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Artists' Displacement and Rights: Citizenship, Care and Advocacy in the Networked Arts Sector in Europe

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Abstract

This thesis is situated at the intersection of arts, human rights and migration policies and practices. Contextualising five of my previous publications, the thesis is a critical reflection on my transectoral work as an advocate for the rights, recognition and professional development support of persecuted artists relocated to European Union countries for safety. Focusing on the decade 2009-2019, with a coda regarding significant events in 2023, the thesis exposes observed disconnects between a European cultural policy discourse stressing diversity and inclusion and the realities encountered by artists at risk seeking sanctuary. The thesis includes two chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. Referring to three of my published outputs, 'Bridging Citizenship' (2022), 'Citizenship and Culture' (2012) and 'Analysing the Art of Resistance' (2014), chapter one employs a series of case vignettes from the lived experience of anonymised artists with whom I worked to relocate, to amplify questions of citizenship and hospitality and illustrate systemic inequalities. Chapter two focuses on the public sphere and my engagement with Halliday's structure of global governance (2005), interacting with international, state and civil society platforms by writing, speaking and organising, using existing or creating new networks of arts and human rights professionals to promote awareness, engagement and concrete actions for the displaced artists. The other two published outputs included in this thesis, 'Seeing the World in a New Light' (2011) and 'Artistic Freedom: A Moveable Feast' (2018) as well as an analysis of the process of providing background research for 'Artists, Displacement and Belonging' (IFACCA, 2019) illustrate my advocacy with, consecutively, the political sphere, policymaking institutions and arts organisations. The thesis uses the theoretical lens of the ethics of care as a grounding for processes undertaken by the international arts sector in Europe to equitably welcome and support incoming artists impacted by displacement. Networking is presented as a methodology rather than a practice to examine to what extent civil society actors, individually or in epistemic communities and transnational advocacy networks, can influence public policy. Taken together, the thesis provides a recent history of the evolution of a transectoral matrix of arts, human rights and migration that identifies itself as the artistic freedom sector, focusing on one of its constituent elements, that of the protective relocation to Europe of artists-at-risk. In a context of ubiquitous networking and at a moment when concerns for care and well-being in the arts professions are emerging, the thesis explores if and how the arts sector shares collective responsibility for structural injustice and proposes an ethics of care as foundational to the evolution of common practices at a moment of increasing human migration.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of PhD (Doctor of Philosophy), is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for graduate study by research of Technological University Dublin and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the TU Dublin's guidelines for ethics in research.

Signature of Candidate: Date: 29 April 2024

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Glossary

This thesis traverses the territory that confronts the policy advocate in Europe, a panorama of individuals, the institutions they interact with, civil society formations and public administrations on national, European and international levels. Accordingly, many acronyms appear in the text. To assist the reader this glossary of networks, institutions and key terms is provided. In addition, I have provided a list displayed in Fig. 4 that groups the various players according to type and territory of responsibility, schematically following the four levels of global governance proposed by Fred Halliday (2001), and mapping the landscape encountered in my advocacy practice.

Advocacy networks: Groups of people with expertise, shared interests and values who collectively or singly advocate for public policy change.

Africalia: Africalia is a non-profit organization founded in 2001 as part of Belgium's International Cooperation and Development support. It aims to make arts and culture part of sustainable development for the continent, prioritising the needs of the people in Africa involved in contemporary arts and culture. Africalia organizes a variety of cultural events and supports contemporary African art on the continent and by showcasing work in Belgium.

Agenda 21 for Culture: Arising from the Earth Summit of 1992, in Brazil Agenda 21 is a non-binding action plan of the United Nations, aiming to influence and be implemented at local, regional and national levels by governments and multilateral organisations. At the first World Public Meeting on Culture, in Brazil in 2002 – concluded in 2004 – participants established guidelines for local cultural policies to be included in Agenda 21. The Committee on Culture of the global organisation, United Cities and Local Government (UCLG), continues to develop this initiative promoting culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development.

Arts sector: In this thesis, the sector focuses on arts organisations, cultural networks and platforms, cultural policymaking institutions and funders.

Advocate: Someone who speaks for those whose voice is repressed or silenced, or speaks publicly to defend an issue, cause or policy.

Artists-at-risk: A term used to describe artists and arts workers who face repression and persecution due to art work that claims or demonstrates internationally recognised human rights such as free speech and political rights, social and cultural rights, women's rights and minority rights in contexts of political, religious or social oppression.

Artists at Risk (AR): An organisation, network and platform at the intersection of human rights and the arts, dedicated to matchmaking persecuted arts practitioners with artists' residencies. Established in Finland in 2013, AR moved to Germany and expanded considerably in response to Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine. AR's work includes mapping of and advocacy for arts professionals at risk.

Artists at Risk Connection (ARC): A project of PEN America, initiated in 2017 with funding from the Mellon Foundation following a series of consultancies with the emerging arts rights justice sector. It aimed to assist artists-at-risk by connecting them to a global

database of organisations and institutions with resources to assist them. ARC works to facilitate cooperation among human rights and arts organisations. It currently has four regional representatives and organises actions and events to raise the visibility of artistic freedom.

Artists Protection Fund (APF): An initiative of the Institute of International Education (IIE), with support from the Mellon Foundation, offers six-to-twelve-month fellowship residencies to artists at risk based on artistic merit and quality, and the degree of threat. The hosts are awarded funding to support the incoming fellowship.

Artsfex: A global initiative launched in 2012 and active until 2017, by Freemuse and others including the freedom of expression NGO Article 19; Africa's Arterial Network; the Federation of European Film Directors; freeDimensional; Russia's May Congress of Creative Workers; the European Council of Artists; IETM; the International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity; the European Composer and Songwriter Alliance; USA's National Coalition Against Censorship; Malaysia's annual sexual rights festival Seksualiti Merdeka and Turkey's Initiative for Freedom of Expression.

Arts Rights Justice (ARJ): One of the generic names used by the emerging arts and human rights sector, for example, the Arts Rights Justice EU Working Group (from 2012) or the Arts Rights Justice Academy, Library and Observatory (from 2017) at the University of Hildesheim.

Arts Rights Justice Academy (ARJ Academy): Training, Library and Observatory at the University of Hildesheim, Germany, an initiative established by Daniel Gad, Managing Director of the UNESCO Chair Cultural Policy for the Arts in Development, with advice from Todd Lester and Mary Ann DeVlieg.

Arts Rights Justice EU Working Group (ARJ EU): A group set up in 2012 as part of the civil society dialogue platform, Access to Culture; in 2014 it became a working group under the auspices of Culture Action Europe, the European culture sector's advocacy platform. See also Civil Society Dialogue Platforms below. The ARJ EU Working group members included: Action Committee for Artists Rights, International Theatre Institute Germany; Art Moves Africa; Arterial Network; Association of European Open Air Museums; Article 19, European Academy of Yuste Foundation; European Music Council; European Theatre Convention; European Writers Council; Federation of European Film Directors; Federation of European Publishers; freeDimensional; Freemuse; Hors les Murs/Circostrada; IDEA Europe; ICORN, IETM, Index on Censorship; International Federation of Actors; International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity; International Federation of Musicians; Latin America Network for Social Transformation/Foundation for Community Dance; National Coalition on Censorship, On the Move; PEN International; PEN Scotland; ResArtis; Roberto Cimetta Fund; Swedish Theatre Union; Theatre Without Borders USA; TransEuropeHalles; UNESCO Chair Cultural Policy for the Arts in Development at Hildesheim University; UNESCO Austrian Commission on the Diversity of Cultures; and the Union des Théâtres de l'Europe.

Asylum seeker: An individual who has not yet been granted the status of 'refugee' under the terms of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Refugees are people who are seeking a safe haven after being forced to flee violence, persecution or war. Once granted, the refugee will hope to benefit from rights accruing to that status. While every refugee is initially an asylum seeker, not every asylum seeker

will ultimately be recognized as a refugee because the right to be recognized as a refugee is determined by law after an asylum seeker has applied for protection in the country of refuge.

Atelier des Artistes en Exile (*aa-e)*: Based in France, the *a-ae* supports displaced artists in exile active all artistic disciplines, by offering spaces for work and production, assisting their networking with the professional arts community, showcasing and promoting their work, advising them regarding professional and legal aspects of art production in France.

Caseworker: The term is used in the human rights defender sector for a person assigned to assist a defender in need of training, safety, medical, psychosocial, legal, relocation or other support.

Civil Society Dialogue Platforms: Established by the European Commission as structures for dialogue between the cultural sector in the European Union and the European Commission. They provide a platform for civil society representatives of the cultural sector to give input to the European Commission on a range of topics. From 2008 to 2013, the Structured Dialogue was made up of two complementary strands: the European Culture Forums and the Civil Society Culture Platforms (Intercultural Europe, Access to Culture, Cultural and Creative Industries). From 2015, the second strand of the Structured Dialogue took another form, Voices of Culture. See also ARJ EU, a working group under the strand Access to Culture.

Council of Europe (CoE): Established in 1949. Forty-seven member countries, each with CoE ambassadors, discuss and agree on numerous thematic areas. Relatively limited funding has rendered it less influential than the European Union. However, it still retains normative power, especially due to its historic role in promoting human rights and free expression after World War II.

Counterpoints Arts: is a London-based arts organisation, actively supporting, promoting and producing arts by and about refugees and migrants, throughout the UK and internationally. Counterpoints produces Refugee Week in the UK, as well as several other festival and event formats, commissions and showcases work, supports residencies, leads training and mentoring opportunities.

Comité des réprésentants permanents (COREPER): Sometimes known as perm reps, they are civil servants of the individual member states who coordinate and prepare legislative texts, agendas and meetings for the various permutations of the Council of Ministers. COREPER is chaired by the Presidency of the Council of the European Union, rotating every 6 months and held by a different member state each January to June and July to December. The three presidency countries, immediately past, current and future, form a trio to ensure consistency between themes and issues prioritised by the holder of the presidency. At the culmination of the presidency, the thematic ministerial groups, or Council of Ministers, produce Council Conclusions identifying specific issues and recommended actions for the EU as a whole.

D6 Culture in Transit: is a Newcastle-based arts producing organisation working locally and internationally, supporting, hosting and producing artists whose work enriches the migration experience.

Development Cooperation (DEVCO): the EU Agency for International Development Cooperation; it has since been renamed International Partnerships (INTPA).

Directorate General (DG): The European Commission is organised into policy departments, known as Directorates-General (DGs), that are responsible for different policy areas. DGs develop, implement and manage EU policy, law, and funding programmes. Executive Agencies execute the programmes set by the DGs.

Directorate General for Education Arts and Culture (DGEAC): This DG is responsible for education, culture, youth, languages and sport.

DOEN Foundation: funded by the Dutch National Postcode Loterij and VriendenLoterij, it supports actors in the Netherlands and abroad that use creativity and radical imagination to aid a transition of society toward sustainable and inclusive practices. Historically, DOEN has been a key funder of arts and culture in developing countries.

Eurocities: A network of large cities in Europe, it was established in 1986 by the mayors of Barcelona, Birmingham, Frankfurt, Lyon, Milan, and Rotterdam. Eurocities now includes over 200 of Europe's major cities from thirty-eight countries, which between them represent over 130 million people. Culture is one of their nine key thematic work areas, drawing together those responsible for culture in the member cities.

European Commission (EC): The EC is made up of thematic Directorates-General (DGs), headed by a Director-General (DG) such as that for education and culture (DGEAC). There are also agencies, for example, for Development Cooperation (DEVCO, now called International Partnerships INTPA) that hosts the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) and the annual EU-NGO Human Rights Forum.

European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR): Entering into force in 1953, the ECHR is an international convention protecting human rights and political freedoms in the current forty-six member states of the Council of Europe. Accusations of violations may be taken to the European Court of Human Rights, where judgements are binding on the states concerned.

European Cultural Foundation (ECF): An independent grant-giving foundation founded in 1954 and based in the Netherlands. Through the arts and culture the ECF supports peace, mutual understanding and social progress in Europe through grants, partnership initiatives and advocacy.

European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (later Culture Action Europe): A Brussels-based network of arts and cultural organisations, networks, individuals and institutions, Culture Action Europe is the political voice of the culture sector in Europe, advocating with and for its members to the European institutions and working in partnership with other networks and cultural initiatives.

The European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR): A European Union programme that promotes worldwide democracy and human rights initiatives. Through funding, training and other actions, it supports civil society as a force for political reform and defence of human rights. EIDHR has considerable independence of action since it does not need the consent of the governments of the countries concerned for the financing of activities.

European Parliament (EP): One of the legislative bodies of the European Union and one of its seven institutions. Together with the Council of the European Union (known as

the Council or the Council of Ministers), it adopts European legislation, following proposals by the European Commission. The EP is composed of 705 members (MEPs), directly elected every five years by voters in their countries. MEPs sit in groupings according to their political affiliation, serve on geographic delegations and thematic committees. They cannot initiate legislation but can comment and amend it, and approve the Union's budget.

European Union (EU): Established in 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht. It currently consists of twenty-seven member states. Ministers, from prime ministers to thematic ministries, form thematic groups, such as all culture ministers, and sit in the Council of the European Union to discuss and decide norms or legislation, together with the EP.

EU Network of National Cultural Institutes (EUNIC): The European network of organisations engaging in cultural relations, representing 100 countries worldwide with a network of 139 clusters comprised of EU Member States and associate countries. EUNIC advocates a prominent role for culture in international relations, is a strategic partner of the EU and a platform for knowledge sharing and for capacity building amongst its members and partners.

EU Temporary Relocation Platform (EUTRP): An initiative of the European Commission, it is a network of entities engaged in temporary relocation of at-risk human rights defenders. Members of EUTRP are non-governmental organisations, EU institutions, universities and other relevant education institutions, and national, regional and local governments. Each member is linked to the temporary relocation of at-risk human rights defenders (HRDs) in different capacities. They include host entities, grant-making entities, donors, policy makers, referral entities, coordination hubs and others. It is coordinated by ProtectDefenders EU.

Gulbenkian Foundation: The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, based in Portugal, is an international foundation supporting arts and culture, science and education, for equitable and sustainable societies. Through grants, scholarships and initiatives. The Foundation includes a museum, an arts centre, an orchestra and choir, a research centre and an art library in Lisbon. It has offices in the UK and France.

HIVOS: is a humanist project, an international cooperation organization with a global office in the Netherlands. It provides support to civil society organizations working in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and Asia. Historically, HIVOS has played an important role in support arts initiatives and organisations in the developing world. Its acronym stands for Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation.

Howlround: is an international, online platform that amplifies progressive disruptive ideas about the performing arts and facilitates connection between diverse practitioners.

Human rights defender (HRD): Anyone can be a human rights defender if they actively defend universally legislated human rights and are not opposed to any of these rights even if principally defending one or some. They can be working for a human rights organisation or not.

International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR): A professional conference concerned with the interdisciplinary, international study of the meaning, function and impact of cultural policies, understood as the promotion or prohibition of

cultural practices and values by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals. ICCPR organises, in association with the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, a biennial research conference for researchers to present papers that reflect on cultural policy.

International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN): An independent organisation of over seventy cities and regions offering one to two years of shelter to writers and artists at-risk. ICORN protects and promotes an increasingly wide range of creatives and human rights defenders, including, but not limited to, bloggers, novelists, playwrights, journalists, musicians, poets, non-fiction writers, visual artists, cartoonists, singer-songwriters, translators, screenwriters and publishers.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR): A multilateral United Nations treaty, binding for signatory countries after they have obligatorily ratified it into national law. Drafted in 1954, it was adopted in 1966. Whereas the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a declaration of intent, the ICCPR and its sister-covenant the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) are legally binding.

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International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts (IETM): One of the oldest and largest cultural networks, currently consisting of over 500 performing arts organisations and individual members working in the contemporary performing arts worldwide: theatre, dance, circus, performance, interdisciplinary live art forms and new media. Members include artistic companies, collectives, organisations, festivals, venues, residencies, producers and independent artists, theatres and dance houses, cultural/research/resource centres, fellow artistic and cultural networks, universities and institutional bodies.

Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa): The German Institute for Foreign Relations is an international intermediary organisation that promotes coexistence between people and cultures worldwide, focusing on international relations and cultural exchange. Through networks, funding programmes and projects, ifa advocates freedom in art, research, and civil society.

International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA): A global network of arts councils, ministries of culture and government agencies that advance arts and culture, with member institutions representing over seventy countries in developed and developing countries across Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Pacific. The IFACCA Secretariat oversees the Federation.

Martin Roth Initiative (MRI): To protect endangered artists, the Martin Roth Initiative was set up jointly with the Goethe-Institut in 2018. Funded by Germany's Foreign Affairs Office, it protects artists committed in their home country to the freedom of art, democracy and human rights by enabling temporary residence in Germany or third countries for the purpose of protecting those who are being persecuted.

Middle East North Africa (MENA): An acronym for a geographic region without a standardized definition; different organisations define the region as consisting of different territories or do not define it as a region at all. The region consists of 18-24 countries, depending on the defining institution; it usually indicates the Arab countries in the region, excluding Turkey and often Israel.

Members of the European Parliament (MEP): See EP above.

Non-governmental organisation (NGO): Usually non-profit, they are organisations that operate independently of governments, normally addressing social or political issues.

On the Move (OTM): Created as a website and database by IETM in 2002, it became an independent association in 2005, and structured as a network in 2009. On the Move's current network comprises over sixty-five organisations – national funders, other networks and info points, centres for creation committed to promoting professional artists' and cultural mobility in all its forms while striving for a fairer sector. The network includes a handful of working groups which focus on specific topics. Currently these are the Mobility Information Points group, the (En)Forced Mobility group, the Mobility Funders group, the Green Context-specific group, and the International Professional Development Programmes group.

Open Method of Coordination (OMC): A mechanism used in the EU, especially in thematic policy areas such as education or culture where the member states hold partial or full legal competence. The OMC aims to spread best practice and achieve convergence towards EU goals. Member countries' representatives, often ministries, are invited to discuss and agree shared objectives and priorities jointly at European level. The countries themselves decide whether and to what extent they will follow up on these tasks at the national level.

PEN: Established in 1921, the name is an acronym for poets, playwrights, editors, essayists, and novelists. It refers to a network of one hundred forty-seven centres in a hundred countries dedicated to the free exchange of ideas and protection of literature.

Prince Claus Foundation: A Netherlands-based, independent foundation named for a member of the Dutch royal family, the Prince Claus Foundation focuses on engaged artists and cultural practitioners in places where culture is repressed due to political, religious, economic or environmental threats. It awards grants, prizes and commissions.

ProtectDefenders.eu: The European Union Human Rights Defenders is a mechanism established to protect human rights defenders at high risk and facing the most difficult situations worldwide. It supports a rapid emergency response for defenders at risk, including financial support for relocation, legal and medical aid. It monitors, advocates, offers training and promotes international coordination between human rights organisations. It is led by a Consortium of 12 NGOs active in the field of Human Rights and also acts as the coordinator of EUTRP (see separate Glossary entry).

Roberto Cimetta Fund for Artists Mobility in the Mediterranean: A small fund with a mission to support exchange and collaboration of artists and cultural operators around the Mediterranean Sea, it gives mobility grants for artists wishing to travel for professional purposes, offers training and other support. It is primarily supported by various French ministries, as well as various support for initiatives such as the Gil Mendo

Fund for Mobility supported by the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Portuguese Ministry of Culture.

Salzburg Global Seminars (SGS): An independent non-profit organization founded in 1947 with a mission to challenge current and future leaders to shape a better world. Its alumni consist of 40,000 fellows, individuals, institutions and others. Inclusive, interdisciplinary, international and intergenerational programmes held at Schloss Leopoldskron in Salzburg, online or globally, are designed to provide labs for innovation and transformation. The SGS network supports collaboration, shares innovations and expands impact by working with partners around the globe.

Safe Havens|Freedom Talks (SH|FT): A non-profit organization active since 2013 working at the intersection of culture and human rights. It brings together different stakeholders including artists, activists, NGOs, lawyers, and intergovernmental organisations from across the arts and human rights fields through activities such as the Safe Havens Conference and the Freedom Talks series. The Safe Havens Conference is an annual international, inclusive gathering that creates an opportunity for artists and cultural actors to gather for workshops in the company of diverse stakeholders collaborating to portray a fuller image of the arts and human rights scene.

Shubbak: A UK-based arts organisation, Shubbak produces a biennial festival, supports tours, produces and commissions projects, programmes and productions, working nationally and internationally and focusing on contemporary Arab cultures.

Sigrid Rausing Trust: The Sigrid Rausing Trust is a grant-making foundation established in 1995 and based in London, aiming to promote the values and principles of human rights, equality and the rule of law, and to protect nature.

