, *boat people projekt* together with the *Landesverband Freier Theater Niedersachsen* (*LaFT*; State Association of Independent Theatres of Lower Saxony) and the *Bundesakademie für Kulturelle Bildung Wolfenbüttel* (Federal Academy for Cultural Education Wolfenbüttel) organised a meeting titled *New Connections*. The participating artists and theatre groups focused on establishing a platform for sharing know-how, exchanging ideas, enabling networking, and developing joint projects (Bundesakademie für Kulturelle Bildung Wolfenbüttel, 2018).[5]

This research demonstrated that, in a country of resettlement, accessing information and networking is vital for artists seeking refuge. It also confirmed what the policies promoting the inclusion of these artists into the cultural sphere are lacking in. Cultural policies and their funding instruments mainly focus on the development of projects for/with/by refugees but do not pay enough attention to identifying structural requirements and introducing strategies and support schemes coherent with these needs (Canyürek, 2020). The mentioned research provides a basis for raising the question of whether governmental bodies only seek to offer temporary solutions, despite forced migration being omnipresent and one of the leading debates of German political discourse. Approaching forced displacement solely through project-based temporary support at the very least raises doubts about the ability of policymakers to comprehend the complexity of migration and the ramifications of migratory processes.

5.2.4 Theatre for the Coming Society

The Performing Arts Fund's perception of diversity is promising, especially considering many other examples that only aim at reaching immigrants as audiences. The fund, through *Homebase*, without disregarding various dimensions of the identities of artists or their cultural differences, aspired to meditate on the requirements of a future-oriented theatre. The idea of intercultural dialogue and exchange adopted by the programme provides insights into the potentiality of artistic interaction between cultural professionals to make a change in the established understanding of theatre and performance. In this sense, *Homebase* did not regard culture as "ours" and "theirs". This view is distinctively dissimilar to

5 For more information about *New Connections*, see Section 6.2.3.

the approaches that imagine cultures as separated. It corresponds to the idea that all cultures exist interculturally (McDonald, 2011), since it does not treat culture as a fixed entity. Similarly, for the managing director of the Performing Arts Fund, theatre has a responsibility to deal with the realities of this de facto intercultural society:

> We should recognise that German culture is intercultural. We should, therefore, deal with the question of how theatres should engage with this intercultural society. So, we should continue discussing the requirements of the theatre for the coming society. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

In terms of valuing diversity and the plurality of expressions and their articulations, the approach of *Homebase* was refreshing. However, the shortcoming of this programme was limiting its focus to only one year. Bergmann agrees that such a limited period for a programme with an ambitious objective was not sufficient. However, he offers a different perspective on additional incentives:

> We intended to facilitate a project for the new generation. One year is not enough for this. Personally, I do not like the idea of a special funding programme for migration or diversity. We do not need programmes like *Homebase*. Diversity is our reality, and it should be understood as the norm of our society. I think we should develop our way of thinking in this direction. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

Bergmann's statement illustrates the inconsistency between the diversity perspective of the Performing Arts Fund and the act of setting up a non-structural, temporary funding scheme. He elaborates on where the contradiction stems from. His explanation of how *Homebase* was established reveals the interference of policymaking into the performing arts scene and the influence of decision-making bodies setting an agenda for "promoting diversity":

> The programme was the idea of *BKM*. Around 2015, many refugees arrived in Germany. So, the *BKM* wanted to establish a particular programme for refugee artists. We do not like to approach immigration as a separate subject. If you look at our funding options, you see that everyone can apply for short-term or concept-based, long-term funding. (…) In an immigrant country, we do not need programmes that only focus on migration. In terms of budget, we need the support of *BKM*. When they came up with the idea to make a special programme for refugees, we established this programme. But it was shaped based on our vision and understanding of identity, dialogue, and exchange. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

This strong involvement of the political dimension of policy confirms the cultural diversity dispositive claim of this research. Policymakers employ specific

instruments to implement the choices of political power, as argued in this study. The example of *Homebase* illustrates how firmly decisive the perspective of cultural politics is on the plans promoting diversity. As in this programme, a particular funding scheme was introduced to respond to the urgency of the inclusion of refugee artists into the performing arts scene as part of the cultural diversity dispositive.

Nonetheless, *Homebase* served as a learning experience for the Performing Arts Fund. According to Bergmann, initial funding supported research and planning phases, inspired by *Homebase* (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019). However, the programme was not followed by actions that would enhance the development of a network for further cooperation between artists seeking refuge and theatre-makers of the independent scene. That being the case, what did one more funding programme promoting a theatre concept for future generations achieve? Bergmann states that "the name of '*Homebase* – Theatre for a Coming Society' was formulated more as a question than an answer to think about together" (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019).

Undoubtedly, the Performing Arts Fund has been continuously investing in the development of a diverse independent performing arts scene. It engages with the demands of a heterogeneous theatre landscape searching for new artistic and aesthetical forms as well as new narratives. With the participation of diverse stakeholders, it explores the possible ways of making theatre relevant for the broader society.

In 2017, the Performing Arts Fund together with the *BFDK* initiated *Bundesforum* as a platform for exchange and dialogue to establish an "alliance for independently producing performing arts" (Bundesverband Freie Darstellende Künste & Fonds Darstellende Künste, 2018). The first forum mainly focused on the funding scheme and finding ways to join forces against acute problems. The contemporary discourse on funding, as stressed by the participants, ranged from the promotion of new aesthetics and artistic research, strengthening cross-border cooperation, and fostering a nationwide network of alliances and collaborations, to digitalisation and archiving for preserving cultural memory (Canyürek, 2017). Participants of the meeting identified structural issues in the system that needed to be addressed in order to accomplish an inclusive theatre domain. Although a demand for promoting a diverse theatre landscape was expressed, it mainly meant diversity in terms of forms and disciplines; plurality did not include immigration-generated diversity (Canyürek, 2017). Similarly, in the second meeting in 2019, policymakers, artists, and performing arts initiatives discussed ways of reinforcing funding structures and production conditions in the independently producing performing arts (Bundesverband Freie Darstellende Künste & Fonds Darstellende Künste, 2019) without reflecting on access barriers for excluded artists such as immigrants. The stimulation of exchanging ideas and further strengthening the existing initiatives,

funding instruments, and institutions nationwide towards forming an alliance (Bundesverband Freie Darstellende Künste & Fonds Darstellende Künste, 2019) did not include non-White German cultural professionals as partners in the dialogue.

Theatre policy is not only about funding; it must be designed as a question of content, not of budget (Schneider, 2017b, p. 4). On that account, developing strategies for articulating diverse artistic expressions is an indispensable part of the discussions around the future of theatre. As Bergmann expresses, a future-concerned theatre landscape should mirror a plural society:

> We need to work on how we can create diverse ensembles. Theatre for future generations should deal with this question. For young generations, it is normal to grow up in an immigrant society, to hear different languages and to have friends from different cultural backgrounds. Theatres should also understand this reality and ask themselves what they are doing to reflect it, what they are doing for this multicultural society. To be relevant for future generations, they should try and answer these questions. (H. Bergmann, personal communication, May 28, 2019)

Accordingly, commitment to diversity is an ongoing task that requires investing in the process rather than short-term incentive programmes. A key cultural policy actor that supports new artistic perspectives for a plural theatre scene for new generations should offer a clear agenda with a long-term strategy that also addresses inequalities concerning immigration-related diversity. As *Homebase* demonstrated, cultural policy actors should develop plans focusing on encounters between and networking among artists with and without migration and displacement experiences, but with the long-term goal of reconceptualising theatre as the self-image of society.

5.3 The Socio-Culture Fund (2009–2019)

For a better comprehension of how the Socio-Culture Fund promotes cultural participation, one should first probe into the founding motivation of the institution. The idea of "more culture for more people" is at the foreground of the fund's perspective on cultural diversity. Hence, a brief glance into what socio-culture (*Soziokultur*) means is essential for determining what concepts are currently implemented to reinforce its political claim of supporting the self-reflection of a diverse society.

Socio-culture emerged as a concept to prompt efforts towards the democratisation of culture as part of the "New Cultural Policy"[6] from the

6 New Cultural Policy refers to cultural policy concepts that were formulated in West Germany in the 1970s, primarily by local liberal cultural policymakers such as Hermann Glaser, Hilmar

early 1970s onwards. Demands of *Bürgerrecht Kultur* (civil rights culture; Glaser & Stahl, 1974) and *Kultur für alle* (culture for all; Hoffmann, 1979) delineate the main features of a policy concerned with the idea of an accessible cultural life for many. Socio-culture originally referred to a cultural policy notion based on "civil rights culture" with the values of the Enlightenment and German idealism, which formed the grounds of a normative claim of a democratic society through cultural and aesthetical education and artistic appropriation for all (Wagner, 2008, p. 33). Since the turn of the 2000s, socio-culture is understood primarily as a participation-oriented cultural practice, which includes elements of youth, social, environmental, and educational work, among others (Knoblich, 2007). By and large, socio-culture can be seen as a central concept in the claim of a changed cultural policy and "reprogramming", which stands for new forms of cultural planning and cultural mediation, discourse, and the active shaping of society (Knoblich, 2018, p. 55).

The motto "culture for all" has been a vital component of socio-culture practice when dealing with the social function of the arts and culture. For Schneider, what was located at the basis of culture for all were the governance of cultural policy, organisation of participation, production of publicity, and democratisation of the arts, which are to this day – from a cultural-political perspective – the underlying principles of a relevant theoretical approach (2010, pp. 11–12).

The establishment of the Socio-Culture Fund is linked to new developments in the cultural politics and policy field. The demand for the liberalisation of the cultural sphere was followed by the process of opening the closed cosmos of the arts and culture to the broader society and enabling more people to engage in cultural activities. With this aim, in 1981, the *KuPoGe* founded the *Deutscher Kulturrat* (German Cultural Council), which operated within the *Rat für Soziokultur* (Council for Socio-Culture); then, the term "socio-culture" became a distinct field of cultural-political discourse, and the council utilised the inauguration of the Socio-Culture Fund (Blumenreich et al., 2019, p. 6).

Founded in 1987, the fund started giving grants a year later. Norbert Sievers, former managing director of the *KuPoGe* and the Socio-Culture Fund, states that socio-culture has always defined itself politically, not only in terms of its socio-political content but also concerning the assertion of its interests, articulation of its claims, and development of infrastructures (2014, p. 13).

Hoffmann, and Olaf Schwencke (Sievers, 2019a, p. 27). The "new" primarily refers to the aspiration to bring society and culture together in a political context (Schneider, 2010). Hence, the reform programme pertained to the reconceptualisation of a democratic cultural policy which strove for access to and participation in culture for all. New Cultural Policy aimed to connect art and everyday life in order to overcome the separation between actors and audiences (Sievers, 2014, p. 15). The theoretical basis of the New Cultural Policy is still an important reference point for the demands of socio-culture practice (Wingert, 2019, p. 53).

The political aspirations of the fund are palpable in its interpretation of culture and its cultural policy perspective. Cultural policy is understood as an instrument for supporting non-conventional mediums and forms of art and developing strategies to facilitate the involvement of artistic expressions of civil society enabling the creation of versions of culture. The President of the *KuPoGe*, Tobias Knoblich, summaries the distinctive features of socio-culture by this definition, provided by Norbert Sievers and Bernd Wagner:

- concept of culture: expanding the traditional understanding of culture and artistic production,
- concept of cultural policy: seeing policy not only as the promotion of the arts but rather fostering access to and participation in culture by forming a structure between the mediums of art, culture, and everyday life,
- concept of cultural practice: understanding cultural work oriented towards the objectives of "culture for all" and "culture of all"; including the fields of youth, social, leisure, and education created by civil society organisations and initiatives as areas of cultural practice (Sievers & Wagner, 1992, as cited in Knoblich, 2018, p. 54).

The Socio-Culture Fund is focused on supporting individual projects and schemes as well as structurally stabilising and developing the socio-culture scene (Sievers & Kröger, 2014, p. 38). The subsidy strategy of the institution is characterised by non-structural, short-term project funding, which encourages the participation of civil society actors in the cultural sphere and production processes. Hence, its funding policy is seen as an additional support promoting goal-oriented, concept-based, and context-related projects and plans, with the aim of providing impulses and encouraging cooperation (Sievers & Kröger, 2014, p. 38). In this regard, Sievers describes the socio-culture practice as "a think tank for new methods and formats of cultural work which are often temporary, related to current situations, location-bound and participatory; driven by the values of self-realisation, self-development and self-empowerment" (2019a, p. 49).

The conception of this strategy is manifested in the funding criteria of the institution. The ambitious funding principles seek to promote innovative, exemplary, structure-oriented, and cooperative projects:

- exceptionally innovative cultural projects that strengthen the importance of socio-culture for cultural development in Germany and Europe (promotion of innovation),
- exemplary projects that provide impulses for the development of socio-cultural concepts, e.g., in the educational and social sector and/or those that represent a response to current social and economic problems (impulse promotion),

- initiatives for the creation of long-term structures in cultural work through consultation, qualification, documentation, and networking, usually at a supraregional level (structural support), and
- measures promoting regional, national, and European cooperation in the cultural sector for pooling resources and facilitating synergy effects (promotion of cooperation; Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 324; Sievers & Kröger, 2014, p. 39).

In the final report of the *Enquete-Kommission*, the Socio-Culture Fund was recognised as a crucial federal institution supporting a wide range of cultural projects and actors that "develop something new, unusual, and surprising, off the beaten track in the cultural sector" (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 323). Hence, the commission recommended that "the federal government should increase the budget of the Socio-Culture Fund by at least 25%, particularly for the support of projects in the intercultural field" (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 137).

Based on these areas of concern, the Socio-Culture Fund designates three funding grants aimed at reaching different target groups, namely: general project funding, *U25* (cultural projects by young people), and *Jonge Kunst* (which supports transnational German-Dutch cultural cooperation). Additionally, the Innovation Award (*Innovationspreis*) is granted for good practices addressing present-day social matters.

The following subsections analyse how the fund's mission responds to immigration-related diversity and, accordingly, how this conceptual approach is put into practice through funding instruments promoting subjects related to migration and displacement. In this analysis, interculturality and transculturality are distinguished as fundamental concepts related to cultural diversity.[7]

5.3.1 Interculture as a Primary Thematic Focus

From the early days of its establishment, the Socio-Culture Fund has promoted projects with features of interculturality. Between 1997 and 2013, such projects made up 18% of the total endowed projects (Blumenreich & Sievers, 2014, p. 44) and from 2009 to 2013, an average of 30% of the funded projects had an intercultural component (Blumenreich & Sievers, 2014, p. 45).

Ulrike Blumenreich and Norbert Sievers state that "interculturality has been one of the primary aspects of the funding policy of the institution long before cultural policy addressed this topic" (2014, p. 45). Lately, with the arrival of refugees in Germany, themes of displacement have become an integral part of the thematic

7 Both the Socio-Culture Fund and the *IfK* use the terms "interculturality" and "transculturality" instead of the form containing the suffix "-ism".

focus of the fund (Sievers, 2019b, p. 6). As shown in Table 1, the increase in support for projects considered as intercultural, especially starting from 2013, confirms the claim of the fund.

Table 1: Percentage of promoted intercultural projects between 2009 and 2015

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total funded projects	96	103	94	94	134	103	107
Intercultural projects	28	25	28	17	64	35	48
Intercultural projects (%)	29.2	24.3	29.8	18.1	47.8	34.0	44.9

(Blumenreich & Sievers 2014, p. 47; Sievers 2016, p. 4)

In various evaluation reports and research papers of the Socio-Culture Fund, interculturality and transculturality are employed as interchangeable terms. Both are mentioned as concepts promoting cultural diversity, and understood as fundamental characteristics of socio-culture practice (Sievers, 2019b, p. 6).[8] This particular concentration on intercultural and transcultural projects is reflected in the subsidy scheme between 2016 and 2018.

Table 2: Percentage of promoted intercultural and refugee projects between 2016 and 2018

Year	2016	2017	2018
Total funded projects	135	106	97
Intercultural projects	85	55	39
Intercultural projects (%)	63.0	51.9	40.2
Projects on refuge and refugees	71	29	22
Projects on refuge and refugees (%)	52.6	27.4	22.7

(Sievers, 2019b, p. 5)

The statistics on the promotion of intercultural and refugee projects shown in Table 2 illustrate two significant facts. Firstly, they point out a gradual decline in financial support for these projects from 2016 to 2018, although the content relevance of immigration, refugees, and displacement remains the same. However, supporting projects for/with/by refugees is consistent with the objectives of the fund's subsidy policy. Secondly, these figures demonstrate the constructed intersectional connection between interculturality and refugee projects. In this perspective, most of the projects addressing forced migration and refugees were

8 In the text, Sievers refers to intercultural projects submitted and funded in 2018 as projects with inter/transcultural reference (2019b, p. 6).

recognised as intercultural work. Only around 10% of the intercultural projects were related to subjects other than displacement and refugees.

Although the Socio-Culture Fund prioritises intercultural projects, it did not provide a working definition of interculturality until 2019. That being the case, it is enlightening how the actors of the fund use the term. Often the concept of interculturality and refugees are paired up (corresponding to the data in Table 2) when referring to intercultural projects:

> The additional incentives the fund received in 2016 for refugee projects were surely well "invested", and we hope that the recommendation of the *Enquete-Kommission* in "*Kultur in Deutschland*" from 2007 to increase the budget of the Socio-Culture Fund by 25% in order to support more intercultural projects will be adopted. (Sievers, 2016, p. 7)

Furthermore, the inclusive role of intercultural projects is emphasised regarding refugees. This factor attests to intercultural projects becoming one of the funding priorities of the institution. Eichler confirms that "today, in the context of refuge and integration, intercultural projects play a central role in the funding practice of the Socio-Culture Fund" (2018a, p. 2). Hence, the fund continuously supports intercultural and transcultural projects. In contrast to other national cultural policy actors, it regularly evaluates the endowed projects on their effectiveness, based on concrete criteria derived from current conceptual perspectives.

5.3.2 Conceptualisation of Interculturality and Transculturality

In order to identify exemplary methods and formats on various subjects, systematise the structure of project funding, and provide knowledge on good practices related to the areas of interest, between 2017 and 2018, the *Institut für Kulturpolitik* (*IfK*; Institute for Cultural Policy) carried out a research project for the Socio-Culture Fund (Blumenreich et al., 2019). The research of the *IfK* reflects on both the funding approach and diversity frame of the fund.

This research project is one of the rare examples of a methodological tool aiming to present various practical models for the field of socio-culture. According to Sievers, the research identified about 20 methodological approaches and 80 models that were not intended as predetermined classifications or definitions, but instead instruments to assist the actors of socio-culture practice (2019c, p. 10). This study examines the mentioned research project to illustrate the intercultural and transcultural perspective of the fund and the consistency of these conceptualisations with the fund's primary objectives.

Similarly, as in the case of *Homebase* of the Performing Arts Fund, the *BKM* was involved in decision-making regarding subject priorities for the research. According to the research team, thematic focuses were determined by their

relevance and concerns expressed by the *BKM* (Sievers & Blumenreich, 2019, p. 15). The researchers explain that for 2017, the focus was on intercultural projects, refugee work (*Flüchtlingsarbeit*), cultural education, and cultural work in rural areas, and in 2018, history and remembrance as well as other cultural projects in rural areas, which were all realised between 2000 and 2017 (Wingert et al., 2019, p. 77). Among the selected 179 projects of four thematic fields, 56 projects addressed interculture/refugees (Sievers & Blumenreich, 2019, pp. 15–16), making 31.3% of the total considered projects.[9]

The fact that projects made for/with/by refugees take up the largest share in the survey composition illustrates the obvious. Like many other cultural funding institutions, the Socio-Culture Fund promotes projects devoted to refugees and forced migration after the arrival of refugees in Germany. These projects were subsidised not only as intercultural works but under the umbrella concept of transculturality. The number of applications and funding figures in 2015 provides useful insight into the increase in interest and support for transcultural projects linked to refugees:

> In the first half of 2015, about one in four transcultural projects was dedicated to the topic of refugees, whereas in the second half, this was the case in more than a third of the project applications. (…) The corresponding subsidy rate also increased sharply. While in the first half of 2015, 9 out of a total of 42 funded projects (21.4%) dealt with refugee subjects, and in the second half, this figure rose to 13 (32.5%) of a total of 40 funded projects. (Kussauer, 2015, p. 70)

However, in the *Jahresbericht des Fonds Soziokultur* (Annual Report of the Socio-Culture Fund 2016) the *IfK* classified these as intercultural projects (as shown in Table 1). A few years later, in the mentioned research, the same projects are considered transcultural work. Throughout the report, interculturality and transculturality are used interchangeably. The researchers mention, in various chapters, terms such as "refugee work and interculture" (Kröger, 2019, p. 137), "intercultural (refugee) projects" (Sievers & Blumenreich, 2019, p. 15), "transcultural (refugee) work" (Pilić, 2019, p. 43; Sievers & Blumenreich, 2019, p. 15), and "interculture/transculture/refugees" (Kröger et al., 2019, p. 135).

Combining both terms with refugees indicates the connection the *IfK* detected between the impact of societal challenges on society and the cultural conflict of diverse identities:

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9 The distribution of other examined areas comprised: 34 projects of memory/history work (19%), 48 projects of culture in rural areas (26.8%), 41 projects of cultural education (22.9%; Sievers & Blumenreich, 2019, p. 16).

> Inter- and transculturality, inclusion, homeland, and civic engagement are the current motives or even intentions of socio-cultural project work and, obviously, these are fields of permanent negotiation of cultural identities and collective values, and they ultimately also affect social cohesion. (Wingert et al., 2019, p. 77)

Interculturality and transculturality are considered concepts for the social and artistic contribution to a participative society and a collective future. The use of these terms illustrates how the fund addresses cultural diversity and who the subject of diversity-oriented funding structures is. Both concepts are seen as measures to confront the social formation of otherness (Pilić, 2019). Hence, intercultural and transcultural projects are understood as steps towards opening a dialogue and negotiation process. The provided definitions clarify the link constructed between interculturality/transculturality and refugees. The *IfK* points out that despite their similarities in theory and practice, interculturality and transculturality are distinguishable in terms of their conceptual approach to difference (Pilić, 2019, p. 44).

The transcultural paradigm is applied by many disciplines, offering various definitions and interpretations depending on the requirements of the field (König & Rakow, 2016). Among those perspectives, the research group applied the conceptualisation by philosopher Wolfgang Welsh as a theoretical point of reference to identify the difference between interculturality and transculturality:

> Interculturality is based on dialogue and interaction between different, diverse everyday worlds, life concepts, and cultures. Interculture thus initiates a dialogue in motion, which, by reflecting on one's own position, should lead to a mutual understanding between cultures initially regarded as different (Welsch, 2009). Transculturality as a concept, on the other hand, highlights the processes of merging and reshaping different, diverse everyday worlds and (sub)cultures. (Pilić, 2019, p. 44)

The transcultural perspective of Welsch (1999) emphasises the complex system of cosmopolitan and hybrid identities of contemporary societies as a result of the processes of globalisation, migration, and mobility. Welsch offers transculturality as a critical counter-concept for multiculturality and interculturality. In his view, multiculturality and interculturality are similar terms; they derive from a traditional notion that treats cultures as separated and homogeneous spheres (1999, p. 196). For Welsch, transculturality is a response to the dissolution of rigid cultural boundaries between monolithic cultures. In modern societies, both at the societal and individual level, cultures and lifestyles merge; thus, they are intertwined and characterised by cultural hybridisation (Welsch, 1996, pp. 197–199).

Welsch's conceptualisation received broad recognition as well as criticism for its limitations. One of the foremost critiques pointed to the fact that his concept of transculturality focuses on culture but not on difference (Diehm, 2010). The stabilising function of hybridity disregards areas of conflict (Lo & Gilbert, 2002, p. 45) as it tends to underline commonalities. In a similar vein, the idea of the hybridisation of cultures and universalisation of identity carries the risk of levelling out cultural differences (Göhlich et al., 2006). A positive appropriation of hybrid cultures overshadows social inequities, experienced through differences. The claim of "we are all cultural hybrids" (Welsch, 1999, p. 198) neither addresses different living conditions of individuals and their unequal access conditions to transcultural networks (Mecheril & Seukwa, 2006), nor considers whether each individual is willing to embrace cultural hybridity. The fundamental question here is: "Who benefits from transculturality, cultural networking and hybridity and who does not" (Mecheril & Seukwa, 2006, p. 13)?

Melanie Pooch argues that at the macro level "transculturality can function as an additional model to describe cultures and their (co)existence but not every culture is transcultural" (2016, p. 52). Welsch also dismisses various intercultural approaches that regard cultures as fluid, heterogeneous, and intersectional (see Section 3.2 and 3.3 for these intercultural perspectives).

Against this backdrop, the *IfK* employs a combined theoretical approach on interculturality and transculturality for the analysis of the chosen projects. However, the adoption of the transculturality concept by Welsch contradicts various models of the intercultural paradigm and the defined focal point of project evaluation – how projects approach cultural difference. Pilić clarifies that in terms of their implementation within projects, interculturality and transculturality are not opposite, but rather reciprocal concepts (2019, p. 44). Hence, for the research project, both terms were seen as useful in exploring how the examined projects dealt with difference since "in practice, the concept of interculturality simply focuses on different constellations than those of transculturality" (Pilić, 2019, p. 44).

