The role of culture and the arts as a framework and tool for settlement

Daniel Hiebert and Bronwyn Bragg

Dr. Daniel Hiebert, PhD. University of British Columbia
dan.hiebert@ubc.ca

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Introduction

The Aga Khan Museum in Toronto is currently hosting an exhibit titled *Syria: A living history*. It features historical artifacts and artwork from Syria's complex, multi-ethnic, multi-faith past. The museum's website informs viewers,

> Few countries have captured the world's attention like Syria has today. Stories of conflict and displacement dominate the media and define people's awareness of the place. [This exhibit] brings together artifacts and artworks that tell a different story — one of cultural diversity, historical continuity, resourcefulness, and resilience.

With the arrival of more than 40,000 Syrian refugees in Canada, *Syria: A living history* provides a unique opportunity to transcend the dominant narratives of war, violence and displacement that attend this refugee population. It offers an opportunity to, as the exhibit suggests, 'tell a different story.' Through this example we see the way that art can be a powerful tool in bridging gaps in understanding and facilitating encounters between immigrants, refugees and the society into which they are settling.

Canada is often lauded for the wide range of settlement programming available to immigrants and refugees. These programs include language training, assistance finding housing and employment and programs that connect newcomers to important services such as health care and education. These settlement programs play a critical role in supporting immigrants and refugees to settle in a new country. They also reflect a focus on measurable markers of integration – employment, education, health and housing (Ager and Strang 2008). Less well measured – and therefore less well understood – are the social processes that shape the settlement experiences of immigrants and refugees. This includes programs and initiatives related to arts and culture.

This reflection paper aims to add insight to the role that culture[1] and the arts[2] play in the settlement experiences of newcomers to Canada. Pulling together data from a variety of primary and secondary sources, this paper explores the role that arts and culture programming plays in building bridges between Canadian society and the immigrants and refugees that call Canada home.

The paper proceeds in three steps. It begins with a comprehensive literature review to understand the context for arts and culture-based programming for newcomers in Canada and other immigrant receiving countries. In the second section, the paper presents a high level scan of the institutional context for arts-based programs for newcomers, focusing specifically on Canada. The third and final section presents five case studies for promising arts and/or culture-based programs. These case studies draw on primary research including interviews with program leadership, key staff and project participants (refugees and immigrants) as well as reviewing program literature and relevant evaluations. The goal of this paper is to offer a comprehensive account of the role that

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, we draw on David Throsby definition of culture: "the set of attitudes, beliefs, practices, values, shared identities, rituals, customs and so on which are common to a group, whether the group is delineated on geographical, ethnic, social, religious or on any other grounds." He adds that the term "can also be used…to refer to the set of activities, and the products of those activities, such as the practice of the arts." (Throsby 1995)

[2] Art is defined broadly a means of expression, communication and sharing (UNESCO Concept Note 2017)

arts and culture play in the holistic settlement experiences of immigrants and refugees to Canada.

Literature review

Introduction:

The key questions at the heart of this reflection paper are: *What does it mean for a society to open itself to refugees and immigrants through culture and the arts? How do culture and the arts contribute to creating dialogue, exchange, rapprochement and a sense of belonging?* (UNESCO Concept Note 2017).

The literature review that follows explores these questions, reflecting on the role that arts and culture play in facilitating the social incorporation of immigrants and refugees across a range of immigrant receiving societies.[3] The intersection of immigrant incorporation, culture and the arts remains largely understudied: "Little is known about the mechanisms connecting immigrant artistic behaviour and social incorporation" (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2015, p. 1236). These authors suggest that studies on immigrant incorporation tend to focus on economic and political institutions at the expense of social relations, while studies on the arts tend to focus on aesthetics and culture without attending to the political and economic contexts in which art is produced (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2010). Because of the limited literature in this area, the review covers a range of immigrant receiving societies including countries in Europe, the UK, Australia, the United States and Canada.

The literature review begins with a discussion of the institutional and policy contexts that support the intersection of arts, culture and immigrant integration. Literature in this area is quick to emphasize the significant role that national arts, culture, immigration and settlement policies play in shaping the intersection of these fields (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2010). This review begins by contextualizing discussions of multiculturalism, pluralism and diversity. This section also explores the funding models, program design and discursive parameters in which discussions of immigrant/refugee settlement, arts and culture take place.

Steven Vertovec uses the term 'super-diversity' to refer to the deepening and extending nature of diversity in contemporary societies (Vertovec 2007).[4] In contexts of super-diversity, it is important to examine the various roles that arts and culture play in supporting processes of social integration and cross-cultural understanding. A key analytical principle for this report is, therefore, the various functions that arts and culture-based programming plays in immigrant and refugee settlement creating dialogue, cultural

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[3] For the purposes of this paper, immigrants and refugees are broadly defined to include both those who have been in the country for a relatively short period of time (less than five years) as well as those who may have resided for a longer period of time in a receiving society yet continue to identify as an immigrant or refugee. It is also the case that the children of immigrants ('second generation') use art as a means of sharing the stories and experiences of their family and immigration here is a salient theme around identity and belonging – we have attempted to capture the fluidity of the experience beyond bureaucratic definitions

[4] Further: "It is not enough to see diversity only in terms of ethnicity...additional variables include differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents." (Vertovec 2007, p. 1025)

exchange, rapprochement and a sense of belonging. To this end, the review follows a framework proposed by Marco Martiniello for studying the relationship between art and immigrant inclusion. He suggests attending to the cultural, social and political dimensions of this complex intersection (2014, p. 6).[5]

At the **cultural** level, research in this area should examine the way cultural productions by immigrants and refugees reconfigure the mainstream local art scene: "How do migrants and ethnic minorities' artistic productions inspired (or not) by their experience of migration and/or discrimination change and enrich local artistic cultures through processes such as 'cultural métissage', fusion and invention?" (Martiniello 2014, p. 6). Examples of this metissage include the emergence of new musical genres like French Rai 'n' B music that combines Algerian *rai* music and French R 'n' B to create a new genre popular with Black and North African-origin French youth in France and Belgium. This example points to the way immigrant and ethnic minorities transform the artistic communities of host societies rather than becoming simply cultural producers or consumers (Martiniello 2015 p. 1232). Similar transformations have taken place in the Canadian arts community. The rich literature produced by first and second generation Canadian writers, for example, Kim Thúy's award winning book, *Ru* and Rawi Hage's *Cockroach*, provide important examples of this process. Similarly, Canadian theatre is also transforming to reflect the stories of immigration, integration and belonging (Wong 2017).

At the **social** level, art and culture have the power to build bridges between immigrant and refugee groups and the 'host' society. Here, art serves a social process "facilitating encounters among different populations sharing the same…space" (p. 6). The Canada Council for the Arts and Sun Life Financial pilot initiative, Welcome to the Arts, is a good example of the bridge building role that the arts can play. This project aimed to connect Syrian refugees with the Canadian arts community. It did so by providing grants to individual artists and/or arts organizations to enable recent Syrian refugees to access performances, exhibitions or arts events in their new communities from April 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017. Similarly, Salzbrunn (2014) describes the way the Cologne Carnival in Germany provides a space for migrants and asylum seekers to claim public space alongside a long-standing cultural event. Migrants and asylum seekers perform and showcase political art alongside the regular Carnival events; over time, the alternate carnival has become more popular than the regular events and has helped transform political discourse about migrants and asylum seekers in the city (Salzbrunn 2014). Festivals, musical performances, theatre and art exhibits all provide opportunities for encounters between diverse groups in a multicultural society.

At the social level, art also serves additional functions in supporting the settlement of immigrants and refugees. This literature review, as well as the case studies that follow, will explore the **therapeutic** and healing role that art can play. There is strong literature

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[5] This framework informs the work of the European Network of Excellence IMISCOE (International Migration and Social Cohesion) on the relevance of popular arts in theoretical and policy debates about diversity in European cities.

to support the role that art therapy can play in helping refugees address trauma (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd, 2016).

At the social level, we also see the role that the artists can play in **challenging dominant narratives** of multiculturalism and inclusivity. Here, art created by immigrants, migrants and refugees can help shine a light on the discriminatory or uneven treatment of migrants, occasionally leading to difficult but vital social conversations and policy debates (Johnston and Pratt, 2010). For example, researcher and scholar Dr. Geraldine Pratt collaborated with the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia and theatre artists in Vancouver to produce a play called *Nanay* based on research transcripts from interviews with domestic workers, their families and employers. Addressing difficult themes of temporary labour migration programs, family separation, and the long-term marginalization of domestic workers and their families, *Nanay* drew attention to the racial and gendered inequities in Canada's immigration programs and opened spaces of dialogue around critical policy issues.

The literature review begins by exploring the institutional and political contexts in which programs and policies relating to art, culture and integration take place. The next section explores the various roles that institutions – policy makers, funders, arts organizations, cities and other key stakeholders – can play in shaping the context for immigrant participation in the arts. It also explores questions related to multiculturalism policy and questions of diversity as they take shape in immigrant receiving societies. Following this discussion about institutional contexts, the literature review moves through an exploration of the functional roles that arts and culture play in supporting the integration and settlement of newcomers. Here, we explore the functions outlined above: the cultural, social, therapeutic and political functions that arts and culture play in relation to the incorporation of immigrants, migrants and refugees.

Institutional contexts:

It is clear from the literature that arts and culture play various functions vis-à-vis the integration of immigrants and refugees. Scholars in this area emphasize the importance of institutions for the study of the relationship between art and culture and immigrant integration, this includes exploring the policy contexts (including immigration policies), funding structures, and extant arts and culture industries that promote (or inhibit) the participation of immigrants in the arts as well as the role that arts and culture play in supporting the meaningful integration of newcomers: "Creative behaviour is not a random occurrence driven solely by personal desires; individuals act in environments shaped by legislative and policy measures." (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2015, p. 1236).