Stand for Art: One of the several diverse artists' support programmes of al Mawred al Thaqafy – Cultural Resource – a regional, non-profit organization founded in 2003 that seeks to support artistic creativity in the Arab region and to encourage cultural exchange within the region and beyond. Stand for Art supports artists-at-risk in the Arab region through grants and protective residencies.

Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA): Sweden's government agency for development cooperation. In cooperation with organisations, government agencies and the private sector, SIDA aims to reduce poverty and oppression around the world by investing in sustainable development for all people. Since 2021, SIDA has delegated its funding for artistic freedom to the Swedish Arts Council.

Transnational advocacy networks (TANS): Self-organized civil society groups that undertake voluntary collective action across international state boundaries to advocate for a cause, to adhere to social or cultural norms, or to leverage change. They are activists motivated by shared values and principles who work together in structured activities.

Temporary International Relocation Initiatives (TIRI): Measures for swift assistance and protection of human rights defenders in danger consisting of security, prevention or financial resources, legal and medical aid and temporary shelter in the EU.

United Nations (UN): An international intergovernmental organization founded in 1945 to maintain peace and security between nations and facilitate and harmonise international cooperation. It currently comprises 193 Member States. Working through six main

operational organisations, the UN includes many specialised agencies, funds and programmes. Those most important to this thesis are mentioned below.

United Nations Special Rapporteurs (UNSR): Independent human rights experts who work for unpaid mandate periods of three to six years, to report and advise the UN on specific aspects of human rights from a country or thematic perspective. The UNSRs were established under a special procedures measure and are independent from governments. Working closely with civil society, they conduct fact-finding missions, investigate human rights abuses, and can lodge official complaints to governments accused of human rights violations. They also confer and can collaborate with one another on issues of common concern. Alexandra Xanthaki is the third SR in the Field of Cultural Rights; her mandate runs from 2021 to 2027.

United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCR): The UN's refugee agency, established by the UN General Assembly in 1950 in the aftermath of the Second World War. Operating in 135 countries, it provides shelter, food, water and medical care for people forced to flee conflict and persecution, defends their right to reach safety and helps them find a home. UNHCR works with countries to improve and monitor refugee and asylum laws and policies, ensuring human rights are upheld.

United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organisation (UNESCO): Founded in 1945, it is the agency of the UN focusing on education, arts, sciences and culture to achieve the UN's mandate. It includes 194 member states and twelve associate members. It also works closely with civil society and the private sector, sponsoring projects, training and facilitating collaboration.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR): The UDHR is a non-legally binding international document adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 enshrining the fundamental rights and freedoms of all human beings. Influenced by World War II, it was a project of the newly formed United Nations, drafted by eighteen members of the Commission on Human Rights from Australia, China, Chile, France, Lebanon, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt.

World Policy Institute (WPI): Established in 1982 in New York as a non-partisan research and policy institute. Its main focuses include engaged global civic participation, sustainable market economies, measures of effective governance, and innovative collaborative approaches to build national and global security. The faculty, comprised of approximately thirty members, is made up of journalists, policy analysts, writers, and other specialists.

Introduction

> What if, the girl says. Instead of saying, this border divides places. We said, this border holds together two really interesting different places. What if we declared border crossings places where, listen, when you crossed them, you yourself became doubly possible.

> (Smith, 2019: 196)

> And what if Europe were this: the opening onto a history for which the changing of the heading, the relation to the other heading, is experienced as always possible? An opening and a non-exclusion for which Europe would be in a constitutive way, this very responsibility? As if the very concept of responsibility were responsible, right up to its emancipation, for a European birth certificate?

> (Derrida, 1992: 17)

This thesis is situated at the intersection of arts policy, human rights and migration, illuminating the phenomenon of at-risk artists and their protective relocation. It examines policy and practice, focusing on the needs of artists and the capacities of colleagues in the arts sector, a sector central to my practice. It is an examination of two intrinsically linked sides of my practice of advocacy, one side situated as a confidential relationship between subjects, that is, myself and individual artists who were seeking support from persecution including relocation to safety in another country. The other side of my work was performed in the public space advocating for better conditions for these artists. The thesis also documents, through my fieldwork, the emergence of the arts and human rights as a unique sector, while acknowledging those, such as PEN International and the International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN), who worked towards its constitution before me. This thesis comprises two chapters and a conclusion. The focus is the decade

from 2009 to 2019, but chapter two includes significant events leading to and occurring in 2023 that speak to the impact of my and others' advocacy.

My career shifted in 2009 from the arts sector towards human rights and free speech, and I became part of the then newly-emerging sector open to all artists and not only writers, finding an identity and calling itself arts and human rights, or arts-rights-justice, or freedom of artistic expression, finally settling on artistic freedom, a designation demonstrating its 'progressive autonomy' (Cuny, 2023: 83). Although PEN International was founded in 1921 and Index on Censorship in 1972, their concern was limited to writers. Key associations protecting and defending other types of artists evolved from the late 1990s. Freemuse from 1998 initially focused on censorship of musicians but has since expanded to all artists; Cities of Asylum from 1995 and the International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN) from 2006 created so-called safe havens where persecuted writers and, later, other artists could be temporarily relocated.

Although in 2009 I was new to the human rights sector, I have worked internationally in the arts for most of my professional life as an arts manager, association or organisation director, grant evaluator and policymaker. In the practice discussed in this thesis, I identify myself as an advocate. Always keeping the client as primary focus, an advocate can represent, speak or intercede on behalf of someone without direct access to the power that makes crucial decisions concerning them. This formed part of my confidential work for individual at-risk artists, while in addition I created temporary bespoke cross-sector support networks, as detailed in chapter one. An advocate is also someone who defends a cause, as I did in my policy advocacy work in public, organising events, discussions, meetings and creating, animating and linking networks, as detailed in chapter two. Through reflections on five publications and descriptive analyses of advocacy processes,

the thesis addresses two research questions, each linked to one of these two spheres of my advocacy for and with artists persecuted in their home countries and requiring protection.

Observing the inequities faced by persecuted artists-at-risk or those who had been relocated to Europe, my first research question is: what is obstructing arts and human rights actors in performing what I considered a responsibility to these displaced artists, ensuring the recognition, respect and concrete actions that would equitably support them? As an engaged public advocate, I addressed the second research question: under which conditions and to what extent can an individual advocate influence attitudinal and public policy change towards at-risk artists in the arts sector? Chapters one and two unpack these central research questions while highlighting the tensions that arose from my position as an independent advocate speaking on behalf of silenced others. Situated in Europe but working internationally, my practice has offered persecuted artists one-to-one assistance, in a co-production-like partnership, negotiating and advocating for entry, emergency resources and resettlement in a European Union (EU) member state. This thesis accordingly evidences obstacles, delays and disconnects in migration rules and their implementation. Working with human rights defender non-governmental organisations (NGOs) at a time when they rarely considered artists as legitimate beneficiaries, I observed inadvertent impediments to artists accessing their resources. In the public sphere, I traced the relative lack of awareness of displaced artists-at-risk on the part of policymakers, networks and arts organisations. By the end of the period covered in the thesis, I describe how this evolved to a growing consciousness of the phenomena and the possibility of arts policy and programme change.

For stakeholders, crucially including the at-risk and relocated artists, this research aims to accelerate discussion and debate, leading to more widespread, just and effective policies and practices of support and inclusion. Within such a framework the thesis sets out to achieve the following objectives:

- Identify questions that arise when observing obstacles faced by artists seeking relocation and sanctuary in Europe, the reasons behind the obstacles themselves, and a contribution to a solution that might be embraced by the international arts sector based in Europe.

- Examine the tensions and dilemmas in the work of the advocate and representative of temporarily silenced artists.

- Identify the extent to which an individual advocate can influence attitudes and behaviours in policy and practice in the arts sector based in Europe, and the effectiveness of chosen methodologies.

- Present a potential model that would allow one professional sector, the culture sector in Europe, to align its policies and practices to the contemporary reality of migration and create a model that could be adapted to other professional sectors.

- Understand and utilise networking as a methodology, rather than exclusively as a practice, by shifting the focus from a cultural policy lens to political science studies of epistemic communities' policy advocacy.

- Apply the theoretical lens of the ethics of care to the attitudes, advocacy practices and policies of the culture sector in Europe towards relocated artists, as well as on cultural policy advocacy.

Since 2009 I have worked with twenty-eight artists at risk of persecution who sought safety through relocation. Often, I was the first port of call for artists or arts organisations who had become aware of increasing repression and associated danger but were unconnected to the human rights field and so were unaware of the resources it could offer. As an intermediary, I linked needs with resources, explained procedures and systems, and helped artists assess their situations and fill in appropriate application forms for aid. In time I became trusted by the NGOs offering resources to human rights defenders, and I acted as a referee for the artists or asked for the NGOs' help to identify alternative sources of aid.

Figures 1 to 3 below illustrate the individual artists with whom I worked from 2009; throughout the period I was informed of and engaged with other artists through my extensive networking with both arts and human rights organisations. It is problematic to compare statistics from my practice with relocation organisations that collect different data, and moreover disaggregate it differently. However, the male-dominated gender balance I noted appears to be similar to other key organisations such as the International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN), Safemuse and the Artists at Risk Connection that assist artists in protective relocation (Personal Communications, 2024). Figure 1 depicts gender orientation, regional provenance and artistic discipline reflecting the lack of visibility, recognition and resources initially available to at-risk artists, in particular non-binary and women artists. Often artists work in multiple disciplines; I attribute them here to their principal occupation. In each case the artist was targeted due to the art work they

produced that may have, for example, been in their minority community's language, broken taboos such as women performing in public, or publicly critiqued prevailing political positions. Figure 2 shows the types of persecution the artists experienced, such as death threats, and identifies perpetrators, usually government and military. Figure 3 identifies the specialised assistance I was able to offer them and the outcome, at least in the short term, of most of their eventual pathways out of the country. I worked most closely with eighteen of these twenty-eight, creating networks similar to the bespoke network described in chapter one.

Gender

- LGBTQI: 4 — 13%
- Female: 7 — 23%
- Male: 20 — 64%

Provenance: Region

Region	Value
Asia/China	3
So Asia	3
Central Asia	4
W Asia	5
Indian Subcont	1
MENA	3
Africa	5
Oceania	1
Lat Am	3

Principal Artistic Discipline

Discipline	Value
Cartoonist	1
Musician	3
Visual Arts	4
Chor/dance	2
Bloggers*	1
Critic	2
Writer	3
Photographer	1
Journalist	1
Graphic novel	1
Cultural Mngr	2
Curator	3
Performance art	4
Filmmaker	3
Theatre	4

Fig. 1: Gender, Regional Provenance, Artistic Discipline

Persecution Type

Type	Value
MASSACRE	1
CIVIL WAR/CONFLICT	2
MAFIAS	1
LIVING ROUGH	2
KIDNAPPING	2
TORTURE	3
BANNED FROM WORK	2
IMPRISONMENT	4
DEATH THREATS	7
PLAUSIBLE THREATS	3
PLAUSIBLE CONCERNS	5
THREATS TO FAMILY	1

Perpetrators

Category	Value
Government	10
Militias/Military	7
Religious/Social	7
Local Mafias	1
Gender/Social	3
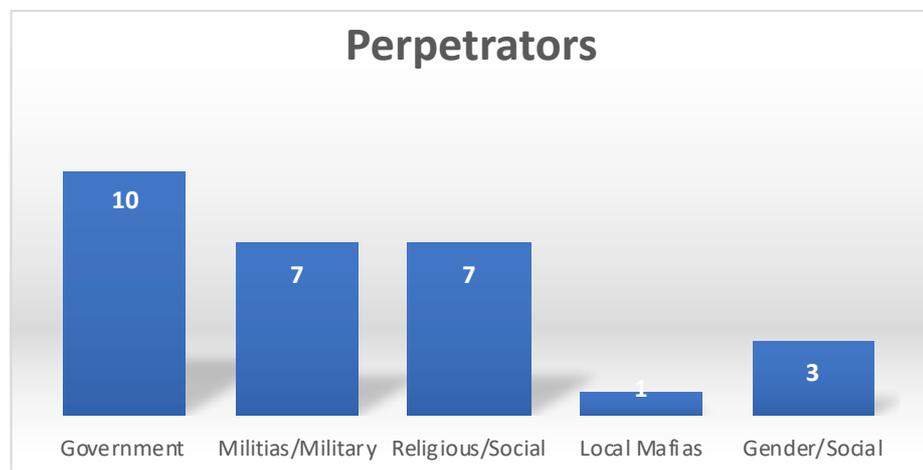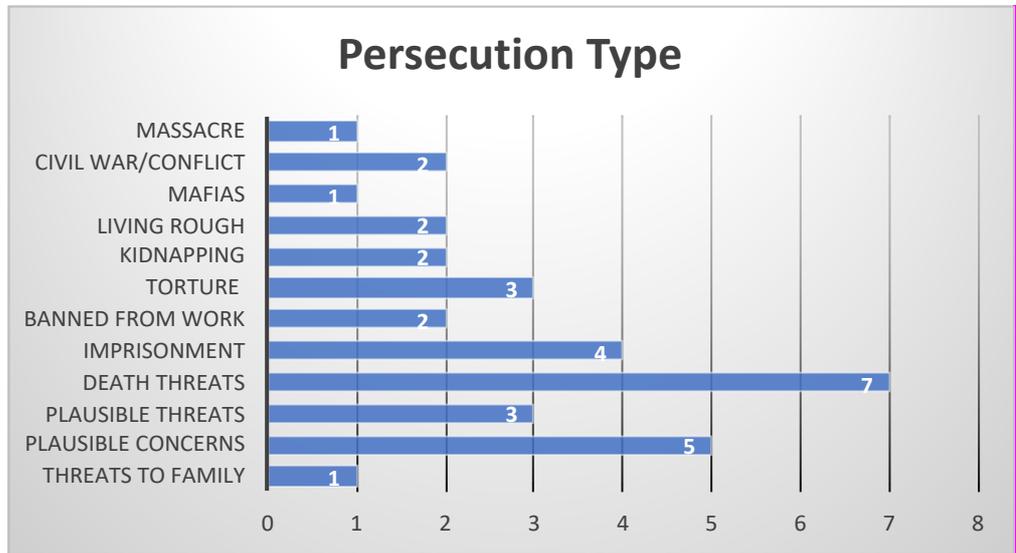
Fig. 2: Type of Persecution and Perpetrators
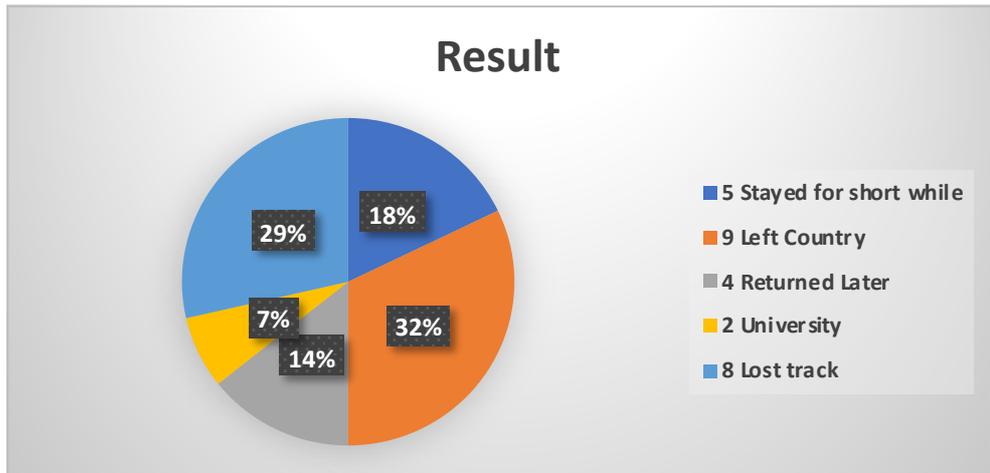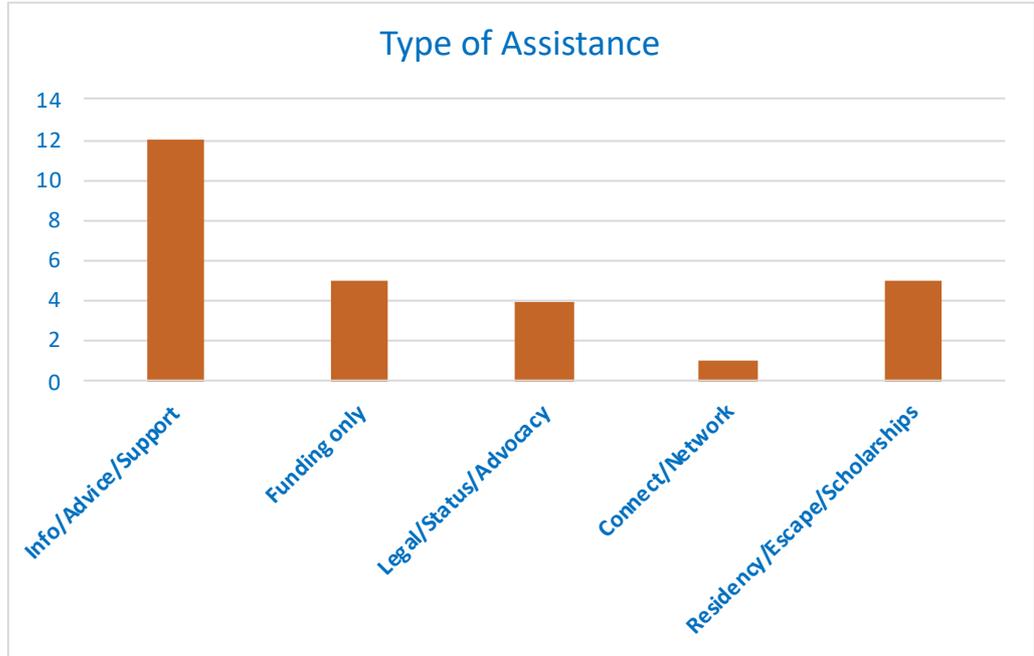
Fig. 3: Types of Assistance and Results

The genesis of this thesis resides in my longstanding frustration at the seeming lack of concrete solidarity action from within my community in the arts sector in Europe, for and with artists who had been persecuted in their home countries and relocated to the EU for safety. As Virginia Olesen writes: 'Rage is not enough'. She calls for: 'scholarship to frame, direct and harness passion in the interest of redressing grievous problems' (2005: 236). I decided to use this thesis to turn my frustration into a useful channel by broadening the scope of my writing beyond my usual audience of arts policymakers and arts professionals and offer the academic community what I believe is an under-researched topic: the application of an ethics of care to the phenomenon of artists relocated to Europe who are subsequently impacted by this displacement. As the thesis demonstrates, my advocacy work with and for these artists motivated me to undertake parallel advocacy actions with the networked arts sector. I wanted the sector to broaden its horizons beyond a presumed safe European cultural space and to open its work, networks and consciousness to the idea of an interdependent global community of artists, some of whom had been temporarily silenced and thus had temporary needs.

This thesis focuses on relocated artists situated between the professional sectors of arts, human rights and migration. It also focuses on my professional subject formation and its agential expression in practice, in dialogue with the circumstances, organisations and conditions with which I worked. Writing about myself reflects the extent to which I cannot wholly separate myself from my work. The use of narrative enquiry (Chase, 2005) both as a narrator myself and as a conduit for artists' narratives illustrates the 'merging of researcher and participants to foreground a position of situated knowledge' (Olesen, 2005: 251). Using narrative enquiry as a means of collection and analysis of data (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 641), the thesis is based on my field notes, diaries and semi-structured

interviews of artists with whom I worked, directly or indirectly. It stands as 'retrospective meaning-making, an amalgam of interdisciplinary lenses, diverse disciplinary approaches ... all revolving around an interest in biographical particulars as narrated by the one[s] who live them' (Chase, 2005: 651). Although interviews can be problematic, with the interviewee constructing a narrative for effect, for confirmation I have referenced other caseworkers and artists with whom I did not work directly.

Chapters one and two both refer to examples of my published outputs, using case vignettes and foregrounding the voices of artists with whom I worked and the networks I created or engaged with in order to facilitate protective relocation for these artists. I draw on public documents and many personal communications, such as conversations, correspondence, interviews, meeting and diary notes, to illuminate my work as caseworker and advocate, as well as my networking methodology. I use data from inscripted observation such as interviews of NGOs and policymakers, personal communications, minutes and recorded summaries of meetings and events. I include published policy documents such as guidelines, background policy studies and evaluations from European Union institutions, as well as public reports, statistics and relevant research on migration, human rights, European cultural policy and the impact of policy advocacy groups.