Paradoxically, using interculturality and transculturality together with refugees in the above-mentioned report does not align with the objectives of the research and the Socio-Culture Fund. The *IfK* seeks to analyse how the intercultural and transcultural projects treat the attribution of categories of difference and accordingly develop responses that go beyond cultural boundaries. However, categorisations such as "intercultural (refugee) projects" and "transcultural (refugee) work" unintentionally contribute to the reproduction of labels, which the Socio-Culture Fund fundamentally disavows. These groupings convey the idea of a "refugee identity" as if the legislative term "refugee" indicates a specific community identity of a territory, which is interlinked with displacement, war, and loss of homeland (Canyürek, 2020). Such categorisations do not serve the goal

of "overcoming the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'" (Pilić, 2019, p. 44). Quite the opposite, they underline the political formation of difference. Furthermore, they entail the risk of designating refugees as the sole agencies of intercultural and transcultural negotiation and do not clarify whether refugees are considered individual entities of intercultural and transcultural encounters.

In this formulation, interculturality and transculturality reciprocally signify various forms of interaction. Hence, together, they correspond to various processes of encounter, exchange, and negotiation. However, this approach raises various questions without providing a clarification: Who are the other parties of intercultural and transcultural interaction? How is the position of the "White" Western/European defined in this exchange? To whom are the dynamics of transition ascribed? What is the aim of the dialogical encounter? Is the goal to enhance the cultural integration of refugees, deal with the prejudices of the majority society towards refugees, or create spaces for individuals of diverse cultural affiliations to stimulate artistic impulses for a mutual understanding, respect, and change? In order to search for the answers to these questions, it is vital to delve into the methodological approach and accompanying conceptualisations of the research project.

5.3.3 Assessment Framework for Intercultural and Transcultural Projects

The *IfK* developed well-formulated guidelines for examining the selected 56 projects with intercultural and transcultural features, funded by the Socio-Culture Fund between 2000 and 2018. The evaluation of the projects centred around three principles: (a) how the projects approach difference, (b) whether the projects embrace a critical perspective on discrimination, and (c) what participatory methods are applied by the projects (Pilić, 2019, pp. 44–46). These interrelated factors are indispensable in dealing with the hierarchy between dominant and subordinate stances, dismantling the construction of marginal positions, and involving "the excluded" into the processes of knowledge production and dissemination.

Concerning the three parameters, the below criteria were defined for the analysis of intercultural and transcultural projects, recognising that the two terms were often implemented together:[10]

10 Only in the criteria are immigrants mentioned, for the first time, as one of the subjects of the socio-culture practice. Hence, it is understood that intercultural and transcultural projects address not only refugees but also immigrants.

- Who are the project owners? Who is doing the project, for whom, and with what aim? This question focuses on whether a well-intentioned "for" instead of "with" becomes conceptually sustainable (Sharifi, 2011).
- Is the project team experienced in implementing intercultural/transcultural projects (Pilić & Wiederhold, 2015)?
- How diverse is the composition of the (leading) project team? With regard to "management" versus project participants: Are the familiar privileges, structures, and hierarchies being addressed in the project (Bayer et al., 2017)?
- How and from what point in the process are "immigrants" involved? Are marginalised positions discussed and is self-articulation facilitated? Are immigrants conceptually involved (Cañas, 2015)?
- What is the conceptual approach to difference?
- What forms of artistic expression are included in the project?
- Does the project tend to remain on the level of folkloric performances, or does it target transformation effects and identify new cultural forms of action (Witte, 2013)?
- Does it focus on the process or the final product? How is this emphasis reflected in the selected methods?
- Does the project participation enable multiple voices, and does it overcome traditional patterns of representation?
- How is multilingualism handled (Pilić & Wiederhold, 2015)? Are non-verbal methods being experimented with (Czech & Bacher-Göttfried, 2013)?
- Are participants "both of German and non-German origin unintentionally focused on a certain ethnicity? Are these prejudices or stereotypes made aware of and, if necessary, will they be pointed out by differentiating perspectives" (Witte, 2013, p. 169)? If so, which methods are chosen for decoding prejudices?
- Is public visibility included in the project design? If so, with regard to which target group?
- Is cooperation with established institutions being considered in order to prevent "ethnicisation" as a minority programme (Pilić & Wiederhold, 2015)? (Pilić, 2019, p. 47)

This set of questions firmly outlines a critical diversity perspective, which focuses on removing barriers of social formations in artistic production. Although some are abstract formulations and hard to trace in a project, they still define valid diversity-oriented indicators for the funding programmes of public cultural policy bodies. That being said, it is questionable whether project funding is instrumental and sufficient for achieving the "culture for all" rhetoric, especially concerning the precarious state of the actors of the socio-culture field. The project funding structure inherently supports production processes for a limited time rather than endowing ongoing processes of experimenting, risk-taking, and even failing and

learning from past mistakes. If intercultural and transcultural perspectives are considered new measures of accomplishing a participatory culture, investing in instruments that generate the conditions for it is fundamental.

5.3.4 The Socio-Culture Innovation Award

Since 2003, every two years, the Socio-Culture Fund presents good practices of cultural/artistic initiatives and centres with an Innovation Award. It is an additional incentive for the development of exemplary projects on a particular subject. The primary objectives of the award are to promote active participation, social inclusion, cultural integration, and cultural education (Fonds Soziokultur, n.d.-b). The areas of interest promoted by the Innovation Award provide a clear insight into the cultural-political engagement of the Socio-Culture Fund. The chosen subjects reflect the funding priorities of the institution, including: dialogue between cultures (2003), new media and socio-culture (2005), *Heimat Europa* (2007), searching for traces – making a mark (concerning culture in rural areas; 2009), cultural strategies and social exclusion (2011), inclusion (2013), cultural work beyond metropolises (2015), refuge and refugees (2017), *Heimat* (2019).

Eichler stresses that the Innovation Award was designed to meet the fund's intention of providing impulses, promoting creativity, and encouraging cooperation (2018a, p. 2). Hence, the award is conferred to projects recognised as good practices on a given subject. Both cultural and artistic initiatives, provided they have submitted an application for project funding, can apply for the award; alternatively, the board of trustees can nominate projects that have received funding from the Socio-Culture Fund on the respective subject (Fonds Soziokultur, n.d.-a). Before evaluating the projects, an independent jury reviews the nominated organisations during the production process.

In 2017, the Socio-Culture Fund nominated 14 initiatives on the topic of "refuge and refugees" promoting the active participation of refugees in cultural and social life (Eichler, 2018b). The winner of the main prize was a dance project titled *KorresponDanSe* 2.0. A multimedia theatre project, *Stadt unter dem Meer* (City Under the Sea), won the second prize, and the winner of the third prize was a collage project with elements of music, dance, drama, and poetry, *der weiße Fleck* (The White Spot). All winning projects, using various formats, covered a wide range of concepts, from intercultural dialogue and exchange to dealing with otherness.

The award for projects related to refugees and forced migration is particularly worth mentioning as it demonstrates how the approach of the fund has changed over time regarding simple binary oppositions of "us" and "foreigners". In 2018, the jury evaluated the artistic collaboration of young people from diverse cultural

affiliations as a good practice of cultural integration through intercultural dialogue and exchange:[11]

> The jury believes that the winning projects are good examples of how the integration of refugees into our society can be promoted by combining and artistically implementing both social and cultural dimensions. Artistic and cultural work facilitates encounters and exchange with "foreigners" [emphasis added]. (Fonds Soziokultur, n.d.-b)

This statement makes a precise distinction between local and foreign cultures. Although it is unclear what local culture comprises, the assumption of foreign cultures refers to community cultures attributed to refugees. This view disregards the heterogeneity of diverse community cultures and fails to recognise that there is no fixed notion of culture and certainly no such thing as a "refugee culture". In this context, intercultural dialogue is understood as communication between diverse cultures; through artistic dialogue and exchange, "we" build competencies and skills for acknowledging the cultures of others.

Nevertheless, towards the end of 2018, the jury described the first award winner, *KorresponDanSe 2.0*, as a project that "recognises refugees and locals as individuals in a joint creative performance that more unites than divides" (Eichler & Schorn, 2018, p. 1). Similarly, the third prize winner *der weiße Fleck* was shown as a good example for not neutralising cultural differences which enrich migrant societies (Eichler & Schorn, 2018, p. 3).

This constructive change in perspective is reassuring as it exhibits recognising the individual dimension of identity formation, and not perceiving cultural differences as deficits in the processes of encounter, exchange, and negotiation. However, in these acknowledgements, it is unclear to what extent the "White" European/Western individual is considered as the subject of transformation. It is not explicit whether they retain their dominant position, gazing at "the refugee" in this artistic exchange and negotiation process.

11 This statement was on the website of the Socio-Culture Fund when the author accessed the mentioned page on May 12, 2018. Later on, it was replaced with a three-page document, explaining the reasoning of the jury for awarding these three projects, dated December 10, 2018.

6. Solidarity, Collective Thinking, Self-Empowerment

As a building block of a new diversity perspective, following the efforts towards achieving a pluralistic German theatre landscape, in the second part of the empirical inquiry, the study investigates three independent theatre initiatives, namely *boat people projekt*, *Hajusom*, and *Ruhrorter*. These theatres have been working with immigrant and refugee artists since their establishment. The objective of the empirical analysis is twofold: first, examining the perception, strategies, and artistic methods of these groups – as independent theatre initiatives subsidised by various funding institutions of the national government – when addressing diversity; second, assessing whether or to what extent the approaches and implementation models of the chosen theatres could contribute to the concept formation of this study, aimed at facilitating a future-oriented theatre practice.

The casing, as part of the case study research, is employed to elaborate on the abstractly formulated theoretical idea with the help of inductively assembled cases (Ragin & Becker, 1992, p. 220). The casing enables the researcher to construct various levels of concept formation, tested through empirical data. Thus, the empirical investigation includes studying the cases as a means of delineating various dimensions of the conceptualisation of *thinking and acting interculturally*. Furthermore, through an in-depth analysis of the cases, the researcher attempts to offer a theoretical proposition for a mindset shift in the organisational structure of the German performing arts field.

The primary concern of the empirical inquiry is not theory testing with the support of cases but concept formation, elaboration, and refinement (Ragin, 1997). Hence, the methodology does not depend on performance analysis. The political, ethical, and aesthetical dimensions of the chosen theatres constitute the main elements of this case study research. The investigation aims to achieve this by adopting a case-oriented approach, which allows the researcher to use an interactive and flexible analytic frame, open to revisions in the course of the empirical analysis (Ragin, 1997). To this end, *process tracing* is an integral part of the analysis since "it provides a way to learn and to empirically evaluate preferences and perceptions of the actors, their purposes, their goals, their values and their specification of the situations that face them" (Vennesson, 2008, p. 233). The

empirical inquiry thus seeks to discover how the examined theatres' approaches have transformed over the years.

In addition to case study research, the casing is evaluated as part of the dispositive analysis to detect the interconnection between discourse and practice, which are both indispensable components of the cultural diversity dispositive. By doing so, the research intends to identify the assemblage of elements involved in the power/knowledge relationship in the theatre realm.

Concerning concept formation, the cases are selected strategically to obtain a comprehensive perspective on various facets of *thinking and acting interculturally*.

It should be noted that none of the examined theatres designates themselves as an "intercultural theatre" or a theatre that employs an "intercultural frame". "Intercultural theatre" is referred to here as the theatre practice introduced in the late 1970s by Peter Brook, later followed by theatre-makers such as Eugenio Barba and Ariane Mnouchkine. Conventional intercultural theatre includes the uses and adaptations of non-Western performance traditions in Euro-American intercultural practices, which are inherently Eurocentric, orientalist, and pertain to cultural colonialism (Bharucha, 1999a, p. 3).

Conversely, the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally* seeks to pinpoint the indicators of a theatre practice envisioned outside the formulations of the Western/European vision of cultural exchange in knowledge production and dissemination (see Section 7.1 for the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally*).

It should also be taken into consideration that the theatre initiatives analysed in this chapter do not utilise the vocabulary of cultural politics and policy such as "inclusion", "integration", "participation", "intercultural dialogue" to describe their performative practices.

6.1 Criteria for Determining the Casing

Prior to the case study, the researcher mapped out the independent theatre domain and identified around 140 performing arts initiatives working with refugees and immigrants. They receive incentives from diversity and intercultural funding programmes of the national, *Länder*, and municipal governments. Despite the variety of projects realised by these initiatives, it is disputable whether the execution of these projects meets the objectives described in their funding applications. The researcher observed that even some well-intentioned projects instrumentalise stories of traumatised people seeking refuge; usually what is exhibited on stage are the refugees' biographies and painful experiences of flight. People are reduced to a "refugee identity", or they are treated as if they belong to a collective "refugee culture". It is also questionable on whose behalf the project owners speak and what their motivation for engaging in such projects is.

Against this backdrop, the casing was based on the criteria developed by the researcher. The following criteria are envisioned to contribute to the concept formation after concluding the case study evaluation:

- dynamic engagement: acknowledging commitment to the topics of migration and displacement as a continuous process and perceiving cultural diversity as the norm of society.
- awareness and openness: being conscious of a plethora of heterogenous perspectives, experiences, and knowledge, understanding engagement with difference as a mutual learning opportunity and accepting it as an artistic process of "meeting of various fabrications of otherness" (Sze, 2004), which includes both conflict and agreement.
- empowerment: supporting the self-empowerment of immigrants and refugees as amateur and professional artists. This applies to the involvement of amateur and professional artists in various levels of production, from conceptual design to implementation processes. On another level, it denotes all artistic collaboration that contributes to immigrant and displaced artists being recognised by society and provides them with the opportunity to earn a living as part of the artistic workforce in the German performing arts scene.
- artistic reflection: searching for new narratives and experimenting with diverse artistic formats to develop novel aesthetical perspectives. This refers to inter- and transdisciplinary approaches that push conventional theatre-making boundaries to discover heuristic methods and forms of narration.
- multilingual performance: understanding the value of language in articulating diverse artistic expressions on stage and in text. Embracing the contribution of language affiliations to productions and performative demands.
- intercultural encounter: supporting interconnectedness between immigrants, newly arrived artists, and the majority society to combat the biased perception towards those who are seen as "the other".

6.1.1 Tania Cañas, art director of the RISE Refugee[1] organisation, declared a manifesto in 2015 regarding the self-serving usage of diversity and the exploitation of refugees and refugee experiences. She claims that "diversity is restricted to an aesthetic presentation, rather than a meaningful, committed, resourced, long-term process of shifting existing power-dynamics" (2015, para. 1). In the above-mentioned manifesto, *10 Things You Need to Consider if You Are an Artist*, Cañas (2015) addresses White artists who want to include refugees in their projects without

1 RISE: Refugees, Survivors and eX-detainees is the first organisation in Australia run by refugees, asylum seekers, and ex-detainees.

pondering over their privileges, and victimise the experiences of refugees. The manifesto includes:

1. Process not product: We are not a resource to feed into your next artistic project. You may be talented at your particular craft but do not assume that this automatically translates to an ethical, responsible and self-determining process. Understand community cultural development methodology but also understand that it is not a full-proof [sic] methodology. Who and what institutions are benefiting from the exchange?
2. Critically interrogate your intention: Our struggle is not an opportunity, or our bodies a currency, by which to build your career. Rather than merely focusing on the 'other' ('where do I find refugees' etc.) subject your own intention to critical, reflexive analysis. What is your motivation to work on this particular subject matter? Why at this particular time?
3. Realise your own privilege: What biases and intentions, even if you consider these 'good' intentions, do you carry with you? What social positionality (and power) do you bring to space? Know how much space you take up. Know when to step back.
4. Participation is not always progressive or empowering: Your project may have elements of participation but know how this can just as easily be limiting, tokenistic and condescending. Your demands on our community sharing our stories may be just as easily disempowering. What frameworks have you already imposed on participation? What power dynamics are you reinforcing with such a framework? What relationships are you creating (e.g. informant vs expert, enunciated vs enunciator)
5. Presentation vs representation: Know the difference!
6. It is not a safe-space just because you say it is: This requires long term grass-roots work, solidarity and commitment.
7. Do not expect us to be grateful: We are not your next interesting art project. Our community are not sitting waiting for our struggle to be acknowledged by your individual consciousness nor highlighted through your art practice.
8. Do not reduce us to an issue: We are whole humans with various experiences, knowledge and skills. We can speak on many things; do not reduce us to one narrative.
9. Do your research: Know the solidarity work already being done. Know the nuanced differences between organisations and projects. Just because we may work with the same community does not mean we work in the same way.
10. Art is not neutral: Our community has been politicised, and any artwork done with/by us is inherently political. If you wish to build with our community, know that your artistic practice cannot be neutral. (Cañas, 2015)

This study takes the declaration by RISE Refugee as the framework for assessing the cases in the empirical analysis. Some of the measures of analysis were extracted from this statement in addition to others formulated by the author. The inquiry is based on the below-outlined catalogue of questions:

- What is the theatre's objective for working with refugees and immigrants?
- What is the power structure of the artistic exchange?
- What is defined as the focus of collaboration? What are the ethical parameters?
- How is the notion of empowerment interpreted and put into practice?
- What solidarity work is the theatre engaged in?
- How does the theatre deal with the issue of self-reflection? How are the various knowledge frames and aesthetical perceptions of team members manifested through the works of the theatre?
- To what extent have the perception and working method(s) of the theatre evolved in time? What are the lessons learned?
- How is the process of exchange reflected in the modes of artistic production? What role does the heterogeneity of languages play in the methods of performance?
- What are the efforts to bring diverse artistic experiences and knowledge into contact with the audience?

As stated, the selected theatres constitute a fragment of the cultural diversity dispositive. Hence, the casing is also investigated from the dispositive analysis perspective.

6.2 *Boat people projekt*

Boat people projekt is an independent theatre ensemble in Göttingen, Lower Saxony, co-established by theatre director Nina de la Chevallerie and director and author Luise Rist in 2009. Over time, the staff composition of the theatre has expanded, and currently, Franziska Aeschlimann, Reimar de la Chevallerie, Hans Kaul, Birte Müchler, and Sonja Elena Schroeder are in charge of different tasks within the team. *Boat people projekt* works as a collective; under this label, various projects are realised by the core team as well as by guest artists. As the theatre initiative states, "We strive for broad diversity not only in our programming but also in the composition of our artistic team and the partners with whom we work" (boat people projekt, 2021). Hence, the theatre applies diverse artistic approaches and working methods:

> We work in different teams within the organisation, but *boat people projekt* always applies for funding. Some years ago, we used to realise all projects with Nina and Reimar [de la Chevallerie]. Now, we are more interested in working on different projects. (…). But *boat people projekt* is still our roof. We meet twice a month, sometimes more often. (…). It is a double project system. There is no hierarchy in our group (…). Sometimes we do not go in the same direction, but that is normal. That is why we do not always all work together. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

Since its foundation, *boat people projekt* has been focused on migration and displacement. The collective has been working with professional and amateur actors seeking refuge long before "refugee stories" were omnipresent in the German theatre scene. In recent years, they have started co-producing with displaced and immigrant cultural professionals.

The first venue of the theatre used to be a refugee accommodation centre, housing around 100 people. In 2019, they opened their own venue, *Werkraum*, with 80 audience seats. *Boat people projekt* also cooperates with other theatres to showcase their productions, such as *Theater im Pavillon* in Hannover, *LOT Theater* in Braunschweig, *Theater Aufbau Kreuzberg* (*TAK*) in Berlin, and *Theater im Kulturhaus Karlstorbahnhof* (*TiKK*) in Heidelberg. Depending on the production, *boat people projekt* joins forces with many partners, from independent and public theatres and cultural institutions to migration and refugee organisations, from schools and universities to foundations working in the field of migration.[2]

The theatre collective receives various public subsidies from institutions of the national government as well as the Lower Saxony federal state and municipal government, private institutions, and foundations.[3] However, like many other independent theatres in Germany subsidised by public funding institutions, *boat people projekt* is funded precariously.

Boat people projekt has gained broad recognition in recent years. In 2015, the theatre won the Initiative Award of the Hanns Lilje Foundation, followed by other prizes, such as the Göttingen Peace Award in 2016, as well as an award presented in the category of independent theatre for extraordinary achievement, based on the results of a survey conducted by the magazine *Deutsche Bühne* (German Stage) in 2018, and the *Theaterpreis des Bundes* (Theatre Award of the German Federal Government) 2019, and in 2020, the collective received the *Niedersächisicher Integrationspreis* (Integration Award of Lower Saxony). In 2016, *boat people projekt*

2 The cooperation partners vary depending on the content of productions. For the current list of institutions and organisations that have cooperated with *boat people projekt*, please visit h ttps://www.boatpeopleprojekt.de/.

3 Since 2018, *boat people projekt* has been receiving yearly institutional funding from the Göttingen City Council to cover the rent for the venue.

was also nominated for the *BKM*'s Special Award for projects encouraging the cultural participation of refugees. *Flutlicht* (Floodlight) was shortlisted as one of the 10 best practices out of 150 nominations. Lastly, in 2017 the theatre ensemble was nominated for the George Tabori Award of the Performing Arts Fund.

The name "*boat people projekt*" originates from the group's first production, *Lampedusa*, and is associated with the reality of refugees trying to arrive in Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea by boat. Members of the theatre have been discussing changing the name in the last few years. A quote from the theatre's website reads:

> Over the course of time, we have become conscious of the fact that through our name, we label the people we work with. As we ideally want to prevent this, our name is currently under discussion. Due to the growth in awareness and knowledge of the group's work, a radical change is difficult. As yet, this question has not been resolved. (boat people projekt, 2021)

For this reason, on June 5, 2019, *boat people projekt* invited a team of designers, researchers, and collaborating artists to exchange views on a prospective name that would appropriately communicate the artistic and political perspective of the theatre without categorising people from other ethnic and cultural affiliations.[4] The core team members expressed the difficulty of agreeing on a name that would represent multiple identities of the theatre, since the collective has had different ideas, artistic approaches, and methods from the very beginning. One of the critical aspects, voiced by Sonja Elena Schroeder, was the challenge of being labelled from the outside, being presented and awarded as a good theatre practice working with immigrants and refugees, and how this was affecting their positionality as a theatre. Sheila Hilpert pointed out another crucial aspect of the problem: the necessity of focusing not on individual visions but a collective vision. *Boat people projekt* has not yet overcome the conflicts around this issue and is still in search of a decision in agreement with the diverse perspectives of the collective.

6.2.1 Engaging with Immigration: Why and for Whom?

One of the co-founders, Luise Rist, worked at the municipal theatre *Deutsches Theater* in Göttingen for eight years before she initiated *boat people projekt* with Nina de la Chevallerie. Together they conducted a small research project within this municipal theatre as they aspired to learn more about people from other countries.

4 The author was part of a workshop organised to think collectively about the vital components of *boat people projekt*. Hence, the paraphrases of the participants' views are based on the author's notes taken during the meeting.

Rist elaborates on the urge to engage in such a research project and the decision to establish *boat people projekt* afterwards:

> I had a good time there [*Deutsches Theater*] but I had no contact with the outside world. I heard about the news [refugees arriving at Lampedusa in Italy] and wanted to meet more people from other countries. I just asked the theatre if we could have a small research project. So, we invited people from Africa. It started out as a small endeavour. (…) Then I realised I wanted to do a bigger research project. So, I went with Nina [de la Chevallerie] to meet and get to know the refugees in refugee camps [in Göttingen]. (…) At the time, this topic was not something people cared about. It all started with the news from Lampedusa. I suggested going in this direction, and Nina agreed. I left my job at the municipal theatre as I wanted to write more, and be more autonomous. Then we started getting to know refugees and artists from other countries. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

Following this decision, their first project, *Lampedusa*, inaugurated the emergence of *boat people projekt*. *Lampedusa* was actualised after a six-month research process, including coming together with artists of African descent living in and around Göttingen. The performance took place in a public bus in September 2009 in Göttingen, with a group of amateur African participants. The project aimed to depict the journey of refugees to Europe through the eyes of the refugees themselves (boat people projekt, 2018a).

In the first few productions, the co-founders worked with refugees who were not professional actors; "they were just people who were interested in taking part" (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017). In their third performance, *Keinsternhotel* (No-Stars Hotel), they not only worked with a mixed cast of professional and amateur actors, but, for the first time, the text was co-written with a guest author, Marie Louise Bibish Mumbu, from Congo.

Rist describes their growing interest in carrying out projects with refugees and cooperating with other artists:

> Surely, I could write about other subjects, too. But it [forced migration] seems to be a big part of our lives now. Every city in Germany is changing. The topic is still there, and it is expanding. So, we thought about how we could talk about it.
>
> We intend to get to know people from other cultural backgrounds and observe how society is developing with other cultures. We try to find actors and other artists for our projects who share the same vision. As a result, our team is constantly growing. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

According to Rist, bringing "the stranger" closer is necessary in order to change the superficial perception German society has of refugees (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017). In the coming years, their work continued to

unequivocally reflect the urge to contribute to a shift in society's biased perspective. In 2011, in their following project *Mikili*, they portrayed the fortress Europe together with people from Africa (boat people projekt, 2013), borrowing a word from the Lingala language for its title, introduced to the team by the guest author Marie Louise Bibish Mumbu. "*Mikili*" is a unique word; it means Europe from an African perspective, and "*Mikilist*" is a person who moves to Europe and perceives this newly discovered world in various colours unique to the person themself (boat people projekt, 2013b).