Martiniello and LaFleur (2008) explore the links between the political participation of immigrants and immigrants' engagement in the arts - specifically music. By 'political participation' the authors refer to issues of political mobilization, participation and representation. They argue that while questions of immigrant participation in politics have become important topics of public and scholarly attention, much of this work

focuses on conventional forms of political participation – voter turnout, representation in elected office etc. – with far less paid to the role that the arts play in politics.

Martiniello and Lafleur suggest a variety of ways in which art might intersect with political participation. First, if minority political participation is shut down, for example, if migrants do not have regularized status or citizenship rights in their country of residence, art, music and cultural activities may be a way of engaging politically outside of conventional political channels. Second, in cases where migrants and immigrants have juridical rights, they may face other barriers to political participation such as poverty, language and literacy barriers, discrimination, under-representation and confusion around the political process. In these cases, art and cultural production can provide opportunities for political engagement that are otherwise foreclosed. Finally, the authors suggest that music, art and culture need not be a substitute for formal political engagement by minority communities; rather, art and culture can complement traditional forms of political participation. The authors provide an example from France where musicians mobilized young residents in the *banlieues* to register to vote and prevent the electoral success of extreme-right candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen (p. 1208). Whether migrants have full or partial access to political engagement or whether they lack formal status altogether, art, culture and music provide means of political participation.

In light of this argument, it is clear that the institutional and policy contexts into which migrants, immigrants and refugees enter shape the nature of political and artistic engagement for these communities. The literature in this area points to the role local, municipal, regional, national and even supra-national policies play in shaping artistic engagement by minority communities.

A 2013 review paper highlights the distinct institutional contours for cultural policy across several countries and suggests that a range of political, economic, historic and socio-cultural factors come to influence how arts and culture take shape at a national scale (Gattinger and Saint-Pierre 2013). Comparing cultural policies in Canada, the United States, France and the United Kingdom, the authors argue that in each country governments have been involved in shaping cultural policy as it pertains to the arts, heritage, and cultural industries; yet this involvement differs depending on the social-historical context. For example, in France the government has a close relationship with culture industries, while in the U.K. there is a more arms' length approach. In the U.S. a market-based system dominates with greater involvement of non-state (philanthropic) actors. The authors suggest that Canada takes a hybrid approach combining state involvement through federal administrative bodies like the Department of Canadian Heritage, as well as arms' length agencies (Canada Council for the Arts) and a range of other actors (municipalities, provincial governments, non-profit organizations and private foundations and public broadcasters). Canada's official policies of multiculturalism, the Official Languages Act and high levels of immigration all work to position "cultural pluralism at the heart of national unity" (Gattinger and Saint-Pierre 2013, p. 8).[6]

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6 Cultural pluralism is different from multiculturalism though often the two terms are used interchangeably. Pluralism refers to the act of smaller cultural groups maintaining their unique identities, values and practices and having those identities accepted by the wider culture (Hiebert and Ley 2003). Depending on the national political context, the term pluralism may be preferred over multiculturalism, as in some European countries where multiculturalism has been discredited as a policy (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010).

The Canadian model differs from the United States where there is relatively low government investment in arts-based programming and state funding for artists, yet high levels of philanthropic investment in the arts (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2015). The large population of the United States and the diversity of its immigrant population also shape the institutional contexts for immigrant artistic production. In some cases immigrant artists can remain within their ethnocultural communities producing art for other 'insiders.' This can lead to segmented artistic markets with immigrant artists struggling to 'break out.' It is also the case that these communities can help nurture artists, support culturally specific art forms and lead to hybrid forms of expression. Over time, these artists may 'break out' into the wider art community. Depending on the size and character of the immigrant group, this segmented market can be quite lucrative (as is the case with *Univision* and the ubiquity of Spanish content media in the US) (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2015, p. 1239).

In other cases, art can serve as a bridge between minority communities and the purported mainstream. Philip Kasinitz (2014) has documented the influential role that US-born children of immigrants play in the New York art, media and cultural scene. DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly refer to the artistic aspiration of the second and third generations as 'expressive entrepreneurship.' In their analysis, the children of immigrants use art and participation in artistic industries as a way of mitigating limited opportunities offered by the labour markets. Art, then, serves an additional economic function as a means of navigating the precarity of an increasingly polarized neoliberal economy (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly 2010, p. 5)

Across Europe, cultural policies, questions of 'diversity' and immigrant integration differ from country to country. A full accounting of these differences is beyond the scope of this review, but scholars in this area point to several key factors that differentiate the European context. Generally speaking, European countries have been slower to adopt policies aimed at immigrant incorporation and formalized policies of multiculturalism. This has been in part because, as Martinello and Lafleur write, immigrants in Europe were seen primarily as workers, not social beings with artistic, cultural or creative interests (Martinello and Lafleur 2008, p. 1192). Efforts to integrate migrants using the language of multiculturalism have been stymied by a public backlash against multiculturalism, which has been blamed for segregation and the isolation of immigrant communities from mainstream society (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). That being said, scholars in this area point to significant institutional and policy efforts that have supported (and impeded) the integration of minority perspectives in the arts and concurrent efforts to use art to support integration.

For example, Grassilli (2008) contrasts the policy contexts in the U.K. and Italy to demonstrate the way art (in her case, film) produced by artists from diaspora communities in the UK (Black British film) has come to be seen as British and is funded and celebrated accordingly. In contrast, in Italy, there are few examples of films by (im)migrants. Grassilli argues that this keeps migrant stories on the periphery, or, when they are told, these stories are told by Italian filmmakers and the migrants themselves are

"locked in the role of the informant" (2008, p. 1252). These differences between the U.K. and Italy point to the distinct institutional contexts in each country vis-à-vis policies of immigrant integration.

Similarly, Delhaye (2008) explores the way 'New Dutch' artists have been integrated into the Amsterdam art scene. Tracing the history of restrictive immigration policy to the present day, where Amsterdam is now one of the more culturally diverse cities in Europe, Delhaye suggests that while some foreign born artists have been able to penetrate the art scene – opening new galleries and theatre companies, there has been a greater struggle to enter the established cultural institutions in the city. Delhaye argues that this integration is largely dependent on gatekeepers within these established institutions. Some gatekeepers are more 'open' than others and serve as critical connectors between minority artists and established institutions. She also echoes other critiques of funding streams that essentialize cultural difference, suggesting that cultural policies, even when well intended, can unintentionally reproduce exclusionary structures.

In a comparative account of multiculturalist cultural policy (including arts programming) in three northern European countries, Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands, Saukkonen (2013) finds that cultural policy has been slow to respond to the social changes produced by immigration in each of these countries. He suggests the slow pace can be attributed to the difficulty of integrating group-specific multiculturalism into a field that is used to working in terms of universalism, individual creativity and national interest. Saukkonen goes on to argue that these countries have found more success creating special programs for immigrant and minority groups rather than incorporating diversity perspectives into the mainstream arts and cultural policies. For example, the emergence of specific institutions for immigrant artists such as the Dutch Pheonix Foundation – a network of organizations and artists that focuses on supporting cultural diversity. There is also the government-funded Mondriaan Foundation which established a 'Development Award for Cultural Diversity.' This award is given to arts and cultural organizations that effectively orient their programming to minority audiences (2013 p. 185). Saukkonen concludes that across these three countries "the implementation of policy actions shows that activities are often quite modest in relation to formal objectives and the resources available are usually meager." (Saukkonen 2013, p. 196)

In Australia, Khan, Wyatt and Yue (2015) examine the evolution of multicultural arts in Australia over the last 30 years. Exploring the shifts from official Australian multiculturalism policy and arts funding from in the 1980s and 1990s to the present day, the authors suggest that tracing this history provides a lens through which state efforts to integrate immigrants can be viewed. From explicit policies of multiculturalism in the early years to a present-day emphasis on diversity, hybridity and transnational exchange, the Australian Council for the Arts' efforts to include diverse artists echo a decline in emphasis on official multiculturalism for a more flexible model. The Australian Council faced criticism over their early efforts to diversify the arts by establishing two key funding streams in the 1990s: 'excellence' and 'access.' Critics argued that this distinction "perpetuate[d] hierarchies of taste – privileging 'high' or 'classical' art forms at the expense of more 'grassroots,' 'community'-based or culturally diverse forms of

artistic expression" (p. 226). The Australian Council has moved away from this distinction today focusing less on multicultural arts and more on "cultural inclusiveness, culturally diverse representation and cultural participation" (p. 231). The authors highlight internationally acclaimed Australian artists Tony Yap, a Malaysian-born Australian dancer and choreographer, and Hany Armonious, a Sydney-based sculptor of Egyptian background, who represented Australia at the Venice Biennele (p. 231) as examples in the shift from a static form of multicultural art to a more fluid, hybrid, transnational vision of multicultural arts.

Multiculturalism:

In Canada, and in other immigrant receiving societies, institutional investments and contexts for cultural policies and immigrant integration are inevitably tied to discussions of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism remains a contested concept in policy, practice and scholarship. A full accounting of its history and its relationship to art, culture and immigration goes well beyond the scope of this literature review, yet it is important to address some of the key concerns that stem from debates about the relationship of multiculturalism to arts and culture. It is especially important because a key criticism of official policies of multiculturalism (especially in Canada) is that a focus on the aesthetic aspects of culture (song, dance, food etc.) multiculturalism fails to address the substantive social and economic inequities facing minority and immigrant communities (Bisoondath 1994). In this way, some critics suggest that institutional investment in multicultural arts actually reinforces the differences between 'mainstream' artists and multicultural others (Delhaye 2008). Other scholars, however, have argued that while Canadian multiculturalism started out as largely celebratory and aesthetic, it quickly evolved to center on issues of rights for minority communities (Kobayashi 1993, Kymlicka 1995, Ley 2010).