The methodological devices mobilised in this thesis reflected the role I played and the influence I exerted in the arts, human rights and migration sectors, as well as analysing the impact of networking in and between them. They include: gaining fresh perspectives by looking at one phenomenon through another lens such as arts practice as citizenship; challenging policy discourse; using alternative perspectives to reinforce the notion of recognition and belonging of a displaced artist; moving from ethics to action by

organising and instigating in order to increase the capillary influence of networks; and identifying and applying the values of care ethics to the transector of arts, human rights and migration. I am indebted to feminist epistemologies and methodologies such as those developed by Donna Haraway (1988) and Miranda Fricker (2007), not only in my application of the ethics of care but also in the reflexivity surrounding my praxis, the centring of the lived experience and my starting point in affective dissonance, of 'feeling that something is amiss ... that can produce a politicised impetus to change' (Hemmings, 2012: 150). This thesis describes fourteen years in a complex world through my particular, partial, situated (Haraway, 1988) eyes and actions. However, this was collective action; nothing could have happened without the dynamic engagement of those around me, above all the artists.

We live in a context of increasing global migration. War rages in Afghanistan, Libya, Sudan, Syria, Ukraine, Yemen and elsewhere; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics from 2022 define fifty-two percent of refugees and those needing international protection as coming from Syria, Ukraine and Afghanistan; migration figures attest to globally rising numbers, with most originating in sub-Saharan Africa (Mandal, 2023). The end of 2022 showed an increase of nineteen million people compared to the end of 2021, totalling 108.4 million people forcibly displaced due to persecution, conflict, violence and human rights abuse; whereas seventy percent of refugees flee to their neighbouring countries, Europe including Türkiye is also a destination, hosting 12.4 million, or thirty-six percent of global refugees including Ukrainians, a slight decrease of 90,300 estimated by May 2023 due to fewer Syrians entering (Ibid.). Artists and arts workers will of course be included in these statistics. My role was to assist them in their search for safety. To illustrate some of the dilemmas I, and the artists with whom I worked, consistently faced, I quote an extract from my diary

which was adapted later for an online magazine. It not only encapsulates, but serves as background for all of the work described in the thesis, whether I was working in confidence with an individual artist, or in public advocating for more support from key arts sector actors:

> A friend in Asia writes to me; he is concerned for the safety of another friend, a political cartoonist living in an increasingly repressive country where journalists and political cartoonists who criticise the government are disappearing. 'Can you help?' my friend asks. 'Sure,' I write back, 'put us in touch with one another' (Anonymised, 2020). And I inwardly sigh, thinking of the rough road ahead for the cartoonist. I think of all the difficult decisions s/he will have to make… at best. At worst, they will lose all control of where they want to be, to go, to work, to bring their immediate family, to earn a living, to be part of a community. In most cases, even with their level of professionalism, they will go not where they want to go, but where it is possible to go. Hailed as a hero in the Global North for brave political artworks that speak truth to power if lucky they may be invited to spend some weeks, or even longer, in an artist's or writer's residency. Better, if they have a PhD or can teach at university level, they may be able to obtain a place teaching or researching at a university, which will give status, a salary and a place to live. But few artists have these qualifications. And often the waiting lists for any of these options are years long. They might also have to stay and live with the danger.
>
> I contact the cartoonist and we outline the choices they have to make, the conditions these choices depend on, and the pros and cons of each. What threats have been received? What degree of danger is s/he facing and can it be documented with specific examples, dates, perhaps newspaper or media reports? Will they be safer if the threats are made public in their country, or internationally, or will this instead put them in greater danger? Do they have allies and if so, what could these do to help? Do they need legal or medical assistance? Can they keep a low profile for a short while, staying elsewhere in their own country until the heat dies down? What kind of passport do they have, and which countries readily accept it without long visa procedures? Which languages do they speak? Do they have family members who need to also leave due to the danger they may face by being associated? Do family members have valid passports? Can they stay alone or not? Is money an issue? What skills, outside of political cartooning, does the artist have? Do they have training or education certificates, or other proof of professional status? Are they in good health? Do they already have professional connections with any particular countries? Have they been published, or have they worked abroad? And so on. Each answer, like a computer game, flags up or shoots down a potential pathway that, in itself, may or may not lead to safety and security. As if safety and security were the only things a creative, engaged artist, or indeed any human, needs.
>
> (DeVlieg, 2020b)

This vignette illustrates the complexities surrounding artists who flee persecution by repressive elements in their society that deny the right to freedom of expression, in particular artistic expression. Arguably, the concept of the 'artist-at-risk' was inspired by the first Scholars at Risk conference at the University of Chicago in 1999 and likely first used to describe artists by Todd Lester, founder of freeDimensional, from 2005 (Lester, 2010). The phenomenon of artists-at-risk has grown since 1989. This was when the fatwa against Salman Rushdie drew attention to the dangers that all writers, not only journalists, face. The vicious attack on Rushdie on 12 August 2022 highlights the worsening situation of artists whose work speaks freely and breaks repressive taboos (Root et al, 2022). My own commitment to artists-at-risk deepened when two theatre directors I knew were assassinated for their art practice, Mark Weil in Uzbekistan in 2007 (Whitlock, 2007) and Juliano Mer Khamis in Palestine in 2011(Shabi, 2011). Between 2009 and 2023, I assisted twenty-eight artists from eighteen countries to deal with significant persecution at home as a result of their artistic work. For many, the only solution was to leave their home, family, friends and public and move to a safer country. Because someone in a position of power had found political, religious or social offence in the artist's film, song, dance, play or novel, the artist faced death threats, imprisonment, torture, physical or psychological harm. Yet artists use their artistic means to reflect what they see around them. They see, create, produce, present and diffuse the artistic expression of these reflections. Silencing them is an abuse of the recognised human right of freedom of expression as enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent legal conventions. Moreover, silencing artists, whether through the means described above or through less violent or more subtle manoeuvres such as censorship, banning, de-platforming, withdrawal of resources or continuously unpredictable harassment and punishment, also deprives the public of other world views and ideas – access to which is also protected in

the human right of free expression. In other words, silencing artists doubly renders our shared world poorer, for the artists as well as society.

Displacing an artist for their safety into another country and culture has consequences: for the artist and their social circle, for their old and a new potential public, and for the arts sector itself in both home and host countries. Not being recognised as an artist or being included in a professional network of peers is also a manner of silencing. I argue in this thesis that the internationally networked arts sector, connected by nature of their shared profession that values the arts, by international markets and educational exchanges alongside the historical, colonial, economic and political ties between countries, has a collective responsibility of care for its displaced peers arriving from other countries. It is a responsibility not only to the individual artists, but to the development of the arts generally; artists have always been mutually inspired by those from other countries (Fitzcarraldo, 2001; DeWit and Janssens, 2018; Boroweicki and Graddy, 2021). My confidential practice with artists informed my public work, which aimed to influence the arts sector in Europe in order to transform a rhetorical ethics of inclusion and care (Tronto, 1990; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Robinson, 2011) into concrete support for displaced artists-at -risk. I hoped that combining the artists' experience and wisdom with my skills and contacts would foster conditions for more recognition, support and development for them in host countries in Europe, thus rendering our shared world richer.

Although this thesis is focused on artists and the arts sector it necessarily speaks to migration and inclusion issues more widely. Accordingly, the World Migration Report 2022 from the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) states that the number of migrants granted the status of refugees coming to Europe is significantly rising, if vastly minor in comparison with numbers hosted on other continents (International Organisation

for Migration, 2021). Although Türkiye was the largest country with over 3.6 million refugees, Lebanon, Pakistan and Iran were in the top ten (Ibid.) Seventy three percent of all refugees were hosted in their neighbouring countries, with the world's least developed countries hosting twenty-seven percent (Ibid.). The media and popular politics continue to fearmonger but enact no viable, just and humanitarian solutions, while climate change, regional conflicts, authoritarian rule and poverty continue to drive migration. A Europe increasingly withdrawing into itself by defending its fortress-like borders against migrants risks impoverishing itself from experience, ideas and perspectives that from the beginnings of humanity have been enriched by human nomadism (Attali, 2005). What is at stake is not only the lives and productive professional development of artists relocated to Europe, but the strengthening and evolution of arts and culture in Europe through the arts sector's capacity to learn through and work with, rather than against, humanity's perpetual movement. Empathy is frequently noted as a product of the arts (Nussbaum, 2010) and a central element of care and feminist perspectives (Hemmings, 2012). However, one can feel moved emotionally by a sad story while not doing anything concrete to address it, just as it is possible to mistakenly project one's own outlook onto someone else. I cannot deny my own empathetic response to the artists with whom I have worked, as a mode of 'prioritising embodied knowledge, affective connection and a desire to transform the social terrain' (Hemmings, 2012: 151). However, I retain a self-critical awareness of this and other issues outlined in the two chapters that follow. My aims have been to draw attention to the disconnect between how the arts sector in Europe perceives itself – open, welcoming, supportive and culturally diverse – and the realities faced by artists waiting for protective relocation and subsequently affected by the conditions of displacement. I have endeavoured to modify policies and change behaviours; in other words, to 'move from affective dissonance to affective solidarity' (Ibid.: 150).

Increasing numbers of artists-at-risk are being relocated in Europe, but there is little published research and documentation about them or surveys of their absolute numbers (van Schagen, 2020; Mimeta, 2023). The Martin Roth Initiative, a project of the Goethe Institute and the ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen/German institute of foreign cultural relations) has commissioned and published nine studies, of which three are about artists – African and Latin American artists residencies in 2021 and relocation of artists to Europe in 2022 (Yazaji and Schmidt, 2022). Research done by NGOs such as ICORN and PEN is confidential. To my knowledge, no one has taken on the task of contacting the growing number of artists residencies offering short- or longer-term places in any attempt to definitively count the numbers. Different organisations define risk differently, ranging from direct death or imprisonment risk to a general climate of threat. Some artists have been offered placements or in organisations that are not exclusive to artists-at-risk, and inversely, some will be artists whose cases have not been verified by a competent NGO (Whyatt, 2023).

Human rights defenders 'are identified primarily by what they do rather than their profession' (Human Rights House Foundation, 2018:4). Artists can be deemed human rights defenders when their work promotes or exemplifies human rights such as free expression, political, educational, cultural or women's rights, for themselves, their communities or their countries through peaceful means and without discrimination. They thus may be considered as valid constituents of human rights defender NGOs; they may be considered artists by the arts sector, but they can also be unrecognised as belonging to one or the other sectors if their work combines elements of each. This transdisciplinary area is still growing and learning is taking place as numbers of at-risk artists globally increase annually; 1200 recorded violations of artistic freedom were recorded in 2021, in a context of increased global understanding of artistic freedom and of international

campaigns drawing attention to their cases (Freemuse, 2022). This thesis posits that the arts sector, in tandem with the human rights sector, could become a positive model of adapting to a new migration reality by collaboratively creating equitable long-term policies and practices for and with artists who have been persecuted and displaced from their home countries.

This thesis frequently invokes terminology and legislation connected to free expression as a human right. The universality of human rights as set down in both binding and non-binding international treaties has been contested as culturally Western-centric, a colonial legacy, secular and focused on the individual rather than the collective (Bielefeld, cited in Bechler, 2004). However, these accusations are considered defences of patriarchy and authoritarianism, especially by feminist legal experts such as Seyla Benhabib (2007) and Shirin Ebadi (2004). Lawyer and former United Nations Special Rapporteur Karima Bennoune writes: 'Universality is not a weapon against cultural diversity, nor is cultural diversity a weapon against universality. The two principles are mutually reinforcing and interlocking. In today's polarized world, we need a sophisticated multi-directional stance' (2018b, n.p.).

Artistic freedom as a right gained new attention from 2010 through its use during the Arab Spring revolutions (Cuny, 2023). Lawyer Paul Kearns has written that freedom of artistic expression in international human rights law had been 'historically overlooked' and 'conspicuously problematic… despite being a judicially-recognised sub-category of freedom of expression, a fundamental human right' (Kearns, 2020: 99). States are asked to sign and ratify internationally approved human rights legislation, and although various United Nations processes, such as Universal Periodic Reviews, aim to hold them to account, there are countries who neither sign, nor accept the international human rights

standards, and there are signatory states who do not uphold them. Abdullahi Ahmed An Naim (2021) criticises the weakness of human rights precisely because their implementation rests on the volition of nation-states. This stance echoes Giorgio Agamben's criticism of the nation-state and international human rights agencies as 'absolutely incapable' of solving or even addressing the situation of refugees (2008: 92). For Simone Weil, responding to 'the good... the only source of the sacred' (1963: 10) in every human being was far superior to a superficial legislation of person-based rights. Human rights are thus aspirations, and my defence of them in this thesis is also aspirational, holding that norms evolve to encompass new learning in the fields of justice and equity. Although the abuse of the right to freedom of artistic expression is the reason why the artists with whom I worked sought relocation, I am principally interested in their displacement and relocation.

Chapter one employs elements of the story of one artist with whom I worked for over two years, deploying case vignettes 'to shed light on the complexities of a given situation from a particular angle' (Bloom-Christen and Grunow, 2022: 10). I use the device of the case vignette, not as a fictitious research or educational device (Skilling and Stylanides, 2019) but a real-life narrative (Sampson and Johannessen, 2020) that 'unfolds through a series of stages' (Skilling and Stylanides, 2019:10). As such, case vignettes 'serve as prompts to allow researchers to highlight, or focus on, particular aspects of what may be sensitive, complex, or even abstract objects of inquiry' (Kandemir and Budd (2018: 4). I anonymise the artist as BK, given that human rights defender protocol requires absolute confidentiality regarding the name and any identifying details of anyone at risk. BK has given his informed consent for this story to be part of this thesis; his journey illustrates the fundamental obstacles faced by others navigating the same pathways to safety. Regarding my public advocacy work in chapter two, I trace attitudinal and policy changes

brought about in various networks and groupings in order to explore 'what is being accomplished, under what conditions, and out of what resources' (Holstein and Gubrium, 2005: 484). Case vignettes are employed as a means of affective scholarship (Bloom-Christen and Grunow, 2022: 2), combining objective and subjective aspects to '[bring] them into a productive relationship' (Newbury, 2001: n.p.). As a protagonist in the narratives in both of the two chapters of the thesis, I present a subjective account from my many years of fieldwork, reinforced by the observations and research of others studying artist and refugee displacement, such as Zoë O'Reilly (2020); Evgeny Shtorn, (2020); Karol Borowiecki and Kathryn Graddy (2021); Rana Yazaji and Marion Schmidt (2022); Pieter Verstraete (2023), in addition to migration researchers, notably the work of Roger Zetter and Héloïse Ruaudel (2018).

Thesis Structure

Chapter one examines citizenship as a status, first of the refuge-seeking artist, then as the relocated artist impacted by displacement. Alternatively, chapter two considers citizenship as a practice (Isin, 2009) performed through my own engagement and the activities of the organisations that are members of networks. Both chapters are framed around critiques of citizenship, human rights, migration policy, and the European cultural policy rhetoric that prioritised cultural diversity in a Europe-wide context of rising fear and obstruction to the arrival of migrants. Chapter one deploys the lens of the ethics of care to describe my work with BK, an artist needing safe relocation, and the core themes arising from his experience. These include questioning the continuing force of national and EU citizenship, introduced by two of my outputs, 'Bridging Citizenship' (DeVlieg, 2022: see Appendix I), published as a chapter in *Art, Migration and the Production of Radical Democratic Citizenship* (Czajka and O'Brien, 2022) and 'Citizenship and Culture' (DeVlieg, 2012: see Appendix II), published as an introductory essay in *The*

Cultural Component of Citizenship (2012). In these works I highlight the disconnect between the EU's discourse of a unified, culturally diverse space and the reality of obstruction of newcomers, of which BK was one. The chapter analyses the concepts of hospitality and 'hostipitality' (Derrida, 2000a; 2000b) through examples of obstacles to BK's entry and resettlement. In discussing a third published output, 'Analysing the Art of Resistance' (DeVlieg, 2014: see Appendix III), written for the World Policy Institute, I consider application and evaluation processes for arts and human rights grants and propose that displaced artists-at-risk are not 'recognised', as Judith Butler argues (2009: 6). Impeding artists' self-development, I argue, are tendencies to fetishise or stigmatise at-risk artists as victims, alongside the obstacles to work and further and higher education they face. Taken together, I conclude that these are structural injustices that could be mitigated by concrete actionable application of Iris Marion Young's ideal of shared responsibility for justice (2011).

Chapter two explores my public practice, critically framing my engagement with public events and initiatives surrounding the emergence of the arts and human rights as a combined area of citizenship action, ethics and policy development. Chapter two performs a political analysis of the arts sector and observes instances of care ethics and practice. It foregrounds the work of TANs or transnational advocacy networks (Kekk and Sikkink, 1998; Murdie and Polizzi, 2018; Florini, 2000) and epistemic communities (Adler and Haas, 1992; Henry, 2018) as policy influencers. I employ empirical evidence in the form of events orchestrated by me as a bridging or central node of multiple networks, with a view to gauging both positive and negative aspects of networks, and how I used networking to engage and influence three key stakeholder levels necessary for the changes I envisaged: the political arena, the policy and funding arena and the arts organisations themselves. These three sections are introduced by two of my published

outputs: 'Seeing the World in a New Light' (DeVlieg, 2011: see Appendix IV); 'Artistic Freedom: A Moveable Feast' (DeVlieg, 2018: see Appendix V); and the description of a process of working with an institutional network as they prepared their publication 'Artists, Displacement and Belonging' (IFACCA, 2019). The chapter further explores the tensions in my work as an insider-outsider, including power differentials and processes, the aporia of the representative speaking for one who is silenced (Spivak, 1994), risks of co-optation and of promoting a false solidarity that valorises and prioritises the Global North to the detriment of the Global South (Al Haj Saleh, 2018). Considering the activist's frustration as a stage in the process of policy change, I finally turn to the crucial element beyond anyone's control, the conjunctural moment (Hall, 1983; Hall and Massey, 2010; Gramsci and Forgacs, 2000), the temporal juncture of political and social events that has the potential to break the status quo and bring about change. The chapter closes by outlining significant public policy events in which I participated that occurred in or just preceding 2023. Although I was working consistently on an international level, I observed that the action of a single nation-state can be decisive. The chapter considers networks as politically potent epistemic communities comprised of both nationally-rooted and international actors. It argues that their networking, amongst and in parallel with one another, resulted in a distribution of common perspectives, language and policy stances that collectively have prepared the ground for states to act.

In chapter two the narrative examples instantiating my influence on various networks demonstrate 'socially situated interactive performances – as produced in this particular setting, for this particular audience, for these particular purposes' (Chase, 2005: 657). My analysis of networking as a methodology is linked to political science literature on transnational civil society group advocacy. Examining my public-facing methodology in networks as an organiser, awareness-raiser and federator, I turned to political scientists

looking at networks, coalitions or 'epistemic communities' in terms of their influence on public policy change (Haas, 1992; Adler and Hass, 1992; Leifeld, 2018). I equate the political influence of epistemic communities with policy advocacy networks or coalitions and use the terms 'epistemic communities' and 'policy advocacy networks' interchangeably. There is little in the general political science literature that applies specifically to arts and culture policy and practice in the EU although I have found Ann Fiorini (2000) as well as Margaret E. Kekk and Kathryn Sikkink's (1998) seminal work on transnational advocacy networks (TANs) to be applicable, also as further elaborated by Amanda Murdie and Marc S. Polizzi (2018) with regard to human rights networks. Literature on the relocation of persecuted artists is only starting to emerge and will be considered in the conclusion to the thesis, with organisations that relocate artists such as the Martin Roth Initiative in Germany or ICORN, surveying or evaluating their own work, often confidentially. Viewed from this perspective, with public policy seen as normative and emanating from a combination of power and democratic debate, the thesis is a political application of care theory to the policies and behaviours of the arts sector in Europe.

Chapter two is written from my position as a 'central, or bridging node' (Varone et al., 2017: 327) and federator in the networks I created or used, as well as a policy entrepreneur (Petridou and Mintrom, 2021) aiming to influence attitudes. I note the difficulties of assessing the impact of cause and effect in networks' dynamic, complex systems (Wilson-Grau, 2008; Fariss, 2014; Murdie and Polizzi, 2018; Victor, Montgomery and Lubell, 2018). Chapter two explores civil society's power (Allen, 1998; Boonstra, 2016; Pansardi and Bindi, 2021) and towards the end of the chapter registers a welcome change in the positions of relocated at-risk artists from object to subject as they exercised their individual and collective voices (DeVlieg and Dibia, 2020).