6.2.2 Working with Young Amateur Refugees

Boat people projekt employs various strategies when creating performances with young amateur refugees. Their projects with the youth stretch for a long period of rehearsals since the theatre considers artistic exchange a process that involves building trust in one another.

After the initial rehearsals, Rist writes parts of the play based on the input from young refugees participating in the projects, to avoid documentary theatre (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017). In her opinion, some refugees prefer to express themselves through performance only, rather than be involved in the artistic creation. Rist states that many funding institutions and foundations have a politicised approach to projects realised with refugees, and they expect to see a certain wording in the applications, such as "participation" and "integration". They also require participants to develop the performances by themselves. Rist deems such expectations ambitious and, in some cases, upsetting to young people:

> They are expected to develop everything on their own. It is too much for them, and sometimes they never come back [to rehearsals]. They are content when they have a structure. I try to observe them. For example, I see somebody who looks distracted. Then I can give them a character and a confrontation. If they disagree, (…) then we change everything or we do not do it at all. I just give them a frame with words, and not the words of the funding institutions. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

Although no hierarchy is determined in the projects with young refugees, Rist's statement reveals an unintended dominance in the production processes, signalling a struggle to discover non-hegemonic forms of interaction. Nonetheless, the participants are included in the formation of plays from the very beginning of conceptualisation. Their ideas and wishes shape the artistic direction of the projects, accompanied by the director's observations:

> I try to find out what they like and what they dislike, which scene they feel like themselves in. I ask them: "Would you prefer a bigger role, or do you just want

> to sing?" (…) We had a boy from Afghanistan. He was not able to speak. He was traumatised. (…) I was not expecting that he would want to sing. I asked the group who would like to sing. He volunteered. Before he started singing, he was so shy. But when he sang, he was amazing. And he smiled. Singing was all he wanted to do. That was his role; he did not want to act. I told him, "Everything is allowed. You can even sit somewhere, or we can find a position for you to stand". But in the end, he said: "No, I can do it like the others". But he did not want to speak. It is a very fragile process. Within this process, I very much like to see the presence of participants. Every personality that comes in has something to offer. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

In addition to the pedagogical aspect of working with people who have been traumatised, Rist is aware of the risk of instrumentalising refugee stories and the dilemmatic nature of bringing refugees into productions:

> I see, for example, this person wanting to express something, then I suggest a direction they could go in; sometimes they do, and sometimes they take a different path. Sometimes the character in the play is connected to the personality of the actor. But I do not use biographical monologue. Sometimes they tell me: "I would like to say something about Afghanistan", and I say, "Okay, we will find a place. You have a message, and it is important for you". (…) Other times they want to say something about a specific situation, which is risky because they are a refugee at that moment. I do not allow this to happen too often. If they have this wish, I have to incorporate it because I respect their wishes. But usually they have their own characters, and I just try to intensify them. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

Rist expresses that her reason for involving the requests of the refugees into the productions is their right "to not be seen as refugees but as human beings with different life experiences" (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017). However, she is self-critical about reflecting personal narratives of forced migration:

> I think it is important not to expose their stories, but it is not always possible to do everything right. It is not a usual situation to be in that position, to be a refugee.
>
> I try to be careful. Sometimes it is difficult to see the difference between involving the aspirations of participants and not contributing to the victimisation of their experiences. Still, I do not like people displaying their sad escape stories on stage, shocking the audiences. In the end, it does not help them [the refugees]. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

Her articulation suggests the difficulty of finding a balance between fulfilling the wishes of the refugees on the one hand, and not revealing their biographies on the

other. It also indicates the complex aspects of a power structure that come with a number of challenges including the unintentional domination of the author's perspective in the process of exchange.

6.2.3 Focusing on Solidarity and Self-Empowerment

Starting from 2015, standing in solidarity with professional artists seeking refuge in Germany has gained importance for *boat people projekt*. This interest was, to some extent, related to the political debate on the flow of refugees to Germany. Around that time, Nina de la Chevallerie met with Rzgar Khalil, who arrived in Germany at the peak of the so-called "refugee influx". Khalil is a Syrian artist who lived in Iraq for a few years, due to the civil war in Syria, before moving to Germany. Once they met, de la Chevallerie and Khalil instantly decided to work together. In 2015, Khalil co-wrote the text for the theatre performance *eine Stadt verändert sich* (A City is Changing) with Luise Rist, and was also part of the cast. The same year, he wrote the text of a short film, which he co-directed with Nina de la Chevallerie, called *die Träume der Unschuldigen* (Dreams of the Innocent), and then in 2016, he performed in the theatre production *Hilfe* (Help).

With the arrival of more people seeking refuge in Germany, an overwhelming number of cultural initiatives and NGOs were very eager about the idea of helping them by means of art practices. The sudden interest of some of these establishments in refugees was, to some degree, related to the availability of various funding options for cultural productions involving refugees. However, to this day, in many projects, displaced people are presented as victims. They are objectified through the established Eurocentric gaze, which (re)produces stereotypes about "the stranger". Regarding this embodiment of a hegemonic relationship, in 2016, *boat people projekt* developed the production *Hilfe*. *Hilfe* was written by a Berlin-based author and journalist, Sophie Diesselhorst. Taking a critical stance on the unbalanced power regime, the theatre collective and the author questioned the limits of helping refugees in a political climate in which making socio-cultural projects for and with refugees is a nation-wide trend. In this production, the theatre focused on examples of presumptuous attempts that had crossed ethical lines without considering what kind of support refugees really needed (boat people projekt, 2019a).

In the following year, the attention of *boat people projekt* expanded to addressing the working conditions of professional refugee artists in their new localities. Consequently, Nina de la Chevallerie initiated a research project with Rzgar Khalil, funded by the *Homebase – Theatre for the Coming Society* programme of the Performing Arts Fund, to map out the number of displaced artists who were now

living in Lower Saxony.[5] They aimed to determine whether other professionals have sufficient information about the theatre scene in the region and are able to work as artists (N. de la Chevallerie, personal communication, December 5, 2017). The precarious situation they are in makes the refugees vulnerable. They are often exposed to exploitation – they are either not paid at all or receive inadequate pay for their work. This fact was the main reason for *boat people projekt* to conduct the research project *Artistic Network Meeting Point*:

> I heard from some Germans who said that they were working with Syrian actors. I asked them how much they were paying them. The experiences fluctuated so much that I thought it was important to find out. I was curious because we have been dealing with this topic for a long time. (…) I have to provide the artists with some information; to be able to tell them, "Do not work for 200€ for six weeks. That is not right. Sure, you are the newcomer; you have to start somewhere. You cannot earn 4000€, but 200€ is not okay". I needed to tell them that. (N. de la Chevallerie, personal communication, December 5, 2017)

The same year, in the production *Die Probe – Galixeo in Deutschmania* (Rehearsal – Galixeo in German Mania), *boat people projekt* worked with two actors who studied dramatic arts at the University of Damascus, Ahmad Kiki and Roula Thoubian. Sophie Diesselhorst wrote the play with Anis Hamdoun, who left Syria in 2012 and arrived in Germany via Egypt at the end of 2013. The two authors re-created a dystopic version of Bertolt Brecht's *Life of Galileo* in which the residency permit, job, and life of a Syrian director are in danger when a nightmare becomes reality in an imaginary scenario where the racist *AfD* wins the election.

After the research project, *boat people projekt* continued to focus on solidarity through working with other cooperation partners in the region. Towards the end of 2017, the theatre, together with the *Landesverband Freier Theater Niedersachsen* (*LaFT*; State Association of Independent Theatres of Lower Saxony) and the *Bundesakademie für Kulturelle Bildung Wolfenbüttel* (Federal Academy for Cultural Education Wolfenbüttel) organised the meeting *New Connections* to network with professional artists seeking refuge in Germany.[6] The session also aimed to foster intercultural exchange and dialogue, and share know-how between cultural professionals in the German performing arts scene and newly arrived refugee artists. The following questions were identified regarding the challenges of accommodating diversity in the theatre scene:

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5 See Chapter 5 for the analysis of the special incentive programme, *Homebase – Theatre for the Coming Society*, as well as the research project carried out by Nina de la Chevallerie and Rzgar Khalil.

6 *New Connections* was funded by the Socio-Culture Fund.

- What are the available solutions for overcoming language barriers?
- How can we avoid making too many aesthetical compromises in our artistic work and ending up with the lowest common denominator?
- Do the publicly funded projects actually meet the expectations of refugees?
- How can we get rid of the label of "refugee" without forfeiting the networks, partners, and funding associated with it?
- Which strategies can be developed to make diversity a top priority in large institutions? (Bundesakademie für Kulturelle Bildung Wolfenbüttel, 2018, p. 10)

Moreover, participants of the meeting discussed further issues, which unveiled the demand for more knowledge, consultancy, and artistic alliances in order to develop collaborations so that displaced artists can continue to create in Germany:

- Where can the finished works of refugee colleagues and ensembles be shown? Where can they offer their freelance projects and workshops? (…)
- How can cooperation take place on an equal footing from the beginning?
- What background are they required to have in order to be considered a professional theatre-maker in Germany?
- There is a great need for consultancy on how the German theatre landscape works and is financed, how to apply for jobs, etc. (Bundesakademie für Kulturelle Bildung Wolfenbüttel, 2018, p. 12)

De la Chevallerie elaborates that her motivation for getting further involved in research projects is to share her expertise with colleagues seeking refuge in Germany:

> I sometimes ask myself why I do this [she laughs]. It is not art. (…) In the conference [*New Connections*] many people came to me afterwards and said, "Thank you, Nina. You have shown us a path we can take". I love seeing people come together. I love it when I see Mustafa, Nur, Martina, and Harold find each other and plan a project together. They have the potential to create something. And in a way, I am part of it too. It frees me up a lot. That is the meaning of it for me. Of course, I am always wondering where I am, why I am doing this.
>
> (…) I do not want to be in this profession in 10 years. I want them to learn to write applications and do their projects by themselves. I would like to see more immigrants working in theatres in Germany, instead of only seeing White men. (personal communication, December 5, 2017)

Boat people projekt conducts research projects to identify the structural problems that displaced theatre professionals have been dealing with while trying to access to theatre scene, and believes that these projects are vital for the diversification of the German theatre domain dominated by White male hegemony.

6.2.4 The Impact of Intercultural Collaboration on Personal Development

The growing cooperation between the collective, displaced artists, and young refugees has had a lasting effect on the team's world views and working methods. Rist reflects on how her perception has changed over time due to the projects she has done with young refugees:

> When I started the kids' group, I had had no experience with young people in theatre. I had only worked with professionals at *Deutsches Theater*. I learned a lot from them [young refugees]. I learned about the life they see here and their way of asking questions. I learned to speak differently; in German, I mean. That was so important for me. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

De la Chevallerie's statement on personal development shows similarities to that of Rist. Likewise, she discloses that cooperating with immigrant artists has not only broadened her horizon on aesthetics in theatre practice, but has also led to a critical examination of her thoughts, conduct, and motives:

> When I started, I could not name the countries of the African continent. I knew too little about Islam. So, there is knowledge. Experience is another one. How do we treat one another in an intercultural context, what mistakes am I making, do I have a post-colonialist mindset? I question myself every day, all the time. I make mistakes every day. We discuss this a lot. I go to conferences and talk about these matters. It is incredibly reflexive. I had never thought about it that way before. So, that has changed a lot, but also my mentality has changed. (…) We [herself and Rzgar Khalil] just listened to Arabic music together. I never thought I would ever find it aesthetically interesting (…). But since I changed my artistic activity, my perception has changed as well. (personal communication, December 5, 2017)

The development of skills and competencies through artistic exchange has had a substantial impact on their projects. Rist states that this interaction has influenced both her writing and her view on predetermined ideas about "the other":

> This morning, for the song project [referring to *On Air*], I was preparing a monologue about the use of the appointment calendar in Germany. A man had told me that nobody in Syria uses an appointment calendar. I said, "I understand that is the situation now, but before the war, you were organised. Do not tell me that you have never had an appointment calendar; it is a cliché to think that you are disorganised". He said, "No, we have never had a calendar. We organise things differently. Families are our calendar". Then I wrote this monologue about the calendar. I liked the idea of someone being able to organise themself without a calendar. I have developed skills that I did not have 10 years ago, skills that enable

> me to see the world differently. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

In her recent productions, de la Chevallerie has been working more as a producer than a director. She aims to provide directors who are particularly new in Germany with the possibility to work (N. de la Chevallerie, personal communication, December 5, 2017). For instance, in 2018, in *Nora und ihr anderer Name* (Nora and Her Other Name), *boat people projekt* worked with director Wessam Talhouq, author Ayham Abu Shaqra, dramaturge Kaouthar Hiba Slimani, and stage designer Wessam Darweash. They are all part of the theatre group *Hekayeh*, now living in Germany, Sweden, and France. The primary goal of their first collaboration under the roof of *boat people projekt* was to facilitate an artistic exchange and experiment with new creative approaches (boat people projekt, 2019b). De la Chevallerie explains how her perception of diversity has evolved over time, now leaning more towards solidarity:

> In May [of 2018], Wessam Talhouq will direct under our label. We have applied for funding from the ministry for him to be able to work independently. He chose the play and the ensemble himself. I just helped him find the people, because, of course, I have more contacts than he does since he has only been living here for two years. (personal communication, December 5, 2017)

In 2019, in *Schwesternherz oder Zehra Nasıl Öldü?* (Sister Heart or How Did Zehra Die?), de la Chevallerie cooperated with author Ceylan Ünal from Turkey, who wrote a play depicting life in a foreign country and being a stranger wherever you go. Through the story of two female Turkish characters, the author dealt with stereotypes and distorted images of people perceived as strangers in both worlds, Germany and Turkey.

Being open to otherness enables the members of *boat people projekt* to deepen their knowledge on the methodological principles of engaging with the subject of migration and working with people from diverse cultural orientations and artistic traditions. A notable change in mindset over the years gives the impression of the theatre collective drawing inspiration from an exploratory method. Their collaborative forms of intercultural exchange are characterised by a negotiation model of theatrical presence. This approach recognises that theatre is not a neutral space; it incorporates ambiguity and apprehension.

6.2.5 On Aesthetics and Narrative Content

The artistic approach of *boat people projekt* has evolved over time through exchange and collaboration. Rist confirms that "there is an established way of perceiving aesthetics in Germany, in Europe" (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4,

2017). For Rist, although the German theatre tradition is unique and inspiring, it is also excluding. She states that her reason for leaving public theatre was linked to her interest in exploring different theatre styles, which eventually led her to break with the public theatre tradition.

The timeline of exploring other theatrical forms goes back to their early projects. For instance, in 2012, Rist and de la Chevallerie directed a play, *Rosenwinkel* (Rose Corner), about Roma people. The play dealt with stigmatisation, belonging, and not belonging. The directors described their desire to learn more about "the strangers", they state, "who are sometimes more familiar to us than those we do believe to know" (boat people projekt, 2013a). This narration resonates with Rist's aesthetical shift since she started working with artists of Roma descent:

> I worked with Roma people from Kosovo. They like to see dramatic features in theatre, and they like Bollywood films. I learned a lot about Bollywood from them. And now I like it too.
>
> It may sound strange, but sometimes I associate myself more with my Roma friends when it comes to aesthetics. (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

Language plays an essential role in the verbal enunciation of aesthetics in German public theatre. In many established municipal and state theatres, performative features are conventionally characterised by European/Western aesthetics and flawlessly spoken German as the stage language. In this context, the independent theatre scene is also more concerned with exploring new theatrical forms through the contribution of a collage of languages.

Similarly, *boat people projekt* have been using a combination of languages, depending on the content of the stories and the cultural creators with whom they are cooperating. This practice pertains to the narrativisation of experiences, made possible due to the fact that their theatre-making process developed over time, through their collaboration with immigrant and displaced artists. De la Chevallerie ruminates over the aspect of language in a theatrical production as well as the difficulty of communicating through verbal exchange:

> I find different languages on stage interesting. I see a potential for communication. Of course, you need a lot of patience for working with one another. (…) In theatre, in art, we can overcome many things using intuition. (personal communication, December 5, 2017)

For *boat people projekt*, the involvement of different languages on and behind the stage is part of the process of learning about diverse aesthetical perspectives. Recognising language as a crucial aspect of intercultural communication enables theatre members to improve their skills of dialogue and empathy. Nevertheless,

including different languages in productions in addition to having cast members who do not speak flawless German causes tension for parts of the well-educated audience of German descent, according to de la Chevallerie:

> There are German people who find it great that they are hearing these different languages. But there are also those of them who are annoyed when it is hard for them to understand someone on stage. If a performer does not speak High German [*hoch Deutsch*] and the audience cannot understand them, some members of the audience might get stressed. Older people in particular are annoyed by it. On the other hand, there are people with a "migrant background" who understand these languages and feel connected to the story. They might think "the actors come from my cultural circle, I can understand them" or "the theatre cares about other cultures like mine". That means I might lose some audiences, but I might also gain other ones in turn. (personal communication, December 5, 2017)

Rist also highlights this challenge of exchange projects since German theatre is sometimes very conventional, and there is a belief that the audience will not like such productions (L. Rist, personal communication, December 4, 2017).

Concerning the audience, the theatre collective claims that they are "looking for topics, forms and narrative strategies to make theatre today tangible for a diverse audience" (boat people projekt, 2021). De la Chevallerie confirms that they have been pursuing this goal, and pinpoints their diversity-oriented approach to gaining a new audience:

> We have a very diverse audience, which we are very proud of. Also, we try to develop and evolve. That is something I have learned about diverse cultural backgrounds. The tradition of going to the theatre involves negotiating what happens there. That means asking the question: "What would make me stay in the theatre as an audience member? Being able to find topics that have something to do with me". That is, of course, a process. Perhaps many people go to the theatre once and see, for example, a play by Ibsen in High German and think it has nothing to do with them, and then stop going to the theatre altogether. (personal communication, December 5, 2017)

Boat people projekt understands cultural exchange as a process and a learning method. This strategy calls for modifying the established forms of reception. In this regard, facilitating the construction of interaction between the majority society and artists labelled as immigrants and refugees by showcasing their work could be recognised as counter-hegemonic. In terms of reception, the conflictual process of negotiating artistic expressions also opens a channel for productive communication with the audience.

6.3 *Hajusom*

Hajusom is a transnational theatre collective initiated in 1999 by Ella Huck and Dorothea Reinicke in Hamburg. Over time, in addition to the ensemble, various constellations of people were incorporated in the interdisciplinary theatre productions. One of these programmes, *Hajusom Lab*, serves as a platform for bringing young refugees together to create dance, music, and poetry pieces, and provide them with mentoring on various subjects. Several groups were founded under the roof of *Hajusom Lab*, such as *M.Power* for performance, *Sedah Hajusom* for music, and *G. Connections* for hip-hop sessions.

Further, the platform *Hajusom Transfer* was established for knowledge transfer. The concept of *Hajusom Transfer* was introduced by Zandile Darko, Ania Faas, Elmira Ghafoori, and Sofie Olbers. On the one hand, the group aims to convey the transnational frame to newcomers provided by experienced members, and on the other hand, the expert members offer workshops, seminars, talks, and lecture-performances to disseminate artistic knowledge throughout society. Hence, they collaborate with schools, universities, artists, cultural and social workers, and volunteers.

The group has expanded over the years along with the broad recognition of the theatre collective. The team members and their responsibilities are as follows:

- Ella Huck: artistic director and co-founder
- Dorothea Reinicke: artistic director and co-founder (since 2021 senior advisor)
- Julia zur Lippe: managing director and project coordinator
- Gabriela Vasileva: assistant manager
- Katalina Götz: assistant art director
- Vera Heimisch: guest performance manager
- Michael Böhler: stage designer
- Josep Caballero García: choreographer and artistic director
- Markus Lohmann: stage design
- Manuel Horstmann: sound and video design
- Viktor Marek: composition and live music
- Mathis Menneking: video
- Andreina Vieira dos Santos: costume design
- Joan Funnah: Coordinator of the *LAB*

Below listed team members also offer lectures and lecture-performances within the diverse activities of *Hajusom Lab*:

- Carlos Andres Rico: music group, *Sedah Hajusom*
- Sergio Vasquez: music group, *Sedah Hajusom*

- Can Gülec: hip-hop dance group, *G. Connections*
- Elmira Ghafoori: performance group, *M.Power*
- Hamed Ahmadi: performance group, *M.Power*
- Farzad Fadai: performance group, *M.Power*

Since 2010, *Hajusom* has been working as a non-profit organisation and supporting the youth organisation *Freie Jugendhilfe* (Independent Youth Welfare Service).

From its early days, *Hajusom* was considered one of the best practices nationwide. The group has been nominated for various awards. In 2001, the collective won the *Berliner Festspiele* Award with the production *7 Leben* (Seven Lives), and in 2003, another production of theirs, *die Kinder der Regenmacher* (Children of the Rainmakers), was nominated for the same award. In 2008, the musical *Back Up Story* received the National Funding Prize of the Hamburg Mannheim Foundation. In 2011, with *Bollyland*, the theatre was awarded the Innovation Award of the Socio-Culture Fund (*Innovationspreis Soziokultur*). In 2014, *Hajusom* received the Max Brauer Award of the Alfred Töpfer Foundation for its distinctive cultural and social engagement in Hamburg. In 2015, *Gender-Ding*, the first production of the new ensemble, *Neue Sterne* (New Stars), was presented with the Federal Award of the Berlin Festival and was nominated for the *BKM* Award for Cultural Education. In 2016, *Hajusom* was nominated for the *BKM* Special Award for cultural participation with its youth project, *Zukunftskünste* (Future Arts).

In the early years after its establishment, *Hajusom* obtained project-based funding at the city level from public and private institutions. Following the nation-wide recognition in the coming years, the theatre collective started receiving a wide range of non-structural incentives from national and regional funding bodies as well as other private and non-profit cultural, art, refugee, and migration organisations.[7]

The most prominent independent production venue for the performing arts in Germany, *Kampnagel* in Hamburg, is *Hajusom*'s co-production partner. *Hajusom* has been staging its productions at *Kampnagel* and cooperating with the *FFT Düsseldorf*, a platform for professional independent theatres, and the municipal theatre *Münster Theater*.

6.3.1 Cultural Diversity as Political and Social Commitment

Hajusom was co-founded as the result of the social and political aspirations of Ella Huck and Dorothea Reinicke. Both artists were involved in interdisciplinary performance projects before establishing *Hajusom*. Nearing the end of the 1990s, Huck was the director of a social centre for young refugees coming to Germany

7 For the latest list of funders, please visit https://www.hajusom.de/.

from Afghanistan, Iran, and West African countries, residing at the periphery of Hamburg. Towards the end of 1998, Huck and Reinicke conducted a three-month theatre workshop with a group of young refugees that inaugurated *Hajusom*:

> She [Ella Huck] said, "I have the feeling that this group is interested in artistic work. Do you think you could do something with them, like a workshop?" I said, "That sounds exciting". So, we organised this workshop in what was then the middle of the *Versorgungseinrichtung* [social centre for young refugees]. There was a big hall we could use. The first time we met, there were 30 people residing there, but also people from other refugee centres. It was a wild thing because we were not experienced in the so-called "*Flüchtlingsarbeit*" [refugee work]. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

For Reinicke, their interest in making theatre projects with refugees is embedded in their determination to be politically engaged with society. This motivation was accompanied by the decision to experiment with a new format with amateurs:

> I must say it was our lifeline at the time. My generation and I were very much politically driven. I wanted to be even more political than I already was in my artistic work. I was also fed up with the attitude of some universities and the performing arts scene. It was precisely at that time that I was looking for a chance to work with young people who were not students at theatre schools, but just young people. Then I got this call. Just thinking about it made me happy. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

She further reflects on how her political and social sense of responsibility urged her get involved in a transnational ensemble. For Reinicke, acknowledging the heterogeneity of people with various ethnic affiliations in her locality is closely linked to the drive to contribute to an artistic discourse and practice aware of diversity. In her understanding, enabling the recognition, appreciation, and normalisation of a diversity of views, expressions, and ways of living is vital for a peaceful co-existence. Furthermore, the failure of (cultural) politics and politicians to introduce schemes and measures for recognising differences as normality in a culturally diverse society compelled two artistic directors to get involved in civic engagement through performing arts with refugees:

> I have always lived in this culturally mixed part of Hamburg, in St. Pauli[8], and if you ask me, this is what a healthy relationship between people of a local community looks like. The relationships are very open. It is not so much about who you are, how much money you make, what your profession is; it is about

8 St. Pauli is a quarter in Hamburg, where immigrant inhabitants comprise 36% of the population. The quarter is known for its alternative cultural scene.

> being a person living with other people in the same locality. This is a constant in our artistic perspective. In the last two years, everything that has been uttered by the politicians has already been heard before. It was a chance for Ella [Huck] and me to bring our political and social collectiveness together. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

After the workshop series at the refugee centre, Huck and Reinicke continued to create theatre performances with young refugees. The emotional and societal impact of the workshops reveals the dedication of the directors to work further in this direction:

> We felt it in our fingertips, our hearts, and our minds, and not just us, but everyone who was part of this process did, during the entire three months. We felt that it was relevant work, and we could not stop. Everyone said: "No, it cannot be over; we were just getting started"; that is why we decided to keep going. We kept going with the work, and continued developing our piece a bit more. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

This initial spark had given way to the formation of a theatre collective, which, in the coming years, turned into a transnational artistic practice.