More recently, debates have centered over the so-called 'death of multiculturalism' and whether the term continues to have salience in policy and practice (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). Scholars point out that in many European countries, for example the Netherlands and Germany, the term multiculturalism is unpopular and no longer used. That said, there continue to be important policy initiatives in these countries that address the integration of ethnocultural and religious minorities (Korteweg and Triadafilopolous 2015). In Canada, scholars have also debated the continued relevance of the term multiculturalism, pointing out that even debates that point to its purported 'death' serve to historicize and contain a concept that is inherently contested and 'unsettled' (Walcott 2011). For the purposes of this paper, we acknowledge the tensions around this concept but include it in our discussion because it continues to shape the policy and institutional context around arts, culture and immigrant integration in Canada.

It is also critical at this point to acknowledge that discussions at the levels of policy, practice and scholarship, often discuss the relationship between immigrant participation in the arts alongside discussions of Indigenous participation in the arts in Canada. This is in part shaped by the fact that, as policy, multiculturalism is aimed at managing the relationship between the state and its minority populations. In Canada this has meant policies aimed at both Indigenous and ethnocultural (immigrant) minority groups, as well as Quebec (Kymlicka 2010).

Public discussions over minority participation in the arts tend to draw together the experiences of Indigenous and immigrant artists to discuss shared experiences. For example, the 2012 publication *'Pluralism in the arts in Canada: A change is gonna come'* opens with the lines: "The book you are holding in your hands leaps to you from the curb stones of experiences shared by artists, particularly Aboriginal and racialized artists, with individuals representing venues – theatres and stages – offering a diverse menu of performances to audiences…" (p. i.) As an edited collection the book brings together accounts of racialized artists from both Indigenous and immigrant communities to share perspectives on minority participation in the arts. This collection reflects the history of organizing and shared activism between Indigenous and racialized communities in Canada. While there are differences both between and within these communities there are also important conversations and collaborations taking place in Canada's increasingly diverse arts community. While not discounting the importance of these conversations and collaborations, this paper focuses on the specific intersection of arts-based programming and artist integration for immigrants and refugees in Canada.

Choreographer and dancer, Natasha Bakht reflects on her relationship to Canadian multiculturalism and her experience as an Indian classical and contemporary dancer in Canada. Bakht describes an ambivalent relationship to multiculturalism suggesting that multiculturalism can both "[further] artistic production and appreciation" but also "fetishize and essentialize cultural difference" (2012, p. 14). Bakht describes how her parents, immigrants to Canada from northern India, enrolled her in *bharata natyam* classes. Bharata natyam is a form of Indian classical dance from South India. As Bakht describes, enrolling her in bharata natyam, "their intention was not so much to preserve a cultural form that had a long history in my family…Rather, it was about the transfer of an art form that they believed would make me a better developed, more whole person." (p. 15-16). Despite these intentions, Bakht describes constantly navigating the perceptions of white Canadians about her involvement in this 'traditional' dance form. In her piece, Bakht describes two venues for her dance performances. The first were productions in community halls and school auditoriums for the South Asian diaspora. The second were performances at multicultural festivals, the CNE in Toronto and Vancouver's Expo '86. Bakht describes how performances for the Indian community

> had an important function in that they offered Indian migrants…a positive sense of belonging…Such cultural events and public performances were important in a diasporic context. They established a shared "Indian" identity to which Canada's Indian minority community could lay claim, and around which we could form a sense of communal belonging…Indeed, the kind of shared identity these performances fostered was a necessary response to the multiple experiences of racism that we encountered in the dominant culture. (p. 19).

For Bakht, these performances and the community events that surrounded them provided an important site of community building and social support for the South Asian diaspora in Toronto. At the same time Bakht describes the burden of performing at multicultural festivals to predominantly white audiences and the tiresome act of explaining to audiences the meaning behind the dance: "This is the load that multiculturalism insists

that some of us carry, while allowing other Canadians to take no responsibility for their own learning." (p. 20).

Bakht's reflection on her engagement in the arts reflects the complex intersections of identity, diaspora, belonging and art as they take shape in a multicultural society. Bakht articulates the double-edged quality of Canadian multicultural policies: offering spaces for diasporic art forms and community building but also essentializing cultural differences and fetishizing 'otherness.'

Despite the ambivalences inherent in official policies of multiculturalism, numerous scholars note the significant power of multicultural discourses for encouraging a wide range of artistic and cultural programming. Netto explores ethnic minority communities' engagement in the arts in Scotland and finds that artistic expression by these disparate communities leads to positive 'integration' outcomes that contradict common critiques of multicultural discourse (Netto 2008). For example, she argues that engagement in the arts offers ethnic communities opportunities to socialize with co-ethnics as well as the broader Scottish community; an opportunity to assert cultural pride; a means of mediating negative stereotypes and a way of widening out the definition of a national 'Scottish' culture to include minority communities. Like other scholars, Netto emphasizes the critical role that public institutions, arts funders for example, play in creating opportunities and space for ethnic minority participation in the arts.

Similarly, Delhaye and van de Ven (2014) found that despite the abandonment of official policies of multiculturalism and the failure of translating these policies to cultural institutions in the Netherlands there have been promising examples of 'bottom-up' diversity practices that provide spaces for multicultural engagement in the arts. The authors track the work of two Amsterdam institutions, the Paradiso and De Meervaart "that have been trying, independently from governmental policies, to integrate diversity into the nuts and bolts practices of their institutions" (p. 88). These efforts have been largely successful and have created spaces for multicultural practice outside a formalized frame.

Researchers and artists in this area suggest that the 'success' of multicultural programming is contingent on a complex and nuanced view of culture. In their study of the South Asian diaspora in the U.K. Syson and Wood (2006) found that community arts events were well attended when they reflected the diversity within the community rather than presenting a homogenizing or simplistic understanding of the community. Their study was motivated by the fact that South Asians in the U.K. attend South Asian *mela* (festival) but are unlikely to attend other cultural/arts events. Their study points to the differences *within* the South Asian 'community' – shot through with differences based on linguistic preferences, region, gender, age etc. Programming aimed at immigrants often treats these communities as homogenous and makes programming decisions based on a presumed sameness of group members.

This is echoed in scholarship from the United States that emphasizes both the differences between immigrant communities as well as *within* these communities. Scholars exploring

the intersection of art and immigration in the U.S. point to the dramatically different histories, trajectories, and modes of incorporation for differently positioned immigrant and refugee communities (Menjivar 2010). Similarly, scholars point to the differences within immigrant communities reminding us that there is no singular 'immigrant identity.' Immigrant artists are differently positioned depending on their class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and the region they come from. Maira's exploration of the cultural preferences of South Asian Americans reveals that middle-class and Hindu youth living in New Jersey were "artistically bilingual" consuming traditional Indian high culture and US-Indian hybrid pop forms. In contrast, the working class, predominantly Muslim youth she studied, were more interested in forms of Indian and Pakistani popular culture. Here class played a more salient role than ethnicity with working class youth having more in common with youth in South Asia than their immigrant peers in America (Maira 2010).

The social functions of art – facilitating encounters

Following the framework described by Martinello (2014) and employed by the European Research Network on International Migration and Social Cohesion, this review moves now to a focus on the social functions that arts and culture play in immigrant receiving societies. Literature in this area points to the vital role that art and artists play in building connections and facilitating encounters between diverse groups in society. As the following section reveals, art takes numerous forms in promoting social and cultural encounters across diverse life experiences.

Everyday multiculturalism – encounters of difference

While the preceding discussion focused on some of the challenges translating official policies of multiculturalism to programs and practice, several authors point to the way in which arts and culture promote cohesion and support the social integration of minority communities. Generally these encounters take place at the scale of the city – with various municipalities playing key roles as facilitators of diversity in the arts. In reflecting on the relationship between multiculturalism, arts and culture and the integration of immigrants and refugees, the scholarship on 'everyday multiculturalism' provides an important point of entry (Wise and Velayutham 2009). Everyday multiculturalism:

> takes places in voluntary and involuntary everyday practices within public spaces, such as in neighbourhoods, parks, shopping centres, places of leisure and on public transport. This concept reveals complexities and ambiguities that are not recognised in the dominant paradigm of scholarship on multiculturalism. That is because everyday multiculturalism explores how cultural diversity is experienced and negotiated on the ground in everyday situations and how social relations and identities are shaped and reshaped in the process (Wise and Velayutham 2009, 2). (Wulfhorst et al. 2014, p. 1801)

This view contrasts with official definitions of multiculturalism because it addresses the way people interact with one another in their daily lives; here, people are understood as "*doing* culture together" (Noble 2009). The concept of everyday multiculturalism lends itself well to studying the role of art and culture because it is in the spaces that art and culture are produced that encounters across difference might take place. This can be seen, for example, at a street festival, a concert, at the theatre, through performance art or in attending a class to learn a new skill or art form.

Wulfhorst, Rocha and Morgan (2014) explore the concept of everyday multiculturalism in relation to Capoeira classes in Australia. Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian dance-cum-martial art that is practiced around the world. Through their research, the authors suggest the emergence of 'intimate multiculturalism,' which takes place between Brazilian masters of Capoeira and their Australian students: "in very close intercultural encounters [where] people reinvent themselves, question their belonging to one national imagined community and embody other forms of being" (p. 1799). The authors argue that Capoeira classes in Sydney, which are taught primarily by Brazilian immigrants to Australia, provide spaces for an intimate form of multiculturalism to emerge. Students of Capoeira dedicate years of their life to the dance-art, transforming their bodies, learning Portuguese and "feel they belong to an intimate community of practice" that crosses borders (p. 1813)

While not an intimate space of encounter, street festivals present another opportunity for everyday multiculturalism to take shape. Els Vanderwaeren (2014) explores the role of the Murga street festival in Antwerp. She argues that the Murga is a site of cultural hybridization that provides an "active meeting place for those who live in the same area." (p.63). The Murga is a Latin-American street fanfare that has emerged as a popular event in Antwerp. The Murga is aimed at bringing people together at a local (neighbourhood) level and leveraging local artistic and creative expression. Vanderwaeren suggests the bottom-up nature of a local festival intersects in complex ways with policy-making agendas focused on diversity and social cohesion. The cultural hybridization that emerges from the Murga cultivates new forms of belonging and makes new connections between disparate groups who may not otherwise encounter one another (p. 68).