Inherent in my advocacy fieldwork practice is a spatialised configuration akin to anthropologist George Marcus' notion of multi-sitedness, since I too was 'constantly mobile, recalibrating [a] practice of positioning' (Marcus, 1995: 113), alternating between private and public advocacy and instigator roles that spanned culture, migration, diplomacy and human rights sectors, the home countries or regions where artists were endangered, and the areas of the EU where they might be relocated. Marcus' description of the 'circumstantial activist' (ibid.: 133), whose activism develops out of the work a person is undertaking and their persona, further resonates in my practice, where 'the politics and ethics of working in any [one of the many sites] reflects on the work in the others' (ibid.: 133). Accordingly, my work with individual artists nourished and motivated my public-facing work and vice versa. Care ethics, especially its focus on solidarity, has guided my advocacy approach, although it was crucial also to challenge the Global North's exclusive 'market of solidarity' that gives credibility to 'solidarity providers' (Al Haj Saleh, 2018: n.p.). but robs its recipients of dignity (Murdie and Polizzi, 2018). Connecting civil society and public institutions, I laboured to build a broad and diverse community representative of the human rights and arts sectors, which together impacted the professional lives of the artists with whom I worked.

<center>**Chapter One**</center>

Care Ethics and Shared Responsibility in the Relocation of Artists-at-Risk

Introduction

This chapter critically engages with the confidential, one-to-one side of my work as an advocate assisting persecuted and at-risk artists to relocate to safety in an EU country via the temporary relocation system for human rights defenders. As a caseworker, I also assisted at-risk artists in need of training, safety, medical, psychosocial, legal or other support. Though the terms 'advocate' and 'caseworker' are linked, they are not the same; I performed the role of an advocate through my case work, which included being a conduit between the artists and other groups. A job description for a human rights NGO's Protection Assistant (case worker) includes identifying cases of human rights defenders at high risk in/outside [target country]; supporting them with a durable and sustainable approach through implementing proper case management steps; ensuring case action plans and updating a database of cases; participating in the development of case management monitoring systems; follow-up to identify defenders at risk in order to provide them with a quick response; development of referral networks between partners (local/international) providing protection services and grants for human rights defenders (Defender Centre, 2021). My tasks were to support artists in danger, linking them with medical, financial or legal assistance or assisting them to a safe haven using a process called temporary relocation. This included the artist's and my joint analysis of risk and options that informed the artist's decision regarding their next steps, supporting them to achieve that, being available for follow-up support if requested, and keeping records of all processes.

<div align="right">25</div>

This chapter not only sets forth the context of my practice; it also establishes my position and the motivation for the practice described in chapter two. There is, of course, much literature on the integration of migrants in Europe, but little as yet concerning artists who have been persecuted and relocated, although Lucía Salgado and Liam Patuzzi's 2022 study 'Promoting the Inclusion of Europe's Migrants and Minorities in Arts and Culture' does briefly address artists.

The chapter begins by outlining parallels between a political-science-based analysis of advocacy networking and the ethics of care (Tronto, 1990; Sevenhuijsen, 1998; Noddings, 2002; Held 2006). Both care and advocacy networking are seen as theories and methodologies. Care theory is discussed in relation to citizenship, community and international relations (Reader, 2003; Robinson, 2021) as well as critiqued in the light of contemporary gender and colonial discourses (Spivak, 1994; Dalmiya, 2009; Mooten, 2016). I then move to the problem of citizenship for an artist-at-risk seeking relocation in Europe, illustrated through two of my publications criticising the European Union's politico-cultural environment, 'Bridging Citizenship' (2022) and 'Citizenship and Culture' (2012).

Focusing on my work with one artist, I then describe how I created and used caring networks as a methodology, modelling international theatre co-production, a practice I knew well, common in the arts sector since the internationalisation of the arts in the 1980s (Staines, 2007; Staines and Travers, 2011). Reflecting next on the status of the refugee, I critique the contradiction of representing silenced artists. The human rights defender practice of protective temporary relocation is then analysed with regard to conceptions of hospitality (Derrida, 2000a, 2000b, 2005; Boudou, 2020). In 'Analysing the Art of

Resistance' (2014), I examine disconnects between EU arts and cultural policy rhetoric and a European art sector unmindful of relocated at-risk artists. I then relate the concept of recognition to relocated artists (Fraser, 2000; Butler, 2004, 2009; Butler and Spivak, 2007). I also emphasise the potential of care ethics in the joining together in and of networks that is so prevalent in the arts sector (Fitzcarraldo 2001; Cvjetičanin, 2011; Magkou, 2021). Considering this tendency for networking, connecting to the work of Nancy Fraser (1986), Miranda Fricker (2007) and Iris Marion Young (2008, 2011), I consider the obstacles faced by relocated artists at-risk as epistemic and structural injustice and propose the notion of shared responsibility as a possible way forward. The research question addressed in this chapter engages with the ways in which arts and human rights actors have been obstructed when seeking to perform a responsibility to persecuted artists who have been relocated to Europe. It also investigates what might be a solution. Focusing on the lived experience of artists fleeing danger and persecution, I apply care theory to cultural policy and practice**.**

From Artist at Risk, to Relocated Artist, to Artist Impacted by Displacement

The journeys and the risks encountered by artists who are persecuted as a reaction to their artistic work continues while they are in the process of seeking relocation to a safe country and frequently even after they have been relocated (International Partnership for Human Rights, 2023). Once in another country, they are described as displaced. I conceived the term 'artists impacted by displacement' when providing background research for the International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA)'s 'Artists, Displacement and Belonging' (2019). Designations such as refugee, displaced or at-risk artists put the modifier before the person, the artist. In my definition, they are:

> [a]rtists in the first place, whose displacement, a result of their strong artistic
> engagement, has largely been involuntary as the only reasonable option open to

them. They are artists in exile, constrained to move from their home territory, socio-cultural environment and usual artistic activities due to a number of factors. These may include armed conflict; natural disasters and severe climatic changes; violations against recognised human rights such as those protecting and defending free expression, the rights of women, the rights of children, the right to education, religious freedom, freedom of sexual orientation; as well as circumstances depriving them of their recognised economic rights and cultural rights. With legal status in their new host country denied or postponed, their civic status may be in flux: they may be seeking asylum, have gained (or not) refugee status, be clandestine or simply classed as a migrant. Because their art works often 'speak truth to power', repressive elements in their societies want them silenced. Due to their art practices, they encounter censorship, persecution, violations of basic human rights, imprisonment, physical and mental harm and even death. These are artists who, when lacking a civil status in their new host country, cannot enjoy the same rights as other artists who are citizens or have a similar legal status.

(DeVlieg, 2019: 12)

Linking Care Ethics, Advocacy Networks and the Practice of Relocation

Beginning in the early 1990s, I spent over two decades building professional contemporary performing arts networks internationally, and from 2009, I involved human rights defender organisations. In the early years of cultural policy advocacy networking in the 1990s, network coordinators were almost exclusively women. More than directing others, the job was about taking care of the arts organisations who formed the networks. At the time, men were not particularly interested in this work of service (ONDA – *Office national de la diffusion artistique*, 1999). As discussed below, care ethics had already broached this phenomenon.

The ethics of care evolved from Carole Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* (1982) on moral reasoning. Gilligan found that unlike boys' generalised*, a priori,* objective standards of justice and absolute right or wrong, girls' assessment of moral decisions were particularistic and relational, involving empathy, context and relationships in the narratives the girls were given to study. Theorists have since developed the notion of care

in philosophical, feminist and political terms as a practice or an individual branch of ethics (Sander-Staudt, 2006). But key care values of attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness, trust and solidarity remain as core elements and are also familiar in advocacy networking. I argue here for the necessity of advocacy networks of care in temporary relocation practice. In this thesis I differentiate from some more common applications of care ethics. Care ethics has been featured regarding the arts as a contributor to mental or physical healthcare. More recently it has been evoked to address stress, overwork and burnout in the arts professions (ENCC, 2022, 2023; Cid-Vega and Brown, 2023), and the difficulties of women and others with familial care duties trying to balance this with work in arts professions (Judah, 2022; Ellingsworth, Floch and Verstraete, 2023). Instead, I posit care as an ethics (Sevenhuijsing, 1998; Held, 2006; Tronto, 2012) and an evolving theory (Gary, 2022) that can be applied well beyond the caring professions (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017). I propose that by focusing on Judith Butler's concept of 'recognition' (2009: 6) and applying it to at-risk artists relocated to Europe, care ethics has the potential to alter the way the arts sector – comprising arts policymakers, funders, organisations and individuals – considers itself, not only as an interdependent, global sector but a sector with shared responsibilities to those who are a part of it, no matter what passport they hold. Care for and self-care by artists and arts workers is beginning to be discussed, for example in artists Jacqueline Millner and Gretchen Coombs' *Care Ethics and Art* (2022), and the European Network of Cultural Centres' (2022, 2023) work on burnout. Artist Sundus Abdul Hadi's *Take Care of Yourself: The Art and Cultures of Care and Liberation* (2020) opens up further questions of colonialism, racism and the marginalisation of artists. This thesis views feminist care as intersecting with postcolonial studies and international relations, drawing on the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1994; Spivak with Butler, 2007), Nalinie Mooten (2015) and Fiona Robinson (2011, 2021). The online social platform 'Beyond the Now' discusses

mutual aid in an activist tradition of reciprocal care (2021). The Elefsina Manifesto coordinated by Culture Action Europe (2023), is a general call to the arts sector to care for the environment, mental health issues in the community, youth and the arts sector itself.

Care ethics, policy advocacy networking and temporary relocation for defenders are linked by their fundamental ontologies of relationality and responsibility (Mooten, 2015). For Daniel Engster and Maurice Hamington (2015), care is a new way of looking at political as well as social issues, shifting from the binary of right and wrong to a focus on enmeshed and situated relations. All three concepts emphasise shared beliefs, ethical values, cooperation and trust (Adler and Haas, 1992; Goodin and Tilly, 2006; Held, 2006; Knoke and Kostiuchenko, 2018). For all three, as Jennifer Victor, Alexander H. Montgomery and Mark Lubell write: 'Interdependence is both a fundamental theoretical postulate and a social fact' (2018: 8). All are concerned with civic engagement. As Selma Sevenhuijsing states: 'If we integrate values derived from the ethics of care, such as attentiveness, responsiveness and responsibility, into concepts of citizenship ... the concept of citizenship will be enriched and thus better to cope with diversity and plurality' (1998: 16). Perhaps the most concise description of care ethics' similarity to networked advocacy and relocation is by Fiona Robinson, who has argued for a critical ethics of care in global power relations (2011, 2021). She writes:

> Care ethics describes a form of moral responsiveness that is curious about context and sees moral dilemmas and difference through the prism of relationship ... accepts the inescapability of our mutual vulnerability ... challenges all forms of hierarchy ... a democratic ethic that presumes relational subjects engaged in ongoing participation in civic life as both givers and receivers of care.

> (2021: 34)

As a caseworker for artists-at-risk, the values of care enumerated above were essential to my work. I was a trusted relationship broker, with a duty to liaise responsibly and competently between the artist, the bespoke support networks described below, other advocacy networks that could be of help, such as the arts and human rights networks detailed in chapter two, human rights NGOs with available resources and migration authorities able to expedite or deny an entry visa. In policy networking terms, I acted as a central node, a 'bridge of influence [with] betweenness centrality [which is] inherently multifaceted' (Victor, Montgomery and Lubell, 2018: 27). This was evidenced, for example, when I connected an at-risk Moroccan artist to a colleague I knew from a different role and network who had subsequently taken on the directorship of an artists' residency in France. Although the residency had never hosted an at-risk artist, I persuaded them to begin, offering arguments for the Director's discussion with her Board of Directors. This led to the Moroccan's successful placement, the first of several at-risk artist relocation placements there, and following the Director's and my research and connections, to the artist's enrolment in a university. It also brought the residency into the artist-at-risk community.

Policy advocacy networks are equivalent to epistemic communities, 'networks of professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge with that domain or issue-area' (Haas, 1992: 3). Ethically, as in care, epistemic communities work not for material gain but 'in fostering the adoption of the community's policy project' (Sebenius, 1992: 325). In relocation practice, the gain is the safety and well-being of the artist or human rights defender. According to political scientist Adam Douglas Henry, advocacy networking focuses on three aspects. A first focus is the complexity of the underlying systems, their causes and potential solutions. Henry's second focus is the transference of the knowledge

gained by its producers to those who can feasibly and concretely action that knowledge; the third focus is 'getting convergence on normative perspectives on an issue' (2018: 564).

These three aspects can be related to care ethics and relocation in several ways. The first is in their attentiveness to the systems, causes and effects of the person's situation. One example from my practice concerned a female African actor who had done some fashion modelling without facing opprobrium but reached out for advice after receiving death threats from religious extremists for appearing in a film produced in her country. Another involved a graphic novelist on the eve of publishing a book highly critical of both sides of the territory dispute in Kashmir. In both cases, before offering advice, it was necessary to understand the contextual nuances and the validity of the threats and to assess the options open to the artists through interviews and external research. Henry's second and third aspects are echoed in the range of competencies necessary to address the multiple issues faced by the artists and the need for convergence among those working with the artist. Like care and relocation, advocacy networks operate in complex situations with a concomitant need for diverse actors who learn and collaborate in close relationships. Henry analyses the 'myriad of challenges that accompany learning in any complex, uncertain and polarized issue' (2018: 563–564). The constitutive, overlapping fields in my practice included human rights, arts and culture, and migration including employment policies. The multifaceted environment in which the at-risk artists and I existed required actors with experience, knowledge, contacts and influence in various policy sectors.

In care ethics, as in representational advocacy, responsiveness requires that the recipient is in full accord with care that represents their perspective. I learned to accept and respect the agency of some artists who decided to stay despite the danger they were in or who

chose to become undocumented and illegal immigrants rather than waiting through a long and uncertain process of asylum-seeking. Early care ethics based on motherhood has been criticised as being cis-female, white and neo-colonialist (Gary, 2022). My position is that care is feminist rather than female (Powell et al., 2020: 1) and that, as Hamington writes: 'feminist hospitality is a performative extension of care ethics' (2010: 24). I have also seen care practised by others than female-identifying people with personal caring responsibilities. In the arts sector it is in the form of hospitality that reinforces relations and exchange. My international experience has made me sensitive to the Global North/South tensions entangled in postcolonial legacies (Manach et al., 2008) and I discuss care critiques as applied to these tensions later in this chapter. I was troubled by early conceptions of a binary of cared-for and carer (Noddings, 1984) with its connotations of separation, vulnerability, dependency and representation. Yet Hamington (2010) defines feminist hospitality as bidirectional exchange. Vrinda Dalmiya also notes that the key care values of attentiveness and reciprocity create an interdependence between the caregiver's need for the care-receiver's willingness (2009). My positionality regarding the work I was doing as the representative or delegate of the artist for whom I was advocating is rooted in this, even alongside the doubts I discuss later in both chapters.

Methodologically, I aimed for an interdependent, co-production relationship, defined later in this chapter, that was, as the care value of responsiveness, immediately understood and agreed upon by the artist, attentive to the artist's personal and professional specificities, and valued their agency. In one case, a choreographer and I explicitly enumerated what we could each bring to the work of identifying and applying for resources and overcoming consecutive setbacks. My practice additionally shared responsibility amongst a network to co-create the conditions for 'liveable lives' (Butler, 2009: 6) that are recognised by society, thus grievable, addressed, included and respected.

The value of responsibility in care ethics is the embodied, performed, concrete capacity to respond to the needs of others. For Sevenhuijsing, care is 'a form of "real-life" responsibility' (1998: 23). My methodology was 'calibrated through practice' (Raghuram, 2016: 520) and this transformation of ethics to action is reminiscent of what Butler argues. She writes:

> If resistance is to enact the principles of democracy for which it struggles, then resistance has to be *plural* and it has to be *embodied*. It will also entail the gathering of the ungrievable in public space, marking their existence and their demand for liveable lives, the demand to live a life *prior* to death, simply put.
>
> (Butler, 2012: 18, emphasis in original)

The following discussion illustrates how I moved from words to action, using various responses in embodied advocacy. Most artists conduct their work in the public space; while Seyla Benhabib (1993) reminds us of Hannah Arendt's conception of associational public spaces where people act together, 'the space where freedom can appear' (Arendt, 1998: 198–199), with Benhabib herself describing them as 'sites of power of common action coordinated through speech and persuasion' (1993: 102). Artists perform their artistic work for the public good; socially engaged art 'becomes more than just a reaction to a context, but a question of structure, of systematic social and policy actions and not just a single brave artistic action' (Dragićević Šešić and Tomka, 2016: 64). Although silenced at the beginning of their journeys toward safety, in this public space they deserve to be recognised as artists. The discussion is furthered below by way of framing my engagement with BK and how his situation elicited my reflections on the contested and limiting nature of citizenship, my advocacy for a more open Europe – where he sought relocation – and the need for a caring network competent to collaborate with him to relocate to safety.

imposing an involuntary, controlling membership – citizenship – at birth. Moreover, state-conferred citizenship determines who can enjoy universally legislated human rights. Yet global realities such as economics, international law, the internet, nomadic working and studying now rendered bordered national citizenship obsolete (Sassen, 2002; Evans, 2005; Isin, 2012; Henrard, 2018). Moral claims for everyone's right to a legal personality and human rights added to this assessment (Arendt, 1951; Benhabib, 2007). Nation states, the legal guarantors of international rights, ironically constitute a major perpetrator of rights violations, including free expression. Artistic freedom expert Sarah Whyatt has written of nation-states' discrepancies as guarantors of rights. These include states' manipulation, instrumentalisation or evasion of their own legal systems 'to curb commentary and creativity that challenge power structure, touch on 'taboo' issues or ridicule public figures…making their application extremely difficult and open to the political bias of the day' (Whyatt, 2018: 216). This abuse was the reason the artists with whom I worked became displaced.

BK, promoting critical thinking in his practice, was bound to a compromised citizenship that was not protecting his rights. BK's home country had ratified the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Convention, as well as Protocol I, Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts and Protocol II, Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (International Committee of the Red Cross, 1977). In addition, Article 12 of the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders (1999), affirms that state parties have a duty to protect anyone peacefully supporting the exercise of human rights. BK was, if inadvertently, claiming rights for himself and his people (Isin and Saward, 2013), contesting his citizenship through socially engaged arts practice. In 'Bridging Citizenship', I wrote:

> Citizenship can be enacted (or performed) by the action of claiming rights,
> identifying injustice and calling for justice. In Arendt's words, it is exercising 'the

right to have rights' (1951: 376) or in Butler's, 'asserting an entitlement to a liveable life' (2004: 224) and doing it in a dynamic, public, visible way which causes a rupture in the established order of things. It can also transcend political or territorial borders. This is, of course, precisely what artists whose work speaks truth to power and who thus become persecuted artists impacted by involuntary displacement, do. Their art making is a citizenship act, performed by a non-citizen still lacking civic status, that engenders a dynamic moment of rupture in a context of trans-territoriality.

(DeVlieg, 2022b: 96–97)

In 'Bridging Citizenship' as in my work, I promoted a broad, performative sense of citizenship. One that bridges, actively embraces, links and disseminates the cultures, life experiences and perspectives of those who, like the at-risk artists with whom I worked, were born in one place, transit through others, and settle, temporarily or permanently, in yet another.