6.3.2 Collective Thinking at the Foundation of an Artistic Method

In the beginning, the collective created merely theatre productions. After a few plays, *Hajusom* evolved into an interdisciplinary art project. For the ensemble, the first phase was instrumental in building a network of partners with knowledge and experience of working with refugees in various related fields. During this phase, they aimed to enhance their awareness of diverse subjects to better their artistic methodology. It was also essential for *Hajusom* to "create an atmosphere of trust and a sense of security from the very beginning" (Huck, 2014, p. 128). Forming personal relationships with refugees was perceived as the first step to building team spirit. The ensemble's diversity framework originated and developed from this approach:

> Many of them were traumatised by the escape and situation in their countries or the situation here. They had to fight for everything. This was not an everyday situation for us. We needed to understand that this was not going to work in the same way as working with other people who lived in Germany, who were safe living with their families. So, when we would finish a rehearsal, we did not say, "See you next week". We asked: "Hey, what is going on?" We talked with each member of our group after rehearsal or met up with them later that week. Then, we realised we needed to learn about asylum rights and all the related subjects. We went with them to the immigration office. We had to learn what was going

> on in their lives to be able to understand where trauma therapy would be able to help. After that, we found cooperation partners, including a trauma centre and a hospital for refugees, which then sent their therapy patients to us. A while later, we created a strong network of lawyers, doctors, refugee centres, etc. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Steadily, their collective thinking led to the expansion of the group and the professionalisation of established members. Around the same time, the ensemble became known outside Hamburg and started receiving invitations to stage their productions in cities throughout the country:

> *Hajusom* grew in time with the participation of new people, but there had always been an inner circle in which some of the members stayed for a long time and became professionals over the years. After five or six years, all of our performers were exhibiting quite a high level of professionalism. The group was always big, maybe 15 to 20 people on stage, and this inner circle of people working professionally transformed along with them. So, we received the first awards for our productions and got to tour around Germany. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

This frame of mind is also reflected in the name of the ensemble. The label *Hajusom* consists of the first syllables of three refugees' names: Hatice, Jusef, and Omied. The three of them were unaccompanied teenage refugees, who were either deported, or left the group shortly after the establishment of *Hajusom*. Nonetheless, the name itself establishes the non-hierarchical ethical frame that *Hajusom* aims to construct for an equality-oriented artistic exchange:

> They are not just ordinary letters. They mean something. It was their names listed in the application, which also meant that it was not our proposal. It was our joint application resulting from collective thinking. Also, there is an interesting story behind all three of them. Hatice had not been on the stage once before being deported. Yousef had to leave after two years. Omid is still in Hamburg, but one day he just left. For us, naming the group after these three refugees is also a sign of how we think. This is not our work, this is the work of a collective. This is their story. And the stories of the three of them are exemplary. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Reinicke defines this way of thinking as the collective spirit of *Hajusom* and the reason why the work of the ensemble will remain relevant in the future. What sustains the cosmos of *Hajusom* is the determination to propagate the enunciation of various artistic ideas and concepts. They deem this perspective to be the spirit that maintains and nourishes the notion of connecting people and their visions, knowledge, and experiences:

> We truly believe that this work will not lose its relevance; if anything, it might become even more relevant. It is rather a feeling of a specific flow or strength, a particular spirit that emerges inside *Hajusom*, and all the people who are part of *Hajusom* feed this spirit. That is what holds us together. It was not a rational thing but a conscious political step. We believe that this work needs to be done. We still feel it with every production and constellation of artists involved; there have been some changes within the groups, but the spirit is still there. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Following the premiere of a play, *Hajusom* takes two to three weeks off, and then the team comes together to discuss the concept for the next production (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017). These meetings are meant to enable all team members to actively take part in the production process. The concepts, as well as the artistic direction, are developed through collective thinking:

> From the very beginning of a new piece, we ask the group, "What do you think? What should be the artistic focus? More music, more dance? Do you think we should work with this choreographer again? Do you have another suggestion? Do you know any artists we should be working with?" It is a very collective process from the beginning. And the learning is mutual; we call it "each one teach one". (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

The collective achieved thinking diversity anew gradually, over the course of several years. As their artistic framework developed, their work expanded to different activities beyond theatre performances. Currently, the team consists of around 400 performers with and without migration and displacement experiences.

6.3.3 Transnational Approach for Performative Practices

The social and ethical obligation of the directors to treat every human experience as equally valuable is a prerequisite for cultivating the idea of a transnational collective. As Huck states, this notion characterises a jointly developed interdisciplinary creative process with artists from a wide range of ethnicities and cultural affiliations:

> This is not just a job. Anyone just looking for a job with us would be all wrong. They would not be able to understand the thing that holds the group together. (…) I believe that the right people will find their way to us – artists established in a particular art form, but who also have a certain understanding of humanity. (Huck, 2014, p. 153)

Non-hierarchical exchange is at the foreground of their organisation. For *Hajusom*, reciprocal dialogue is the central principle of performative practices; hence, the

ensemble focuses on two levels of communication: as human beings and as artists (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017).

Their artistic framework is characterised by the recognition and valorisation of plurality in thinking and grasping the world in diverse forms. This perspective is conveyed through a transnational aesthetical method that ruptures the firm division between socially engaged art and traditional high culture:

> Everyone brings their knowledge and experience. It is like a big pot. It is not a melting pot; it is a connecting pot. We can still see the other elements; each one has their unique form of colour and energy. You see each one of the elements, but it is still one whole. The phrase that best describes it is "transnational aesthetics". That approach is fundamental when working transnationally – aesthetically trying to find new qualities and symbols that are not connected to these categories of social work or art. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

This frame also disowns the language of cultural politics and the perspective of national inclusion/integration policies:

> If you do artistic work on a personal level and on an equal footing, each member gets the feeling that their contribution is important. There is this *Leitkultur* debate in Germany on wanting to integrate people into one culture. We never use the word "integration". We say, "Your experience is valuable; we are interested in you and your knowledge and what you want to do in the future. We want to support you in your perspective. We want to get to know you on an artistic level. We want to find out what kind of personality and energy is there. We want to support your vision". (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Openness towards multiperspectivity is understood as essential in facilitating possibilities of emancipation. *Hajusom* continually explores new forms of narration to illustrate different levels of identity and deal with the label of "refugee":

> They are very talented. They already have a level of knowledge that was eye-opening in many ways. This multiperspectivity can be so refreshing for the artistic process if you do it right; not because they are refugees and tell their stories, but because they have their lives to tell as individuals.
>
> The texts are always transcribed improvisations, or the performers write something down at home. In either case, they are the authors. Through further editing together with other performers and ourselves, the stage version then develops through the rehearsal process. (Reinicke, 2014, p. 137)

The transnational strategy enables them to create an artistic format that goes beyond the imposing European/Western aesthetics. From this perspective, ascribing value to a collection of individual experiences and knowledge is considered crucial in shifting the terrain of rigid and traditional structures. This

perspective also involves a critique of cultural policy, its funding structure, and the German theatre scene:

> In Germany, there is an extreme distinction between different types of theatre, and an established perception of the cultural funding they should receive. The separation between youth theatre, refugee theatre, between professionals and amateurs is also associated with a certain judgment of quality. (Huck, 2014, p. 161)

Hajusom denounces this restrictive definition of art and clear-cut separation of genres. The performing arts initiative searches for new artistic forms and techniques of narrativisation to present multiple perceptions, expertise, forms of creativity, and skills. Consequently, the collective defines their transnational framework as a method of resisting the firm categories such as art, social work, and theatre pedagogy:

> We are creating a new form. For us, these sorts of categories are obsolete. We do not need these borders. Is our work social, artistic, political, therapeutic, or pedagogic? Therapists say that what we are doing is an excellent form of therapy, and others say: "Well, you are very good theatre pedagogues". We say, "We are not pedagogues; we are just artists, and we are discovering new approaches with our people whose experiences are just as worthy as ours". This is why we are part of the independent theatre scene (…). It is a strange discussion to be having. Is it professional? Can it even be called performance? Is it an art form if it is not spoken theatre? The expectations of using these traditional roles and speaking excellent German feel strange to us. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

For *Hajusom*, the definition of professionalism goes beyond the rigid understanding of artistic work and art education:

> We believe that even those who do not have an art education are professionals. (…) We do not accept these categories for our ensemble. We do professional work; the entire framework is professional. We work with *Kampnagel*, so the entire production process is professional as well. Our artistic process is founded in professionalism. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Nonetheless, the collective is, like many other theatres, confronted with the issues of an exoticising portrayal of cultures and stereotypical attributes. In this regard, it is fundamental for *Hajusom* to underline that they are not a refugee theatre but a transnational art project:

> We are not a refugee theatre. They are not victims. Our people are powerful on stage; they know what they are doing. We have not had a single audience member say: "That made me so sad, poor refugees". It would be upsetting if we did. That

> is not what we want. We do not want their tears of shame. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

The conceptualisation of their working model is based on creative interaction between new and old members of *Hajusom*. Communication is understood as a two-way process, inspired by the principle of "each one teach one".

6.3.4 Each One Teach One: Principle of Knowledge Transfer

In 10 years, *Hajusom* has received nationwide recognition. Platforms such as *Lab*, *Transfer*, and *Neue Sterne* (New Stars) emerged with the involvement of newcomers and music and dance performances.

The concept of "each one teach one" serves as a catalyst for the circulation of a multiplicity of knowledge. Hence, the platforms *Lab* and *Transfer* were created to put the "each one teach one" strategy into practice. With this principle, *Hajusom* also aims to create an intergenerational model of knowledge transfer. The creative interaction between new and old team members generates new artistic experiences:

> The long-term performers work with groups of newcomers. This is something that would not be possible if *Hajusom* were a three-year project. You would not be able to have this long-lasting experience. The performers know the entire structure of our way of working. The idea of the concept is for them to take over. (…) We love to support them in making a public presentation of what *Hajusom* and its methods are. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Knowledge transfer is provided with the help of experienced team members; this methodology generates and safeguards a powerful connection for newcomers to the cosmos of *Hajusom*. Ferzad Fadai has been a member of the group since 2009, and is currently responsible for coordinating junior groups. He is also a lecturer to one of the performance groups. One of the first performers, Arman Marzak, who joined *Hajusom* in 2002, offers cooking classes to newcomers. They both mentor young members:

> He [Ferzad Fadai] accompanies the *Neue Sterne* [New Stars] to the opening nights; they call him, tell him their worries; he is like a role model to them, a big brother. Arman Marzak, too. (…) He meets up with newcomers privately, invites them to dinner, cooks with them, and has been doing this cooking course within *Hajusom* for three years, which he is now offering within *Hajusom*, with our people at his home. (Reinicke, 2014, p. 147)

Hajusom Transfer also offers workshops and lecture-performances for schools, universities, volunteers, cultural and social workers in Hamburg and across the

country. Their aim is to bridge the gap between theory and practice in the field of transnational theatre, which *Hajusom* aspires to further disseminate to society at large. Moreover, through these lectures and workshops, the ensemble discusses how concepts such as participation and empowerment can be reconstructed artistically through a transnational approach:

> The focus of our work changes depending on the group. It might be just artistic work; the focus might be on different modes of communication and how to work as a collective. We just had a workshop for social workers in collaboration with the *Diakonie Hamburg*. They are all professional social workers who think they know how to deal with certain situations. Farzad Fadai led the workshop. The social workers were amazed to see his ability as the master of the workshop. It is training, in a way; a transcultural training programme. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Moreover, internal and external transcultural training is considered necessary to neutralise inequality in power relations within the organisational structure of the ensemble. To counteract the inherent hegemonic configuration that creates privileges among young team members and founding directors, *Hajusom* seeks to develop a collective power in production processes.

6.3.5 The Emancipator vs. the Emancipated

Hajusom's current artistic position formed as a result of a long and experimental process. In the first phase, among other things, the initiative supported performers who wanted to inform the German audience about the realities of their countries of origin. In the early productions, the ensemble faced the challenge of finding the right balance between enabling refugees to articulate their thoughts and images on the one hand, and not being misled by displaying traumatic experiences on the other. Nevertheless, in some cases, it was essential for *Hajusom* to provide the conditions for unimpeded enunciation:

> This one boy in *7 Leben*, who came from Sierra Leone, used to be a child soldier. For him, it was a burning desire to talk about the situation in his country. He was very politically aware. He said he wanted the German audience to hear about the colonial history of Africa. He wanted to tell them about this civil war, and show them what was going on. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

In 2000, the group staged *7 Leben*. The production was not mainly based on the story of this young refugee from Sierra Leone. It was a collage of themes related to immigration on many different levels (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017). The production won the *Federal Award for Berliner Festspiel*.

However, *Hajusom* was highly criticised by the audience for having allowed the boy to tell his story (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017). The criticism influenced the theatre collective, and in the following projects, they decided to focus on other subjects. In 2002, with the production *die Kinder der Regenmacher* (Children of the Rainmakers), through focusing on the pre-colonial period in Tanzania, refugees of African, Iranian, and Afghanistan descent called into question the predetermined notion of cultural identity. They dealt with the formation of group identities based on ethnicity, such as "African" and "Asian". In 2005, in the play *Holiday Inn* performers brought into focus their political struggles without exhibiting their own stories (Huck, 2014, p. 129). In the following years, not only did their way of engaging with forced migration and refugee narratives alter, but the performers became more involved in the creative process. For instance, in 2008, the storyline of the musical performance *Back Up Story* was written by *Hajusom*'s young actors (Huck, 2014, p. 130).

To avoid making refugees an object of exploitation, *Hajusom* does not compel team members to talk about their lives. Only in some cases, indirectly, individual stories showing the artistic development of the group's production are included (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017). It is the mindset of the ensemble not to reduce refugees to "refugee narratives", i.e., not to "expose refugees as refugees" (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017).

Encouraging the members to introduce their ideas to the team facilitates building self-confidence and self-expression. This approach creates an environment of open communication and fosters the creative abilities of young members. Reinicke elaborates on how projects are shaped by the interests and visions of young performers:

> The topic of climate change was suggested by a member of the ensemble. He said it was exciting as it concerns all of us. That is how we came up with *Silmandé*. Then, some of them said, "We learned a bit about colonialism in school". Many of them, however, did not know the ongoing drama of colonialism in their countries. They said they wanted to learn more. We were very interested in working on this subject. We prepared rehearsals together with part of the group and some external professionals, such as historians and sociologists, who could give us some input on the post-colonial discourse for a little further education and training for everyone in the group. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Their advocacy for cultural pluralism provides insights into the power structure of *Hajusom*. In order to overcome unequal designations and the domination of one artistic view, *Hajusom* is interested in conveying diverse forms of connections and robust exchange between team members. *Hajusom* has a positive approach to valorising the heterogeneity of knowledge:

> I never wanted to only be a director, to only have this position at the top of the hierarchy. So, what I love about *Hajusom* is that it is a collective and an artistic team with many people who come together and shape the productions. The best part of working with many different people is that all these people come from all over the world and have different cultural backgrounds. We have a chance to become enriched by their knowledge and capacities and everything they bring with them. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

The collective regards theatrical interaction with the audience as one of the many forms of self-empowerment. After each performance, members of the ensemble gather with the audience. The purpose of the performers communicating with the audience is twofold: first, to overcome the inherently unjust power dynamics between the White artistic directors and the team. *Hajusom* strives to involve everyone in all parts of the artistic process:

> We have these *Publikumsgespräche* [audience talks] to reflect on the actions of the characters and the reasons behind these actions. This kind of reflection is directed towards their artistic work. They want to talk about it; they want to say what part of their work is personal experience and what has to do with the universal theme, and which part they found the most interesting artistically. (D. Reinicke, personal communication, December 15, 2017)

Second, the encounter with the audience is a vital aspect of the young artists being involved in this transnational approach. The realisation of their individual autonomy and the inclusion of the audience in productions are recognised as mutually transformative processes. With the intention of establishing an artistic space in which cultural differences can be negotiated through transcultural performances, *Hajusom* introduced a new approach in their most recent project. In *Azimut Decolonial – An Archive Performs*, the audience became part of the collective thinking strategy of the ensemble by way of a walk-in installation. In this production, *Hajusom* dealt with the colonial history of Germany. "*Azimut*" is a term in astronomy borrowed from Arabic, which translates to "directions", and denotes a type of angular measurement in a spherical coordinate system. Through the self-discovery of performers and collective historiography on colonialism, *Hajusom* posed the question: "Even though under the same sky, do we see the same stars?" The play was conceptualised with artists Latai Taumoepeau from Togo and Martin Ambara from Cameroon. With the project *Azimut*, *Hajusom* pursued the traces of a complex system of colonialism through theatre performance and archiving. The archive consisted of various video and audio materials as well as texts and photographs, and it was created to display the different aspects and layers of Germany's colonising past (E. Huck, personal communication, October 11, 2018). *Azimut Decolonial – An Archive Performs* presented the archive in a way that

enabled the audience to physically walk through it. The production had a unique stage setup; through various levels of content, colonialism was illustrated as a parasite crawling into the hall of *Kampnagel* (E. Huck, personal communication, October 11, 2018). During the performance, the viewers did not remain passive; they were actively involved in the play. By moving through the hall, they took part in the deconstruction of the entrenched discourse on colonialism. By reinforcing dynamic dialogue between the performers and the audience in this production, the collective implemented their transcultural strategy of acknowledging and appreciating diverse ways of being and their performative articulations.

6.4 *Ruhrorter*

Ruhrorter is a theatre collective, established in 2012 in the post-industrial province of Ruhr, in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. At first, *Ruhrorter* started as a project of a pioneering private-public theatre, *Theater an der Ruhr*, located in the city Mülheim. The director, Adem Köstereli, initiated *Ruhrorter* together with Wanja van Suntum and Dr Jonas Tinius. With time, not only have new members joined the team, but *Ruhrorter* has become an independent theatre initiative. Within the team, there is no hierarchy; all members are responsible for several tasks (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). The team discusses various aspects together, from strategy to content, the problematisation and reflection of their approach in decision-making processes (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). However, each member has their core engagement areas:

- Adem Köstereli: directing and project management
- Wanja van Suntum: sound and space installations
- Dr Jonas Tinius: research
- Alexander Winestock: texts and dramaturgy
- Julian Rauter: directing
- Dijana Brnic: directing
- Maximilian Brands: sound and space installations
- Julia Rautenhaus: stage, costume, and installations
- Franziska Götzen: photography
- Ann-Kathrin Allekotte: public relations and networking
- Jan Christoph Godde: sound directing

The name of the theatre collective in German explicitly communicates its objective: "*Ruhrorter*" means "places/people along the Ruhr". The project was inspired by a multi-storey building that had formerly been used as an asylum accommodation

centre for a long time and was then left deserted. In an interview, Jonas Tinius elucidates how the temporality of the space shaped the content of the project:

> The name *Ruhrorter* simultaneously denotes a particular street and a building, but also a person from that area, an area which in this case is situated between Oberhausen, Duisburg and Mülheim, three different places/spaces [*Orte*] right by the Ruhr. And yet, the building itself is temporally complicated. Yes, it is a concrete building, and yet it has been unused for nine years. It is abandoned, yet it still bears the traces and marks of its former inhabitants, many of whom are no longer in the country. Taking this site as a metaphor or a prism through which to regard many of the issues this project engages with, the temporality of the project is partly what the project is about. (Flade & Tinius, 2014)

The theatre aspires to intertwine this forgotten past of the Ruhr region and the invisibility of refugees. The group produces site-specific theatre productions and installations, accompanied by anthropological research. The installations are mainly intended for the German audience, to raise awareness about the history of the region since the stories of many abandoned sites are unknown to residents (W. van Suntum, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). The ethnographic aspect is a vital pillar of the project; thus, *Ruhrorter* documents the artistic process of their theatrical performances. The anthropological observations serve as a methodological means in search of new forms and aesthetics of dealing with the societal issues of exclusion, otherness, stereotyping, and the stigmatisation of refugees.

Director Köstereli used to perform for the youth theatre of the *Theater an der Ruhr* ensemble over the course of 10 years, during which he established ties with the theatre, where he also met some of the future team members of *Ruhrorter*. Before the establishment of *Ruhrorter*, he had been making theatre with marginalised young people for five years under the roof of *Theater an der Ruhr*. Thus, *Ruhrorter* is profoundly influenced and inspired by the artistic tradition and ethical perception of this local theatre. Alexander Winestock expresses their strong connection to *Theater an der Ruhr*:

> No matter how the tastes and styles developed differently throughout the years, we were attached to that house for 15 years or so. Our first contact with theatre was there – theatre as an artistic form, as a philosophy of art, something of both political and aesthetical qualities, potentials, and refinements as well. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Moreover, *Theater an der Ruhr* provides a rehearsal venue in addition to technical, financial, and marketing support. *Ruhrorter* is also in close communication with the theatre regarding consultation, advice, and feedback on theatre performances

and installation projects (W. van Suntum, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017).

The theatre collective applies for funding programmes offered by different institutions. They do not receive any structural public subsidy. However, since 2014, *Ruhrorter* has been receiving funding from the Ministry of Family, Children, Youth, Culture, and Sport of the State of North-Rhine Westphalia within the Intercultural Dialogue Support Programme. The initiative is also supported through project-based funding of various institutions at the federal, state, and local level.[9]

Especially in recent years, *Ruhrorter*'s works have become well-known and praised by the local media. In 2018, the theatre initiative won the *Ruhrpreis* (Award of Ruhr) and in 2020, they were awarded the second prize of the Innovation Award of the Socio-Culture Fund for the project *Idealstadt* (Ideal City).

6.4.1 Tackling Exclusion and Stigmatisation

In its theatre projects, the initiative works with young refugees. Their precise focus on the stigmatisation and marginalisation of refugees is to a great extent related to their connection to *Theater an der Ruhr*.

Theater an der Ruhr is a visionary ensemble, founded by the Italian émigré director Roberto Ciulli and dramaturge Helmut Schäfer in 1980. The ensemble has been collaborating with stateless and refugee artists and facilitating artistic encounters and international exchange between theatre-makers in Germany and marginalised artists since its foundation. *Theater an der Ruhr* has a distinctive artistic and political approach to otherness and the heterogeneity of cultural affiliations. For them, theatre is understood "as a public institution that not only deals with the experiences of otherness and diversity but is essentially constituted by them in the first place" (Tinius, 2017, p. 210).

The theatre-making philosophy of *Theater an der Ruhr* is manifested through the engagement of *Ruhrorter* with the topics of foreignness, exclusion, and stigmatisation of "the other". Köstereli states that *Ruhrorter* pursues the same perspective since some of the team members started their theatre career at *Theater an der Ruhr*. Therefore, they are familiar with working with people who have experienced stigmatisation (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). The director reflects on how he and Wanja van Suntum were overwhelmed as adolescents by the presence of refugees in the 1990s in the Ruhr region and how this experience, years later, paved the way for *Ruhrorter*:

> There was one experience in the early grades of elementary school that really affected us. This was happening during the Bosnian war. We had many refugees in

9 For the latest list of funders, please visit http://www.ruhrorter.com/.

> our classes. They were invisible. They were there, but, somehow, we did not know who these people were at the time, why they were there, what kind of conditions they lived in. They were there for some time, and then they just left. We came to realise that we knew nothing about these people. Since we went to the same school, we both had an idea about wanting to work with people who had not been in our focus while we were working at *Theater an der Ruhr*. This was our reason to establish the project *Ruhrorter*. (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Ruhrorter provocatively describes itself as a refugee theatre, facing the risk of being seen as exhibiting "refugee stories" from a voyeuristic perspective. The collective highlights that an ethical obligation is a prerequisite for making theatre with refugees. Their viewpoint on the code of ethics has been profoundly impacted by *Theater an der Ruhr*. Both theatres share the principle that "one should conduct theatre with refugees by working through shared understandings of bodily experience, corporeal movements and aesthetic reflection rather than recounting authenticating tragic stories of national wars or serving an agenda of national cultural integration" (Tinius, 2016, para. 14).

This choice is also interrelated with the mission to contribute to a positive change in society's perception of refugees via artistic means. In this context, *Ruhrorter* seeks to tackle existing negative images of refugees in their region:

> (…) to create a small impact on a sub-institutional level by presenting to the audience a theatre by refugees, which shows that there is no difference between me as a spectator and them as a refugee in the way of perceiving the other person. We are interested in how engagement and interaction can help change the perception of "the other". (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

The theatre's work centres around demonstrating the artistic abilities, perspectives, and knowledge of refugees through theatre practice in order to dismantle subjugated positions. *Ruhrorter* is concerned with the reductionist assumptions about refugees in society. Van Suntum states that if cultural differences were not seen as obstacles, and we focused on the performances of the refugees instead, we might have a different idea of Afghanistan, Syria, and so on than the one in our imagination (W. van Suntum, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017).

The theatre initiative expresses that refugees are capable of telling many different stories when surrounded by an artistically oriented mindset. Hence, for *Ruhrorter*, it is crucial to persistently search for new artistic forms that do not display refugees as the representatives of their country of origin, but to validate and circulate their skills and knowledge:

> No matter where these people come from, no matter what their biographical story is, they all have something they can share in an artistic environment, through an aesthetical form that is not based on the documentation of personal experiences (…). One of the crucial areas of concern is emphasising this transformation from private material to an art form. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Weinstock also criticises the prevailing attitude in many projects realised with refugees in Germany. He states that their working models are counterproductive; they lead to the stigmatisation of refugees instead of helping them:

> There is a segment of the theatrical infrastructure in Germany that carries out projects with refugees. We find this approach very questionable. It seems to produce a counter-effect that strengthens the stigmatisation, status, and subjectification of being a refugee. Representing someone as a refugee does not only affect the people on stage but also the audience. Because then the audience has this pitying attitude: "Oh my god, how very tragic". So, everybody involved in such an artistic process might be influenced in a way that is not productive in regards to what such artistic forms claim to achieve. (personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

This critique of victimising of "the other" through performance illustrates *Ruhrorter*'s response to the problematic post-colonial theatre approach. By interweaving the forgotten industrial past of the Ruhr region and the exclusion of refugees, the theatre initiative intervenes in the public sphere to make both their stories and existence visible.