Like Vanderwaeren, Salzbrunn (2014) is interested in the role that festivals and street events play in transforming and opening up urban space. She highlights the role of the 'alternative' carnival that has emerged alongside the Cologne Carnival. Asylum seekers in Germany organize the *"no fool is illegal"* carnival, which runs concurrently with the historic Cologne Carnival. Asylum seekers along with other minority communities, gays, lesbians, feminists and far left groups organize their own events that run in conjunction with the festival. They also join the regular festival events and reshape those events with their own political and aesthetic claims. This 'alternative' carnival is now more popular than the official carnival, selling more tickets and drawing larger crowds. Salzbrunn argues that the inclusion of diverse political voices in the official carnival festivities creates a complex negotiation between policy makers – who attempt to leverage the message of multiculturalism and diversity that emanate from the carnival – and local actors, ultimately reshaping local culture (though not radically transforming policies).

Similar questions are raised by Pottie-Sherman and Hiebert (2015) in their ethnography of a Summer Night Market in Richmond, British Columbia. Richmond has a significant Asian population and is known as the 'new Chinatown' of Metro Vancouver. Bustling night markets have a long tradition going back to the 8th century and following Chinese emigration to South East Asia and more recently to Canada. The busy weekend night market contrasts with the quiet landscape of Richmond's suburbs, yet it provides an important place for cross-cultural interaction between diverse market-goers and vendors

as well as a site of nostalgia for the ethnically Chinese community in Richmond. Markets such as the Richmond Night Market and street festivals such as those described above provide important sites for cross-cultural encounters and spaces for emergent forms of community belonging in post-migration, super-diverse contexts (Vertovec 2007).

Social inclusion and participation in the arts
Art, theatre, music and other forms of cultural expression can facilitate the social inclusion of newcomers in a community. In their 2015 study of immigrant participation in the arts in Australia Le, Polonsky and Arambewela found there were differences between ethno-cultural community attendance at artistic productions based on how long a community has been established in Australia. The authors found that for more recently established communities, artistic productions that connected them to their 'home' culture had greater salience than for communities that had deeper roots in Australia. For the ethnic communities that had longer histories in Australia, Greek and Italians, they were more likely to attend cultural or arts events produced by the majority culture. Newer arrivals, in their case of Indian, Chinese and African origin, were more likely to attend events produced by co-ethnics.

In all cases, social inclusion and a desire for greater connectedness were cited as reasons for participation in arts related events. Social inclusion here included the opportunity to socialize with members of their own communities as well as with those from outside the community. The authors suggest that respondents indicated that the social interaction that attended the performance or event was sometimes more important than the art event itself. Other respondents, especially those who had arrived more recently, directly connected their experiences of settlement in a new country to participation in artistic events:

> With the community ones it's more fun, networking, making new friends, meeting new people and just having a great time as youth, and getting to know your culture as well. Having a little bit of home with you here…Then it is so much easier sometimes when you are settling in this country to connect with people who have a similar background as you do. So some people use this as an opportunity to go and find friends or settle into the new community or the new state. (Female 2, African FG) (Le et al. 2015, p. 387)

The authors suggest that engagement in the arts leads to a variety of positive forms of social inclusion including greater social connection, opportunities to share culture, language, values and art from one generation to another, and opportunities to engage with unfamiliar communities which participants report allows them to feel included and connected to the receiving society.

Rytter (2010) describes a play produced by a Pakistani community organization in Denmark. The Organization of Pakistani Students and Academics (OPSA) produced a play titled *A Sunbeam of Hope*. The play was performed at a community gathering celebrating the anniversary of the creation of the state of Pakistan. Using humorous cultural stereotypes, the play provided a safe space for differences between generations within the Pakistani community to be negotiated and discussed. The play is about a migrant family that returns to Pakistan for the summer holidays and the ways in which

different family members relate to family members 'back home,' their cultural and linguistic ties and their shared national history. Rytter argues that the play critiqued first generation Pakistani migrants to Denmark for how they "(mis) managed" their Pakistani identity while living in Denmark. It also reflected a form of self-criticism at the second generation for their similar failure to manage the complexity of Danish-Pakistani identity. Finally, Rytter argues that the play offered a space for both first and second-generation migrants to imagine and claim other possible identities and forms of belonging. With increasingly restrictive Danish immigration policies, *A Sunbeam of Hope* offered a way for immigrants and their children living in Denmark to imagine a way of 'returning' to a place they feel they might belong.

In Rytter's example we see the way art (theatre) provides a space for migrant and diaspora communities to negotiate their complex and shifting identities. In the OPSA case, differences between generations are salient. Here, art provides space for reflection and discussion in a restrictive policy context and a way of imagining forms of belonging when actual belonging may be elusive. Rytter's discussion reminds us of Natasha Bakht's description of the role that her bharata nataym dance performances offered the Indian diaspora in Toronto. In her reflection, these community performances provided a way of shaping 'Indianness' in the face of other barriers and helped negotiate differences within communities.

Political functions of art – speaking back

Mikael Rytter's reflection on theatre as a space for meaning making provides a good entry point for the discussion that follows on the political role that art can play. The following section discusses examples of how art and culture can provide a way of speaking back to the dominant culture and showing the violence and marginalization that certain communities face vis-à-vis the immigration policy regimes that shape their lives. Theatre can be an especially evocative means of 'speaking back.' Scholars have showcased examples of political theatre that provide spaces for migrants to share their stories with audiences from the dominant community.

In Canada, the Philippine Women Centre of British Columbia partnered with Geraldine Pratt and Caleb Johnston to produce a play about the experiences of women and their families who enter Canada through a temporary work program, the Live-in Caregiver Program. The majority of migrants who enter Canada through this program are women from the Philippines. They come to Canada on a temporary work visa and, until recently, were required to live in the home of their employer, for two years before they can apply for Canadian Permanent Residence and bring their family to Canada. Often they must wait many years to be reunited with their own children from the Philippines. Research in this area suggests that the impacts of family separation can be devastating for families, not just the caregivers themselves but also their children (Pratt 2012). Similarly, the Carlos Bulosan Theatre Company in Toronto has produced plays about the experiences of Filipino-Canadians for over thirty years.

Similarly, Bhimji (2016) describes a similar theatrical production in Germany that draws on the first-hand testimony of asylum seekers living in Germany. *How I Became an Asylum Seeker* uses 'ethno-drama' (Saldana 2005, 2011) to translate the lived experiences

of asylum seekers to the stage. Actors on stage present material derived from the transcripts of ethnographic interviews with asylum seekers. Following the performance, actors and directors involved with the play, as well as refugees and advocates (lawyers and human rights activists), join a discussion where the audience can ask questions and the refugees can share more information. Bhimji suggests that participation in this theatre space demonstrates the 'performative agency' of refugees. The theatre space becomes "a platform to express their views, their stories of struggle and their particular campaigns…[it is] resistance against invisibility, isolation and disconnectedness" (p. 83-84).

The medium is significant here; theatre and artistic expression are a means of challenging policy and disrupting xenophobic attitudes outside conventional political campaigns or lobbying efforts. Those involved in the production believe that there is a need to challenge politics at a cultural level, using art and culture as means to do so. One of the refugee activists explained to Bhimji: "If you start to dialogue with politicians, you just end up compromising and then they try and manipulate you. So our strategy is to work with cultural groups and neighbours and we hope they will support our demands" (p. 90). This reflects the significance of artistic and expressive work as a means of transforming cultural attitudes and cultivating *encounters* between diverse groups in society.

Therapeutic functions of art

Art therapy and other forms of expressive theories are increasingly recognized for their beneficial impacts in working with immigrants and refugees. Art therapy has proven to be especially effective in working with vulnerable populations including children and refugees who have experienced trauma (Malchiodi 2008, Wertheim-Cahen 1998). Art is an effective means of bridging language and communication barriers. Research suggests that art therapy "allows children to explore memories and emotions subtly and symbolically…providing a safe space to resolve overwhelming traumatic symptoms" (Appleton and Spokane 2001, Malchiodi 2008, Rose et al. 2017). In this way, expressive therapies have been demonstrated to promote post-traumatic growth: a "positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances" (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004, p. 1). Ample evidence suggests that art is a valuable therapeutic tool for supporting vulnerable populations moving from trauma to resilience.

The mental health needs of refugees are considerable. These include challenges faced both pre- and post-migration as well as possible trauma experienced in refugee camps or in transit. (Kowitt et al., 2013; Schweitzer, Brough, Vromans, & Asic-Kobe, 2011). Research suggests refugee children and youth have high rates of mental health issues that might include hyperactivity, depression and anxiety as well as difficulties forming relationships with peers (Hodes 2000). Research conducted in the United States found that 11% of refugee children had posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), about 10 times the likelihood of the general population (Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005). PTSD can be extremely disruptive for those who live with it, putting those with a diagnosis at a higher risk of substance abuse and suicide (Fazel et al., 2005). Canadian studies echo American research suggesting that refugees face increased rates of PTSD and depression (McKenzie et al. 2010).