Questions of citizenship have been crucial to artists who came to Western Europe for safety. Would they be accepted or excluded in the EU's official cultural policy, which has been executed since 1985 by the European Commission's Directorate General for Education and Culture (DGEAC)? As will be discussed in chapter two, I had founded and chaired Arts Rights Justice EU (ARJ EU) – a civil society, networked, cross-sector arts, culture and human rights working group that interacted with the DGEAC, aiming to influence policy regarding at-risk artists. I was thus invited to contribute an essay, 'Citizenship and Culture', to *The Cultural Component of Citizenship* (2012: see Appendix II), a book celebrating 2013 – the EU Year of European Citizens, promoting the cultural sector's role in developing European citizenship. Jacques Derrida writes that there is 'no identification with oneself without culture, but a culture of oneself *as* a culture *of* the other' (1992: 10, emphasis in the original). Aligned with Derrida's position, I felt the EU should be a porous, pluralistic, welcoming place of equitable cultural exchange, not limited to those with a passport of the Fortress. I acknowledged that citizenship could

simply describe a system of rights and responsibilities, noting that the concept arose 'from the need to create a deeper sense of personal belonging to the EU space and political project, to certain EU educational and learning goals aiming at combating racism and supporting acceptance of cultural diversity' (DeVlieg, 2012: 28). However, the use of the term European citizenship is problematic:

> We are surrounded by its legal use on a day-to-day basis, all the more so in an EU marked by different legal treatment between *ressortissants* (those for whom the territorial law will decide) and those who are merely residing in a place for whatever reason…It is exclusive rather than inclusive; it disenfranchises any person who does not hold the citizenship of the place.
>
> (Ibid.: 28)

Challenging policy language, I thus aimed to disrupt a congratulatory discourse, accompanied by accepted connotations and assumptions of power, and call attention to a rising exclusivity in Europe. A politically useful message promoted Europe as a unique shared cultural space – an imagined cultural community (Anderson, 1983) united in diversity (Sassatelli, 2002, 2009; Lähdesmäki, 2012; Vos, 2019). Yet in 1992, Derrida wrote of Europe that it was and had always been in search of an identity; it was a 'non-identity to itself', a subject 'only in difference to itself' (Derrida cited in Czajka, 2020: 2), not only a failed synthesis but certainly not, as the common EU slogan had it, a unity in diversity (Favell, 2010). I echoed this in my writing and speaking to policymakers, claiming that cultural richness demanded not only curiosity but humility towards others' cultures, including that of newcomers. Richard Kearney, writing of Paul Ricoeur, describes this as 'the renunciation of the egocentric drive to reduce the alterities of the guest to one's own will for total adequation' (Kearney, 2019: 2). Derrida put it bluntly: 'Europe has confused its image, its face, its figure and its very place, its taking-place, with that of an advanced point, the point of a phallus if you will, and thus, once again, with a heading for world civilisation or human culture in general' (1992: 24). Evoking

Dalmiya's 'relational humility' (2016: 119) that honours the epistemic authority of the other, I repeatedly called for a willingness to put aside one's own Western, bordered, supremacist perspective, be it aesthetic or more broadly, cultural (DeVlieg, 2011; 2013; 2020.

I was in fact arguing for a European arts sector that, in care terms, is attentive to and 'has resources to understand group and cultural ties, and relations between groups sharing histories or colonial domination or interests in nonmarket economic development' (Held, 2006: 157). From my perspective working with artists-at-risk seeking relocation in the EU, purely rhetorical concepts of diversity and citizenship represented exclusion rather than inclusion. Mooten argues that inclusion alone is insufficient: 'What is needed is a more profound transformation of power relations in the long-term' (2015: 8). The following section describes some of the obstacles to achieving such a 'transformation', analysing the conditions necessary for relocation, my own impossible position as BK's representative and why I turned to network support.

BK as a 'Limit-Concept': The Dilemmas of Representation and the Need for a Network of Care

It is critically important to rethink policies regarding people who are moving from persecution, conflict, poverty or danger, especially now that the EU and its member states appear unable or unwilling to counter a negative backlash to refugees, nor to conceive of respectful, holistic solutions. For Agamben, the refugee:

> Unhinges the old trinity of state-nation-territory [and] deserves to be regarded as the central figure of our political history ... nothing less than a limit-concept that at once brings a radical crisis to the principles of the nation-state and clears the way for a renewal of categories that can no longer be delayed.
>
> (1996: 93)

As the following narrative describes, Agamben's concept was illustrated by BK as his attempts to enter the EU legally were consistently obstructed by the inability of state or civil society actors to put their principles and language of solidarity and openness into concrete action. BK's story also highlights the irony of his situation; Butler (2009) has observed that the condition of precarity is politically induced and BK's country's civil war was funded by, and economically and historically linked to, EU member states among others selling arms and buying oil. Yet he was deemed a human rights defender worth relocating to safety by those same countries' human rights NGOs. As funding was necessary to travel to safety, BK and I filled in forms requesting assistance from three human rights defender NGOs. Two of these I knew from the ARJ EU network I had founded, ICORN (International Cities of Refuge Network), a network of over seventy cities that can host a persecuted writer or artist and PEN International that offers small grants. I had previously worked on a case with EU ProtectDefenders, an EU-supported consortium of human rights defender NGOs that offers various types of support and funding to defenders. BK and I budgeted for expenses he and his family would incur travelling to and through transit countries. BK's second transit country, despite being a signatory to the Geneva Convention, charged a daily, per person fee from its unwelcome migrants. This could seem to contravene Article 31 of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (United Nations General Assembly (1966c). The country in question also signed the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), similarly protecting refugees (Council of Europe, 1950). However, BK had not yet officially requested asylum. As each potential host country he or I identified fell through, we had to request funds for unexpected costs, including medical costs for his partner, who repeatedly fell ill due to the unrelenting stress.

A place to resettle was needed. BK had attended a famous American actor's training programme that had taken place in a nearby Middle Eastern country. BK contacted them repeatedly for assistance, but had no response. Projects in developing or conflict countries are an act of commitment by Western arts organisations. But often when project participants seek further support, it is not foreseen in the programme, or the budget, or even in the consciousness of organisers whose vision is curtailed beyond their project. The commitment is limited, based on a project-by-project system dependent on funders' timescales, thematics and selection processes, together with the need to constantly innovate to avoid donor fatigue, a phenomenon Hampel describes as: 'the short life of artistic cooperations' (2017:184). European cultural policy was replete with language surrounding fundamental values and artistic solidarity across borders, such as in documents produced by the European Commission and the European Parliament regarding the EU strategy for international cultural relations. In a document resulting from this process – the Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – cultural diversity is confirmed as 'an integral part of the values of the European Union' to be promoted through international cultural relations (2016: 2). On the one hand, for Young, solidarity is 'a relationship among separate and dissimilar actors who decide to stand together, for one another' (2011: 120). Yet on the other hand borders are 'mirrors that reflect and represent exclusionary attitudes and racialised anxieties' (European Network Against Racism, 2023: 1). How concretely could the recipients of arts grants who enacted the grant proposals translate policies' altruistic language into practice? The 2015 Management Plan of the Directorate General for Education and Culture states: 'Europe is a rich and heterogeneous landscape of cultures and languages, anchored in shared values. Through intercultural dialogue and cultural exchanges, culture and the arts are powerful means of upholding these values and transmitting them

beyond European borders' (2015:5). In a private conversation in 2012, a senior DGEAC official told me that nearly every funding application to the Culture Programme between 2007 and 2013 cited cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue as a priority, to the extent that the terms had become virtually meaningless.

My aim was not to act for BK, nor empower him in something he lacked, but to guide him to understand and exploit the possibilities inherent in his own experience, aiming for collective ownership between us of the process (Mertens, 2007; Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). Robinson's 'effective listening' (2011: 856) in international relations is also crucial in relocation practice. This is attentive listening to another, not framed by an objective, inalterable code but as a moral and political act, 'thick with unequal levels of power, voice, influence and independence' (ibid.: 851), and the awareness and mitigation of these. My model was arts co-production – a topic I had taught and for which I had commissioned studies. It brings together partners who contribute diverse but equally valued elements to a creation that is greater than the sum of its parts. For BK and myself, just as in artistic co-production, success depended on 'a high level of interpersonal and intercultural communication skills, a deep commitment to supporting the…process of the artist and an iron-willed determination to deliver' (Staines and Travers, 2011: 10). Writing, calling, we chased several possibilities simultaneously. Despite reservations about speaking for BK in his absence, I pushed behind the scenes wherever I had influence. Though relatively powerless against nation-state bureaucracies, I realised that in this act of representation, I was attempting to extend my privileged status and contacts to BK, in a tangential instance of Bourdieu's critique of political fetishism, where it is the representative who eventually legitimises the group she is representing rather than the reverse (Bourdieu and Robinson, 1985). Butler also warns that 'the discourse of "vulnerable groups" reproduces paternalistic power and gives authority to regulatory

agencies with interests and constraints of their own' (2020: 1). I thus needed to be vigilant about the artist's agency and avoid asymmetric relationships of dependency (Tronto, 2012). Representing a temporarily silenced voice always constituted a dilemma for me, even when representing the narratives of anonymous artists throughout this thesis.

Care necessitates competence and lacking some, I fell back on the policy advocacy networking methodology I had practised for decades. A triangular relationship evolved, consisting of BK with his skills and experiences, myself and my networks in the international arts, human rights and policy arenas, and areas beyond our direct control. The latter included nation-states' regulations, European and international laws, and the behaviours of the institutions charged to uphold them. As more competence was required than I could offer and as cross-sector approaches optimise networks' learning, inventing formats, I convened an informal bespoke support network of sixteen NGOs, artists' residencies, human rights defender organisations and academics, each with their own expertise. They included the University of Hildesheim; Residency Unlimited; the Artists Protection Fund; both Todd Lester and Sidd Joag from the former freeDimensional; Artists Freedom Initiative; al Mawred; Daniel Gorman; ICORN; Freedom House; PEN Québec; EU ProtectDefenders; Safe Havens; Artists at Risk Connection; the Swedish Institute and others. BK was not part of this group. I acted as a translator, a mediator between the lived reality and difficulties of his circumstances and the language and discourses of institutions. In the end, I only passed concrete information to BK. I was only too aware that this compromised his agency and maintained my privileged position as the gatekeeper of knowledge. Yet I had learned from Elisabeth Dyvik, Programme Director at ICORN, that giving too much speculative information to someone at risk who was waiting for a solution only added to their already considerable stress. Dyvik warns of 're-traumatisation in the application

Butler, corresponding with Spivak, calls displacement 'this very sense of not knowing where one possibly is and whether there will ever be any other place to go or be' (Butler and Spivak, 2007: 10). BK, like others, represented a 'limit-concept' even before he arrived in a state where he could request the legal status of refugee. Human rights defender NGOs offered much-needed support but it was ultimately dependent on a state granting its entry visa. The network I created optimised our reach and learning in a framework of embodied care. In seeking relocation and sanctuary, BK, myself and the bespoke network sought hospitality, a concept discussed below.

Seeking Temporary Relocation as Hospitality

> National boundaries, economic policies, and international law are shown to be effective forms of capital punishment, in practice if not in name. In a world of global migrations, 'illegality' has become an ontological state that is defined by the 'not-yet' or 'not-quite-human'.
>
> (González, 2010: 126)

Despite Jennifer A. Gonzalez' observation, or perhaps to counter this description of violence in migration law and practice, we were looking for sanctuary or, in Derrida's terms, hospitality (2000b; 2005), in the form of temporary relocation as a universally legislated responsibility to uphold a human right. Called safe haven by the arts sector, temporary relocation is used to move a human rights defender from serious danger to a safe place (Müller, 2019). A human rights defender can be anyone who actively and peacefully upholds internationally recognised and legislated human rights. According to the United Nations (UN), human rights defenders are 'individuals or groups who act to promote, protect or strive for the protection and realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms through peaceful means', and signatory countries are bound to protect them (United Nations General Assembly, 1998). When artists' artwork or practice exemplifies recognised human rights, they may access some of these

protections. A seminal report 'Mapping of Temporary Shelter Initiatives for Human Rights Defenders in Danger, In and Outside the EU' (Sønderby (2012) explored the increasing use of relocation, including the recent inclusion of artists-at-risk defending human rights in their arts work. It set the stage for the EU's European Instrument on Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) to improve its support for defenders' protection, defence and relocation in collaboration with human rights NGOs, cities, regions and universities. This led to the creation of EUProtectDefenders and the EU Temporary Relocation Platform (EUTRP), of which I was a member.

Temporary relocation saves lives, although removing the defender from the repression does little to solve the fundamental abuse of human rights in the country. But the longer I was involved, the more I began to describe it as the first, not last, step of a complicated, difficult journey of exile for those who could not go back in any foreseeable future yet were not legally accepted into the citizenry of their host country. While many HRDs return home, artists' risks, having gone unnoticed or ignored until a crisis is evident, tend to preclude return. I witnessed the use of referral by NGOs of defenders who needed to vacate a short-term residency but could not return home due to safety concerns (Schagen, 2020). Their only recourse was to find further residencies. Yet governments fund human rights defender relocation NGOs strictly on condition of return, and few NGOs dared to contest this. The fact that many cannot go back is an open secret, as discussed in NGO fora and NGO working group exchanges that I participated in 2014-2022 at the annual EU-NGO Human Rights Forums and 2011-2014 during the preliminary research and establishment of the EUProtectDefenders Temporary Relocation Platform. It is not something that the sector wished to make public at that time. There are also legal contradictions, as in international and EU

temporary protection law that does not require states to repulse people following temporary protection (Kapelańska-Pręgowska, 2018).

Later in this chapter I address Derrida's extensive work on hospitality. Hospitality has been enacted as a ritualised rite of passage (Van Gennep, 1996), a religious act of selfless charity and later an aristocratic code of honour or reciprocal guarantee of safety to foreign traders, before becoming a task of either commercialised or public policy to care for the poor (Boudou, 2012, 2020, 2021). Argumentation has ranged from natural law and morality to justifying colonialism (Boudou, 2020). Immanuel Kant proposed conditional hospitality as belonging to the realm of law and justice. It was thus subject to the national sovereign state's authority over citizens, as a non-religious duty toward establishing peace by ensuring that a foreign visitor would not be treated as an enemy (Kant, 1795; Croxton, 1999; Yegenoglu, 2011; Boudou, 2020, 2021). Hospitality is seen as a border where ethics meets politics (Leung, 2009; Lévinas, 1998). It is a moral issue if, as Avishai Margalit maintains, 'morality is what regulates our relations to others on the basis of their humanity' (2017: xii). Mooten writes that care ethics 'grounds ... morality in the practices of responsibility that have developed from relations and recognition of global inequalities' (2015: 10). To the arts sector, hospitality would be familiar as an intrinsic element of international artistic mobility and co-production (ERICarts, 2008).

When working with at-risk artists, hospitality is concrete, 'not an abstract concept, but a performed activity, directed at particular individuals' (Hamington, 2010: 32). Yet human rights lawyer Dimitri Koros, writing about refugee law and criticising states and EU policies, observes that engagement in this field is 'a perfect site to comprehend and live the mobility of power relations and therefore the respect or not of human rights, in an everyday life of anxiety for professional effectiveness in a turbulent site' (2016: 118).

Forum for the Arts and Heritage – later renamed Culture Action Europe – and the EU civil society dialogue platforms. I had founded the Roberto Cimetta Fund for Artists Mobility in the Mediterranean, and On the Move – a network and resource for artists' professional mobility– and was in regular contact with the arts networks in the ARJ EU working group. The absence of creative responses or offers of invitations for BK demonstrated a dearth of sector solidarity amongst my arts colleagues and left me perplexed. It had been easy over the years to collect signatures from my arts colleagues petitioning governments to stop cutting arts funding, to ease repressive cultural policy interventions or culturally boycott the apartheid South African regime. Yet here was an arts professional in danger at home, whose kidnapped colleagues were still missing, whose partner was ailing and whose dependents were fragile, staying in a second transit country where, he told me, it was becoming 'crazy and not safe at all' (BK, 2016). However, in order to be supported by his arts colleagues, and while under considerable duress, he now had to conceive a project compelling enough to convince anonymous evaluators. BK, uncategorised as either artist or refugee, had not yet been 'crafted ... into a recognizable subject' (Butler, 2009: 5). For Butler, being sustained 'depends fundamentally on the social and political networks in which this body lives' (ibid.: 53), yet BK was not recognised by the international arts networks to which he rightly belonged.

At-risk artists face a kaleidoscope of ephemeral potentials to negotiate; some of these are discussed in what follows. To access emergency funds and at-risk residency places, it is necessary to fill in application forms that pose serious identity issues: depending on the funder, does the artist present themself as a scholar, a human rights defender, a war refugee, non-binary or a persecuted artist? Which one will unlock the desired grant or relocation? How does the necessity to constantly reshape oneself in order to fit others'

criteria affect the person? Paul Gilroy (1993), Patricia Hill Collins (2000) and W.E.B. DuBois (2007) have written about the dual identity needed for a black person to cope with the double cultural standards of a white world. Artists seeking European relocation also need to play their identity cards correctly in packaging their applications, juggling the need to appear more or less in danger, more or less an artist, more or less a famous artist, more or less in need, more or less self-sufficient. As Anne Mulhall writes, 'the full existence and complexity of the living person is buried, subject to erasure and non-recognition' (2020: 104).

I had evaluated grant applications for several of the calls of the European Commission. These include DGEAC's arts and culture grants; the EU Research Executive Agency (REA) Horizon 2020 programme, including its international cultural diplomacy study; and the EU's Economic and Social Committee (EESC). I have also evaluated for Korea Arts Management Service, the DROSOS Foundation, the Japan Foundation and others. I thus felt competent to challenge grant assessments' processes and criteria. Following my keynote address to their 2013 conference, 'Beyond Cultural Diplomacy: Arts, Policy and Change' on 11 October 2013, in New York, the World Policy Institute (WPI) invited me to contribute a blogpost, 'Analysing the Art of Resistance' (DeVlieg, 2014). I saw this as an opportunity to enlarge a slowly increasing networked community supporting persecuted artists but also wanted to highlight what I deemed the unjustified attitude of the Sigrid Rausing Trust, then a key funder of programmes protecting and relocating at-risk artists (Sigrid Rausing Trust, 2021). But the Trust ceased funding for this, because, in their words: 'The benefits only accrue to the individual artist' (Programme Officer, 2013). Artists risk their lives and the safety of their loved ones for the good of their communities. As UN Special Rapporteur Karima Bennoune writes: 'They can open up a space where individuals and groups can reflect upon their society,

confront and modify their perception of one another, express traumatic experiences, including human rights violations, and imagine the future' (2018a: 1). Yet, significantly, at-risk artists were caught between being artistically assessed according to Western standards and conditions or being subject to the increasingly widespread use of economic metrics for evaluating arts and culture 'such as user preferences, marketability and investment returns' (Eliassen, Hovden and Prytz, 2018: 8). Critiques by cultural policy analysts of economic criteria applied to the arts were not unusual. (Brown, 2003); Couldry, 2010); Kaszynska, 2014); Calligaro, 2017).

These reflections on evaluation informed the session I led at the International Conference on Cultural Policy Research at the University of Hildesheim in September 2014. That, in turn, opened the way for the co-creation by Todd Lester, Daniel Gad and myself of the University of Hildesheim's Arts Rights Justice Academy Programme, dedicated to cross-sector training and documentation of artistic freedom, which again enlarged our network by sixty international alumni. My World Policy Institute blogpost called for more research 'on alternative methods to describe the real impact of supporting artists and cultural communicators whose politically or socially charged work places them into the crosshairs of repressive regimes intent on quashing perspectives differing from their own' (DeVlieg, 2014: n.p.). Challenging the rise of economic justifications for the arts, I questioned standardised indicators and asked: 'Shall we measure the work of these artists by the number of people in their audiences, how many workshops they have given or how much turnover their artistic output has generated, directly or indirectly, to the evening economy of the city?' (Ibid.)

What 'benefits accruing' were being measured by the Sigrid Rausing Trust, in a global market environment where increasingly 'human rights are conceptualised as the freedoms necessary to maintain and legitimate particular forms of production and

exchange'? (Evans, 2005: 1057). Feminist political scientist Holloway Sparks writes of dissident citizenship as 'the practices of marginalised citizens who publicly contest prevailing arrangements of power by means of oppositional democratic practices that augment or replace institutionalised channels of democratic opposition when those channels are inadequate or unavailable' (1997: 75). Were these persecuted artists not equivalent to human rights defenders, performing an artistic citizenship rather than an economic one? It is necessary to question whether an artist making disruptive, truth-telling work in dangerous conditions in an economically or politically fragile country should be judged according to artistic standards or arts-economic trends in the West. Additional questions arise if the West has economically, politically, militarily or socially contributed to that fragility. A selective choice of artwork is understandable from the perspective of organisations with missions to develop a pre-defined type of artistic work. However, given the conditions under which a persecuted artist has made the work or is currently living, selectivity belies much of the discourse of inclusion, cultural diversity and democracy. Whether speaking to policy analysts or policy researchers, I was methodologically demonstrating care values and calling attention to the consequences of their lack.

Hospitality requires a guest, a host and a hosting environment; it is a moral and embodied proposition that was not fulfilled in BK's case. Member states' visa regimes obstructed BK's entry into the EU, thus denying the guest of human rights NGOs a host, while the European arts sector neither recognised nor could evaluate the work of at-risk artists, thus denying BK a hosting environment. Lacking agency, seeking resources, the at-risk artist was also denied their own self-identification. To examine some aspects of the environment that awaited artists once they had finally relocated in the EU and were, in my terms, artists impacted by displacement, I now turn to the Derridian concept of 'hostipitality', namely, the hostility inherent in the act of hospitality (Derrida, 2005: 6).