6.4.2 Site-Specific Productions for Fostering Collective Memory

Ruhrorter chooses unconventional performative spaces to emphasise the absence of deserted sites in the memory of the city and its inhabitants. Members of the theatre confirm the strong association between the way they conceptualise projects and their aspiration to display these performances in derelict places to reflect on the post-industrial history of the locality:

> We grew up here, in the Ruhr area. We see potential in abandonment, and we use it. There is also a cultural-political side to it. There are so many spaces left empty here. We should use them more. These buildings are either not used or they are demolished. Our own contribution to the discourse is to make these abandoned spaces and their past visible again. (W. van Suntum, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)
>
> We try to explore a different dimension of the story and history that comes from a site. (…) The projects that take place in these spaces change the

> surroundings; they are inscribed in the space. The surroundings, architecture, and story of the room or the building are, in turn, inscribed into the play as a sort of archaeological work. We try to intertwine biographical, structural, and urban layers, stories, and history. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

In 2014, *Ruhrorter* staged one of their early productions, *Two Himmel* (Two Skies), on the top floor of the premises of *Theater an der Ruhr*, which was a former asylum seekers' accommodation centre. This building also has a symbolic meaning for *Ruhrorter* in terms of combining immigration, theatre, and the industrial past of the Ruhr region.

> In the 1990s, refugees were living there. Now, most of the building is empty. The ground floor is used by *Theater an der Ruhr* for rehearsals. So, the place itself has these different parts of the Ruhr Valley's industrial, immigration, and theatre history. In this way, parts of the site are merged with our artistic production. The same goes for the installations. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

In 2015, *Und die Nacht meines Anfangs* (And the Night of My Beginning) was performed in a former women's prison. In 2016, their third production was shown in an old department store in the city. The following year, a house that formerly hosted women with "illegitimate children" became the theatrical space of *Ruhrorter*. Other performance venues used by the collective included an empty commercial property in 2018, and two churches in 2019.

To connect the narratives of otherness, marginalisation, and abandonment, *Ruhrorter* embraces an experimental artistic format. Through long-lasting rehearsals and mostly non-verbal communication, the theatre explores new theatrical methods for tackling the stigmatisation and self-isolation of refugees.

6.4.3 Minimalistic Aesthetics for the Renegotiation of the Past and the Future

Ruhrorter has a specific aesthetical framework that does not mainly rely on discursive elements but instead on visions created through gestures of the body. Through almost non-verbal narratives and ghost-like bodily movement, *Ruhrorter* introduces a theatre concept where the negotiation and renegotiation of meaning occur (Canyürek, 2018).

Ruhrorter inherits its distinctive aesthetics from *Theater an der Ruhr*, an "aesthetically driven theatre, which does interpretations of classical and contemporary texts (such as the ancient Greeks, Shakespeare, Büchner, Goldoni, Chekhov, Kafka, Pasolini, Weiss) with a mixed cast, seeking out a universal theatre

language which transcends linguistic and cultural differences" (Bloomfield, 2003b, p. 61).

The theatre collective applies a process-oriented approach, initiating every project with a basic framework and a concept further developed during an extended period of rehearsals based on improvisation. Rehearsal time usually stretches over a period of six to seven months since the aim is to assists the performers in gradually shaping their own expression:

> We create a frame; we recognise certain things that might be interesting in a project. But we try to do it in a way that does not impose it on the participants. We say: "Here are some topics, some stories. They might be interesting for you to visualise, or it might be stimulating for you to find imaginary representations that would express some things and topics you are personally interested in". The topic might be related to their personal stories; it might also be entirely something else. It is really up to them. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

During the rehearsal process, amateur actors are actively involved in the creation of the content of theatre productions. The aesthetical form of each performance is agreed on together, based on an acting style that is mostly visual:

> The ideas then find an aesthetical form that might also prevent the risk of having somebody tell their story in a theatrical form. It is very much visual, mostly not language-based. The performers work with images; it is a certain logic of a visual flow. Perhaps the most important role of the director is getting people interested in this kind of aesthetics. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

In theatrical performances, the role of *Ruhrorter* is to facilitate unleashing the cognitive potentiality of the participants. The artistic aim of the theatre group is an abstract form of narration:

> (…) to reach the possibility of being understood, which empowers people through mental presence. The responsibility of the director and the team is, in that sense, to train the participants in these mental processes. It is an image-focused theatre that gains its stability and its presence from mental activity rather than verbal narratives. There is a narrative but not in the sense of us telling you the story from A to B to C. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

The theatre collective also considers this mental preparation a pedagogical requirement of the highly demanding communication mechanism of performance and aesthetics. Participants acquire the skill of being aware of their presence:

> You need to train people if they are not professional performers. You train yourself to communicate via performance that is not necessarily verbal. Not only do you train yourself concept-wise, but you also learn to control your body on stage. (W. van Suntum, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

The collective deems this specific mental frame another integral part of the artistic methodology of avoiding the self-isolation of refugees. Their mission is to support the self-empowerment of performers not only in and for theatre but, more importantly, in their personal lives. Being a refugee is a complicated situation. In addition to their commitment to changing society's negative perception of refugees, *Ruhrorter* is also concerned with how these young people can cope with being seen as "the other". Hence, the theatre aims to help create mental strength that remains as a useful tool to combat self-stigmatisation outside the artistic activity. As a result, engaging in an artistic process to establish self-consciousness is their ultimate focus, rather than the theatrical product per se:

> For each participant, the sustainable core of the project is something you learn because of theatre, use it in the theatre, but it stays with you no matter whether you continue making theatre or not. Without this state of mind, the piece would not work, since it uses minimalist aesthetics even though it is very visual. People are not there as private individuals, nor as refugees but, in a way, some blurry characters who maybe express something that is coming from them but not in an interrogative way. The visuality can only be formed if this focus and presence of the mind are there. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Recently, the inclusion of text into their experimental aesthetics has gained importance for the group. The aspect of spoken language adds a new layer to the improvisation-based visual theatre, an impulse to enable the performers to broaden their contribution to the productions (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). This facet also explains the relationality between the usage of different languages and the aesthetical approach of *Ruhrorter*:

> We are now working on the idea of a multi-language-based theatre as we are interested in different voices. What can a voice tell besides the message of semantic language, what is in between the two, and how can we use it for the project? It is up to everyone to decide which language they want to speak in, whether it is German, Arabic, or French. Last year, this idea came up in the group. We now have a permanent group of participants, many of which have been with us for three or four years now. The group expressed their wish to try out different languages. It is not important for the performers to be able to speak perfect German, even from the aesthetical point of view. What it means to speak, to be in front of a microphone – these are the things that matter to us, not the language itself. (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

In this context, the inclusion of verbal elements is connected to the internalisation of empowerment in the struggle against the marginalisation of refugees. The objective of focusing on voice rather than spoken language is to strengthen the self-awareness of refugees as individuals with their personal histories, visions, and expectations:

> What moves into focus is not so much the text or story told with words, but what it means to speak, what it means to hear your own voice, to present your voice. The pure fact of the voice, even the moment before it is heard. The moment you speak, when you hear your voice, it tells you more about yourself than anything else. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Theatre scripts become a vehicle of aesthetical communication between refugees and the audience. Language merely serves as a tool for the actors to articulate their experiences, ideas, and feelings as protagonists of the theatre productions:

> When they are performing an Arabic text or an Arabic translation of Goethe (which we did last year), when they know how to move on stage, as an audience member you still get feedback, even if you do not understand the language. As Roberto Ciulli says, theatre is a universal language. (…) For example, in one piece, two characters, a girl and a boy, had a dialogue in Farsi and Arabic. The performers knew what they were going to talk about. We gave them the topic, but we never had a written text. There was trust, and we felt that it was the right text for that production. (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Mutual trust is built through this intensive exchange and interaction between the artistic team and performers. The abstract aesthetical frame is thus derived from the well-established artistic communication with the performers.

6.4.4 Theatrical Elaboration from Conceptualisation to Implementation

The working method of *Ruhrorter* indicates an approach to documentary and political theatre centred around otherness. During the long rehearsal process, step by step, the performers form their own expressions. In this regard, *Ruhrorter* understands performance as a non-static transaction attained via artistic interaction between team members.

Ruhrorter does not have a rigid operational methodology. The young director describes their process-oriented approach as a work in progress (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). During rehearsals, the performers slowly develop improvisational impulses.

Ruhrorter is not concerned with the underlying cultural differences or similarities used to tackle marginalisation. They deal with stereotypes by raising awareness on the singularity of (cultural) identity. Hence, they search for alternative

theatrical forms to present a different image of refugees than the one constructed by society:

> The specific cultural background of the performers is not important; it is not even explicitly shown. Yes, we work with refugees, but on stage, it does not matter whether they are refugees or come from different cultures. We work with them; we encourage them to show themselves as complex and interesting people whose biographies are richer and way more intricate than their recently given refugee status. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

The team is cautious about not contributing to the reproduction of the existing categorisations of people based on cultural affiliations. The group sees this mental exercise, developed during challenging rehearsals, as a way to demonstrate the fact that these performers are equipped with various skills and knowledge:

> People share an artistic experience on stage. It does not matter that they are refugees. On the stage, you see a performance. Of course, we aim to make this experience possible for society, for people who are interested in seeing such work. (…) it is important to work with refugees to show that they are more than just refugees. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Supporting refugees in their exploration of creating characters and stories is essential for the theatre initiative. Their commitment to the artistic medium engenders improvisational impulses for the participants, and builds an atmosphere of going beyond the "victim narrative". This process has also proven useful for balancing the power disparities between the artistic team and performers:

> For our last piece, we spent three months rehearsing on stage. Still, we had no idea… Nothing. And then Mohammed, Raghad, and a few more participants took the initiative to get the group together without us. They came up with an idea. (…) They gave us the direction for where the improvisation should go. (A. Köstereli, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

To this end, ethnographic documentation is an indispensable part of the group's strategy not to reproduce and circulate stereotypical images. The anthropological dimension not only provides insights for critical self-reflection on their aesthetical and ethical vision, it also furthers academic research in interdisciplinary fields regarding theatre, migration, and cultural studies.

6.4.5 The Role of Ethnographic Work in Artistic Reflection

From the beginning, the collective has conducted ethnographical research along with theatre productions and installations. Anthropologist Jonas Tinius was incorporated in the team while carrying out his doctoral study. The process

started with intense rehearsal observations; in time, anthropological monitoring contributed to the production of knowledge through articles, symposiums, interviews, and panel discussions. Tinius describes his role as "a questing eye" and "an additional reflexive element" (personal communication, December 1–2, 2017) advancing the production of aesthetical knowledge in addition to the academic knowledge of theatre discourse.

Van Suntum emphasises that "practice is necessarily blind; but, professionals like Tinius can see the blind spots" (personal communication, December 1–2, 2017). Hence, *Ruhrorter* evaluates the addition of an ethnographic approach as an enlightening component of the project, constructive for self-learning. Above all, anthropological observations have provided them input on the production processes useful for further artistic development:

> It is like having an outside eye looking at our artistic process and the process of creating parts of the installation. With the help of this professionally trained observer and analyst, we can critically reflect on a more abstract level, from a distant point of view, on what we are doing. (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Furthermore, these internal observations link theatre practice to research. Anthropological observation aims to question the existing power/knowledge framework of discourses on diversity, theatre, migration, displacement, and identity. In this context, *Ruhrorter* proposes inaugurating artistic and scientific discussions and cooperation to stimulate the formation and transfer of knowledge through alternative aesthetics and practices.

Over time, these two elements facilitated the development of knowledge exchange between scholars and theatre practitioners from various fields. However, the issue of not receiving structural financial support puts the sustainability of the project, the advancement of collaborative work, and the further development of multidisciplinary perspectives at risk:[10]

> We are establishing networks in such a way that has begun to develop into teaching projects, publication plans, academic collaborations, and long-term discussions. There is a general problem with project funding. If we had five-year funding, we would develop all kinds of other different things. This could lead to an even more sustainable direction. (J. Tinius, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

A commitment to process is evident from the works of *Ruhrorter*, from aesthetics to code of ethics, from political stance to critical engagement with the discourse

10 Due to insufficient funding in 2020 and 2021, Ruhrorter reduced their artistic activities. As a result, the initiative did not create any theatre productions for two consecutive years.

on immigration-related diversity. To ensure long-term sustainability of the project as well as its impact on society, *Ruhrorter* is concerned with finding new artistic ways to question the homogenising categories of identity and the label of refugee (A. Winestock, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017).

Ruhrorter understands this process as a continuous task to create an interaction between old and new residents. They invite the audience to stay with them after performances to establish personal encounters and reshape society's perception of refugees by way of aesthetical means.

The ethnographic aspect of the project also aims to draw attention to the reinforcement of populism and nationalism by some artistic approaches that confine identity to ethnicity and nationality. Tinius points out the complexity of identity and the significance of not enclosing it in unifying compartments. He also rebukes the current project funding schemes that support such projects:

> I have a problem with the projects that put people's stories on stage. This is sold as empowering, progressive, aesthetic theatre, and it receives a massive amount of money. However, it does not contribute to breaking some of these stereotypes; it actually reproduces them. (…) I am not saying we have the solution, but I think one needs to be more reflexive than that. The real problem with these kinds of projects (…) is that people are being portrayed as capable of living only one kind of way. What is identity? Identity is constructed through imaginations, through complex processes. What we need to put on stage is the complexity of how we become human beings. What are our possibilities? How do we relate to society? The complex ways in which memory works in favour of not reducing people to one single idea. (J. Tinius, personal communication, December 1–2, 2017)

Tinius adds that the artistic production in the performing arts that engages with the topics of immigration requires debate, and the latest developments in the field should be reflected upon to create a critical discourse about the possibilities and problems of artistic methods (personal communication, December 1–2, 2017).

In the case of *Ruhrorter*, the anthropological dimension builds a layer of resilience to a self-reflexive theatre model to provide intellectual interaction in addition to aesthetical expertise, and deal with the subjugation of knowledge and the power dynamics of structures.

6.5 *PostHeimat*: Confronting Structural Inequalities in Performing Arts[11]

In 2018, the three theatre collectives that constitute the casing of this research joined forces with other theatres to locate structural issues that produce and maintain inequalities in the German performing arts scene. *PostHeimat* emerged from this cooperation.

PostHeimat is a performing arts network, founded in 2018 by *boat people projekt*, *Collective Ma'louba* (Mülheim an der Ruhr), *Exil Ensemble* (Berlin), *Hajusom*, the *Open Border Ensemble* (Munich), and *Ruhrorter*.[12] *PostHeimat* is funded by the German Federal Cultural Foundation and the Ministry of Culture and Science of the German State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The network seeks to generate artistic exchange and collaboration to contribute to the notion of a pluralistic performing arts scene in search of artistic interventions without territorial borders. Members advocate for the deconstruction of the White, male, middle-aged, heterosexual, able-bodied hegemony in the configuration of the performing arts scene. To this end, they endeavour to introduce a fairness-based critical diversity discourse and propose explicit essential measures for cultural policies to create equal, non-hierarchical performative spaces.

PostHeimat (2020a) rethinks the performing arts field through an intersectional diversity approach. The network believes that cultural policy and the performing arts scene must deal with systematic exclusion, discrimination, and racism in order to accomplish an accessible performing arts scene for all performing arts professionals, and offers the concept of intersectional diversity for an inclusive diversity discourse. The network considers themselves a learning space for performing arts collectives, ensembles, artists, researchers, and cultural activists to discuss overcoming structural barriers within institutions and accommodate the heterogeneity of artistic expressions, thereby democratising the performative practice. By combining interdisciplinary research and practice-based perspectives,

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11 The researcher is a member of *PostHeimat* and one of the moderators of the cultural policy workshops, which are part of the main engagement areas of the network. She is also the network's contact person for its intersectional diversity concept. This section is based on her observations and notes taken during the meetings of the *PostHeimat* network.

12 *Collective Ma'louba* is an Arabic-speaking artistic and theatre collective, currently in residence at *Theater an der Ruhr*. *Exil Ensemble* is a platform at *Maxim Gorki Theater* for professional artists forced to live in exile. The *Open Border Ensemble* was a project of *Münchner Kammerspiele* for artists with refugee status in Germany. Barbara Mundel, the new artistic director of *Münchner Kammerspiele*, discontinued the *Open Border Ensemble* in the first half of 2020. Krystel Khoury, who was the artistic director of the ensemble, is still a member of the *PostHeimat* network as a theatre-maker and researcher.

members of the network explore the fundamentals of an equality-based cultural policy framework and new artistic responses that would diversify knowledge production and dissemination. Further, they are concerned with the power dynamics within institutions that produce and regulate hierarchical positions. Hence, the network, among other objectives, addresses the role and task of cultural policy to introduce framework conditions and related essential policy measures for initiating opportunities of equal access to the performing arts scene.

The name of the network reveals their mission. The word "*Heimat*" (homeland) has a negative connotation associated with the colonial and racist past of Germany. *Heimat* implies an exclusive homeland concept, enclosed in a rigid national frame that designates the boundaries of belonging. In this context, *PostHeimat* is a counter-concept that pursues a novel interpretation of nation and a multiplicity of being. It disowns the way of thinking that separates identity into compartments, and acknowledges identity as a dynamic entity. *PostHeimat* seeks to reflect the mirror image of society, understood as always under construction, in which the idea of the "cultures of the homeland" is continuously renegotiated. Thus, *PostHeimat* does not mean abandoning the possibility of connecting to the term "*Heimat*", but, instead, going through it and across it to find new meanings that signal a pluralistic reappropriation of the notion (PostHeimat, 2020b).

By the end of 2021, the co-founding theatre initiatives plan to organise internal meetings, titled *Encounters*, and are inviting artists, groups, institutions, and researchers who share *PostHeimat*'s vision to participate. As a result, the network develops and expands through interaction between old and new members.

Encounter #1

The founding meeting of *PostHeimat* took place from May 25 to 27, 2018 in Munich. *Münchner Kammerspiele* and *Ruhrorter* co-organised a working weekend with *boat people projekt*, *Collective Ma'louba*, *Exil Ensemble*, *Hajusom*, and the *Open Border Ensemble*. Other participants of the first gathering were freelance theatre practitioners, scholars, and researchers. Together they discussed how to keep the matters of diversity, displacement, and immigration on the agenda of cultural policymakers. In parallel with the working sessions of theatre initiatives and researchers from various disciplines, students from different universities participated in workshops that focused on new artistic and aesthetical approaches in production in the context of diversity.

The interdisciplinary approach of *Encounter #1* provided insights into numerous aspects of diversity and highlighted the importance of collectively thinking about the challenges of accommodating diversity in the German performing arts realm.

The participants of the meeting shared their views on the issues, demands, and expectations concerning cultural policies and funds as well as aesthetics

and artistic practice. Some of the emerging topics of the first encounter were (Canyürek, 2019b, p. 34):

- diversity-oriented expansion of the scope of theatres,
- sharing know-how and information and pooling resources,
- developing strategic partnerships,
- exchanging views on current implications regarding the diversification of staff composition, such as hiring diversity agents to change the policy of a theatre,
- discussing various funding schemes with policymaking actors that promote process, training, and research on immigration,
- debating the conventional criteria for assessing artistic work, and triggering a shift in aesthetics,
- increasing collaborations and co-productions,
- being aware of the power relationships between people receiving funding and guest participants engaged in the creative process,
- spending more time and resources on translation, and understanding it not only as a tool but a means of transmitting the work and idea,
- finding new tools and making sure to not reproduce the same stories, ideas, and problems, and
- searching for new ways of translating age-old stories from the canon as well as the unheard stories of immigrants.

Encounter #2

The second meeting was hosted by *Theater an der Ruhr* between March 22 and 24, 2019. Since the previous gathering, the network had expanded with the involvement of more theatre-makers, researchers, academics, and cultural activists. At *Encounter #2*, three working groups around the topics of network, cultural policy, and production aesthetics were created to identify the priorities and engagement areas of the network.

Network Working Group

The network workshops focused on the construction of the network's identity. Hence, participants of this working group dealt with the questions of who they are as a network, what their objectives are, how they can achieve their goals, what their vision and ethical values are, what challenges in the performing arts field they would need to address. They defined the framework of communicating the objectives of *PostHeimat* and opened it up for discussion to the members of other working groups. The following points were determined as the essential elements

of the network's identity and the prompts for further debate (Hesse & Jurca, 2019, pp. 6–7):

- We are a network of transcultural groups in the field of performing arts.
- We aim to empower performing arts collectives and individuals through supporting artistic exchange, providing resources and co-production by creating frameworks and concrete actions.
- We aim to critically examine structural and political developments in the performing arts scene.
- We create opportunities to share and exchange experiences within and among transcultural groups and/or political discourses.

Further, the group specified the network's ethical stance and vision, which reflects its critical mindset. Participants also discussed possible challenges for the performing arts scene and the *PostHeimat* network (Hesse & Jurca, 2019, pp. 6–7):

- We require diversity as the norm on the levels of ensemble, team, and institution.
- We aim for multilingual communication on a textual, contextual, and non-verbal level.
- We claim a new theatre beyond labels.
- We are challenged by conscious and unconscious social preconceptions and stereotypes, which heavily influence the relationships between network members.
- We are challenged by social and cultural policies as well as administrative and legal regulations that do not support the transcultural planning and implementation of timeframes needed for our visions and projects.
- We are looking for new means of interaction with diverse audiences and new modes of perception and reception of artworks.

Against this backdrop, the group underscored the necessity of collective thinking and solidarity for *PostHeimat* to stimulate a bottom-up initiative for the transformation of the performing arts scene in a post-migrant society (Hesse & Jurca, 2019, pp. 6–7):

- The power of our network is in providing visibility via a stronger and more heterogeneous collective voice for accommodating diversity in the performing arts.
- The power of our network is in generating synergies and resources for all to share.

- The power of our network is in enabling and promoting a variety of new forms of art and aesthetics (i.e. method, content, process).
- Our network embodies the accumulation of expertise from diverse fields (i.e. theatre practice, research, policy, and activism) within the context of diversity discourse.

Cultural Policy Working Group[13]

As the first step, the cultural policy working group exchanged views on the network's perception of diversity, and how they should identify the context and scope of diversity when communicating with policymaking and funding institutions. The group recommended that the diversity approach of *PostHeimat* should be based on the concept of *intersectionality*, coined by scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw. Intersectionality acknowledges the fact that identity comprises many layers, and not only do some of these components converge, but, also, modes of oppression, discrimination, and racism often operate along intersecting markers of difference. To address the obstacles of accommodating diversity in the German performing arts scene, the group advised that the diversity framework of the network should deal with the power relations and hierarchies within institutions that maintain the structural exclusion of some performing arts professionals who are marked as "the other". As a result, the policy group determined that the network should recognise anti-discrimination as its main area of concern rather than the current depoliticised and misused notion of cultural diversity.

After several workshop sessions, the areas listed below were identified as vital topics to be promoted and enhanced by cultural policy (Canyürek & van Suntum, 2019a, pp. 4–5):

1. Cultural education
- to support training, workshops, and experiential learning opportunities (including coaching, mentoring, and shadowing, i.e., observing rehearsals and learning from methods applied) for non-established professionals, catered to the specific demands of the performing arts scene,
- to put a code of conduct into practice, which the network should develop in cooperation with diverse actors of the performing arts scene (i.e., awareness of language and its discriminating dimension, ethical standards, equality), and
- to enable mandatory anti-discrimination courses and workshops for developing multiperspectivity, intercultural competencies, and skills for performing arts initiatives and institutions.

2. Funding and capacity building

13 The cultural policy workshop sessions were moderated by the author, Özlem Canyürek, at *Encounter #1* and by Özlem Canyürek and Wanja van Suntum from *Ruhrorter* at *Encounter #2*.

- to provide consultation and advice on funding (e.g., information on funding opportunities and coaching on application procedures in several languages),
- to establish differentiated funding options (not only for productions but also for the process, training, research, translation, rehearsal space, and a separate funding pillar for artists without an institutional affiliation), and inaugurate a long-term structural funding scheme for independent theatres,
- to introduce clear funding guidelines for all incentive programmes (based on clearly identified diversity standards defined by the performing arts field itself),
- to reinforce transparent diversity-focused criteria for jury selection,
- to foster network support for collaboration and cooperation between public and independent theatres, and
- to offer funding guidelines and strategies for amateur ensembles.

3. Production
- to promote process-oriented matchmaking between institutions and external diversity/anti-discrimination-trained producers, as well as between institutions and translators.

4. Consultancy in other areas
- to introduce measures for tackling the legislative issues faced by artists seeking refuge in Germany (e.g., legal consultation for visa applications, regulations of payment for freelance work, and so on),
- to offer psychological counselling for performing arts professionals with refugee status, and
- to propose strategies for audience development.