Literature related to art and expressive therapies for refugees suggests great promise for this model in supporting the healing, wellbeing and integration of refugee youth. Rowe et al. (2017) highlight the therapeutic benefits of one such program for refugee youth in North Carolina. The Art Therapy Institute (ATI) offers a program for Burmese refugee youth: the Burma Art Therapy Program (BATP). ATI's youth program is school-based, which is seen as a particular benefit because school is perceived as a safe space and literature in this area suggests school belonging protects against PTSD, depression and anxiety (Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012). The BATP offers a mix of individual and group art therapy sessions led by trained and experienced art therapists. According to the authors: "The program seeks to develop clients' strengths as well as ameliorate negative symptoms associated with the refugee experience, such as depression and anxiety. Art therapists worked with their clients to form therapeutic goals during initial sessions, followed by both structured and unstructured weekly art therapy sessions" (p. 28). In evaluating the impacts of the program on participants, Rowe et al. suggest that depression was reduced in participants over the course of the 6 months. However, and raising important research questions, the authors suggest that the current tools available to researchers for evaluating the impact of arts and expressive therapies with refugees are inadequate for capturing the complexity of experiences for refugees. Using standard evaluation techniques that map onto conventional therapeutic interventions, the authors were able to capture the effects of trauma on participants but not necessarily the full range of benefits from the therapy: "Our process evaluation…revealed that language and cultural barriers could have hampered the tools from fully capturing the effects of both the trauma and the therapy" (p. 32). This discussion reveals a common challenge of measuring and evaluating the impacts of both art therapy *and* therapeutic interventions in cross-cultural contexts.

Hodes (2000) notes that despite the prevalence of mental health problems associated with the refugee experience, the majority of refugees demonstrate great resilience and draw on the resources and strengths within their families and communities. With that in mind, he points to the challenges of providing care especially to young refugees: High levels of poverty and socio-economic barriers as well as cultural and language differences can present barriers to care. In addition, refugee families may have different understandings of both a mental health diagnosis (for example Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) as well as the most effective way of treating such a diagnosis (Hodes 1992).

Miller and Billings (1994) echo this finding, suggesting that school-based expressive therapy programs for immigrant and refugee youth can exacerbate differences within families between generations. Programs designed by host country therapists and teachers can feel far removed from the home life of refugee children. Despite these challenges, Rousseau et al. (2005) found that school-based programs working with immigrant and refugee children in Montreal had a positive effect on participants' self-esteem and decreased emotional and behavioural symptoms.

In Canada there are several examples of programs that used art as a therapeutic tool. COSTI Immigrant Services in Toronto runs an art therapy program for refugee children.

This program has been in operation for years at the Ralph Chiodo Family Immigrant Reception Centre. The Reception Centre provides temporary accommodation to Government Assisted Refugee families immediately after their arrival in Canada. The Art Therapy Program is open to all children living at the Reception Centre. The program provides a therapeutic and structured environment that uses art to allow children to explore their feelings and fears. As the program is open to all refugee children at the centre, it provides an opportunity for the Art Therapist to assess the needs of refugee children who pass through COSTI. Art provides a non-threatening and non-intrusive tool for assessing the mental welfare of these children. The Art Therapist can then make recommendations for further care and case management as needed. Turtle House Art/Play Centre in Toronto provides similar art-based programming for refugee children and families. Turtle House is described further in the Case Study section below.

Canadian context

This paper aims to present a fulsome account of the issues related to arts and culture based programming for immigrants and refugees. The literature review lays out the key issues related to both the institutional contexts for immigrant reception and the arts as well as the challenges and opportunities stemming from policies related to multiculturalism, diversity and social inclusion. The literature review also highlights the various functions of arts and culture based programming as they related to issues of social integration and belonging. These include exploring the social, cultural, political and therapeutic impacts of art.

The paper now moves from an exploration of the literature to a focus on existing policies, practices and programs of arts and culture-based programming as it relates to immigrant incorporation in Canada. In the pages that follow, we lay out five case studies of promising programs that operate at the intersection of immigrant inclusion and arts-based programming. These include community-art centers that provide therapeutic programming for refugee families, a writing and performance residency for immigrant women and a participatory theatre program for newcomer youth (among others). In order to provide context for these case studies, the following section provides a high level exploration of the context for this kind of programming in Canada. This section also highlights a few of the key themes that emerged from interviews with key stakeholders who work at the intersection of art and newcomer programming in Canada. Although we did not set out to compile and analyze the comments made by representatives from the case study organizations, a few are highly relevant to our more general discussion of the relationship between arts and immigrant integration.

Several factors distinguish Canada from other countries with respect to these issues. First, Canada continues to have high levels of immigration and relatively high levels of public support for immigration (Hiebert 2016). Second, Canada offers robust settlement services and programming for the majority of newcomers to Canada (in the form of language training, employment support and, for refugees, financial assistance for their first year in Canada). Third, Canada continues to invest in programming related to its official policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism. Indeed, Canada was the first country in the world to codify multiculturalism as national policy and it continues to play a significant role in the Canadian public imagination (Li 2003) and policy.

Multiculturalism as policy has important impacts on a range of actors in Canadian civil society – in both the arts and settlement sectors. For example, a recent government funding initiative asked Canadian non-profit and charitable organizations to seek funding for projects that used arts, culture and/or sport with the goal of "work[ing] toward the elimination of discrimination, racism and prejudice" (Government of Canada 2017). Calls for proposals were solicited under the Canadian government's Multiculturalism Funding Program through the Department of Canadian Heritage. While these initiatives might be critiqued as superficial, a significant body of scholarship suggests that policy – especially when tied to funding - can play a vital role in supporting social inclusion and cultivating belonging (Wright and Bloemraad 2012).

With respect to funding for the arts, Gattinger and Saint-Pierre (2013) point out that there are a range of arms length councils, including the Canada Council for the Arts as well as other key stakeholders, municipalities, provincial governments, non-profit organizations and private foundations, that shape the context for arts funding in Canada. The Canada Council for the Arts is a key player in this context, providing over $150 million in funding each year to Canadian artists and arts organizations. The Canada Council is an arms-length agency that reports to the Canadian government through the Minister of Canadian Heritage. It receives annual funding from its endowment fund, appropriations from parliament, donations and bequests. Along with funding, the Canada Council administers many of Canada's top arts awards, and runs an Art Bank and an art series that features Canadian artists from a variety of disciplines.

The Canada Council for the Arts has been an important voice in "entrenching inclusiveness as a core criterion for grants and financial support" (Wong 2017). At the 2016 Prismatic Festival in Halifax, NS, Simon Brault, Director and CEO of the Canada Council for the Arts, delivered a keynote address titled *Equity in the arts: Opening the door for a better future.* This speech clearly articulates the need to respond to the systemic barriers facing artists from culturally diverse backgrounds:

> In recent years, it has become obvious that the discipline-based funding structure no longer works. Globalization, changing demographics, digital technologies. These are all powerful drivers of change in society – and in the arts. They are challenging the Council to be more inclusive, agile and relevant. At the same time, artists…from culturally diverse and Indigenous communities…still face systemic barriers to the Council's funding. Our applicant base, and Canada's wider arts sector, still isn't indicative of the rich diversity of cultures represented in our population.

Brault goes on in this speech to describe changes in the way the Canada Council funds artists. These changes center issues of reconciliation with Indigenous communities as well as issues of equity and diversity.

Rather than seeing diversity as an added benefit to Canada's art scene, the Canada Council has worked to situate equity and inclusion at the center of their funding mandate. This includes adding a diversity component to the evaluation and funding criteria for organizations that receive operational funding from the Council. It also includes opening up 25% of new funds to first-time grant applicants with the goal of opening doors to "young, culturally-diverse and deaf and disability artists who haven't yet sought out Council funding" (Brault 2016). These steps reflect a significant repositioning of the relationship between the arts and issues of equity and inclusion. They also play a critical role in changing the conversation about what the arts community can do in cultivating social belonging and integrating newcomers.

While there is little doubt about the significant role that major national funding bodies, such as the Canada Council for the Arts, play in shifting the parameters around questions of diversity, inclusion and the arts, others point out that these changes need to take place culturally as well as institutionally. In a recent article about diversity in Canadian theatre,

Director Weyni Mengesha, who directed *da Kink in my Hair*[7], *Kim's Convenience*[8] and *Butcher*[9], told CBC:

> It's not enough to program a writer of colour and hope that diversity starts happening in your theatre. It needs to be a holistic approach…You have to do more than just invite one person – a playwright [into the mix]. You have to invite the whole community and work on different levels…It's time to reinvestigate the model. (Wong 2017)

This notion of 'inviting the whole community' is emerging as a central theme in the work of numerous community-arts and arts organizations center the stories, experiences and realities of immigration at their core. A sample of these organizations is featured in the case study section that follows. Conversations with leaders from these organizations as well as other key stakeholders from the arts and settlement sectors reveal important insights into the promising practices emerging from the intersection of arts and immigration as well as gaps in programming and where there are continued opportunities for investment and support. These are briefly summarized below.

Gaps

Funding for community/arts programs tends to fall in a gap – neither art nor settlement, but something in between:
Conversations with leaders from the community-arts sector and those working in arts-based programming with newcomers reflect that a major challenge for the programs they run – whether theatre programs for newcomer youth or writing and performance workshops for immigrant women – is funding. These funding challenges appear to go beyond the standard concerns over funding that characterize both the settlement, arts and non-profit sectors more generally and are unique to programs that fail to fit into a proscribed funding box. As one stakeholder reflected, "funding for these kinds of programs is neither fish or fowl to some people…I don't quite know where this fits and I think it would be great if initiatives like this fit somewhere."

Funding for arts-based programs for immigrants falls somewhere in-between settlement funding and arts funding. Settlement funding remains largely invested in programs that provide information, transitions to employment and language training. Similarly, arts funding tends to be oriented towards professional artists and it can be difficult to access for community-arts programs. This research points to the emergence of new funding streams in place to support programs at the intersection of these two sectors.