'Hostipitality' as a Series of Barriers

Both worlds can fit within me, but in this world I cannot fit.

Imadeddin Nesimi, cited in Gupta and Tripathy (2022: 83).[1]

Treating asylum seekers and refugees with dignity and respect are unequivocal legal requirements for nation-states but are often lacking. Respect and dignity figure not only in the legally binding UN Conventions but also in the European Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Union, 2012). The European Court of Justice has confirmed that a fundamental right to human dignity is part of European Union law that must be respected even when other rights are legally restricted (European Court of Justice, 2001). Recognition, intrinsic to respect, is necessary as one artist with whom I had worked told me: 'My identity is not reflected [in arts policy or programming in his host country], and I have never been consulted by any arts policymaker' (Artist A, 2018). Another artist spoke of experiencing 'exoticism that must be avoided' (Artist B, 2018). Various artists who have relocated to Europe – where there is apparent freedom but where unspoken taboos abound – have spoken to me of the uncertainty that inhibits their artwork. One novelist related how this affects 'how I write and how I portray myself because, at every turn, I am always reminded that I am not from here. In this context, how can I tell stories that are important to me while being so very careful?' (Artist C, 2018).

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[1] Imadeddin Nesimi was a renowned 14th-15th century Hurufi poet who wrote in Azerbaijani, Persian and Arabic, executed for insistence on freedom of belief in his poetry, thus we could say he was an artist-at-risk.

Are there legitimate barriers to hospitality in a Europe that professes its openness to diversity and an arts sector that advocates internationalism? Derrida formulated his aporetic concept of a necessarily, but impossibly unconditional, hospitality (Derrida, 1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2005; O'Gorman, 2006; Czajka, 2020), in which the host must invite the guest into the home unconditionally yet also set conditions 'which transform the gift into a contract, the opening into a policed pact; whence the rights and the duties, the borders, passports and doors, whence the immigration laws, since immigration must, it is said, be "controlled"' (Derrida, 2005: 6). Yet holding these two opposites simultaneously, he explains, is necessary:

> to invent the best arrangements, the least bad conditions, the most just legislation.... This is the double law of hospitality: to calculate the risks, yes, but without closing the door on the incalculable, that is, on the future and the foreigner.

> (Ibid.: 6)

In Derrida's analysis, 'hospitality', 'parasited by its opposite', always carries hostility (2000a: 3). An impossibly unattainable concept, unconditional hospitality from a host giving all of themself and their properties to a guest, would lead to self-destruction. Hospitality, then, requires conditionality, a form of self-protection. 'Hospitality' gives, but also sets conditions for 'the greeting ... folding the foreign other into the internal law of the host, which tends to begin by dictating the law of its language and its own acceptation of the sense of words, which is to say, its own concepts as well' (Ibid: 7). 'Hostipitality' is thus the power relation inherent in a conditional offer of hospitality to the guest who must accept it, and with it, tacitly accept both the burden of debt and the acceptance of the host's norms (Derrida, 2005). In interviews and discussions from 2011 to 2023, almost every artist with whom I worked spoke to me of the humiliation of receiving handouts, of feeling obliged to be eternally grateful to those who have 'saved' them.

Rana Yazaji and Marion Schmidt reference this enforced sense of thankfulness in their research into temporary relocation programmes, citing artists' experiences: 'She told me once that you should be grateful to us for being alive' and 'I have been told to show more gratitude in a way that I felt my human dignity has been hurting' (2022: 46). The RISE (Refugees, Survivors and Ex-Detainees) Collective in Australia put it differently in their ten points for artists to consider when working with them. Point number seven states: 'Do not expect us to be grateful. We are not your next interesting arts project. Our community is not sitting waiting for our struggle to be acknowledged by your individual consciousness nor highlighted through your art practice' (Canas, 2015). 'Hostipitality' is displayed in the tendency for fetishisation of those stereotypically presented as brave, victimised artists who have suffered injustice, and whose options for work are continually framed by the expectation that any art produced by refugees will be about trauma and refugee issues. BK once described this to me: 'I don't want it, but it's the only door open to me. I just want to be like any other artist, but I'm pushed into it; I need money; I need contracts' (BK, 2018b). Artists and their artworks can be stereotyped and subjected to epistemic injustice, the withholding of credibility from a knower of their own situation, what Miranda Fricker called 'the ethical poison ... of prejudice' (2007: 23). Abdullah alKafri, Director of Ettijahat-Independent Culture, an organisation that supports Syrian artists in the diaspora, has questioned 'the subtle proposition of artworks and narratives of personal suffering, of violation of personal freedoms' asking of the international arts community: How does this respect quality?' (2018).

Jacques Rancière has deployed the term 'biased stigmatisation' to describe that which renders a person inescapably representative of one set of individuals who merely have something in common (2008). Similarly, Alex Rotas describes the refugee artist as

artist into the professional arts sector; they can also prohibit them from earning money through work or arts grants.

Zetter and Ruaudel document discrepancies between the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees that accords refugees the right to work, the reluctance of nearly half of all the Convention's signatories to allow this right, and the limitations posed by states that do allow limited access to labour markets. The same report lists pretexts for denying or limiting this right, linked to populist fears of immigration and labour market conditions (2018). National arts policies can further constitute a vicious circle that excludes artists lacking or awaiting legal status from even being considered artists in the host country, since they cannot demonstrate income from their artistic work. Yet EU countries do not share standard criteria defining the status of artists and regulating their rights as such (Polivtseva, 2024), although UNESCO has consistently aimed to address the status of the artist (1980:5). Access to higher and further education is not transparent for refugees across EU countries (University and College and Admissions Service, 2021) and may also be prohibited or limited to hobby or language courses, again denying artists awaiting legal status the possibility of professional development (O'Reilly, 2020; Xanthaki, 2023).

An element in my methodology is investigating the validity of policy rhetoric. In 2017, in commissioned research for Counterpoints Arts, a UK-based arts organisation that supports artists from migrant backgrounds and other artists whose work is engaged with refugee and migrant issues, I identified over 900 projects in Europe using the arts to work with refugees and migrants, but a startling lack of support programmes for refugee and migrant artists themselves to develop professionally as artists (DeVlieg, 2017). An EU civil society dialogue platform, Voices of Culture, as well as the Open Method of

Coordination gathering of EU member states' culture ministries, rhetorically confirmed culture and the arts as means of promoting intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity (EU/OMC, 2014; Voices of Culture, 2016). The European Commission's Directorate General for Education and Culture (DGEAC) was committed to supporting 'activities with migrants' but stopped short of supporting their professional artistic development as it did for European artists. In its 2017 Work Plan for Creative Europe, the DG announced 'a stronger focus has been given, alongside other long-standing priorities, under Cooperation projects, to activities concerning migrants', specifying: 'helping the integration of refugees into the EU through showcasing and co-creation activities of cultural and audio-visual nature across Europe … (European Commission, 2016: 19). DGEAC's Creative Europe programme supported cross-border exchange, but to promote European artists' work abroad, encouraging 'cooperation and exchanges among cultural organisations and artists within Europe and beyond.… support[ing] the promotion and the distribution of European content across Europe and beyond…. '('About the Culture Strand', European Commission website, n.d.; Calligaro, 2017). Was this position valid or some kind of EU citizenism, a form of third country nationals' exclusion (Becker, 2004), despite the discourse of cultural policy that emphasised inclusion and cultural diversity? Mulhall suggests that 'interculturalism' can 'do the ideological work of disavowing state racism…and mask structural violence [working to] delegitimise political action' (2020: 100). It must be emphasised that there were some excellent projects supporting the artistic development of displaced artists, such as Counterpoints Arts, mentioned above, the Shubbak festival and D6 in the UK, *aa-e – l'Atelier des Artistes en Exile* in France and others, but they tended to be smaller, artist-led initiatives that recognised the challenges all artists face and accepted newcomers as their own. This thesis instead describes the majority of mainstream organisations and policymakers. I propose that hospitality faltered when a migrant was not recognised as a practising artist but merely perceived as

a deserving refugee to be integrated using cultural activities. Utilising the arts as a means of supporting refugees has a valid, proven benefit, but displaced artists also needed to be respected as the arts professionals they were.

Working with BK and other artists, I observed hidden and overt trauma and guilt at having escaped the hardship that colleagues and family were suffering at home. Following a satirical online video BK produced about his country, one of his family members back home was arrested, causing BK extra strain and guilt. Many at-risk relocated artists experience trauma. Psychotherapist and psychologist Julia Bala Klaic, who worked at Centrum 45, the Netherlands' national centre for the specialist diagnosis and treatment of traumatised refugees and victims of violence, notes:

> If they cannot continue to work there is a very real risk of depression and even worse. They must feel that their sacrifice was justified. One way to do this is to continue to publicly practise and get recognition of some sort for their art.

> (Bala Klaic, 2011)

For an artist of colour, or one originating from a country categorised by the West as Third, or Developing, or South, racism presents another barrier. As early as 2017, BK wrote to me about his concerns regarding integration:

> The most important issue that I have been thinking lately started after the last attack that happened in [a nearby city] against civilians, I was following the news of that attack on social media and I got shocked by how much hate and violence there was against Arabs, refugees, migrants, and Muslims which I didn't expect to see or read or hear about [here] but unfortunately that's what happened, since then I am thinking a lot about the near future, how it is going to be in five or ten years of our stay? What kind of problems I and my [children] are going to face? But in general, I am doing my best to be with my family integrated into the [host country's] community and hope everything is going to be good.

> (2017b)

Much later, BK described to me his difficulties in finding rented accommodation, not receiving equal pay for equal work in the media sector, and further seeing his partner's health sector qualifications unaccepted such that she became a cleaner (2022). Although BK never mentioned the word racism, his descriptions of conversations with landlords and employers brought the word irresistibly to mind. That racism is prevalent should not be surprising, given the colonial background of many EU countries, the framing of this history and the current fear in the West of being overrun by migrants. As Fatima El Tayeb notes, 'While present for centuries, communities of colour continue to be perceived as "foreign matter", stand-ins for the masses beyond the continent's borders' (2008: 652). Nicholas DeGenova also sees this as 'an unresolved racial crisis that derives fundamentally from the postcolonial condition of Europe' (2018: 1765). Other writers have critiqued the hypocrisy of cultural diversity language in the West when 'humanised' migrant stories are 'fetishised and commodified' as portraying 'good refugees' or bad refugees' (Mahamdallie, 2021: 170–171). Vinh Nguyen, proposing the term 'refugeetude', asks: 'When does a refugee stop being a refugee?', further foregrounding 'the social, political and historical forces that situate refugee subjects and the acts that attempt to know, impact and transcend this situation' (Nguyen, 2019: 118–119). Relocation is not without consequences; legal, social, economic, epistemological and ontological barriers abound. However, as discussed in the concluding chapter discussion, I hope that shared, responsible, forward-looking and networked care from the arts sector is not only possible but should lead to more equitable decision-making in policy and practice.

Looking Forward: Trust and Shared Responsibility for Structural Injustice

This chapter began by exploring concepts of state citizenship contested as

unrepresentative of today's nomadic populations yet still controlling who can and

cannot claim rights. Artists persecuted for art that defends or enacts freedom of expression are compromised by states that fail to guarantee their human rights. In defining itself as a unified cultural space, the EU project has, I argue, created a cultural barrier to those outside the EU, as did states' lack of acknowledging inextricable contemporary and colonial relations. All EU member states as well as the European Union itself are signatories to the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. It clearly defines the role of the signatory parties as: 'an obligation for developed countries in favour of developing countries with regard to:(a) artists and other cultural professionals and practitioners;(b) cultural goods and services' and that 'developed countries shall therefore play a pro-active role by putting in place national policies and measures at the appropriate institutional level, as well as multilateral, regional and bilateral frameworks and mechanisms to implement and operationalize [this]' (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2005: Sections 2.1 and 2.2). Describing the barriers facing refugees, Butler, in conversation with Spivak, observed: 'a refugee is in fact, not a "bare life"; this is a life steeped in power' (Butler and Spivak, 2007: 8–9). I have shown that although the temporary relocation method pioneered by the human rights defender sector is founded on the principle of hospitality, Derrida's concept of 'hostipitality' is also an undeniable empirical reality. Looking to Europe for protective relocation during the period 2009–2019 discussed here, artists encountered an incoherence between the valorising of cultural diversity and a rejection of incomers. EU and member state migration and arts policies and practices contributed to artists losing agency, epistemic credibility, artistic recognition and professional development, ironically jeopardising their freedoms because they had been claiming them. They faced barriers of fetishisation, stigmatisation, trauma and racism.

Seeking to attract and combine competencies to help BK, I found that networks founded upon relationships of trust and shared values were one solution. I used a co-production model, in which diverse actors representing different facets of a complex problem at hand come together. In this way, knowledge fields are enlarged, 'shedding light on interlinkages' (Haas, 1992: 15). Creating a bespoke network brought in human rights, free speech and arts expertise, provided access to national migration authorities and developed a caring culture for BK. It also helped the growing networked community to produce pertinent frames; 'clusters of ideas, policy preferences, beliefs and justifications at the content level' (Leifeld, 2018: 304) that we could later use in policy debates, as discussed in chapter two.

In my practice I challenged policy discourses and questioned disconnects in the arts sector in a Europe simultaneously desiring a 'flourishing' (Calligaro, 2017), unified, culturally diverse cultural space and fearing incomers fleeing conflict, poverty, climate change and repression who might destabilise that 'imagined' (Anderson, 1983) communal space. I questioned the asymmetry of the artist forced to flee from one country's repression while that repression was supported by the same countries whose NGOs might resettle them. As an artist-at-risk, BK had to trust me, and I in turn had to trust my networks. Trust and responsibility are incontrovertible values of care. Ricoeur describes a cycle of trust, responsibility and accountability:

> Another, by relying on me, renders me accountable for my acts … it is in the midst of others that we become effectively responsible. Inversely, as soon as the other relies on or trusts in me, what he or she expects is precisely that I shall keep my word and behave as an agent, the author of my own acts. Ultimately, the question at stake concerns mutual recognition – a recognition through which the other ceases to be alien and is treated as my peer according to a fundamental human fellowship.

(Ricoeur, 1996: 17)

Care ethics has identified distance as a problem, yet as Soran Reader argues: 'The felt bonds of community are more important than abstractions, as the basis of moral obligations [a relationship] involves an actual connection … a real "something between"' (2003: 369–370). Parvati Raghuram et al. (2009: 9) address distance and temporal space in their work on geographies of care and postcolonial relationalities, writing that 'the notion of distance gets altered as all of us already are implicated in each other's' "presents" in complicated ways'. My position, detailed in chapter two, is that the closely networked, interdependent, international arts sector is a connected epistemic community and that postcolonial and other legacies render us proximate. If the European arts sector had integrated the values of care theory into their behaviours and policies, BK would have been recognised as an artist and arts worker, and the relevant arts networks would have offered him more opportunities.

Young (2011) exposes the international reality of structural conditions and social connections that impact on structural injustice, which she defines as 'the combination of actions and interactions of a large number of public and private individual and institutional actors, with different amounts of control over their circumstances and with varying ranges of options available to them' (2011: 52). She maintains structural injustice arises when:

> [s]ocial processes put large groups of persons under systematic threat of domination or deprivation of the means to develop and exercise their capacities, at the same time that these processes enable others to dominate or to have a wide range of opportunities for developing and exercising capacities available to them.

> (Ibid.: 52)

I propose that the arts sector has a responsibility to embody its rhetorical language and actively address structural injustices that inhibit the self-development of relocated artists,

such as biased evaluation, lack of professional recognition, lack of funding support, access to professional development programmes and professional work opportunities. To translate a philosophically conceived responsibility into a pragmatic responsibility, I looked to networking relevant sectors in a care framework. Sevenhuijsing explains:

> The promise of combining a political ethics of care with renewed conceptions of social justice and citizenship is that it makes us realize, not only that power and conflict as well as ambiguity, contingency and unpredictability are here to stay, but also that we can act 'as well as possible' in order to do what needs to be done.

(1998: 68–69)

Although the human rights defender sector was engaged and an arts and human rights cross-sector was emerging in the years 2009-2019, state policies and a gap between cultural policy language and practice were amongst the many obstacles to welcoming at-risk artists to safe havens in Europe and supporting their professional development. There were notable exceptions and others who worked in or alongside the networks I was involved with. See chapter two for a discussion of relevant networks and their evolution. Index on Censorship, Freemuse, Cities of Asylum, ICORN and PEN International were among the first few NGOs that combined arts and free speech as a human right. Artsfex was a fledgling cross-sector network initiated in 2012 by Freemuse and others, including myself while at IETM. But a wider recognition of, and professional response to, at-risk relocated artists took years and, as I discuss in chapter two, only finally turned a corner with the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 and the EU's response to the influx of Ukrainians fleeing the conflict.

The international, networked arts community is an interweaving of artists, arts organisations, internationally networked and mainstreamed arts and culture policies, funders, NGOs and market conditions. It is defined by colonial pasts that link cultural production, standards, impositions and the flow of artists' mobility between former

colonial partners. I contend that these shared structural conditions unite the international arts community even more, that beyond upholding their own public discourse, they have a responsibility to actively influence policy and political action in their sector, to demand that policy and action are coherent with the rhetoric in our policies, missions and project proposals. In a 2023 interview in *Le Monde,* Angela Davis commented: 'The only way you can learn how to bring about change is recognizing that you are often complicit in the very things that you want to change' (Davis, 2023). Relatedly, Maeve McKeown suggests we see 'the connection to structural injustice as the reproduction of unjust structures through individuals' actions' (2018: 500). It is a collective responsibility, as Young explains:

> We need a conception of responsibility different from the standard conception, which focuses on individual action and its unique relation to a harm. I propose such an alternative conception ... which I call a social connection model of responsibility. The social connection model finds that all those who contribute by their actions to structural processes with some unjust outcomes share responsibility for the injustice. This responsibility is not primarily backward-looking, as the attribution of guilt or fault is, but rather primarily forward-looking. Being responsible in relation to structural injustice means that one has an obligation to join with others who share that responsibility in order to transform the structural processes to make their outcomes less unjust.

> (2011: 96)

The integration of migrants and refugees in Europe is easily recognizable in Young's structural injustice description, and it is important to note that the arts sector in Europe is already involved in such an endeavour. Helena Nassif, Executive Director of al Mawred al Thaqafy Culture Resource maintains: 'the emotion that needs to be triggered is courage, not guilt' (Flanders Arts Institute, 2024). Young's social connection model might illustrate how to collectively create a hospitality of Derrida's 'best arrangements, the least bad conditions, the most just legislation' (2005: 6). A political advocacy network methodology framed in Mooten's 'postcolonial [care] that 'blends gender, race and class'

(2015: 16) and adds 'humility and introspection' (ibid.: 21) to traditional care values, has the potential to encompass Sevenhuijsen's 'feminist ethics that accommodate both care and justice' (1998: 14). It can further champion care as 'a substantive democratic ethic of responsibility' (Robinson, 2011: 847) that seeks and creates concrete actions to address problems. This approach proposes a possible answer that takes note of the networking reality of the transnational arts sector, applies the inclusive rhetoric of the cultural sector in Europe and looks forward in a positive way to an equitably co-constructed future. Six years after his relocation, BK and his family were finally resettled, and he is occasionally involved in artistic productions; with more support he might have been settled much sooner. Above all, I argue that artists relocated to Europe must be welcomed on their own terms, with recognition of the experience they hold. I do not mean mere inclusion or assimilation, but an opening by Europeans to enlarge the scope of who and what belongs to this porous continent and its 'unified' political and cultural space. Chapter two explores how I used networking methodology in such a space to influence and shape the course of policy to this end.

<div align="center">**Chapter Two**</div>

Influencing Policy and Attitudinal Change for Relocated Artists-at Risk: Developing Advocacy Networks

Introduction

The documented numbers of persecuted artists globally rose from nine hundred and seventy-eight in 2020 to one thousand two hundred in 2021. These are only the reported incidents (Freemuse, 2022). The number of artists seeking protective relocation due to persecution is also increasing. In 2006, twenty-one applications went through the long, laborious process of verification, approval and acceptance in the ICORN residency programme. This number rose to three hundred and sixty-seven in 2021, and every year there are hundreds more applicants who do not meet ICORN's criteria (ICORN, 2024). By November 2023, two thousand seven hundred applications had been made by Ukrainian and dissident Russian artists alone to another programme, Artists at Risk, since February 2022 (Muukkonen, 2023). The number of specialist artists-at-risk residencies has not been fully documented, nor have non-specialist residencies that also accept artists-at-risk. In addition to these documentation challenges, many artists-at-risk seeking safety in Europe are not counted in these figures as they have not reported abuse; persecuted artists may follow any number of alternative pathways to safety. The only observation that can be made is that despite an increase in options available to artists seeking protective relocation, the demand is greater than the available resources (ICORN, Safemuse, Artist at Risk Connection, 2023).