Two interrelated documents, the *Intersectional Diversity Act* (*IDA*) and *Diversity Access Point* (*DAP*) have emerged from the work of the cultural policy group. *IDA* is understood as the manifesto of the network, and *DAP* is a virtual platform envisioned for the development of a pluralistic and equality-based performing arts realm. Two task forces were formed to further develop the conceptualisation and the scope of *IDA* and *DAP* to be presented at *Encounter #3*.

Production Aesthetics Working Group

The focus of the production aesthetics group was tackling the misapplication of the notion of diversity by engaging with the paradigm of transcultural aesthetics in theatre production. The participants of the workshops pointed out three fundamental dimensions of the interrelation between cultural diversity and aesthetics (Khoury & Schulz, 2019, p. 8):

1. Creative process
- Creative processes with a diverse cast require continuity and time (e.g., a build-up phase).
- The process should receive as much attention as the output. Time is not a luxury.

- The process is more important than the outcome. Sometimes we focus more on the outcome and not enough on the process. Especially with a diverse cast, it is essential to emphasise the process rather than the outcome.

2. Translation

- For both text and context, the role of the translator is crucial. This should be considered in terms of money and time; when making budget cuts, translation is often the first to go. We should advocate for the recognition of the translator's work as the central part of production.
- Multilingual aspects of a theatre performance should be taken into more extensive consideration.

3. Transcultural theatre and dynamics

- The transcultural approach should be an empowering process, and as such, it needs experimentation and risk-taking.
- Transcultural dynamics can be implemented on several levels: through the content as well within the working process; for instance, they can be embedded in interpersonal relations between diverse team members.

4. Aesthetics

- Aesthetics is a broad term that can expand even further within diverse contexts through the exploration of new forms.
- The perception of aesthetics is linked to the traditional way of thinking about making art and developing taste accordingly.
- The domination of a single story or canon carries the risk of disseminating homogeneous knowledge on aesthetics.

The members of *PostHeimat* concluded that the subsequent encounter needed to focus on three specific areas of concern: communication, research, and cultural policy. Consequently, the three working groups continued their activity around those topics to further develop the ideas of *Encounter #2* at the next meeting.

Encounter #3

The third meeting was also organised by *Münchner Kammerspiele*, between October 25 and 27, 2019. New artists, researchers, and theatre groups such as *Label Noir* (Berlin) and *Experi Theater* (Zurich) were part of *Encounter #3*. Building on the conclusions of previous meetings, the working groups exchanged views on concepts such as intersectional diversity, transculturalism, post-colonialism, discrimination, and racism. The representatives collectively agreed on the usage of these critical concepts, which reflect the diversity perspective of *PostHeimat*.

Communication Group

The network sessions evolved into a communication group, whose work was directed towards enhancing internal communication between the network's members and organising the development of the network's website. In the third meeting, representatives of the communication group worked on the communication strategy and content of the website, which was planned to be launched in early March 2020.[14]

Research Group

Members of the research group outlined the network's mission statement, which was then finalised with the contribution of other working groups. *PostHeimat* considers themselves a learning space; thus, the statement was not intended as conclusive. It was designed as a progressive text, to be further developed through vigorous exchange between members.

Moreover, subsequent academic publications are meant to convey the network's conceptualisation of intersectional diversity, its ideas, and its approach to achieving an equality-based performing arts scene.[15] Together with other groups, the researchers aim to link artistic practice and theory with concrete policy proposals and a diversity framework that engages with the requirements of a post-migrant society.

Cultural Policy Group[16]

After the second meeting, the cultural policy group was divided into two subgroups to conceptualise and expand the content of *IDA* and *DAP*. The representatives of the group recommended that in order to give impulses to cultural policy and be part of decision-making processes accordingly, the network needs to politicise the diversity discourse. They presented the first drafts of *IDA* and *DAP* for all members of the network to discuss and reshape together. The cultural policy subgroups regarded both *IDA* and *DAP* as works in progress, an attempt to generate a structural frame for determining and initiating a debate on the needs of the performing arts scene.

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14 The bilingual website was launched in March 2020. For more information, visit https://www.postheimat.com/.

15 During the completion of this book, the *PostHeimat* network was in the process of preparing various materials from the previous encounters and experiences, to be published by transcript under the title *PostHeimat: Migration, Theatre, and Imaginaries of Belonging. Experiments in Networked Solidarity*.

16 The sessions of the *DAP* subgroup were co-moderated by Özlem Canyürek and Wanja van Suntum. The workshops about the *IDA* were co-moderated by Immanuel Bartz from *Collective Ma'louba* and Christopher Fares Köhler, formerly from *Maxim Gorki Theater*, now working at *Theater Dortmund*.

The preliminary version of *IDA* encompassed a list of demands and recommendations for the development of a new cultural policy perspective in the following five areas, which were discussed thoroughly during the second meeting: cultural education, consultation and advice, production, capacity building, and funding. In addition to the areas analysed in previous subsections, the group suggested the following (Bartz, 2019, p. 3):

- To protect all employees and freelancers from discrimination, the anti-discrimination clause introduced by Sonja Laaser and Julia Wissert should be included in all contracts.
- Mandatory courses and workshops for anti-discrimination literacy should be offered for staff at least once a year, in all hierarchies of power.
- There is no policy that acknowledges and rewards the work of part-time theatre-makers.

At the third meeting, the second cultural policy group introduced the platform *DAP* to the other members of *PostHeimat*. *DAP* was proposed as a tool to implement the clauses of *IDA* (Canyürek & van Suntum, 2019b, p. 4):

- At the base level, *DAP* is conceptualised as a virtual office for a future society resisting institutional structures and frames that maintain unequal access conditions for those marked as different.
- *DAP* acknowledges that we are a post-migrant society living in a transnational world. The nexus of performing arts is not just a neutral public space but an advocate for an inclusive society committed to cultural pluralism. Therefore, the performing arts scene should be a political actor and defender of the values of such a society.
- *DAP* believes that the performing arts field requires a new trajectory for engaging with difference without marginalising it. In order to breach the construction of otherness and to address unequal opportunities, *DAP* focuses on the vague and misleading use of the concept of "cultural diversity".
- *DAP* recognises the individual elements of identity and perceives it as a dynamic, interactive, and intersectional entity that cannot be enclosed by national and ethnic frameworks.
- *DAP* aims to encourage theatres to realise how diverse (or not) they are and/or what steps are to be taken towards becoming more diverse.
- *DAP* is envisaged as a provider of services related to anti-discrimination, including various supportive and practical tools for performing arts initiatives and individuals who are struggling with(in) these institutions.
- *DAP* seeks to offer online information on anti-discrimination, access to consultation on diversity-sensitive management, and building competencies

and skills for developing multiperspectivity for performing arts collectives and practitioners.

Encounter #3 was concluded after the feedback section, which determined the short and mid-term objectives of *PostHeimat*, including (PostHeimat, 2019, p. 9):

- to expand the network by inviting new participants and guests,
- to inform the members on what the working subgroups have achieved since the last encounter,
- to further pursue and develop ideas related to the identified topics by suggesting tools that would meet the need for more visibility and effectiveness, and
- to arrange a time and place for internal task groups to gather and advance the concepts they had been working on.

Encounter #4 took place between March 5 and 8, 2020 at *Maxim Gorki Theater* in Berlin, and the working groups continued to concretise previously developed concepts and ideas. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, *Encounter #5* was hosted online by *Hajusom* in Hamburg between October 29 and 30, 2020. Network members came together once more online in March 2021 for *Encounter #5.5* to discuss the thematic focus of the previous *Encounter* and the future of the network after the funding round ended.[17]

6.6 Investing in Learning Spaces for Enhancing Diversification Processes

Both the findings of the casing analysis and the networking efforts indicate that the creation and cultivation of a new, pluralistic discourse for an equal, non-hierarchical theatre landscape are inherently linked to developing cultural policy strategies to support non-institutionalised structures. Such strategies, as shown in this empirical investigation, have a considerable potential to nurture normalising cultural differences in an intercultural society by introducing flexible methods pertaining to exploratory aesthetics and artistic formats, new narrativisation techniques, unconventional performative interactions, and multilingualism. More importantly, the frame of mind and actions of these strategies and examples of good practice, albeit with varying approaches and principles, is characterised by collective thinking. Incontrovertibly, such examples provide substantial know-how for institutionalised theatres on how to engage with a fairness-based diversity

17 For the protocols of all *Encounters*, see https://www.postheimat.com/.

perspective. From another angle, these theatre initiatives and similar examples confirm that in providing equal opportunities as part of theatre reform, the discrepancy between high art and social work and the strict separation between professionals and amateurs in theatre is no longer valid.

An appropriate strategy for cultural policymakers and their funding institutions is to establish a support mechanism for collaboration between established theatres and theatre initiatives committed to the diversification of theatrical knowledge production and dissemination. Such theatre collectives operate under severe financial constraints. The COVID-19 pandemic worsened their precarious working conditions.

As suggested by Björn Bicker, one solution is opening the structural financial resources and infrastructures of municipal theatres long term to these theatre collectives, so that cooperation between the two can give way to a diversity-oriented direction for established theatres on the one hand, and facilitate independent groups to focus more on continuing to produce new ideas and artistic forms on the other (B. Bicker, personal communication, November 20, 2017). Promoting matchmaking between institutionalised and diversity-driven non-institutionalised structures (e.g., performing arts initiatives and networks) is also a vital aspect of the efforts to provide structural solutions for reducing access barriers for excluded and marginalised performing arts professionals, as well as stimulating the circulation of diverse stories of an intercultural society and making theatre practice appealing to new generations.

7. Intercultural Reorganisation in Performing Arts

Through the cultural diversity dispositive (cultural policy discourse on diversity and the materialisation of this discourse through actions such as funding programmes and theatres subsidised through those incentives) in various chapters, this research analysed to what extent cultural policy plans, strategies, and implementation measures consider intercultural reorganisation an integral dimension of a future-oriented performing arts scene.

As shown throughout this research, in cultural policy terms, the intercultural opening of cultural institutions has gained importance in the last decade. It is evident from the examples shown in Section 3.3 that interculturality, albeit perceived and implemented varyingly, has become an omnipresent concept for promoting cultural diversity at the *Länder* and municipal level. Similarly, as illustrated in Chapter 5, the national government has been introducing intercultural funding programmes or programmes with intercultural features to foster intercultural awareness, dialogue, and exchange. Nonetheless, after almost 15 years of introducing various views on the matter, the intercultural reorientation of the theatrical landscape is still one of the main subjects of cultural policy discourse and discussions. There are still many conferences and events dedicated to the pluralisation of the theatre domain. And yet, the status quo is maintained, and the (public) theatre remains a White institution.

Since national cultural policy does not offer an intercultural perspective, through the illustration of some new intercultural approaches at the *Länder* and local level, the study aimed to identify the shortcomings of cultural policy that need to be addressed in order to take an adequate intercultural direction. Further, this research sought to examine the aspects overlooked by cultural policy and recommend a frame of mind that would facilitate the intercultural reorganisation of the theatre realm, while exploring how the consolidation of current intercultural strategies might contribute to federal cultural policy making the intercultural reorganisation of the performing arts scene a priority objective.

What immediately comes into view regarding the perception and implementation of interculturality by the *Länder* and municipal governments is that although the concept has been employed in various modes by different actors

of policymaking bodies, it remains an inclusion/integration strategy, aimed to be achieved through intercultural dialogue, addressing residents with a "migrant background" and lately refugees.

Similarly, at the national level of policy, "migrant others" with overlapping identities (i.e., non-European, non-Western, non-Christian, Black people, POC) and refugees are perceived as the target groups of intercultural work and intercultural programmes. Correspondingly, cultural diversity and interculturality are understood as part of the field of immigration, theatre pedagogy, and cultural education, and these programmes are designed for immigrants and refugees within cultural education strategies, frequently interrelated with the socio-culture practice. Even well-intended cultural education and cultural participation funding programmes employ interculturality in a manner that implies that forced migration produces a collective "refugee identity" or a "refugee culture"; therefore, refugees are recognised as the sole recipients of most intercultural programmes and projects.

Interculturality is also often understood as the concept of reaching out to immigrants as new audiences. None of these intercultural funding programmes is concerned with the absence of racialised and marginalised theatre professionals in the performing arts scene. Although the examined funding programmes of the key national policy institutions, namely the German Federal Cultural Foundation, Performing Arts Fund, and the Socio-Culture Fund, incorporated valuable features of interculturality, in the absence of a relevant intercultural policy framework these remain isolated measures. The analysis of the cultural diversity dispositive indicates that cultural policy has failed to provide a structured intercultural frame and vision that would encourage institutionalised theatres to accommodate immigration-related diversity within their organisational culture.

The newly updated federal cultural policy disappointingly continues to relate cultural diversity only to intercultural dialogue. In this interpretation, intercultural dialogue refers "both to conversations within the country (with groups of the population who have a 'migrant background' [emphasis added]) and those at the international level" (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 29). It perceives "intercultural theatre, music and film festivals or the Carnival of Cultures, a parade of different ethnic and cultural groups on the streets of, e.g., Berlin, Bielefeld or Frankfurt" (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 29) as offers of intercultural dialogue. Moreover, federal funding programmes, interconnected with intercultural education, are understood to enhance intercultural dialogue, which enables respecting different cultural traditions and values of other ethnic or religious groups, and contributes to combating racism, xenophobia, and right-wing extremism (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 31). This perception insistently asserts a link between interculturality

and "the others"; this provides insights useful in comprehending the association of diversity with alternative forms of integration. However, regardless of how well-intentioned, the pathways for cultural integration into German society often present explicit conditionalities based on cultural differences, especially for "migrant others" and refugees. Approaching interculturality through an ethnic lens demonstrates that intercultural dialogue is seen as instrumental in bringing closer the distant homogenous cultures (the cultures of those "particular" immigrants and refugees), assumed to be separated by concrete partitions between them and German/European/Western culture.

In the absence of a deliberate intercultural perspective, the federal government's funding bodies carry on introducing additional subsidy programmes that aim to promote cultural diversity. However, such programmes hardly make any contribution to the pluralisation of the performing arts scene. Without clear policy objectives, planning, and solid implementation strategies around an intercultural approach that aims to promote equal opportunities, they are incapable of addressing the systematic exclusion of the immigrant artistic workforce and far from stimulating the theatrical landscape towards improving the access conditions (including both the performing arts field and funding policy instruments) for those artists. In contemporary Germany, fulfilling the requirements of the long-lasting claim that "cultural policy is social policy" (Spielhoff, 1976) hinges on the willingness and ability of cultural policy to respond to cultural diversity fairly and effectively.

The intercultural approach introduced in this study entails the renouncement of strict hierarchies of cultural differences between what is designated as German/European/Western and non-German/European/Western. This vision of interculturality is interested in the emergence of a new "us" that does not assign the positions of subject and object in an encounter (Ahmed, 2000); therefore, first of all, it calls for a change of mindset towards abandoning the perception of German society in compartments. Further, it proposes a paradigm shift in cultural policy for the reformation of the theatre system, which cannot be disassociated from the transformation of traditional ideas, beliefs, values, and habits of White cultural-political decision-making.

When considered from this point of view, the updated national cultural policy of 2020 remains a brief on the current developments and examples of initiatives and programmes promoting intercultural dialogue. It neither provides an intercultural policy framework, nor does it recognise the intercultural reorganisation of cultural institutions as a priority policy objective.[1] It indicates

1 The current priorities of the *BKM* are "women in culture and media – asserting equal opportunities, cultural education and integration, art in exile, dealing with cultural assets from colonial contexts and film promotion" (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 20).

that immigration will continue to be approached through measures of cultural education and integration (Bundesregierung, n.d.).

Today, German cultural policy stands at a historic crossroads. The demand of "culture for all" formulated by the New Cultural Policy of the 1970s urgently requires a more inclusive interpretation. Although the Basic Law restricts the involvement of federal cultural policy in cultural affairs, the national importance of immigration, the backlash of previous immigration and current refugee policies, and the rise of right-wing extremism, xenophobia, and racism give national cultural policy a significant mediating role. The complexity of cultural diversity and the current fragmented, uncoordinated, and disconnected policy approaches indicate that a vertical governance between different levels of cultural policymaking is essential for shaping a forward-thinking, receptive, and dynamic cultural policy – one that responds to the requirements of an intercultural society. The absence of such cooperation points to the question of how the federal government justifies its intervention in the field of culture since the promotion of culture is not a federal task to begin with (Ehrmann, 2013, p. 250). Similarly, the ability and willingness of the *Länder* and municipalities to take steps towards the realisation of their already developed intercultural perspectives should be called into question as well.

This research acknowledges that providing the theatrical sphere with impulses to *think and act interculturally* should be one of the primary responsibilities of cultural policies at all levels. Based on the theoretical exploration and empirical findings, this study claims that cultural policies have yet to manifest the dynamism of cultural diversity. They are not responsive enough to employ cultural diversity *in motion*. The national, *Länder*, and local policies fail to support the development of a fairness-based discourse on cultural diversity, which focuses on the enhancement of access conditions for all to the cultural sphere in an intercultural society. Thus, they still have not provided explicit strategies and measures to accommodate immigration-related diversity even years after the late and reluctant acknowledgement of Germany as an immigrant country.

Participation of all also entails the production of culture by everyone. Cultural participation thus involves not only generating new audiences but, more importantly, dismantling the barriers for those who are denied access to the performing arts scene as artistic workforce. Access to culture is the precondition of participation and can only be achieved through decisive orientation, planning, and strategies targeting the development of equal rights and opportunities for all cultural professionals.

The demand for a theatre reform has been long articulated. However, structural problems that had led to the theatre crisis in Germany of the early 1990s, which then deepened in the 2000s, have for a long time been associated with the reduction of theatre budgets nationwide (Hughes, 2007). Dissimilar to those approaches, in the *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik* (Cultural Policy Yearbook) of the *KuPoGe*

(2004), structural change in (public) theatres was discussed from many aspects, including audience development and marketing, public theatres adopting new artistic production methods seen in independent theatre regarding the social role of theatre, suggestions of new models for municipal theatres, the impact of new media, cultural industries, and globalisation.

In the coming decade, these debates acknowledged the significance of including the topic of immigration into artistic production and reception for a democratic society (Schneider, 2011) as well as the intercultural opening of theatres (Sharifi, 2011a; Terkessidis, 2010). Immigration has also become part of the theatre reform debate, along with the legitimacy of public theatres in context of the decline of the well-educated middle-class audience and, on the other hand, public expenditure on these institutions (Schneider, 2013c), and the perspective of intercultural audience development (Mandel, 2013). The "Hildesheim Theses"[2] also stressed that the impact of immigration and cultural diversity should be incorporated into the cultural policy intended to transform the performing arts field (nachkritik.de, 2012). Moreover, the online independent theatre portal *nachkritik.de* (2015) has created a space for readers to actively take part in the discussions on the prerequisites of a future theatre policy.

The *KuPoGe* has been a key policymaking actor that contributes to the developments in the field of cultural policy. As early as the beginning of the 2000s, the *KuPoGe* expressed that incorporating an intercultural policy perspective was vital, and raised crucial questions, which are for the most part still relevant almost two decades later:

> What cultural policy needs to do at the federal, *Länder*, and above all, the local level is make intercultural cultural policy a reality. How can non-German artists and immigrants engaged in culture be more closely involved in the opinion-forming and decision-making process of cultural policy? What instruments of support do we need to utilise? Which models of intercultural work can we learn from? How can we expand the canon of cultural heritage, referred to by cultural policy, to include elements of other cultures' traditions? How can we create a positive approach to the topic of "cultural policy in an immigrant society"? (Kröger & Sievers, 2003, p. 305)

In the first half of the 2000s, Scheytt (2007), the former president of the *KuPoGe*, announced that the future of cultural policy was intercultural. Later, the *KuPoGe* once again demanded an intercultural agenda from cultural policy (KuPoGe, 2012);

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2 These theses were part of the lecture series (*Theatre-Development-Planning: Cultural Policy Concepts for the Reform of the Performing Arts*) of the 2012/2013 semester at the Department of Cultural Policy, University of Hildesheim, bringing theorical and practical approaches together.

yet, this agenda has still not been set as one of the priorities of national cultural policy.

Today, in addition to these perspectives, intercultural reorganisation requires being perceived as a part of theatre reform discussions regarding theatre policy (Schneider, 2017a). Now is the time for a progressive cultural policy to look beyond the consequences of the German unification and focus primarily on people themselves (Schauws, 2016, p. 45). The structural transformation of the theatre realm includes acknowledging the German society as intercultural. Consequently, the debates concerning the future of theatre should first deal with the question of what culture we denote when referring to "German culture", and then engage with the related questions: Theatre for whom, by whom, and by way of what theatre aesthetics?

This study is ultimately concerned with the incorporation of the cultural capital of artists and cultural professionals categorised as people with a "migrant background" into the German theatre system (Sharifi, 2011a). It recognises that theatre policy should address the Whiteness of the German theatre sphere. A future-oriented theatre policy should deal with deconstructing structural barriers preventing or limiting access conditions for all theatre professionals, in order to create an inclusive theatrical scene (Sharifi, 2011a, 2017; Terkessidis, 2010). A theatre policy that endeavours to transform the 19th-century structure of public theatre does not solely pertain to the allocation of more funding or restructuring of the funding scheme. It is rather about "planning for cultural development; theatre for more people with a conceptual diversity perspective and related funding programmes" (Schneider, 2017b, p. 5).

Considering the methodological and empirical examinations, the research concludes that the theatre realm requires the intercultural policy perspective articulated in previous research (Sharifi, 2011a). As expressed by Schneider, "for the survival of the performing arts scene, we need a redesign, with new networks and new structures, practical ideas with a conceptual basis: Ideas drawn from theory, an understanding of history, current experience and our vision for the future" (2017a, p. 577). In this context, the researcher envisions *thinking and acting interculturally* as a cognitive roadmap for the intercultural reorganisation of the theatrical sphere that reflects the mindset of an intercultural society.

7.1 Diversity in Motion: Thinking and Acting Interculturally

Concept formation is an integral part of the empirical analysis; thus, this research is concerned with introducing the idea of *thinking and acting interculturally* as a new concept. This engagement of the study is firmly connected to the absence of diversity in staffing, programming, and audiences in the German theatre realm.

More importantly, to do justice to the vitality of the phenomenon of diversity, the researcher offers *thinking and acting interculturally* as an active and responsive concept that recognises diversity as an open-ended process *in motion*. Through case study analysis and casing formation, the researcher developed the criteria for rethinking theatre as a fairness-based heterogeneous space that reflects the preconditions of *thinking and acting interculturally*.

In this regard, *thinking interculturally*, based on the adverbial form of interculturalism, proposed by linguist Peter McDonald (2011), was reified to underpin the main features of a theatre system that relies on the principle of equality. McDonald (2011) offers thinking interculturally as an alternative conceptualisation to multiculturalism, varieties of cosmopolitanism, and interculturalism. He claims that "the adverbial form identifies the intercultural as a diverse, risky and lived process" (2011, p. 372). McDonald argues that cultures are never separated and distinct but always exist interculturally:

> The merits of a formulation like 'thinking interculturally' lie firstly in the fact that it avoids the bounded logic of the prefix 'multi-', giving priority to this movement across cultural borders of various kinds. It still, of course, assumes that such borders exist and, therefore, that culture (…) plays a powerful role in the world, contributing to many individual and group self-understandings. What the adverbial formulation underscores grammatically is that these borders are porous and labile. (…) Since all cultures, including dominant ones, are less coherent and more mixed than we like to believe, or that the political pressures of a particular moment might require us to believe, the intercultural as an ongoing, open-ended process is all-pervasive. (2011, pp. 372–373)

Further, the adverbial formulation is instrumental in comprehending the changing demographic structure of contemporary societies as well as the individual dimension of identity; it also makes room for a new understanding of an intercultural community, which is envisaged in constant progress and transition. This understanding emphasises that "singular beings with their plural identities [are] confronted by underlying structural forces around them, and these forces may put their singularity at risk" (McDonald, 2011, p. 381). People, with their multiple identities, are the subjects of interaction. Being in an encounter with one another opens the process of a living dialogue that includes both agreement and conflict between dynamic identities (Ahmed, 2000; Cantle, 2012; Wood et al., 2006). Hence, the proposed adverbial usage of the concept is beneficial in acknowledging the fact that interaction takes place not between cultures but between people. As theatre scholar Christine Regus precisely articulates:

> It is not the cultures that interact, but people – individually or as social groups. Cultures cannot act or meet; they are dynamic systems of meaning. It

> is problematic to confuse individuals with cultures, to see in them, above all, representatives of inherently defined collectives. This is misleading, especially in the case of art, since it is often produced by people, representing very original, self-contained artistic positions and refusing to be perceived as proxies to any culture, nation, or other community. (2009, p. 38)

In this context, thinking interculturally is also a heuristic attempt at reconsidering the meaning of cultural diversity outside the prescribed frames that operate as promoting versions of a static, insulated, and impermeable "us" within a nation-state, not allowing multiple othernesses to occur.

Thinking interculturally by no means suggests cultural hybridity. It describes a curious, relentless learning process that allows co-creating versions of culture in constant motion, and it includes ambiguity, conflict, negotiation, and transition. In this understanding, marginalised positions are not determined as "the other" since the idea recognises the meeting of multiple fabrications of otherness, inspired by the conceptualisation of Fiona Sze (2004, p. 127). Thinking interculturally enables transformative encounters for all members of society.