Few pathways for professional artists to transition to work in Canada
Several stakeholders identified that there continues to be a gap in settlement programming for immigrants and refugees who may have worked as artists in their country of origin. They suggested that while there appear to be programs that support other professionals as they transition to the Canadian labour market – for engineers, or accountants, for example – there are no clear pathways for artists to find work in their profession in Canada. This lack of institutional support for internationally trained artists

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[7] Theatre Passe Murialle/Mirvish Productions
[8] Soulpepper Theatre
[9] Alberta Theatre Projects

is compounded by systemic barriers including language barriers and fewer opportunities for immigrant-artists in the Canadian arts landscape. One stakeholder commented: "People who use their language of origin as an important part of their vocation, I think those people, I don't think they're well served here, I don't think artists are." One organization that does provide an important space for writers from culturally diverse backgrounds is PEN Canada. For example, they provide residency opportunities for refugee writers in Canada as well as a broad range of public education programs.

Language and accents continue to be a barrier for participation
Colombian-born Canadian playwright and director Beatriz Pizano created Canada's first professionally recognized Latin American theatre company, Aluna, in 2001 to respond to the misrepresentation and underrepresentation of Latin American stories in the theatre. In reflecting on the barriers that persist for immigrant artists some 16 years after Aluna was founded, Pizano states that, in theatre, "an accent is still the most dangerous thing to have." Despite winning numerous awards – including 12 Dora Awards – Pizano laments the lack of opportunities for artists from linguistic and culturally diverse backgrounds in Canada. Katherine Govier, founder of The Shoe Project, a writing and performance workshop for immigrant women, reflected that her program started in response to the lack of opportunities for immigrants in extant creative writing programs. Language and literacy barriers are perceived by most in the literary community as indicative of immigrants' lack of literary ambition, instead of simply an alternative way of using language. These barriers stigmatize and marginalize artists and creative professionals from immigrant backgrounds, limiting their opportunities to contribute to Canada's cultural and artistic landscape.

Promising practices
Syrian refugee resettlement – emerging collaborations
Despite the challenges, stakeholders also pointed to the shifting institutional and discursive context that has accompanied the Canadian effort to resettle Syrian refugees in 2015-2016. This multi-sectoral initiative required massive coordination and collaboration across numerous civil society actors, networks and industries. The Welcome Syrian Refugee effort brought together three levels of government, thousands of volunteers, private businesses, the settlement sector, community organizations, faith-based organizations and non-profits across the country. Both during initial resettlement, when thousands of refugees were arriving daily, and in the period immediately following, unique collaborations emerged with a shared goal of welcoming and supporting Syrian refugees as they began their new lives in Canada.

For example, it was during this period that the Canada Council for the Arts partnered with Sun Life Financial to launch a pilot initiative called Welcome to the Arts. This initiative connected Syrian refugees with the Canadian arts community. Individual artists and arts organizations received grants to provide recent Syrian refugees access to performances, exhibitions or arts events in their new communities. Similarly, the Federal Government through Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) provided several small grants to arts-based organizations to run short-term projects with arriving

refugee families. Several of the organizations featured in the case study section received funding through this program.

Several stakeholders commented on the energy and collaborative spirit that the arrival of Syrian refugees engendered and the way that energy and collaboration has carried forward into the present. Both in policy and practice there seems to be a renewed interest in issues related to integration and building welcoming and diverse communities. This interest extends well beyond the resettlement sector and is shaping engagements by artists, arts organizations and national funding organizations.

New funding models – Neighbourhood Arts Network – Toronto Arts Foundation
A best practice for funding at the intersection of arts and immigration is the Toronto Arts Foundation, Neighbourhood Arts Network. The Neighbourhood Arts Network has positioned itself as a key advocate for artists from diverse communities with a vision for "a Toronto in which artists in every neighbourhood have the resources, training and support to make transformative art" (NAN 2017).

The Neighbourhood Arts Network provides a supportive network to more than 1700 members most of whom are community-engaged artists and arts organizations. The Network provides professional development workshops and training, networking events, funding opportunities, awards and a wealth of online resources.

The Newcomer Spotlight Program is a workshop and networking program that engages newcomer and non-newcomer artists in a professional development and training series. The program provides an opportunity for engagement and knowledge exchange between artists from different communities. It provides an opportunity to share knowledge, build a supportive network, learn relevant content and share ideas. The last topic of the *Let's Talk Art* series focused on sustainable business practices for artists. Similarly, the Neighbourhood Arts Network RBC Arts Access Fund provides $25,000 in micro-funding to newcomer artists in Toronto to support their work. The funds can be used for art supplies, workshops or professional development, training or mentorship opportunities.

The Neighbourhood Arts Network articulates its work using the following four words: Convene. Bridge. Incubate. Advocate. They credit their robust network and strong connection to the arts community with their open door policy and efforts to develop programming that is responsive to community needs and interests. As a community-based 'arm' of the Toronto Arts Foundation (which is itself connected to the Toronto Arts Council), the Neighbourhood Arts Network is an approachable space where newcomer artists can ask questions, seek support and build community. The funding, mentorship and networking opportunities provide important spaces for newcomers to make connections and bridge to the mainstream art community. They have also centered equity as a core value and ensure that their programming is accessible and free of charge.

Canada Council for the Arts – Capacity Building Program[10]

In 2001-2002, the Canada Council for the Arts launched the *Capacity Building Program to Support Culturally Diverse Artistic Practices*. The goal of this initiative, which was offered for 12 years, between 2001/2002 to 2013/2014, was to assist culturally diverse organizations build administrative capacity to create, produce and disseminate their art and thus improve their access to regular programs managed by the discipline-based Sections of the Canada Council. The program was designated to organizations that demonstrated a sustained commitment to the creation, production, distribution and/or collection of art by Canadian arts professionals of African, Asian, Latin American, Middle Eastern heritage, including those of mixed racial heritage. This commitment was reflected in its leadership, arts professionals employed and artistic activities. These organizations were mandated and dedicated a majority of their resources to supporting the perspectives, stories and arts practices of arts professionals from these culturally diverse communities. Between 2001/2002 and 2009/2010, a total of 90 organizations received $16,660,543 in grants under the Capacity Building Initiative. The total amount committed each year varied from a low of $1,521,934 in 2001-2002 to a high of $2,069,676 in 2006-2007. Amongst the recipients were organizations that were led by and employed artists from immigrant communities including: Accès Asie (Montréal); Afrikadey! Arts and Cultural Society (Calgary); Aluna Theatre (Toronto); Black Theatre Workshop (Montréal); Centre A (Vancouver); Constantinople (Montreal); Korean Dance Studies Society (Toronto); Mémoire d'Encrier (Montréal); MT Space (Kitchener-Waterloo); Nafro Dance (Winnipeg); NeWorld Theatre (Vancouver); Nyata Nyata Compagnie de Danse (Montréal); OneLight Theatre (Halifax); Red Chamber Cultural Society (Vancouver); South Asian Visual Arts Collective (Toronto); Teesri Duniya (Montréal); Toronto Reel Asian Film Festival (Toronto); and many more. The majority of organizations funded through this program continue to thrive and receive funding through regular competitive programs including core or operating support.

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10 This section was written by staff at Canada Council for the Arts

Case studies

The following section builds on the contextual description provided above. The case studies present important and relevant examples of the kind of work that is taking place at the emerging intersection of arts and culture based programming and the incorporation of immigrants and newcomers. These case studies are informed by interviews with key leaders, program managers, staff and participants from each of the five initiatives presented below. These five examples by no means cover the wide range of programs that work at the intersection of art and integration, yet they highlight the diversity and complexity of programming on both the side of settlement and arts-based programming for immigrants and refugees in Canada.

Aluna Theatre

http://www.alunatheatre.ca/

In 2001, Colombian-Canadian director and playwright Beatriz Pizano founded Aluna Theatre. From its inception, Aluna has existed to provide opportunities for marginalized artists. Aluna's work challenges misconceptions and misrepresentations about Latin American immigrants. Based in Toronto, Aluna is a vital artistic space for the thousands of Latin Americans and Spanish speakers who call Toronto home.

Artistic director Beatriz Pizano has produced numerous award-winning plays, which had their debut at Aluna. Her work focuses on the stories of Latin American women and the transnational ties between Canada and the Americas. As a theatre, Aluna provides important spaces for cultural encounters between diverse members of the Canadian community. Beatriz Pizano reflects:

> We understand the many challenges that have created a cultural gap for our communities: socio-economic factors, recent immigration, and language barriers are major deterrents from participating in the arts as either artists or audience members. Closing this cultural gap is our main challenge in building audiences, artists, sponsors, and donors from this community.

In 2012, Aluna launched RUTAS festival. This international festival was founded on the principles of Aluna: "to push the boundaries of theatre from the Latin Canadian and Latin American perspective by presenting new hybrids of professionally produced performance work that are artistically compelling and that deal with pressing social issues."

As a bi-annual festival, RUTAS exists to raise the profile of Latin Canadian and Latin American arts. It also has a community-building impact by contributing to the development of social and professional networks; expands and diversifies Aluna's audiences, and creates intercultural understanding through a dialogue between communities and artists. As an international festival, RUTAS provides a forum for artistic exchange between Canada and Latin America. It provides professional development opportunities for artists from the Latin Canadian community, including newcomers, to showcase their work; and provides professional opportunities, through internships and mentorships for young and emerging artists.

In 2014, RUTAS partnered with Native Earth Performing Arts (NEPA) and presented four international and four national companies, four days of Conference panels and four Master Classes over two weeks. A unique and critically important aspect of RUTAS is the collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists.