Against this backdrop, this chapter examines the public-facing side of my practice in my capacity as an advocate, performing an activist citizenship (Isin, 2009). I was working for and with artists whose own active citizenship, expressed through their artistic work, had led to their exile. The chapter demonstrates the embodiment of ethics into political action through my networked organising and encouragement of others to do the same. I aimed to highlight structural injustices that impeded the professional development of artists who were relocated after persecution. They then became, in my terminology, artists impacted by displacement. This chapter constitutes a response to my second research question: to what extent and under what conditions can an individual performing as an activist citizen influence attitudinal and public policy change in the arts sector? This chapter applies the learning outlined in chapter one, taking it from the personal and private into the public space. I am not equating my use of the term 'private' with that of the domestic realm but rather to the confidentiality of my work with artists and those who might support them. I also use the term 'public space' pragmatically. Political and communicative aspects of the public space have long been debated by scholars. Arendt (1951) refers to the public sphere as a rights-based space of freedom and appearance. For Chantal Mouffe (2007), it is a space of necessary agonistic debate, while Fraser notes the tendency for certain groups to dominate the public space, thus the need to expand public space with the voices of 'counterpublics' (1990: 67). These are all relevant to artists and their work. The public space I invoke has been described by the former UN Special Rapporteur for Cultural Rights, Karima Bennoune:

> [w]here people can share in the project of building a common society based on human rights, equality and dignity, where they can find ways to *vivre ensemble*, to build what they have in common and share their common humanity while still nurturing and expressing their own identities.
>
> (Bennoune, 2019: 5–6)

Arendt's work on the possession and claiming of rights is a necessary landmark for anyone involved in human rights, and I further agree with Mouffe that maintaining the diversity of agonistic debate is productive for democracy. However, my aim was closer to Fraser in that I wished the artists with whom I worked to be recognised as full peers, and sought to encourage the arts sector to accord them, in Fraser's terms, 'status equality' and 'parity of participation' (2000: 89). I was forearmed with knowledge acquired with the artists I was assisting in confidence and with advocacy skills I had gained over time. My public work aimed to promote 'recognition' in the Butlerian sense (2009: 4) and equitable support for the artists, both in civil society and amongst institutions. This chapter is thus framed around power and political influence as it is lived within the delimited agency of an individual advocate and the expansion of her agency in the context of cultural networks situated in the plural environment of the EU. Seen schematically in Fig. 4 below and addressed in the current chapter, I expose a complex landscape that was at once international, European and national, and that contained both institutional and organisational levels where policy activists worked across disciplines. Fred Halliday identified four levels of global governance and summarised them thus:

> A system of multi-layered authority and policymaking ... at four distinct levels ... [at the top,] international organisations such as the UN and the EU. Below them lie the traditional repositories of political power and democratic responsibility, states. Below them lie[s] civil society in its broadest sense within countries and between them: this comprises NGOs, social movements, press, religious groups and all who seek to influence [the state]. Finally, and too easily forgotten ... there is the basis of the whole story ... the individual ...
>
> (2001: 133)

The key actors in my political and professional landscape are clustered below according to Halliday's (2011) concept of global governance.

1. Supra- and International Institutions	UN Special Rapporteurs (UN SRs)
United Nations – UN	UN Educational, Scientific, Cultural
UN Commission for Human Rights	Organisation (UNESCO)
(UNHCR)	UN binding treaties and conventions:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDR)
- International Covenant on Civil, Political Rights (ICCPR)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

Europe

European Union – EU

Representatives of the member states:
- Council of Ministers (nationally elected ministers, in thematic groups, e.g. culture)
- Permanent representatives (COREPER) (civil servants in Brussels, preparing the work of the ministers)

European Commission – EC
- Directorate Generals/Director-Generals (DGs) Thematic.
- Agencies, e.g. Development Cooperation (DEVCO/INTA) for Development Cooperation/International Partnerships
- Programmes, e.g. European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights; Creative Europe; the EU Culture Programme.

European Parliament/members of the European Parliament (EP/MEPs)

Platforms created by and under the auspices of the EU
- Open Method of Communication (between representatives of member states' culture ministries) (OMC)
- Civil Society Dialogue Platforms E.g. Arts Rights Justice – ARJ EU or Voices of Culture
- EU ProtectDefenders/EU Temporary Relocation Platform (EUTRP)

2. State-based platforms/networks of institutions with international or national remits

National institutions, e.g.:
- International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA)
- European Network of Institutes of Culture (EUNIC)

State-based with national remits, e.g. arts councils, Swedish Arts Council, Flanders Arts Institute. These will usually be members of IFACCA.

Foundations and funders – can be either:
- Government institutions, such as Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Swedish Institute
- Funded by government but not part of it, such as Norway's Mimeta
- Private, such as the USA's Ford Foundation
- International development agencies not part of government, such as the Netherlands' Humanitarian Institute for Development Cooperation (HIVOS)

3. Civil society, transnational networks/platforms
- Artists at Risk Connection (ARC)
- Artists at Risk
- IETM, On the Move, Ettijahat, al Mawred al Thaqafy
- International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN)
- PEN International or PEN in individual countries
- Salzburg Global Seminars
- Safe Havens/Freedom Talks – (SH|FT)

4. Individuals: artists, advocates

Fig. 4 EU Cultural Global Governance

The following discussion is informed by two of my publications, 'Seeing the World in a New Light' (DeVlieg, 2011), 'Artistic Freedom: A Moveable Feast' (DeVlieg, 2018) and the process of providing background information to a publication by IFACCA, 'Artists, Displacement and Belonging' (2019). They illustrate my engagement with Oriane Calligaro's (2017) three components of global governance – the political arena, institutional arts funders, and the arts sector – while highlighting the agency of the individual. Methodologically I brought diverse actors together across borders of sector, discipline, specialism, function and authority. My networking aimed to influence by changing the frames 'through which we apprehend, or indeed, fail to apprehend, the lives of others' (Butler, 2009: 1). My tools were the dialogic encounters of policy debates, both written and live, organising conferences and gatherings of artists and arts support organisations and advising or instigating new thematically focused networks, thus increasing the capillary spread of ideas. Power dynamics reveal that the state can inhibit change but also propel it. In this chapter, I first describe my interactions, alone and in networks, with the political class in the EU, including civil servants, elected members, national ministries and diplomats. I then illustrate working with arts policy and funding institutions, notably IFACCA and the Swedish Arts Council. Following this, I describe engagement with on-the-ground arts organisations. My insider-outsider approach, intuitive, opportunistic and networked, was not without tensions and I analyse power relations, dilemmas and paradoxes, critiquing my own position. I learned advocacy techniques, but eventually, as described below, frustrated by what I perceived as my colleagues' inaction, I had also to consider the critical element of the conjunctural moment (Gramsci and Forgacs, 2000) when conditions combine to make change possible. Care can be latent, manifested selectively by those who can offer it to others, until an event occurs that can unlock it, removing obstacles for care to be made public, concrete and more widely offered. In a closing section, I discuss striking developments in 2023

and suggest how these developments might herald change. First, I discuss the emergence of the artistic freedom sector and demonstrate its interactions with the political class in the EU.

Artistic Freedom: An Emergent Sector Interacting with the Political Sphere in Europe

When in 2013 I left my position as Secretary General of IETM, the International Network of Contemporary Performing Arts, I lost my status as a representative of IETM's then 600 member-organisations in sixty countries. I needed to rethink how and where I could continue to influence policy and practice as an individual. I had human rights and arts connections, but to continue to be an effective conduit between these sectors, I needed to maintain contact. A committed internationalist, I had worked with cultural institutes such as the British Council, the Institut Français, the Goethe Institute and others such as the German institute for international cultural relations known as Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa), individually and through the EU Network of Institutes of Culture (EUNIC). In 2011, I contributed 'Seeing the World in a New Light' (DeVlieg, 2011) to the ifa/EUNIC annual yearbook, which is aimed at cultural diplomats, national cultural attachés and ambassadors. At the time I was working with two artists who could have benefitted from diplomatic support: a young Iranian filmmaker whose ailing father had been threatened with harm if the filmmaker did not cease work on a film that had originally been approved but was now not approved by the Ministry of Culture; and a Pakistani television actor imprisoned by the Taliban and subsequently prohibited from ever acting again, which also destroyed the livelihoods of his entire extended family, as they all worked as crew on his shows. EU cultural diplomats as well as the EU's own delegations then had standing in these countries and might have helped with relocations. The EU's cultural diplomacy with third countries was highly influenced by Joseph Nye's concept of soft power, '…the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than

coercion or payment' (Nye, 2005: x), with its questionable underlying 'benevolent hegemony' (ibid.: 63) and colonial overtones (Calculli, 2017). I observed certain diplomats using their diplomatically 'inviolable' cultural spaces (United Nations, 1961: Art.22, cited in United Nations Treaty Collection, 1964) to give visibility to and protect censored artists and writers. Yet despite the British Council's discourse on the concept of mutuality, that is, listening to and understanding the perspectives of the countries they were posted in, (Rose and Wadham Smith, 2004), at the time many diplomats not directly engaged in cultural relations expressed little interest beyond their own country's profile (Green, 2024). My article, 'Seeing the World in a New Light', was expected by ifa/EUNIC to provide national politicians with persuasive arguments for the value of the arts in an international context. I wanted to give a stronger message that aligned arts policy with moral values and human rights. I urged diplomats to go beyond their safe national cultural exports, defend artists whose work enacted human rights and, as I wrote, 'support the new, positive, angry movements in the arts' (DeVlieg, 2011: 151). As representatives of EU member states that had ratified international human rights legislation, I asked them to consider the moral values of the policies they promoted, writing: 'If we accept that public policy is a set of fundamental ideological choices that influence behaviour, then we need to create EU policies that reflect our values. Having no policy is policy-by-default, and a lack of policy also has consequences' (Ibid.: 151). My article changed the perspective from national promotion via arts and culture to acknowledgement of how European and international human rights underpinned artistic work. In Marij Swinkels' terms, I was a 'policy entrepreneur' (2020: 290), someone who transfers ideas to policy actors (Kingdon, 1984; Petridou and Mintrom, 2021).

My article further alluded to the Arts Rights Justice EU Working Group (ARJ EU) which I had founded in 2012 as part of the Access to Culture Platform, one of three civil

society dialogue platforms that the European Commission Directorate General for Education, Arts and Culture (DGEAC) had created in 2008 for civil society input into their policymaking. ARJ EU consisted of nearly forty arts and culture networks, human rights and free-speech NGOs, several which I had hand-picked. It merged the two fields I had been working with, each with differing approaches and professional cultures. It would nourish the new transectoral area by meeting, discussing, exchanging and collaborating on events and actions that aimed to defend free expression for artists and support them during and after protective relocation. My methodological approach was that 'cultural contexts are not simply found but are made through the politics of activism' (Price, 2003: 596). I was not alone in this emergent field; several others who had started before me were creating it, some shifting their professional perspectives from professional engagement in human rights towards the arts, as I was shifting from arts towards human rights. Some such organisations are mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis. Artsfex was a similar, but not EU policy-focused, initiative launched in 2012 by Freemuse's then-Director, Ole Reitov, myself and others including the freedom of expression NGO Article 19; Africa's Arterial Network; the Federation of European Film Directors; freeDimensional; Russia's May Congress of Creative Workers; the European Council of Artists; the International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity; the European Composer and Songwriter Alliance; USA's National Coalition Against Censorship; Malaysia's annual sexual rights festival Seksualiti Merdeka and Turkey's Initiative for Freedom of Expression (Mimeta, 2012). Like the ARJ EU Working Group, it was active until around 2017 when the Mellon Foundation funded a consultation process leading to a series of major grants to PEN America for a USA-based global initiative, eventually becoming the Artists-at-Risk Connection. Several, including myself, were involved in the consultation processes and later on the Advisory Board. We argued for a broader global shared ownership modelled on the EU's cultural

cooperation grants, but the power of major US foundation funding that was focused on the USA, could not be countered.

The knowledge gained and shared in shifting professional perspectives was essential to my methodology. Organising policy debates in print or in person, with the ARJ EU and with other networks, was an important advocacy tool. Policy debates are a network phenomenon due to the interdependency of the statements the actors produce; they can be highly consequential, determining which issues are prioritised by policymakers, which are translated into policy and which policies are amended in draft stages to better reflect learning from the actors affected by those policies (Leifeld, 2018). As Swinkels notes: 'Policy experts in a policy subsystem with a high degree of autonomy are more often in a position to introduce radical new ideas into the political process' (2020: 290). As non-profit networks, we represented thousands of small and large arts and human rights organisations, so, in a democratic context, we felt it was important to be consulted on public policy matters.

On 2 October 2013, ARJ EU organised a policy debate in the European Parliament building in Brussels (see Figure 5), inviting Farida Shaheed, the first mandated United Nations Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights, to present her new report, *The Right to Freedom of Artistic Expression and Creation* (2013a). The gathering, which took months for me as Chair to orchestrate, transgressed boundaries. Firstly, we civil society activists were not being consulted by those in positions of power; in this instance we were insisting to be heard. Also, our guest list deliberately mixed functions, hierarchies, departments and institutional profiles. Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) came from the five most prominent political groups on both right and left and from six different parliamentary committees. We crossed strict European Commission

hierarchies, inviting officials from Directors-General to Programme Officers and Advisors. We attracted Directorates-General (DGs) who rarely collaborated then across their thematic domains – for culture; international development cooperation; external relations; the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights and EU Enlargement. Private foundations, believing their missions as complementary to government, tended at that time to maintain a distance from EU public institutions, but six that funded international cultural collaboration participated. HIVOS, the European Cultural Foundation, Gulbenkian Foundation, Prince Claus Foundation, DOEN Foundation and Africalia were present on the day. Supranational institutions also tended to keep to their silos, so inviting EU and EC officials to listen to a United Nations Special Rapporteur was somewhat unusual. The institutions each felt themselves to be unique. But to us in civil society, reliant on their subsidies and policies, they formed the contiguous landscape that shaped our actions and even our possibilities. This interdependency is illustrated in 'a tenet of the Gramscian school of international relations – that there is no such thing as civil society independent from state and corporate power ... civil society [is] intertwined in a hegemonic historic bloc' (Price, 2003: 581). As an emerging epistemic community, we wanted to 'share causal understandings of an issue' ... 'draw new linkages' and imagine 'new practices and new principled goals' (Adler and Hass, 1992: 385–386). We were claiming that artists-at-risk who had been relocated in Europe, treated as guests but neither citizens nor voters, were unfairly overlooked. In care terms, we were attentive to a need, felt responsibility for it and gathered competences to address it. As described below, we also sought to highlight the perspectives of and by the artists; in care terms this is responsiveness.

GUE/NGL
Gauche Unitaire Européenne/Gauche Verte Nordique

The right to freedom of artistic expression and creativity

2nd October 2013, European Parliament,
Paul Henri Spaak Building,
Room P5B001 from 11.30 to 14.30

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Agenda

11:30 Welcome by MEP Marie-Christine Vergiat (GUE/ NGL, Event Organiser) and Mary Ann DeVlieg, (freeDimensional, Event Moderator and Chair ARJ Working Group)

11:50 Presentation by Farida Shaheed, UN Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights, of her UN Report, "The Right to Freedom of Artistic Expression and Creativity"

12:20 Artists' testimonies (TBC): Chenjerai Hove, Zimbabwean writer; Khaled Harara, Palestinian rapper from Gaza; Vahid Evazzadeh, Iranian film and theatre director Moderated by: Ole Reitov (Freemuse)

12:50 Dearbhal Murphy (FIA) will present the demands of the ARJ Working Group

13:00 Political responses and perspectives : MEP Mary Honeyball (S&D); MEP Cecilia Wikström (ALDE); MEP Malika Benarab-Attou (VERT); MEP Marietje Schaake (ALDE)

13:30 Discussion, Q&A, testimonies from participants Closing thoughts from Marie-Paule Roudil, UNESCO

14:00 Artists' videos

Refreshments will be offered before and following the event
Interpretation in French and English will be available

Organised by:
MEP Marie-Christine Vergiat (GUE//NL) and The "Arts, Human Rights and Social Justice (ARJ) Working Group of the European Civil Society Platform "Access to Culture". A full list of the member organisations of ARJ is included on the back of this programme.

ACCESS TO CULTURE

A fundamental right of all citizens

Fig. 5 European Parliament Event Poster

To concretely address the voices of the artists, we invited their testimonies, both inside the room and by video, before those of the politicians. The artists' voices provided 'partial, locatable, critical knowledges' (Haraway, 1988: 584) from positions distinctive from those of the powerful. We invited Vahid Evazzadeh, film and theatre producer originally from Iran; Khaled Harara, rap and hip-hop artist originally from the Gaza Strip; and Chenjurai Hove, Zimbabwean poet, novelist and essayist. These were artists impacted by displacement in Europe who bore witness to the governmental, religious and social repression that violated their right to free artistic expression. We began with eleven two-minute videos by absent artists (see Figure 6).

'My Wishes in Freedom'. © Kianoush Ramezani (2013)

'Taming Culture'. ©Andre Adolf and Chantal Erfort Manuel (2013)

'Richard'. © Richard Fouofie Djimeli (2013)

Fig. 6 Absent Artists' Videos shown in the European Parliament 2013

These videos told 'stories to expose concrete instances of bias and injustice' (Goodin and Tilly, cited in Van Dyke and Taylor, 2018: 487) and performed a type of citizenship that is a 'dynamic ... institution of domination *and* empowerment' (Isin, 2009: 371, emphasis in original). For example, in *Richard* (Djimeli, 2013), Cameroonian filmmaker Richard Fouofie Djimeli described his kidnapping and the amputation of one of his fingers for making a political fiction film. Iranian political cartoonist Kianoush Ramezani filmed *My Wishes in Exile* (Ramezani, 2013). His face filling the frame in close-up, he repeats over and over, his voice rising ever more loudly until he is screaming: 'In my country, I want the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to hold opinions without interference, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers' (citing the text of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). In *Taming Content* (Manuel, 2013) a tutu'd ballerina *en pointe* dances daintily around a man she is simultaneously tying, blindfolding and gagging. Michel Foucault's concept of *parrhesia* (1983; 1999; 2001) or fearless speech, is frequently invoked to describe artists who speak truth to power in art practices that criticise political policies or restrictive social norms. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent UN conventions rendered commitments legally binding to signatory countries. The UN 2005 Convention on the Promotion and Protection of Culturally Diverse Expressions has been signed by all EU member states and the EU itself. The European Charter of Fundamental Rights is enshrined in EU and member states' law and the 2013 EU Guidelines on Freedom of Expression Offline and Online apply to EU member countries. These legal instruments, international or European, define the rights of artists and others not only to freely create, but to access diverse expressions and distribute them. The Council of Europe's Statute of the Artist, the 2005 Convention on the Promotion and Protection of the Diversity of Cultures, other international instruments on the rights to education, the rights of

migrants and so on, all bind national signatories explicitly or implicitly to support people, including artists, to free expression but also to develop the skills and knowledge necessary to progress in their profession. States are the legal guarantors of these rights. We asked silenced voices to speak before anyone else, to those in the political sphere who, by law, should guarantee their rights.

Farida Shaheed, the UN Special Rapporteur, had a diplomatic yet decisive message. She argued that artistic freedom of expression is a non-debatable human right and anyone or anything that represses it, or the artists' right to it, acts illegally under UN treaties that constitute international law (Shaheed, 2013b). Most MEPs made supportive but anodyne statements; one British conservative focused solely on the economic benefits of the arts (Florida, 2002; KEA, 2006; Kaszynska, 2014). Statements by the political sponsor of the event, Marie-Christine Vergiat (European United Left – Nordic Green Left), a veteran human rights supporter as well as a politician, were apt and considered. Afterward, she offered further support and asked to use the artists' videos in her own events. This is what I was aiming for – 'mutually strategic relationships' that recognise shared interests (Holdo, 2019: 444). This was a strategy intended to further develop networks whose members cared about issues, could act upon them and would participate in a growing community. I felt this type of interaction could point a way forward, echoing Fraser's political ethic of solidarity (1986) that recognises people's individual and collective identities and in so doing, supports the development of alternative narratives and vocabularies in complex social environments.