Thinking and acting interculturally, on the other hand, signifies a conceptual tool, a frame of mind, which should be manifested in the strategies, actions, and organisational structures of theatres. *Thinking and acting interculturally* does not correspond to a particular theatre genre. Thus, its theoretical premise, in all respects, differs from theatre models such as intercultural theatre, which emerged in the 1970s, conveying a "hybrid derived from an intentional encounter between cultures and performing traditions" (Lo & Gilbert, 2002, p. 36), and post-colonial or syncretic theatre that fuses indigenous performance traditions into Western drama (Balme, 1999). It also neither denotes the later developed form of intercultural theatre concerned with the Western appropriation of intercultural exchange by Patrice Pavis (1996), nor his more recent interpretation of intercultural performance as a form of interdisciplinary hybridity, reflecting on the impact of globalisation on theatre (Pavis, 2010). *Thinking and acting interculturally* seeks to offer a reflective outlook on dealing with the processes of othering and the underlying power dynamics.

7.1.1 Indicators of Interculturality in Performing Arts

Through casing, this study aimed to link the theoretical proposition to the empirical basis (Ragin & Becker, 1992), in order to reify this conceptualisation. The evaluation of the casing indicated different elements of *thinking and acting interculturally*. Moreover, in this query, the academic and practice-based knowledge exchange of the *PostHeimat* network (see Section 6.5) enabled determining various attributes of the concept of *thinking and acting interculturally*.

The following interlinked aspects are identified as the essential features of *thinking and acting interculturally*. By no means is the list of criteria complete; it is instead envisioned as a stepping stone for a semantic shift in diversity discourse, a contribution to the efforts towards recognising cultural diversity beyond a management model that employs cultural differences for organisational efficiency (Faist, 2009). The criteria are considered analytical parameters for a change in mindset for the White-dominated German performing arts field. Hence, they are formulated as indexes of an interculturally organised theatre practice. For this reason, the features of *thinking and acting interculturally* listed below signify a cognitive tool for the theatrical scene rather than a cultural policy measure. One should bear in mind that learning to deal with difference and ambiguity does not alter the existing structural inequalities (Nising & Mörsch, 2018, p. 142). Cultural policy should tackle institutionalised inequalities through an explicit cultural policy vision, careful planning, and implementation strategies for the pluralistic transformation of the theatrical sphere.[3]

The criteria refer to the interconnected ways of engaging with various axes of difference, the social and political construction of otherness, attributed only to "migrant others" and refugees, and the power disparity between partners in artistic exchange:

1. The factor of motivation: Critically examining one's own conduct and motives for "making diversity a goal" (Ahmed, 2012). Theatres and theatre practitioners should genuinely ruminate on their intentions for working on "trendy" topics such as diversity, migration, and displacement, and, correspondingly, working with excluded immigrant and refugee professional and amateur artists with various intersecting labels. The foremost question is whether the commitment to diversity is related to the fact that "it is obviously (now) 'the right thing to do'" (Vertovec, 2012, p. 306). Hence, people that hold privileged positions should interrogate the credibility and authenticity of their motivations (Süngün, 2016, p. 151), especially within White artistic practices and institutions. In this regard, motivation is a decisive signal for determining whether engagement with diversity is understood as an artistic interaction between different realms of experiences and knowledge.
2. Process-orientation: Recognising process as an open-ended and continuous learning practice, not limited to various phases of artistic production. Process-orientation fundamentally denotes the processes of encounter and exchange, which involve ambivalence, conflict, and contingency. It refers to all forms of deliberation and communication between institutions/initiatives and amateur

3 Recommendations for achieving a pluralistic performing arts scene are introduced in the following subsection, Section 7.2.

and professional artists with observable exclusions and different overlapping identities. It also refers to the relationship with the audience. At the level of reception, it means to perceive process as a way of conveying a diverse array of views, expressions, knowledge, and experiences by means of performance. These creative processes make theatre a space for the mobilisation of juxtapositional othernesses without neutralising it.

3. The ethical dimension of dialogue: Being occupied with the question of how to develop an ethical approach without perpetuating the existing frames that treat some people as "the other". First and foremost, ethical communication refers to a mindset that "resists thematising others as 'the other'" (Ahmed, 2000, p. 144). The ethical premise in this context primarily entails disowning the narrow perception of the human condition. Creating a heterogeneous space includes acknowledging human beings as multiple othernesses with various perspectives, orientations, and affiliations. For the actors of the theatre field, this means being able to not set any cultural borders in artistic conversation.
   On a related second level, the ethics of communication calls for abandoning superior positions that carry the traces of colonial continuities. In this interaction, the White German majority society is internalised as normative, the one that dominates, and "the other" is assigned as subordinate. Terms of communication, on the contrary, require seeing the performative space through a non-insular lens that recognises intercultural society as the norm.
4. Conditions of emancipation: The frame of empowerment starts with questioning the basis of intent and the terms of autonomy. Given the scale of profoundly and historically rooted power dynamics, the liberation of the artistic expressions of "the other" often rests on the perception and accompanying implications of the dominant positions. Thus, a critical engagement with empowerment recognises "the hegemonic discourses that reproduce hegemonic positionalities, such as whiteness, heteronormativity, patriarchy, Eurocentrism, etc." (Steyn, 2015, p. 382). In turn, such an understanding entails a self-reflexive critique that questions the ways of "giving a voice" to the systematically silenced (Cañas, 2017a, para. 3). The claim of commitment to diversity further raises questions about the sites of emancipation: What is the basis of emancipation? Who is in the position to set the boundaries of empowerment, and what are their intentions? What are the limits of outside intervention? It should also be taken into account that the aspiration to empower marginalised groups and artists for a fairer representation could unintentionally reproduce clichés; hence, there is a possibility that "the representations of 'the other' [might] imprison the subjects in stereotypical images strengthening the ideology of 'the national-self and the immigrant-other'" (Benjamin, 2013, p. 23). This suggests that the recognition of marginalised people as autonomous subjects and equal partners

in determining the conditions of empowerment and negotiating power is vital for the establishment of non-hegemonic forms of interaction.

5. Standing in solidarity: Challenging the unequal distribution of power and opposing various forms of exploitation of excluded performing arts professionals, seeing artistic solidarity and cooperation as a mode of resistance, confronting the binary lines between "us" and "the other". Theatre as a space of resistance also means a reflection of an artistic practice that seeks to transgress the historically constructed privileged positions. Hence, it is essential to acknowledge solidarity as a counter-strategy for the self-empowerment of marginalised people in their struggle against exclusion. It follows that what lies at the foundation of constructive cooperation is whether it is mutually beneficial. Building fair cooperation, based on trust and consensus, entails a continuous exploration of its conditions, structures, and processes; from the onset, there is an agreement on cooperation itself as an experiment (Hampel, 2015). However, one should not dismiss the possibility of cooperation being challenged by conflicting expectations and needs.
6. Networking: Given the exclusionary structure of the German performing arts scene, networking is one of the modes of solidarity practised through artistic exchange to overcome structural barriers and share know-how and resources (see *PostHeimat* as an example of such networking in Section 6.5). The synergy between performing arts institutions and initiatives, artists, and researchers could be considered a form of cultural activism in which the arts, politics, and activism blend together (Verson, 2007), as well as a mode of cultural resistance (Duncombe, 2002) envisioning the concept of democracy through collective action which contributes to the development of participatory approaches (della Porta & Diani, 2006). In this regard, it is also a modality of a bottom-up, alternative policy prospect that explores the possibilities of new equality-based political-artistic imaginaries in the theatrical space.
7. Aesthetical frame: Aesthetics refers to a mode of negotiation of the self through knowledge exchange. This negotiation process is understood more as an act on a political and ethical level than the aesthetics of performance. It is characterised by the motivation to deal with existing inequities in artistic exchange, and concerned with the ways of production of theatrical knowledge outside the Western canon. It searches for trajectories that explore exchange beyond the hybrid, universal, or cosmopolitan appropriation of culture proposed and practised by the same Western theatre vision. As articulated by Bharucha, "the 'universal minimum' that can be said to initiate any intercultural exchange is extremely fragile, based more on intuition and good faith than on any real cognisance of the Other" (1999a, p. 15). In this context, the answers to the following crucial questions serve as measures of a genuine interaction: What does the aesthetical frame aim to convey? Who

determines it? What are the conditions of that particular aesthetics? How and for whom is it designed?

8. Narration of a multiplicity of experiences: Various forms of narrativisation of experiences foster the development of new theatrical expressions. The Western appropriation of the "cultures of the other" tends to fabricate reductive cultural narratives around diversity, migration, and displacement. These narratives hinder the authentic articulation of artistic expressions by the racialised and marginalised artists and performing arts professionals coming into contact with the majority society.

   In the German context, considering particularly the current overexcitement around engaging in "refugee work" and doing migration-oriented "diversity/intercultural/transcultural projects", even the most well-intentioned approaches often generate victim narratives. These perspectives confine "migrant others" and refugees to a frame that forces them to perform victimhood and stereotypical roles assigned to them. Alison Jeffers describes this attitude, which unveils itself in the emerging canon of refugee theatre in the UK, as "the need for the 'right' kind of refugee story in which complexities are smoothed out to create a simple linear narrative of individual crisis and flight" (2012, p. 46). This perception does not serve the aim of perceiving "the other" as creative, skilled, knowledgeable, or autonomous beings. On the contrary, as Cañas aptly points out, "this perpetuates a dynamic in which those remain a passive, self-apologetic voice in the national place rather than a galvanising force, utilising social commentary, and involved in acts of political engagement" (2017b, p. 69). Hence, a range of multiple narrations of experiences would facilitate the exploration, validation, and circulation of different types of stories in which racialised and marginalised voices are not (re)imaged by the Western theatre canon and reduced to simplistic fictitious characters.
9. Multilingualism: Monolingualism is recognised as one of the indexes of German drama theatre. This is related to the historically rooted establishment of theatre as a medium for representing the national interest of the *Bürgertum* (bourgeoisie; Israel, 2011, p. 61). On that account, the German language is still associated with the ideals of the nation-state, which prevail in the theatrical canon, although its educated middle-class audience has been shrinking (Mandel, 2011, 2013). This aspect also reveals whose needs and expectations the programming is designed for. In addition, "multilingualism is used by the majority of theatres at most as a conscious stylistic device in individual, content-wise appropriate productions, if, for example, communication problems on a linguistic level are thematised" (Holthaus, 2011, p. 154). Considering the transnational configuration of the world, showing disinterest for linguistic diversity is no longer a possibility. As Bicker states, "it

is inevitable that immigrant artists will change the formal language of German theatre practice; hence, it will not be possible to maintain the primacy of the pure German (stage) language for long" (2009, p. 30).

Recognising the interaction between languages is an integral part of multiperspectivity and the reality of an intercultural society. If theatre is understood as the self-reflection of society, then it should be conceived as a space that communicates with various characteristics of this society, including its languages. The linguistic aspect refers not only to the modes of communication between theatre, actors, and audiences as a feature of performative strategies but also a connection between the memories of citizens and the histories of societies; the history of the past, present, and future in the making.

10. Being self-critical and self-reflexive: Having the willingness to develop self-reflexivity and a critical mode of self-understanding to confront the established boundaries and the deconstructive absolutisation of differences in interactions in the theatrical space. For reflexivity to be transformative for all parties involved, the question of "how we can at the same time do justice to the other's otherness (and [their] (…) own situatedness) as well as to ours" (de Schutter, 2004, p. 51) should be embodied as a vital principle. Following this logic, self-reflexivity reopens a potentiality for thinking critically about deficit-oriented imaginaries of difference ascribed to "the other". One's self-understanding depends primarily on the question of whether the differences are entrenched in essentialist partitions attributed to "the other" within the structure of an artistic medium but also in one's own mind.

7.2 Intercultural Cultural Policy Framework for the Theatre Landscape

This study deduces that, to pluralistically reconstruct the theatre landscape, cultural policy calls for an intercultural framework. The below outlined recommendations take the question of "what intercultural opening should achieve" (Sharifi, 2017, p. 372) as the starting point, bearing in mind that intercultural theatre policy should fundamentally deal with the absence of equal rights and opportunities for attaining cultural justice and cultural democracy.

Based on the in-depth analysis of the cultural diversity dispositive concerning immigration presented in various chapters, the researcher makes the following cultural policy recommendations to support a fairness-based diversity frame in the performing arts field.

Acknowledgement of Interculturality as the Norm of Society

Interculturality means more than a mere concept for funding programmes or a mode of production referred to as "intercultural work". By only associating interculturality with immigrants and refugees in context of cultural integration, one runs the risk of separating people into ethnic and religious compartments (Sen, 2006). This assumption is based on the construction of "particular" immigrants as "the other". Viewing non-European, non-Western, and non-Christian as the binary oppositions of European, Western, and Christian produces an arbitrary cultural hierarchy between the two sets of distinctions, and singles out those "particular" immigrants and refugees as the addressee of policy measures and programmes claiming to be intercultural. Community identities might, without a doubt, be situated at the core of the identities of individuals. However, the intercultural vision of this work rests upon the idea of identity as multiple othernesses (Sze, 2004). Here, the notion of intercultural society signifies the recognition and valorisation of these multiple modes of otherness. Consequently, those "particular" immigrants (subject to cultural integration) are not to be conceived as a homogeneous group of representatives of their countries of origin.

As demonstrated by the *Sinus Sociovision* conducted in 2007, to have a migration experience or be born to an immigrant family are not the only factors that play a decisive role in forming one's (cultural) identity. Many socio-demographic variables such as education, age (generation differences), family values, occupation, and income are also influential, and more importantly, postmodern immigrant (young, third-generation) milieus differ from the traditional immigrant milieus (Sinus Sociovision, 2007). Unquestionably, in the case of artists and cultural professionals, there are many more determinants involved in the creation of their identities.

Based on the examination of various intercultural policy approaches, the research concludes that interculturality is often misinterpreted. Interculturality is commonly understood as a more practically oriented replacement term for multiculturalism that is about modifying one's perspective to recognise the differences of others and learning to behave in different cultural contexts (Terkessidis, 2010, p. 5). This view does not consider the fact that culture is constructed through the discovery of cultural differences recognised through enunciation, in a continuous process of identifying alternative possibilities in search for new meanings (Bhabha, 1994). Conversely, the recognition of an intercultural society requires abandoning the ethnic and religious-centred gaze towards "the other".

Intercultural society refers to "a community that is never final, always, infinitely, in process, a community without fixed borders, which, furthermore, has a singular 'membership' that constantly puts assigned roles or, indeed, the idea of membership as such, in question" (McDonald, 2011, p. 378). This spontaneous

process appoints various forms of otherness as the subject of transformation. Thus, a cultural policy that embraces a profound intercultural perspective should revise its language to avoid contributing to the (re)production of outsiders. Ultimately, all planning, strategies, and funding decisions for the theatrical landscape should strive for reinforcing the recognition and dissemination of the intercultural society's cultural capital without labelling some citizens as people with a "migrant background".

Equality as the Fundamental Principle

Accommodating cultural diversity entails going beyond the symbolic representation of excluded immigrants in the organisational structure of theatres. In achieving this goal, it is crucial to consider the question of whether the intercultural reorganisation of the theatrical scene is achievable and sustainable without identifying the imbalanced power structure that generates inequalities. The structural exclusion of "migrant others" from the theatrical scene indicates a continuation of a hierarchy between cultures predetermined as superior and inferior, even though policy actors claim otherwise. Cultural policy has hitherto not initiated the dismantling of hierarchised diversity; therefore, the marginalisation of cultural differences and the Eurocentric aesthetical coding still prevail within the German theatre landscape.

The principle that "cultural policy is social policy" and the liberal ideas of the New Cultural Policy of the 1970s under the objectives *Kultur für alle* (culture for all; Hoffmann, 1979) and *Bürgerrecht Kultur* (civil rights culture; Glaser & Stahl, 1974) are due a new rendition in the intercultural society. In the two decades following these developments, the contemporary German cultural policy introduced a broad understanding of culture to the discussion (Scheytt & Zimmermann, 2001). However, today, those objectives entail a reinterpretation of culture that hinges on the dissolution of boundaries between high culture and socio-culture (Heinicke, 2019, p. 193), and correspondingly, the renegotiation of "Germanness" through the artistic canon.

In order for anti-discriminatory knowledge to thrive, this endeavour involves the adoption of equality as a fundamental principle for the diversification of knowledge including production, dissemination, and reception. It also recognises that cultural policy should pursue democratic equality, which aims "to create impartial institutions in the public sphere and civil society where this struggle for the recognition of cultural differences and the contestation for cultural narratives can take place without domination" (Benhabib, 2002, p. 8).

The universal values of equality today include both the expansion of social equality to cultural equality and a new comprehension of human rights that involves the cultural extension of citizenship. In this regard, cultural citizenship

should be at the foundation of a cultural policy concerned with the pluralisation of the theatrical domain "for unhindered representation, recognition without marginalisation, acceptance and integration without 'normalising' distortion" (Pakulski, 1997, p. 80). Hence, the steps already taken towards strengthening equal opportunities to reduce gender inequality and combat patriarchy in the cultural sphere, and accordingly in the theatre landscape, should expand the equality claim to "devalued" immigrant artists and cultural professionals.[4]

Interculturality as an Overarching Policy Objective

As admitted by the national government, although a very diverse intercultural practice has emerged in recent years, a considerable development is still needed in cultural policy and established cultural institutions, including theatres (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 37). The considerations made in previous chapters of this book indicate that the national cultural policy continuously links interculturality with cultural integration. It sees "the integration of people of different ethnic backgrounds, religious orientations and cultural traditions (…) as a significant challenge to cultural work and cultural policy" (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 37). In retrospect, it becomes apparent that historically and ideologically rooted ideas, beliefs, and values (i.e., *Kulturnation*, *Kulturstaat*), with minor alterations, still guide the framework of cultural policy (see Chapter 4 for the discussion). At all levels of policymaking, the concept of interculturality is reduced to promoting intercultural practice through intercultural programmes (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020, p. 37).

Cultural diversity-oriented policy measures have mostly been introduced by local policies. In this regard, some reassuring recommendations were made by municipal governments, such as the *Stuttgarter Impulse* in 2006 and the *Kölner Appell* in 2008 (see Section 3.3 for the analysis of both documents). In addition, North Rhine-Westphalia is one of the few examples of government at the *Länder* level impressively engaged in intercultural discourse and supporting coordinated action plans, as shown in Chapter 3.

Germany is a country shaped by immigration in all fields, including culture. As early as the beginning of the 2000s, the *KuPoGe* stated that given the scale

4 Since the mid-1990s, the *Deutscher Kulturrat* has been carrying out research projects to map out female representation in culture and the media. In 2016, a survey conducted by the Council, revealed the absence of gender equality, especially in management positions (Schulz et al., 2016). In 2017, the *Deutscher Kulturrat* set up a project office, *Frauen in Kultur & Medien* (Women in Culture and the Media), for three years to offer concrete measures and support the discourse on gender equality (Deutscher Kulturrat, n.d.).

and importance of immigration at the national and global level, it should be self-evident that intercultural cultural policy affects all levels of politics, and therefore, interculturality should be reflected in all levels of cultural policy (Kröger & Sievers, 2003, p. 316). Incorporating cultural diversity into all cultural policy concepts is a forward-thinking approach, as suggested by the *Stuttgarter Impulse* (Bundesweiter Ratschlag Kulturelle Vielfalt, 2006). To this end, the efforts concerning interculturality as an overarching cultural policy objective should be adopted by the national, *Länder*, and municipal governments. The different levels of decision-making bodies should discuss and reach a consensus on the framework conditions of an intercultural cultural policy, which aims to generate an inclusive new discourse on cultural diversity, and focuses on a mentality change in policymaking towards supporting a pluralistic theatre scene, so that theatre practice can respond to the diversified expectations of the intercultural society.

In contemporary Germany, the ongoing debate about a paradigm shift in cultural policy cannot ignore the fact that a change in mindset should take immigration-generated diversity as a departure point any longer. As expressed by Julius Heinicke, this paradigm shift implies that:

> A sustainable cultural policy must consider a shift from the idea of a homogeneous German culture to a heterogeneous cultural landscape, and create strategies that align with the changing cultural landscape long term, with the help of public funding and other financial incentives. In the future, cultural capital will increasingly lie in the ability to grasp and negotiate cultural diversity. (2019, p. 191)

The paradigm shift demand, as articulated by Oliver Scheytt, the *aktivierende Kulturpolitik* (activating cultural policy), no longer geared towards the educated middle-class, but the activation of the cultural citizen (2006, pp. 33–34), requires a sincere willingness to create a new cultural policy entirely guided by the principle of interculturality.

Intercultural Planning and Development of Related Strategies

Unquestionably, the reorientation of the theatre landscape relies on cultural policy planning (Heinicke, 2019; Schneider, 2013b). Since the 1970s and 1980s, making cultural policy and cultural funding more conceptual and plan-based has been one of the main preoccupations of many municipal and *Länder* cultural policies (Föhl & Sievers, 2013, p. 63). Later, in the *Kultur in Deutschland* report, the *Enquete-Kommission* recommended that the federal government should delineate a regularly updated cultural development concept with concrete goals for each respective cultural field (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 105). However, at the national level, no promising development has taken place to date. The anti-planning reflex in the

promotion of culture and the autonomy of the arts (Föhl & Sievers, 2013; Haselbach, 2013) still prevails.

In addition to their reluctance to plan, the political and administrative federal structure often creates complexities in determining the objectives of cultural policy and accordingly assigning responsibilities and tasks at the national, *Länder*, and municipal level. As stated earlier by Patrick Föhl and Norbert Sievers, "it is neither evident what the goals of cultural policy are ('policy'), who formulates and determines them, in which procedures ('politics'), nor who is ultimately responsible for their implementation in the network of cultural policy ('polity')" (2013, pp. 69–70). This ambiguity complicates the realisation of cultural planning. The long-disregarded immigrant nature of the country, however, demands the development of a central cultural policy planning structure with clear intercultural objectives, identification of cooperation, and a coordination scheme between three levels of government.

The concept of interculturality is not a field of its own to be promoted through intercultural programmes only; it should be an integral part of cultural policy planning, strategies, and funding structures (interkultur.pro, 2011). A policy engaged with generating impulses for a progressive theatrical scene entails intercultural planning with clearly defined priorities and strategies, and corresponding measures. Policy planning and strategies should focus on the following questions: "Why are immigrants not present in the German cultural policy system? In which committees, boards of trustees, juries, cultural offices, and non-profit associations are immigrant cultural professionals represented today?" (Kröger & Sievers, 2003, p. 317), and what plans and strategies are required for creating equal opportunities and improving immigrants' access to the performing arts scene and mainstream funding as artistic workforce?

Efficient structural measures concerning intercultural planning include the introduction of overarching intercultural guidelines and concrete implementation steps. Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that steering cultural policy in an intercultural direction is a complex and ongoing process that rests on, first and foremost, political will, commitment, and cooperation between all levels of policymaking actors, partnership with civil society organisations, and flexibility in decision-making processes.

In contrast to top-down approaches, cultural planning should include policy associations, artists, cultural practitioners, representatives of the cross-cutting areas relevant to culture, and other external bodies to ensure neutrality (Föhl & Sievers, 2013, p. 72) and reaching consensus (at least on the general intercultural framework), which are the prerequisites of cultural pluralism.

Although the scope of this research is limited to cultural policy, the study recognises that cultural policy and cultural management should be thought

of together in the development of intercultural policy planning, taking into consideration the below outlined aspects:

- supporting the development of an equality-based intercultural discourse and the proliferation of *intercultural literacy*[5] for a deeper understanding of society beyond the perspective that targets the cultural integration of "migrant others" (while explicitly clarifying what interculturality refers to),
- determining what intercultural reorganisation encompasses, in addition to the diversification of staff and audience composition and programming/repertoire of performing arts institutions, and the involvement of excluded and marginalised immigrant artists and cultural professionals in these discussions as one of the main stakeholders,
- adopting an interdisciplinary approach to reimagining theatre across and beyond theatre categories (e.g., music theatre, dance, drama) as a prerequisite of an intercultural society (Schneider, 2017a, pp. 593–594); harmonising all planning and funding schemes accordingly,
- recognising socio-culture and cultural education as indispensable dimensions of interculturally oriented policy planning; as Goebbels (2013) elaborates, envisioning a contemporary performing arts field beyond the aesthetical conventions of past centuries,
- establishing a multidisciplinary policy working group, coordinated with the national, *Länder*, local governments, and related umbrella organisations,
- identifying the priority areas of intercultural planning (in line with defining accessibility and the explicit access barriers for excluded artists),
- defining short-, mid-, and long-term objectives according to the priorities (setting realistic goals around what should be achieved in each of the phases of the intercultural process),
- creating periodical action plans, reviewing, and, if necessary, revising them; having a cultural development planning document that delineates how the cultural policy strategy corresponds to cultural policy objectives and governance (Haselbach, 2013, p. 100),
- outlining the existing intercultural planning approaches at the *Länder* and local level, and generating a holistic framework benefiting from examples of good practice,

5 Intercultural literacy implies a process of mutual learning for a different way of communicating and reading situations, signs, and symbols (Cantle, 2012, p. 152).