Along with producing award winning and artistically significant theatre, a large part of Aluna's mandate includes community outreach and engagement. Aluna runs workshops for youth artists: The Young Panamerican Vo(i)ces theatre training program. This program runs with youth ages 17-27. These programs are free and provide opportunities for emerging and newcomer artists to explore their craft in the company of professional artists.

Aluna was also the recipient of a Welcome to the Arts grant. Through this funding, Aluna was able to offer tickets to Syrian refugees to attend the RUTAS Panamericanas International Performing Arts Festival. Aluna selected three performances they felt would have resonance for the Syrian refugees both in terms of content as well as performances that could be enjoyed without English language fluency. One of these plays was Antigonas, Tribunal de Mujeres, in which nine Colombian women - victims of state violence – tell their story. Aluna reported that following the play a group of Syrian women approached the play's director, Carlos Satizábal, and through an interpreter, told him: "this play is also our story" (Aluna Theatre 2017)

Aluna received funding from the Canada Council for the Arts Capacity Building Grant, Ontario Arts Council, Toronto Arts Council, Theatre Ontario, the Metcalf Foundation and MacAuslan's Brewery, among others.

NuYu Theatre

https://www.mosaicbc.org/services/family-children-youth/nuyu-newcomer-youth-popular-theatre/

NuYu is a theatre program for immigrant and refugee youth run by MOSAIC. MOSAIC is a non-profit organization and registered charity serving immigrants and newcomers based in Metro Vancouver. Since its inception in 2006, NuYu has provided over 20 programs for newcomer youth and five facilitator trainings. NuYu is a program for immigrant and refugee youth, which uses Popular Theatre as a tool for participants to connect with one another and reflect on their lives and experiences as newcomers. Each program session includes games, discussions and theatre activities.

Popular Theatre is a form of participatory theatre that draws on Paolo Freire's Popular Education movement in Latin America. Brazilian director, Augusto Boal developed Popular Theatre (or Theatre of the Oppressed). Theatre of the Oppressed was created with the vision of empowering people to stand up and challenge their oppressors:

The hallmark of Popular Theatre is that the audience members become actors in the play. In the case of Theatre of the Oppressed, these 'spect-actors' have the option of stopping the scene, replacing the actor who is being oppressed and trying out a new approach, with the possibility of achieving a different outcome (Boal 1997)" (McCreary Centre Society 2013).

NuYu adopts a similar approach to this form of Popular Theatre using 'Playback Theatre' where a teller shares a story to a small group of actors who immediately improvise a reenactment of the story and shares it with an audience.

The goals of the NuYu program are for youth participants to develop a greater sense of empowerment and self-confidence by sharing their stories with others and having their voices heard; to increase their peer support and social networks; to enhance their sense of community connectedness; and to contribute to improvements in skills, including problem-solving and teamwork.

Popular theater allows participants to explore their life experiences through theatre. A variety of games and theatre exercises lead participants to gradually create scenes based upon the real stories of their lives. Theatre provides a space for young people to explore the challenging situations they may face in their everyday life and consider options for positive solutions. Participants then perform their scenes in front of audiences at public interactive forums, creating community dialogue around important issues and possible solutions to real life challenges.

The program is open to youth ages 14-24. NuYu offers two types of programs: Youth programs and facilitator training. The youth program works with young newcomers in Metro Vancouver to build community, develop personal empowerment and share personal stories and challenges. The facilitator training is for young leaders and MOSAIC's youth workers. It helps build the capacity of MOSAIC staff to better support immigrant and refugee youth. Facilitators are trained in how to employ the Popular Theatre methodology to diverse contexts.

NuYu leverages a peer model to support young people in building connections and developing peer-support. This helps marginalized youth understand that they are not alone in their struggles and to combat experiences of social isolation. Popular theatre is a powerful tool to support those who may face language barriers. Participants report that the program helps them to develop their confidence in verbal communication. The program invites participants to discuss social issues and shares community resources to help support young people on their journey to integration.

Participants report that through NuYu they discover that they face similar issues as other newcomer youth. Newcomer youth report the following struggles: a generation gap in communication and understanding, having to develop a new identity in Canada, managing cultural and parental expectations, becoming interpreter and provider for the family, making new friends, academic progress, anxiety about graduating/leaving secondary schools without a certificate and developing sense of belonging in the community.

Popular theatre allows young people to 'borrow' the role of actor and create some distance from the challenges they face. This allows them to illustrate difficult issues that they may wish to discuss. Acting is a powerful medium through which they can convey strong messages with a degree of removal and without guilt and shame.

Each NuYu training ends with a community forum where youth showcase the scenes created during the training. Audience members experience firsthand results of the training as they view the scenes created by the youth and offer potential solutions to the issues presented. In reflecting on the experience one participant shared the following comments:

> At the end of the forum, where we perform what we have been working at, there was one thing that was very informative and helpful for me…By someone stepping [in] and replacing one of the performers and addressing a problem, then providing a solution to the problem, they are not only providing another option of how the narrative goes, but they are providing a solution which is a sociological answer to a challenge that one of the youth or one of the audience already have, but now at that moment they will be able to learn a new skill, a new tool that they will be able to use for themselves and use it for teaching other persons.

When asked where NuYu sits on the spectrum of settlement and arts-based programming, the program manager at MOSAIC commented that this unique program responds in important ways to the specific needs and experiences of immigrant and refugee youth in ways that differ from conventional settlement programs.

> I don't really like that word 'settlement.' I want them to become fully who they are. They happen to be in this community but to be, to recognize their potential and capacity, it's their journey. And we just assist and provide something that they need. But settlement we always give, one, two, three, four, five and we don't really understand who they are as unique individuals, we have boxed them into some settlement term. This [work] cannot be categorized.

NuYu is funded by various community funders including Coast Capital Savings Community Investment Fund.

SAVAC South Asian Visual Arts Centre (SAVAC)[11]

https://www.savac.net/

SAVAC (South Asian Visual Arts Centre) is a non-profit, artist-run centre in Toronto dedicated to increasing the visibility of culturally diverse artists by curating and exhibiting their work, providing mentorship, facilitating professional development and creating a community for its artists. (SAVAC 2017)

SAVAC promotes self-representation by developing artistic practice that is often informed by cultural identity through a variety of mediums, aesthetics, forms, and

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11 The language for this case study was adapted from the SAVAC website retrieved from https://www.savac.net/

techniques. SAVAC supports work that addresses the histories of people of colour and issues of representation concerned with colonialism and post-colonialism.

For over 20 years, SAVAC has intentionally operated without a gallery space. Instead, SAVAC partners with other arts-based institutions (galleries, museums etc.) to integrate artists and curators of colour into the programming practices of those institutions. The decision to operate without gallery space is a political choice aimed at promoting diversity within the Canadian arts community.

The South Asian Visual Arts Centre has its roots in queer activism of the 1980s in Toronto. Emerging from the art world of *Desh Pardesh*, a multidisciplinary arts festival that ran from 1990-2001 in Toronto, SAVAC has operated as a non-profit artist-run centre for over 20 years committed to presenting challenging, experimental programming.

According to the history of the organization, the first iteration of SAVAC emerged in 1987 when a group of gay South Asian men in Toronto joined together to form the organization *Khush: South Asian Gay Men of Toronto*. Khush started its arts programming in 1989 with *SALAAM TORONTO*, a one-day celebration that featured art, literature, and performances. With over 800 attendees, it laid the groundwork for *Khalla*, a three-day program of film, video, music and dance "intended to provide a forum for South Asian artists' aiming to 'incite dialogue […] about South Asian culture.' *Khalla* was later expanded and re-branded as *Desh Pardesh* (meaning "home away from home"). (SAVAC History 2017)

For eleven years, *Desh* organized an annual summer conference and arts festival as well as periodic arts development workshops, community outreach seminars, mini-festivals, art exhibits, and film retrospectives. It also served as a resource centre and referral service to various South Asian community groups and artists, cultural organizations and activists.

In the early 2000s, SAVAC initiated a program of organizational development supported by a three-year capacity building grant from the Canada Council for the Arts. Since then, SAVAC has exhibited national and international artists in ambitious programs. These include artist residencies, community engagement programs, installations and film and video programs, co-presentations with local, national and international festivals and exhibitions including *Beyond Measure: Domesticating Distance, ...(the heart that has no love/pain/generosity is no heart), South-South: Interruptions and Encounters, Peace Taxi*, *Big Stories Little India,* and *MONITOR: Experimental South Asian Film + Video*.

SAVAC has received funding from Canada Council for the Arts, Ontario Arts Council, Ontario Trillium Foundation, and Toronto Arts Council.

Sick Muse Project

Sick Muse Art Projects is a collective of artists founded by Paola Gomez and Alex Usquiano in 2012. Sick Muse Art Projects is dedicated to delivering art programs to vulnerable communities that face barriers to participation in the arts. Gomez began this work by providing art workshops to refugee women with precarious immigration status living in shelters in Toronto. This work has evolved to a robust series of programs that bring together conversations of social justice, inclusion, social and civil responsibility.

At its core Sick Muse Projects believes in leveraging the power of art to build stronger, healthier and more vibrant communities: "We believe that art is transformative, we use it to promote self-expression and non-violent ways to deal with trauma and oppression." (Sick Muse Art Projects)

Sick Muse Art Projects runs a series of programs for people across a range of age and life experiences with specific emphasis on newcomer and refugee women and children. As an artist-led community arts organization, Sick Muse integrates issues of social justice in pursuit of community building. Its principles include values of inclusion, participation, self-expression, communal effort and civil and social responsibility.

Among its many programs, Sick Muse offers art workshops with children ages 4-11 years old: *Our world of a thousand colours.* Children are introduced to a variety of art forms including paint, sculpture, print-making and photography. The workshops also center around conversations related to diversity, inclusion and community. *Our world of a thousand colours* operates in different Toronto schools and community centers. It also ran workshops at the Toronto Plaza Hotel to welcome Syrian refugees in 2016.

Sick Muse Art Projects offers a photography workshop exploring the concept of identity in a multicultural society. Young people ages 14-20 years from the Latin American community use photography to explore questions of power and privilege. Following a ten-hour hands-on photography class, youth participate in a four-hour fieldtrip where they are encouraged to integrate themes of identity and power into their photographic compositions.

Sick Muse runs creative writing workshops called *The Stories We Share* with refugee and newcomer women sharing their stories and experiences. Women from different backgrounds participate in a workshop using poetry and creative writing to share their stories of migration to Canada. Women produce individual and collective work which is collated into an annual 'zine called *The Stories We Share.*

As a collective of artists, Sick Muse facilitators and artists also come from immigrant and refugee backgrounds and share with their participants the experience of migration and relocation. Paola Gomez believes that this shared experience supports the impact of the work that Sick Muse has in the community:

> Having artists such as us, many of the group are actually newcomers…we are all from Latin American and we are not in the receiving point, we are in the giving point. We are

the ones going there and joining the kids, "Hey, you one day can be a teacher, you one day can be a facilitator because we look like you, we have an accent like you." (Paola Gomez)

Along with her work with Sick Muse, Paola Gomez is an advocate for integrating art into the process of community building, especially for migrants and refugees:

> My biggest interest is the idea of giving the value of art in the process of inclusion of newcomers and refugees, especially considering newcomers…the migratory experience can be traumatic, so how can we contribute to the successful inclusion of an individual by creating spaces where their creativity can flourish? Because if you are creative, you can problem solve.

Sick Muse receives project-based funding from the Toronto Arts Council and the Ontario Arts Council.

The Shoe Project

http://www.theshoeproject.online/
The Shoe Project is a residency program comprising a ten-week writing workshop followed by voice coaching and a public performance program for immigrant and refugee women in Canada.

The Shoe Project was created in 2011 by author Katherine Govier and incubated at the Bata Shoe Museum in Toronto. The unique writing residency and performance workshops create spaces for immigrant women to tell the stories of migration to Canada and their early experiences here using the medium of a pair of shoes: "Shoes, whether brought and saved by individuals, worn or new, carried from home or worn for the journey, are eloquent testaments to the traumas and triumphs of immigration." (The Shoe Project).

The Shoe Project is open to immigrant and refugee women living in Canada. Women participate in a writing and performance workshop meeting once a week for ten weeks. Working with professional writers and performance coaches, each participant refines their story through writing and performance practice. The residency culminates with a performance by the participants in front of an audience of 150. Govier reflects:

> These are stories. We work to make the literary quality, the power of the story at its best and similarly with the performance… To see them actually in their own words talk about their own personal traumas or joys. It is incredibly moving and that's where the power of The Shoe Project is.

The Shoe Project runs five or six times a year with residencies across the country in Vancouver, Calgary, Canmore, Toronto and Halifax. Katherine Govier describes the Shoe Project as an "exchange between…veteran professional writers in this country who've written many novels and plays and newcomers. We learn as much as they learn from us. We learn about their cultures and experiences they've had."

To facilitate participation each participant is given an honorarium to cover transportation and childcare costs.

The Shoe Project has a profound impact on everyone who participates, from the immigrant participants to the professional artists and writers, the volunteers and audience members. The ten week writing workshops encourages participants to shape an experience into an artistic form which allows them to gain some distance and perspective on that experience: "They're forced to really think and picture and imagine what they've been through at that moment or what they have gone through and how it has changed them. And then we share that" (Govier). In reflecting on what the experience meant to her, one participant, Natalia, shared: "I have never imagined I could be standing in front of an audience sharing a personal story in English. The Shoe Project has been the most empowering experience in my life."

The Shoe Project is funded by The Sonor Foundation.

Turtle House

https://www.turtlehouseartplaycentre.org/

Turtle House Art/Play Centre is a unique art-based organization in Toronto, designed primarily for children and families from refugee backgrounds to explore their creativity, play, express themselves and make meaningful connections (Turtle House 2017).

Turtle House runs a nine-week intergenerational program for refugee families using painting, clay and music programming. The programming is not clinical art therapy but does provide a supportive and therapeutic environment for refugee children and their parents to explore their experiences non-verbally and through creative practice. The workshops are facilitated by professional artists some of whom come from refugee backgrounds. The program includes a conversation circle for parents to socialize and learn more about their community.

Turtle House works in collaboration with immigrant and refugee serving organizations as well as schools in the Greater Toronto Area to offer arts-based programming to children and youth from refugee backgrounds. All Turtle House programs are free and include additional supports such as transportation costs, interpreters and refreshments for participants.

In March 2016 Turtle House provided three sessions of art activities - Clay Making, Painting and Singing Arabic Songs to Syrian families who were Government Assisted Refugees from a hotel downtown in Toronto. A total of 111 people participated in the program. This included parents, grandparents, and 71 children.

Turtle House is in the process of designing a ceramics program for artists from refugee backgrounds and refugees interested in learning more about ceramics. In partnership with Toronto's Gardiner Museum, Turtle House will offer two eight-week programs in the fall

of 2017. The ceramics program will be housed at the Gardiner Museum's community studio and will culminate in a winter artist market. Participants will return in the early winter of 2018 to attend programming on capacity building and social enterprise with the goal of supporting artists from refugee backgrounds to earn supplementary income through their art practice.

According to founder and executive director Tamam McCallum, the value of the arts-based programming is that it allows for communication and engagement in ways that are non-verbal and that transcend language barriers:

> In the case of clay and ceramics, the tactile, the whole process, even if there is no finished object at the end, the whole process of using clay. There is something expressive and soothing and a lot of things come out in painting. We are very, very flexible. It opens up a place where people can express what they're feeling even if they don't want to talk about it. Especially for children.

Turtle House is funded by Trinity-St. Paul's United Church, Laidlaw Foundation, United Way of Toronto, McLean Foundation, Toronto Arts Council and 736 Outreach Corporation.

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has aimed to address the following key questions: What does it mean for a society to open itself culturally to refugees and immigrants through culture and the arts? How do culture and the arts contribute to creating dialogue, cultural exchange, cultural rapprochement and a sense of belonging?

In order to answer these questions, the paper began with an extensive review of the literature on the role that arts and culture based programming plays in the social incorporation of immigrants and refugees. The literature interrogated the various functions that arts and culture play in post-migration societies in Europe, the United States, Australia and Canada. The review also included a discussion of the importance of institutional investment and policies related to arts-based programing in (super-) diverse societies.

The second section of this paper picks up on the issue of institutional, policy and funding contexts for arts and culture-based programming and policy related to the settlement and integration of newcomers in Canada. This section draws attention to the gaps and opportunities in the current Canadian context. As national funding organizations and the arts community more broadly turn their attention to the role that art can play in creating positive encounters between diverse members of society, comprehensive funding and institutional support for organizations and artists working at this intersection continues to be sparse. Systemic barriers around inclusivity and language continue to limit fulsome engagement by artists from minority backgrounds. Yet the tide may be turning, as more funders turn to programming that centers equity and diversity and as arts and community-based programming is seen to be critical for the inclusion of newcomers – as exemplified through the Syrian refugee resettlement efforts in 2015-2016.

The paper concludes with a series of case studies, which showcase the valuable work taking shape at the intersection of art and integration. Housed in settlement agencies, community-arts organizations, theatres and museums, these programs transcend traditional divisions between "the arts" and "settlement" sectors. In their own unique ways, and often under the direction of creative leaders, these organizations are imagining new ways of cultivating belonging and promoting inclusion. These organizations are creating opportunities for artists from immigrant and refugee backgrounds to share their skills and experiences with the broader community; they use art to open up spaces for expression and connection that go beyond language; they offer opportunities for engagement and social participation beyond traditional settlement programming and they centre the experiences of immigrant and refugee families to explore ways of being a citizen that go beyond labour market attachment and learning English. In these ways, these vital programs offer opportunities for newcomers to create their own space and forms of belonging in the communities where they live.

This paper has aimed at deepening our collective understanding of the relationship between arts, culture and immigrant integration in Canada. As the literature review highlights, interest in this area is relatively recent. This is because, as Martiniello explains, "On both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, immigrants and their offspring have for a

long time been exclusively considered as workers, as mere means of production in the industrial economy or in the post-industrial service economy. Just as they were not supposed to be politically active, they were also not supposed to be interested in culture and arts, especially as producers and artists but also as consumers" (2015 p. 1230). An emphasis on labour market integration continues to dominate, even in Canada.

This paper has presented important interventions and programs in place that move beyond econocentric models of integration. Further research in this area would add depth to the conversation started here. These directions for research could include:

- Too little is known at this point to offer a full accounting of the impacts of this work. An impact evaluation of these programs would support future investment in this emerging sector.
- Interviews with leaders in the arts and culture sector as well as funders and policy makers working on immigrant integration would add depth and insight to our understanding of the institutional context in Canada.
- Much of the work in this area is taking place in Canada's large urban centers (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver). Further research into what is happening at the local level in mid-size and small cities would add depth to this research.
- The involvement of corporate and charitable partners and funders could be explored further to add insight to the range of investment in these programs.

Despite the lack of formal impact evaluations, there is little doubt that arts and culture play a critical role in supporting the settlement, integration and social inclusion of refugees and immigrants in Canadian society. This paper points to the importance of not drawing hard boundaries between 'settlement' and the 'arts' – as settlement itself is a creative process. This intersection was summed up by a comment made by Farooq Al-Sajee, a political refugee to Canada and participant of the NuYu Theatre program who is currently employed as youth worker at MOSAIC in Vancouver: "I don't think we can separate art and settlement from each other just because in any act of art, there is an act of settlement."

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