- drawing perspectives from good international policy models, which have already made further progress in opening cultural institutions to racialised and marginalised immigrants,[6]
- providing intercultural training to cultural administration,
- exploring whether or to what extent the objective of gender mainstreaming could be combined with intercultural mainstreaming,[7]
- taking into account the situation of immigrant performing arts professionals who are not attached to an institution,
- including immigrant theatre professionals, cultural organisations, and networks working for a fairer representation of cultural diversity as equal actors of discussions and decision-making processes in planning and strategy development,
- supporting artistic platforms, think tanks, NGOs, and cultural entrepreneurs to contribute to the creation of an equality-oriented discourse on cultural diversity and the enhancement of cultural pluralism,
- promoting the establishment of a *learning laboratory* for intercultural development at the national level,[8]

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6 Although countries characterised by immigration have significantly different historical, political, legal, and cultural legacies, international experiences and sustained achievements can provide valuable learning opportunities. For instance, the Arts Council England implemented a crucial law in 2010, the Equality Act, to provide equal opportunities and tackle discrimination in the cultural sphere. The Equality Act covers nine protected characteristics: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, gender (sex), and sexual orientation (Arts Council England, 2017, p. 5).

7 Where gender mainstreaming is already well developed, intercultural orientation can make use of the structures, experiences, and instruments that are available, and thus also benefit from synergy effects (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002, p. 8). Additionally, gender mainstreaming is a concept developed almost four decades ago, then applied from a binary perspective on gender; the researcher, however, applies the term in a way inclusive of the entire spectrum of gender identity.

8 A good example of such a space is the Diversity Arts Culture, established by the *Senatsverwaltung für Kultur und Europa* (Senate Department for Culture and Europe) in Berlin in 2017, to implement the coalition agreement for the legislative period from 2016 to 2021 for diversity development. The Diversity Arts Culture is a consultation office with a critical diversity perspective, aimed at making cultural institutions in Berlin accessible. The diverse staff composition of the office reflects the motivation of the Senate to accommodate diversity in the cultural sphere. Similarly, the *Diversity Access Point* (*DAP*), proposed by the newly emerged performing arts network, *PostHeimat* (funded by the *KSB*), is envisioned as a platform/service agency at the federal government level, meant to introduce a new discourse for cultural policy and theatre practice to deal with structural access barriers for racialised and marginalised performing arts professionals (see Section 6.5 for more details on the *PostHeimat* network and the *DAP*).

- cooperating with universities and research institutions engaged in accommodating diversity in cultural institutions that bridge the gap between theory and practice,
- revitalising the present participatory approaches in the field of cultural policy by opening policymaking institutions to non-White cultural policy researchers in order to augment the current narrow circle and acquire diverse viewpoints and new impulses,
- introducing jury appointment guidelines and transparent jury selection procedures for funding programmes based on diversity-conscious criteria.

The recommended modes of action indicate a necessity for a synthesised approach. Discussions regarding intercultural planning and the prerequisites partially described above should be furthered with the inclusion of a cultural management perspective.

Vertical Cultural Governance Between Different Levels of Policymaking

Previously, the *Enquete-Kommission* recommended that the federal, *Länder*, and local governments should strengthen the German theatre landscape, especially in its diversity of cooperation, networks, and models (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 116). However, this close collaboration has yet not taken place, at least not to a sufficient extent. In terms of theatre policy, although the *Länder* secured their cultural sovereignty in the last federal reforms, theatre reform was assigned to the central government, which entrusted this task to its foundations (Schneider, 2017a, p. 576) although some of them have taken arbitrary measures. Today, this cooperation and, consequently, managing resources productively, calls for extensive dialogue and an agreement between all policymaking levels to generate structural solutions for the transformation of the theatre realm.

As expressed earlier, while various intercultural conceptualisations and intercultural opening strategies have been developed by some of the *Länder* and municipal governments, there is no mainstreaming of intercultural policy with adequate instruments and structured implementation measures (applicable day-to-day practice), and interculturality as a policy priority still seems to not be on the agenda of the central government. Moreover, cultural policy decisions of different levels of government often run in parallel to one another, and although cooperation and networking are praised, joint strategies between the federal, *Länder*, and local authorities are scarce (Bisky, 2016, p. 361). To attain sustainable intercultural planning, rather than aiming at impotent collaboration, a vertical cultural governance model should be established between the national, *Länder*, and local governments. Parallel actions are counterproductive, and as stressed by Siegmund Ehrmann, former chairman of the Committee for Culture and Media

of the German Parliament, uncoordinated efforts are part of the problem that is keeping cultural policies from producing meaningful and desirable outcomes with the given budgets:

> In the constitutional tension with the cultural sovereignty of the *Länder*, the federal government primarily promotes culture in a subsidiary manner, complementary to the cultural funding of the *Länder* – at least in theory. In practice, a lack of coordination often prevents this complementary effect. (2013, p. 249)

Federalism ensures the division of power and safeguards cultural decentralisation. Thus, the role of the federal government in the cultural sphere is limited to indirect interference (at least de jure) through additional incentive programmes. Nonetheless, the increasing engagement and contribution of the *BKM* and its funding institutions to the performing arts scene is not inconsiderable. As illustrated in this study, for instance, the *KSB* is a primary federal cultural policy body, introducing significant funding programmes that are specifically aimed at the performing arts scene and supporting countless diversity-oriented projects and networks. However, this implicit involvement or the growth in funding does not generate sustainable outcomes, since the funding is given for a limited amount of time; it is not designed to support the development of diversity processes. Similarly, efforts at the *Länder* and municipal level are in vain without clear policy objectives and the determination to take action in implementing an interculturally-oriented cultural policy.

Redesigning a transparent cultural policy requires vertical governance with legally binding, clearly defined responsibilities and tasks between decision-making cultural-political actors. Interconnected governance between different levels of policymaking utilises the conceptualisation of a holistic intercultural framework. It also increases the success rate of precise strategies and related measures meeting the demanded results, which, as understood in this study, is the pluralistic transformation of the performing arts scene. In this regard, Franz Kröger and Norbert Sievers proposed a renewed version of an interagency or interdepartmental working group for the development of a cooperative policy between the *Länder* and local bodies, or at least for reaching an agreement between the offices and departments in order to pool resources and coordinate measures regarding policy with an intercultural perspective (2003, p. 318). This research considers that this consensus should be sought at the national level, while the existing regional and local intercultural knowledge and experiences should serve a basis for the development of a national intercultural policy frame.

This, however, by no means suggests bypassing the obligation of the *Länder* to take measures for the promotion of culture. It should rather be conceived as joining forces to develop a framework for overcoming the ongoing inertia – which

is to some extent interrelated with legislative and administrative segmentation – in the cultural policy field and react dialogically to the demands of the intercultural society concerning the theatrical domain. Undoubtedly, this cultural-political consensus involves an explicit definition of the conditions and scope of cross-divisional cooperation and coordination of action areas, as well as the distribution of competences between cultural-political actors and cultural policy institutions.

Horizontal Cooperation Between Cultural, Educational, and Youth Policies

Cultural education plays a decisive role in reinforcing access to and participation in culture, and broadens horizons regarding the Western-dominated form of knowledge production, recognition of, and appreciation for diversified modes of aesthetics and performance formats. Hence, it is one of the fundamental tools for the valorisation of various artistic expressions and combating stereotypes and prejudices towards "the other".

As in the case of cultural policy, German education policy almost exclusively falls under the jurisdiction of the *Länder*. Horizontal communication, networking, and collaboration across various government departments and ministries are vital not only for increasing the efficiency of measures undertaken to reform the performing arts realm but also in comprehending cultural diversity not as a liability but as the norm of intercultural societies.

In a similar vein, it is essential to advance a connection between cultural, educational, and youth policies. Access to culture for young people does not pertain to only supporting their participation as users and audiences but, equally as important, as active artistic beings. For the enhancement of young people as creators of art, the actors and programmes of cultural and educational policies should be in tune, and correspondingly, instruments regarding arts education from primary and secondary school to higher education, lifelong learning, and vocational training should be developed in collaboration between these two fields (Interarts, 2008, p. 64). Including cultural training, which recognises culture as a core aspect of lifelong learning, in the educational curriculum would ensure that cultural offers reach a broader spectrum of society (Schneider, 2017a, pp. 581–582). This also means supporting young people outside the educational and vocational training systems (bolstering their forms of expression, developing their creative potential, facilitating creation; Interarts, 2008, p. 51). However, cultural training, both in the forms of short- and long-term engagement, should be implemented as intercultural training (Schneider, 2017a, p. 582). Intercultural training as a cross-cutting area not only equips children at an early age with a broadened understanding of culture and the arts, appreciation of various forms of cultural expressions and linguistic diversity, but also contributes to the transmission of diversified artistic knowledge.

For strengthening intercultural cultural education perspectives, decision-making bodies of culture, education, and youth policies should establish a coordinated course of action. These measures should involve robust cooperation with schools as part of extracurricular cultural activities (Schneider, 2017a; Sharifi, 2011a). An example of this sort of practice is the largest nationwide non-formal cultural education programme, *Kultur macht stark* (Culture is Strength) carried out by the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (*BMBF*; Federal Ministry of Education and Research). Founded in 2013, it fosters the active engagement of socially and culturally disadvantaged children in cultural and artistic activities. One of the main target groups of the programme are children and adolescents of immigrant families and lately refugees. The programme also aims to reinforce voluntary and civic engagement at a local level through building bridges between civil society groups and cultural institutions committed to the cultural education of young people (BMBF, n.d.). According to an interim report, the committee concluded that the programme managed to reach its goal of – among others – strengthening alliances between local and regional networks of partners from cultural, educational, and youth organisations, and that their different expertise and perspectives provided sustainable support for cultural-educational offers (Prognos, 2020, p. 2).[9] Be that as it may, still, essential questions arise: "Are these projects meant to improve the opportunities for people to participate, or are they also meant to encourage the theatre to change itself?" (Schneider & Eitzeroth, 2017, p. 5). Could the impact of *Kultur macht stark* proliferate if it were coordinated with cultural and youth policies firmly focused on intercultural education, as opposed to supporting individual "intercultural projects"?

At the horizontal level, to strengthen cultural education, the federal government and *Länder* have introduced similar funding programmes (mainly organising educational activities outside formal school education). However, the programmes that seek to promote the active involvement of children and young people in the arts and culture are often not jointly designed and initiated, but launched concurrently.[10] In this way, a great deal of funding is spent without adequately considering the meaningful, sustainable, and above all, politically desirable effects of grants (Ehrmann, 2013, p. 249). The obstacles of complicated legislative jurisdictions and lack of sufficient dialogue obstruct cross-

9 The *BMBF* decided to fund the projects until 2022, based on the positive evaluation of the programme.

10 For instance, *Kulturagenten für kreative Schulen* (Cultural Agents for Creative Schools) of the *KSB* and *Kinder zum Olymp* (Children to Olympus) of the *Kulturstiftung der Länder* (Cultural Foundation of the *Länder*) are examples of programmes whose cultural education objectives were planned separately and established by the institutions of the federal government and some of the *Länder*.

divisional cooperation. This problem should be addressed in order to adopt an interculturally-oriented cultural education perspective in cultural policy planning and corresponding subsidy measures.

Restructuring the Funding Scheme

Discussions about theatre reform often revolve around the justification of the almost entirely publicly funded municipal and state theatre system, given the diminishing bourgeois audience and the weakening of theatre's social role. Hence, readjustments of the funding structure have, so far, mainly focused on the modernisation of the public theatre realm. In addition to these two central claims, theatre scholar Thomas Schmidt summaries other organisational issues concerning the crisis of the public theatre system as follows:

- the structure of visitors and non-visitors not reflecting demographic changes due to the ignorance of cultural-political decision-making circles but also theatres themselves,
- the tendency towards overproduction in theatres,
- the excessive focus on personnel and the shift of tasks within theatres to the detriment of artistic forces,
- inflexible and unsustainable theatre structures and production conditions, which are primarily the result of extremely long planning periods, inappropriate performance systems (repertoire versus staging system), and the impracticality of coordinating three different inflexible tariff systems in a theatre,
- inadequate training in the artistic professions, particularly in terms of preparation for the real world beyond art schools,
- finally, the chronic underfunding of theatres in the public and independent scene. (2013, pp. 193–194)

Against this backdrop, the transformation of the rigid structure of municipal and state theatres is usually associated with a change in production models, artistic formats, and new narratives, resembling the flexible organisation of the independent scene. Without a doubt, the innovation of new aesthetics, interdisciplinary production modes and artistic forms owe their emergence and development to the independent theatre scene in Germany. Today, the production perspectives of the independent scene reflect to a greater extent the vision of a theatre that indeed makes use of cultural diversity. The role of independent theatres in artistic development cannot be overlooked either. In this regard, and rightly so, there has been a demand for a fair redistribution of financial resources between the public and independent theatre scene, articulated by umbrella cultural policy

institutions, theatre scholars, and practitioners. As stressed by theatre researcher Henning Fülle, however, up to now, cultural policy has failed to address the issues of the separation of the German theatrical landscape into parallel universes and the precarious existence and working conditions of contemporary artistic productions (2013, p. 294). Nonetheless, even the independent scene is not as diverse as it should be. Diversity is understood mostly as the introduction of new theatre aesthetics and experimental concepts and formats, rather than the narratives of the intercultural society.

The future of theatre hinges not only on artistic development (e.g., heterogeneous content, modes of aesthetics, new reception models, and multilingualism) through structural reforms improving the inflexible production methods of the public scene and the improvement of production conditions and processes of the independent scene, but also fundamentally on the transformation of the modus operandi of theatres, including personnel recruitment policies.

The redistribution of financial resources should aim to remove the dichotomy between public and independent theatre systems and bolster the establishment of intense cooperation between the two worlds (Fülle, 2013; Schmidt, 2013; Schneider, 2007). Schmidt describes the elimination of this gap through a fair access to resources, equal political legitimacy, and close communication and cooperation as a prerequisite for the future of the German theatre landscape (2013, p. 212). The claims regarding a neutral and fair allocation of theatre funding, in view of cultural-political validity, should be interconnected with providing equal access opportunities for marginalised and racialised theatre professionals in the exchange and collaboration of these two theatre systems rather than enclosing these excluded theatre-makers into the third dimension – post-migrant theatre. This does not necessarily mean additional financial costs; instead, it implies a revision of the current funding mechanism.

Recognising interculturality as a foundational principle of theatre is intrinsically related to responding to the conflicting nature of how space is conceived and conceptualised by (White) policymakers and theatres (representations of space), and creating framework conditions for people as artists and audiences with diverse experiences, aesthetical perceptions, and knowledge to make sense of the theatrical space (representational spaces; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Advocating for the latter contributes to answering the question of "*muss Theater sein?*" (must theatre be?; Deutscher Bühnenverein, 2003)[11]; if the answer is yes, it opens a new window into what theatre should be in an intercultural society.

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11 In light of the "theatre crisis" debates, the *Deutscher Bühnenverein* reviewed its motto, "*Theater muss sein*" (theatre must be; created after the reunification) to "*muss Theater sein?*" (must theatre be?) to search for answers to whether the wide-ranging offers of the German theatre

Correspondingly, confining the promotion of cultural diversity to additional incentive programmes runs the risk of reducing diversity to immigration and displacement-related project support, instead of recognising it as one of the core action areas of theatre policy. Akin to this attitude is supporting "intercultural projects" through socio-cultural funding schemes. As stated by Azadeh Sharifi, policy bodies and cultural institutions treat interculturality as if it is synonymous with socio-culture, and for them, intercultural art per se does not meet the quality standards of "German high culture" (2011a, p. 242). Understanding the expectations and needs of the citizens of contemporary Germany and the transnational world is interrelated with overcoming obsolete categories of different theatre genres and the boundaries between high culture and socio-culture. Thus, sustainable and strategic funding measures should be combined with an all-encompassing interculturally-sensitive perspective to harmonise actions, particularly for promoting equal access opportunities structurally.

The preconditions of an interculturally-oriented funding mechanism require robust and deliberate funding criteria that seek to develop an equality-based diversity perspective, targeting the reorganisation of the entire performing arts scene. Current examples of supplementary cultural diversity and intercultural funding programmes raise doubts about their impact on tackling structural exclusion and discrimination and supporting the pluralistic transformation of the theatre landscape. Hence, instead of establishing individual cultural diversity or intercultural funding programmes, all modes of funding should be determined by interculturally-sensitive guidelines, and accordingly, the jury selection processes and jury panels should be transparent and reflective of these criteria in order to avoid arbitrary Eurocentric decision-making, particularly concerning the vague ongoing funding criteria of "artistic quality".

The *Enquete-Kommission* has recommended that the federal, *Länder*, and local governments provide not only institutional funding and project funding, but also conceptual funding and planning for several years to ensure stability, as well as funding for production facilities, guest performances, and networks for co-productions and cooperation (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007, p. 117). It can be concluded that all forms of funding schemes should be anchored in the long term to accommodate cultural diversity in the performing arts scene.

One of the obstacles regarding financial support is the fact that, although "cultural policy positions relate to production, distribution and reception; currently 90 per cent of funding goes to production" (Schneider, 2017a, p. 594). To stimulate the intercultural reorganisation of theatres, the distribution of subsidies should be oriented towards promoting the process and enabling experimentation in artistic

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system (i.e., municipal, state, regional, and independent theatres) are still desirable and politically feasible.

production and reception for a better understanding of the intercultural society. The task of an adequate cultural policy should be understood as not only supporting what works but also rewarding process and failure (Schneider, 2017a, p. 593). In this way, the existing funding structure is incapable of being a driving force of improving the access conditions of racialised and marginalised theatre-makers to production resources in the mainstream theatre landscape. Instead of promoting the "best" intercultural projects through various endowments by different cultural policy bodies, a performing arts policy formulated on an intercultural foundation should create diversified financial measures to award performing arts institutions and initiatives that meet the conditions of intercultural parameters.

Furthermore, "the art of theatre and theatre in education are not additive but integrative; arts education is not the result of performing arts but the core of the business and its reflection of content, aesthetics, and above all, people" (Schneider & Eitzeroth, 2017, p. 5). Hence, new funding models should invest not only in the public and independent theatre scene but also in children, youth, and amateur theatres where there is already considerable dedication to cultural diversity, intercultural awareness, experience, and knowledge. Promoting and multiplying examples of good practice across municipal and regional structures has the potential to contribute to the intercultural reorientation of the performing arts scene.

Evaluation of Measures

Monitoring mechanisms and evaluation strategies are an integral part of overseeing to what extent the objectives and plans are achieved in the mid and long term, identifying the pitfalls and reviewing the adequacy of implementation strategies and instruments. A comprehensive and systematic assessment of policies and plans that aim at interculturality as an overall concept of action might prevent the loss of focus and drive (European Agenda for Culture, 2014, p. 20).

Moreover, surveying and developing data collection on the main access barriers for excluded performing arts professionals and audiences are vital for introducing a consolidated cultural policy approach in which interculturality is adopted as a concept embedded in all stages, from objectives to funding structure. There phases are also instrumental in setting specific priorities and creating consistent non-discriminatory, diversity-defined indicators for monitoring whether these priorities are attained. Quantitative data collection ensures the further development of cultural policy planning and secures lasting effects. The consistent empirical investigation of the *KuPoGe* for socio-culture practice is a good example of lessons learned providing reliable data as a basis for a future-oriented intercultural policy.

For a broader understanding of the demands of an intercultural society, surveys such as the first *InterKulturBarometer* (Intercultural Barometer) from 2012 shed light on the impact of immigration on cultural and artistic practices. For instance, one of the crucial findings of the first *InterKulturBarometer* was that the non-immigrant population rarely shows an interest in artists and works of art outside of European and Anglo-American regions; only 15% of the population of German origin are interested in art from Asia, 13% in art from Africa, and 3% in art from the Arab world (Keuchel, 2015). This result alone indicates how empirical research is essential in making any changes in decision-making structures for the incorporation of the cultural capital of non-European/non-Western immigrant artists into the cultural sphere and the performing arts realm. In this context, critical analysis of the implementation of policy planning enables the introduction of measures suitable for diversifying the currently Western-dominated form of theatrical knowledge and valorisation, by including various aesthetical perspectives as a new mode of artistic communication within a society on its way towards pluralisation.

7.3 Epilogue: Where to Next?

By focusing on cultural politics and cultural policy, this research strove to identify the prerequisites of a performing arts scene in which cultural diversity *in motion* can be put into practice and thrive. The theoretical and empirical findings have demonstrated the immense gap between cultural-political reality and the claim of a pluralistic performing arts field where a diverse plethora of voices of the intercultural society can be heard, respected, and appreciated.

One of the notable results of the research is that it has clarified the reasons behind this vast discrepancy between cultural-political frames and the demand for a discrimination-critical, diversity-oriented reformation of the German theatre system. When the goal is to safeguard the institution of theatre as monumental heritage of the nation, cultural policy is not sufficiently concerned with stimulating vital impulses for theatre to be an art practice relevant for future generations.

Improving various inequitable conditions between the public and independent theatre scene is fundamental for the development of a new diversity discourse; however, the support mechanism for decreasing the disparity between the traditional perspective of the cultural-political field and the aim of promoting cultural diversity should not rely solely on finding a balance between these two worlds. The performing arts field does not amount to just municipal, state, and independent theatres.

This research has identified that the plea of cultural diversity *in motion* is intrinsically connected to dismantling the access barriers for racialised and marginalised artists and performing arts professionals. Alas, in its limited scope, it

could not bring into focus other crucial action areas of opening the performing arts to all citizens, and tackle the alienation of theatre practice from society at large. To bridge this gap in knowledge, further research should investigate the cultural policy strategies and measures necessary for investing in interculturally-oriented cultural education and encouraging amateur theatres to inaugurate and expand equality-based diversity discourse that addresses the Whiteness of the performing arts field. Further, efforts that seek to imagine diversity *in motion*, which focus on the supply and funding disparity between rural areas and big cities, should extend their attention to what the tasks of cultural policy are in provinces today if it were to provide an impetus for the acknowledgement of Germany as an intercultural society, and what mediation role performing arts play in reshaping *Heimat* by all.

Regarding the support for socio-culture and cultural education in imagining diversity *in motion*, another crucial intersecting area of study entails a particular spotlight on cultural politics. Following Bourdieu, the unbalanced power structure of the traditional German public theatre system is intertwined with the habitus of the policymaking apparatus, distinguished by established White perspectives, values, and habits of actors. Thus, the processes of diversification in the performing arts scene cannot be thought of separately from the transformation of the habitus of decision-making cultural-political bodies. To this end, future research should deal with the prerequisites of activating political will and determination to create the framework conditions of an equality-based diversity discourse for the performing arts field and put this new discourse into practice through cultural education, amateur, children, and youth theatres. Likewise, the examination of alternative bottom-up cultural policy approaches in the performing arts can also provide insights into raising cultural-political awareness, lobbying for a change in mindset in cultural politics, and bridging the gap between theory and practice in the cultural policy field.

Abbreviations

AfD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BFDK	Bundesverband Freie Darstellende Künste (German Association of Independent Performing Arts)
BKM	Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien (Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media)
BMBF	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Federal Ministry of Education and Research)
BMI	Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat (Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)
CoE	Council of Europe
CSU	Christlich-Sozialen Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
Destatis	Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office)

EU	European Union
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IfK	Institut für Kulturpolitik (Institute for Cultural Policy)
KMK	Kultusministerkonferenz; Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany)
KSB	Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation)
KuPoGe	kulturpolitische Gesellschaft (Association for Cultural Policy)
LHM	Landeshauptstadt München (City Administration of Munich)
MWK BW	Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kunst Baden-Württemberg (Ministry of Science, Research and the Arts Baden-Württemberg)
NRW	Nordrhein-Westfalen (North Rhine-Westphalia)
PEGIDA	Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes (Patriotic Europeans Aagainst the Islamisation of the Occident)
POC	People of Colour
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ZAK	Zukunftsakademie (Future Academy)

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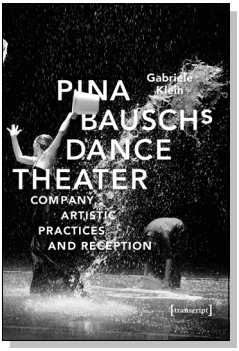

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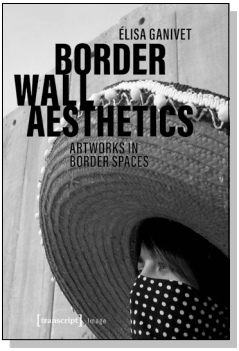

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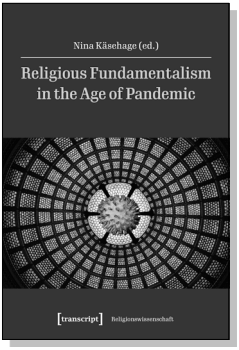

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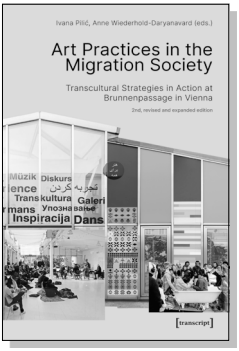

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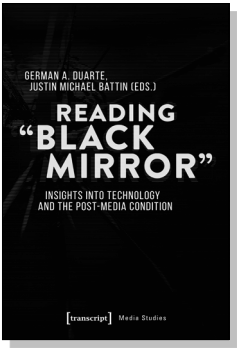

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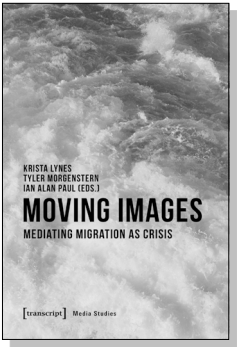

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