Surprisingly, the DGEAC, responsible for cultural policy, did not send a high-level staff member, unlike the other DGs present. Artistic freedom seemed beyond their remit as they were concerned then with cross-border arts 'marketing mindset' audience building

(Ciancio, 2023: 120–121). I had on occasion challenged the DGEAC to look more deeply than the economics-based strategy officially adopted in 2010 by the EU, 'Europe 2020', that called for 'smart, sustainable, inclusive growth' (European Commission, 2010). In 2014 I would be told, in a private meeting with a senior DGEAC official at that free artistic expression was not of interest in the EU framework outlined in 'Europe 2020'. A programme officer escorted me from our meeting room with great embarrassment and apologized that his superior felt this way, telling me that it was not a shared viewpoint in the DG (DGEAC, 2014). But the lesson to me was clear: 'New norms are more likely to be successful to the extent they can be grafted onto previously accepted norms' (Price, 2003: 584). The norms of the EU's international human rights agency were more aligned with our message; I was twice, in December 2014 and March 2016, invited to speak in workshops organised by the EU Agency for Development Cooperation (DEVCO) and the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). These workshops were offered to EU civil servants and international human rights organisations at the annual EU–NGO Human Rights Forum. We discussed why artists, not only journalists, should be included as protected human rights defenders. Freedom of expression for artists was included in Article 17 of the European Council's *EU Human Rights Guidelines on Freedom of Expression Online and Offline* (2014), which I could only hope was inspired by our advocacy efforts immediately prior to its drafting, although the revised Guidelines adopted by the European Parliament, while recognising previous iterations, did not specifically mention artists (European Union, 2023). Bridging arts and human rights, I was also active in the consultation and creation of the EU Temporary Relocation Platform (EUTRP) in order to ensure artists were considered in this network of organisations that host or assist relocations of human rights defenders.

In creating ARJ EU, I was aware that a political sensibility was not yet felt by all, and competition between its members for financial resources and visibility would have to be overcome (Ciancio, 2023). The international rights perspective, understood by human rights NGOs, was difficult for some EU-focused arts networks to engage with. I was bringing arts networks and human rights NGOs together when the concept of artistic freedom was hardly recognised and certainly not prioritised. The unease on how to deal with a growing phenomenon was among the conclusions of a confidential survey of 189 artists and 39 human rights organisations, conducted by myself, Laurence Cuny and Sara Whyatt in 2018 for the Artist at Risk Connection (ARC), a project of PEN America. It was also demonstrated in my interviews of 15 human rights and free speech NGOs, interviewed in 2016 in preparation for launching the Arts Rights Justice Academy at the University of Hildesheim in 2017. I saw the fledgling ARJ EU group as a transnational civil society advocacy group or TAN (Kekk and Sikkink, 1998) and wanted to foster a combined purpose that would create solidarity, one of the outcomes of international networks (Wilson-Grau, 2008) and a key value of care ethics (Tronto, 2013). Importantly, I wanted to demonstrate that artists-at-risk should be considered constituents of both arts and human rights sectors, thus fostering a shared sense of responsibility. Bringing a diversity of funders together at the European Parliament in 2013 was a tactic for focusing minds on a single issue. It played on institutional competitiveness and offered institutions an opportunity to 'strengthen their standing and political legitimacy among the people with whom the goals of [the] movement resonate' (Holdo, 2019: 454). Wiebren J. Boonstra observes the constitutive and circular nature of such dialogic movements: 'What people can do (their power-to) is always limited and enabled through their dependency relations that connect them to social structures and events, while at the same time, social structures and events are produced by people's ability to act' (2016: 5). Achieving visibility in the public space was a motivation for

all, a clear win that would help consolidate this new community and consciousness, but it was imperative to raise awareness and a sense of responsibility among the arts policymakers who could effectuate real policy change and create concrete programmes.

Networks, Arts Policy and Funding Institutions

Independent cultural operators and organisations began to form European cultural networks in the 1990s, their enthusiasm for directly meeting peers contrasting with more formal, representative, post-World War II state-based cultural institutions (Autissier, 2005; Klaic, 2007). European cultural networks numbered around forty in 1996 (Staines, 1996), and quickly grew. An open letter published in 2020 by Culture Action Europe online cited one hundred and ten pan-European cultural networks and associations (2020). The effects of EU and international networking in the arts and culture are not substantially different from other sectors, increased speed of information exchange and the spread of trends often resulting in a critical mass that adopts a dominant perspective or position (Castells, 1996). When networks of arts councils, ministries and diplomats, municipalities or cultural institutes began to create networks of public institutions they also spread policy frames and programme trends (Adler and Haas, 1992). An example is the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). While not a network per se, it operates as such, as the group of representatives of Ministries of Culture of the EU member states, convened by the DGEAC to exchange examples of good practice, guidelines, benchmarking and objectives, on issues relevant to the DGEAC's portfolio. In addition to networks mentioned in this thesis such as IFACCA and EUNIC there are, for example, Eurocities – large cities in Europe with thematic groupings, and Agenda 21 Culture – culture departments of cities in the Global Network of Cities, Local and Regional Governments (ULGC). Good practice can inspire, yet it can also monopolise, marginalising newer ideas and players and promoting hegemonic

or Western-centric frameworks. Milena Dragićević Šešić (2024) describes Western-biased knowledge proliferation starting already at the level of cultural management education. Passing trends, or a nuanced cultural approach specific to one place can raise false expectations or weaken an already vulnerable field. An example is the Western model of business sponsorship and individual giving, promoted intensively after the Soviet break-up, to post-Soviet independent arts organisations; to their disillusion when, lacking any legal instruments for such fundraising, riches did not pour in (Suteu, 2021). However, arts policymakers' networks provided me with platforms for advocacy to significant numbers of these decision-makers and I took opportunities to engage with them when possible. For example, IFACCA, founded in 2003, comprised national arts councils and government ministries. As described below, I was soon to be invited to work more closely with them.

There is sincere goodwill, knowledge and passion amongst civil servants who manage support funds for the arts. But public sector institutions are often risk-averse (Petridou and Mintrom, 2021). Policies lag behind practice, bureaucrats and politicians change jobs, and by the time institutions react, the field has often moved on (Adler and Hass, 1992). Political influence is high; in Rainer Forst's (2015) description of noumenal power, he describes power that influences and motivates someone to think and act in the way that the wielder of power wishes. Although some are committed to change, Antonio Gramsci wrote of the ordinary person who thinks one way yet acts another, accepting the hegemonic mindset in 'a condition of moral and political passivity' (Gramsci, Hoare and Nowell-Smith 1971: 333). In private foundations, experimentation is also sometimes avoided, quashing the creativity and agency of even well-intentioned staff, who are hemmed in by long policymaking time frames, hierarchies and ideologies (Anheier and

Leat, 2006). And yet, for policy change, a critical mass involving all key players is required.

In the Western European tradition of public subsidy and private grants, funders control beneficiaries' projects; strict criteria and beneficiaries' reporting produce the statistics, results, outputs and outcome targets that validate the funders' own departmental plans. Funded organisations on the ground advertently or inadvertently act out the plans conceived by funders, composing annual activity programmes using the puzzle pieces of funding calls. This is why it is crucial for ground-level arts organisations to be involved in political advocacy in order to identify new trends quickly, challenge rhetoric and advocate for policy change.

In his discussion of agential power, Pablo Gilabert is optimistic: 'Social structures are simply crystallization of past social actions and relationships. They affect current actions and relationships, but they can also be changed' (2018: 87). While admitting dependency, I was also fighting to influence policies that would eventually determine the lives of artists with whom I worked. As Foucault argued, 'the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the workings of institutions, which appear to be both neutral and independent' (2006: 41). However, fighting can take many forms. Direct confrontation with policymakers is not the first option in the tactical toolkit for policy advocacy. I and a human rights NGO learned this when we unsuccessfully attempted to compel the Canadian government to act in a case involving a Canadian writer imprisoned in China.

When in late 2017 I was invited by IFACCA to contribute background research for a members-only report, 'Artists, Displacement and Belonging', I should have remembered that presenting an argument in an appealing form can be more effective

than confronting one's interlocutors (Petridou and Mintrom, 2021). IFACCA envisaged a new type of publication based on views from the field rather than their members. They wanted 'to identify and outline key issues that affect displaced artists ... to share, if any, success stories of initiatives that government agencies have created in response to the displacement of artists' (International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies 2018). I interviewed eighteen displaced artists and twenty-one arts councils and cultural agencies and found little to support the development of professional artists constrained to leave their countries and take refuge. Unlike a few engaged, typically artists-led organisations, arts funding institutions were unaware; most confused the issue with arts workshops for refugees. Following the delivery of my data, the publication, envisaged as a ten-page brochure, was postponed while in-house researcher Kiley Arroyo undertook further institutional interviews. IFACCA enlarged their publication from ten to fifty pages, mentioning all the issues I had revealed and using the definition of artists impacted by displacement I had created for them; however, my direct criticisms were largely replaced with anodyne text. Where I identified a near-complete lack of recognition by policymakers of at-risk or relocated artists, the final text instead spoke of positive opportunities for engagement. Later, reinforcing my impression that arts funders were for the most part unconcerned, staff of two arts councils told me the publication had not caused much interest in IFACCA (Arts Council England (2021); Arts Council of Wales (2021). While I had hoped for a key conference session dealing with my concerns outlined in the document, the final publication scarcely featured in IFACCA's 2019 biennial World Summit on Arts and Culture in Kuala Lumpur.

However, on that summit's final day, the Director of the Swedish Arts Council announced that his institution would host the next IFACCA World Summit in Stockholm, with the

theme of freedom of expression. Later that year Sara Whyatt, a decades-long free expression campaigner and researcher, Ole Reitov, founder and former Director of Freemuse and I were approached by the Swedish Arts Council. We were tasked to map global artistic freedom initiatives and gaps and offer advice for the Arts Council's application to the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) for devolved funding to support global artistic freedom initiatives. The Swedish Arts Council piloted their SIDA-funded 'Artistic Freedom Programme' grants in 2020, supporting organisations in various international regions offering services to artists-at-risk, from security training and legal help to data collection and protective residencies. No one suspected that due to the Covid pandemic, the next IFACCA World Summit would be postponed to 2023, when Sweden would also hold the rotating, six-month presidency of the Council of the European Union. The synergy of these two events proved highly significant and will be discussed in the final part of this chapter.

Funders' power and beneficiaries' dependency are mutually constitutive; a funder does not exist without beneficiaries. But the IFACCA experience reminded me that institutions tend to be defensive when confronted with their own accountability. For individual policy advocates, action is limited. Methodologically, success depends on the different strategies policy entrepreneurs deploy, from effective problem framing to team building, assembling new evidence and collaborating with advocacy coalitions or policy networks (Kekk and Sikkink, 1998; Petridou and Mintrom, 2021). I had little or no power as a sole freelancer. I had made some issues more visible, but additional tactics and colleagues were needed. Arts organisations were necessary to create a polyvocal but unified community. They could provide concrete, face-to-face support to incoming artists while further constituting a collective voice when speaking to their national arts councils.

Engaging Arts Organisations

I had collaborated with network secretariats for years on policy issues. Now, I needed to kindle interest directly with on-the-ground arts workers. In 2018, I was invited to write for an online series on artists' rights and safety on Howlround, an international, online platform that 'amplifies progressive disruptive ideas about the artform and facilitates connection between diverse practitioners' (Howlround, n.d.). Aiming for care's values of attentiveness and recognition, my article, 'Artistic Freedom: A Moveable Feast' (DeVlieg, 2018) revealed censorship from the mundane to the brutal. I cited real cases that I had worked on where the artists were beaten, arrested, imprisoned, tortured, mutilated or killed. Examples included an artist's song wrongly adopted and used by a political opposition; a film showing genders interacting; a stand-up comedian mocking militias; a visual artist's poster criticising commercial takeovers; a poet's symbolism deliberately misconstrued; and a theatre company's work with youth to develop critical thinking skills. I wrote:

> Like journalists uncovering embarrassing or illegal activities, artists thus become targets for repression by those who do not want an informed, questioning public. In most parts of the world, there is a battle of narratives in the public space.... We use the umbrella term censorship, but there are several degrees. Indirect censorship can include loss of subsidy or sponsorship; loss of premises, loss of exhibitions or bookings; lack of police protection. Censorship of the market happens when publishers are afraid to publish or when audiences' access is obstructed through bans of the work. Censorship can range from the annoying to the deadly.
>
> (DeVlieg, 2018: 1)

Yet I also wanted ordinary arts organisations to see their links to the political at a time when many in Western Europe – as differentiated from some in former Soviet countries – felt art should be somehow separate from politics. I continued:

> The State is charged with protecting and defending the rights it has put into law. Yet the State, under pretexts such as blasphemy or terrorism laws, is the

perpetrator in the majority of violations – by failing to enforce international laws they have signed, failing to protect artists or failing to punish non-state actors who repress artists such as unions, mass media, religious or traditional leaders, civil society groups or militias.

(Ibid.: 2)

I considered arts networks and human rights NGOs as civil society activists who 'identify a problem, specify a cause, and propose a solution, all with an eye toward producing procedural, substantive, and normative change in the area of concern' (Kekk and Sikkink, 1998: 8). But for the arts networks to consider themselves as such, most often the challenge was to motivate people and institutions that were focused on EU territory to also be concerned about threats to artistic freedom elsewhere. Intolerance, authoritarianism and the censoring of ideas travel and multiply. Human rights NGOs know this and invited persecuted artists to take refuge in Europe; I focused on the arts sector's solidarity response towards these invited guests. Butler observes: 'What we feel is in part conditioned by how we interpret the world around us' (2009: 41). It was necessary to shift the sector's perspective away from feeling safely distant from the censorship and persecution of artists abroad in order to effect cultural change that influences 'beliefs, practices and identities' (Earl cited in Van Dyke and Taylor, 2018: 483). My advocacy, achieved through writing, speaking and organising and touching on the concrete experiences of persecuted artists, aimed to make them, in Butler's (2009) term, recognisable. My advocating also drew upon the European cultural sector language of the time: inclusivity, diversity, sharing, cross-border collaboration and the value of art in underpinning humanistic ideals. Several examples of my advocacy practice follow, including commissioning publications, public speaking and curating conferences as well as creating or influencing networks.

In 2013, I left my post as Secretary General of IETM. In advance of my departure, fearing that the topic would fall out of sight, I commissioned a series of publications called 'Fresh Perspectives', with two in the series focused on political engagement and refugees' and artists' displacement (Gorman, 2015; Joag, 2018). Much later, my successor, Nan van Houte, confirmed that the texts had kept artistic freedom and at-risk artists high on the agenda (van Houte, 2022). Dan Gorman, one of the authors, recalled that it inspired his move from an arts position to become Director of English PEN (Gorman, 2022). I regularly addressed other arts organisations in network meetings, conferences and training sessions. A selection included the following: in 2011 I spoke to the Triangle international artists residency network; in 2014 I gave the keynote address at the conference of European Network of Open-Air Museums in Östersund, Sweden; in 2017 I gave a public lecture at Fondazione Pini, an art gallery in Milan, Italy; in 2018 I spoke to Oracle – the International Congress of Cultural Managers and Cultural Operators in Gdansk, Poland; in 2019 I was a tutor at the CREATE Summer School in Ireland. To be effective I reflected upon Susan Chase's discussion of narrative enquiry and its potential for effect, when she asked: 'What kind of narratives disrupt oppressive social practice?' (2005: 667). I accordingly adapted the language to the circumstance, from museum policy to cultural management experts. However, my underlying message remained consistent: the international arts sector is a single, caring community, artists are risking their lives, and we need to actively support one another in solidarity.

Methodologically, I took seriously Gramsci's duty of organising (Gramsci and Forgacs, 2000). As instigator, it was left to me to 'initiate the tasks of structural integration and cultural negotiation among the groups in the network' (Kekk and Sikkink, 1998: 6). However, my networks did not include national migration authorities, key actors in this work. In 2019, I proposed a standing working group called (En)Forced Mobility within

On the Move – an information resource and network dedicated to artists' international professional mobility. It is a 69-strong epistemic community of national public and private agencies missioned to support inward and outward mobility of artists through training, access to information, overcoming legal and fiscal barriers, identifying opportunities and in many cases furnishing statistics to their culture ministries. I had founded it in 2002, but the current director, Marie LeSourd, has continued to build it into a large, strong and highly respected network, research, training and information resource. Many On the Move member organisations were established by culture ministries with mandates to support incoming and outgoing mobility of artists, in dialogue with their own national migration authorities. Artists' mobility has been framed as contributing to economic growth, to artists' development and for promoting the European cultural space (EricArts, 2008). Artists' international mobility with frequent air travel has later been problematised as a climate change issue (On the Move, 2011), or an obstacle for artists with caring responsibilities (Judah, 2022; Ellingsworth, Floch and Verstraete, 2023). Changing perspectives, mobility had not, however, been framed as having a connection to relocated artists-at-risk. Although most agencies were initially unaware of the presence of, and their responsibility to, displaced artists, over time twenty agencies have annually discussed support for relocated, refugee and migrant artists in their national territories, and have expanded their knowledge regarding migrants' rights (Mandal, 2003). But as discussed below, where I did not create a separate network or working group in an existing network, I advised others who were building initiatives.

'Artists' Safe Havens: A Nordic Perspective' (2013) was a one-off conference of the Swedish Arts Council, then hosted by the city of Malmö. It has evolved into an independent association, Safe Havens/Freedom Talks. For each edition since its founding Fredrik Elg, I have either advised, curated or moderated the global Safe

Havens conference – a 200-strong annual gathering for those who protect and defend artists and artistic freedom. Elg has consistently prioritised artists as the central voices in these gatherings, which is crucial, as Spivak noted, 'to avoid 'the itinerary of recognition through assimilation ... and the continuing construction of the subaltern' (1994: 89–90). I gradually persuaded Elg to include lawyers, human rights experts, national arts and foreign policy ministries and intergovernmental policymakers, thus building a cross-sector networked community, including the UN Special Rapporteurs in the field of cultural rights. Farida Shaheed was the first mandate holder of the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights (2009-2015), followed by Karima Bennoune (2015-2021) and Alexandra Xanthaki (2021-present) (UNHCR, n.d.). They have all participated in Safe Havens conferences. In 2020, displaced Nigerian writer Jude Dibia and I curated Safe Havens Global, a four-day online conference. Prioritising the artists' agency and voice meant holding artists-only discussions with one hundred and sixty-four global participants. A week later policymakers and funders responded to the eight key issue areas and recommendations that the artists had defined (DeVlieg and Dibia, 2020). IFACCA's director publicly cited the research I had done for them in 2018, leading me to think that there was growing interest. Artists' voices are important; Swinkels notes that policy actors can influence policymakers in various ways by transmitting ideas and beliefs as actors 'do things with words' (2020: 285). The numbers of artists present and the quality of their interventions at Safe Havens demonstrated that relocated artists were gaining a collective voice and networking globally among themselves; a crucial factor in avoiding superficial categorising and essentialising tendencies (Laplanche-Sevigne, 2023; Rinaudo, 2023). In the 2021 Safe Havens report, 'A Poetic Summary, to Not Conclude' (DeVlieg, 2022a), I wrote that the conference was 'yet another Safe Havens evolution in creating formats to be ever more inclusive, in terms of territory, languages, context and orientation' (Ibid.: 1). We began

the conference with a series of questions posed by Berlin-based Tunisian lawyer and theatre maker Meriam Bousselmi. These included: 'What is complicity? What is the difference between objectively verifiable threats to life and subjective threats to the integrity of one's own consciousness? Does solidarity entail an equal power relation?' (Ibid.: 4–5). The artists recommended a collegiate, collaborative and non-competitive environment, what Syrian writer and dissident Yassin Al-Haj Saleh proposes as partnership rather than solidarity, a relation that 'has no centre; works in multiple directions; and is based on equality rather than power' (Al Haj Saleh, 2018: n.p.). Artists also called for more support directly to Global South local and regional organisations, echoing Murdie and Polizzi's (2018) critique that, in human rights TANs, dominant Global North players decide priorities, prioritise connections and receive most of the available resources as opposed to Global South actors in the networks (Mimeta, 2023). This tendency for larger, well-funded rights organisations to disproportionately benefit economically from rights campaigns has resulted in 'thwarting the power dynamics responsible for the centering of interests' (Adam, 2017: 157), marginalising minority voices and needs in intersectional coalitions. As discussed below, care ethics' responsiveness, respecting the perspective of the other, can be performed when partnering with local and regional actors.

From late 2021 I worked with al Mawred al Thaqafy to create a training programme that would develop a network of at-risk artists' residencies in the MENA region, breaking the usual relocation direction from Global South to Global North. I refused to be the project's coordinator or a trainer, insisting that everyone involved should come from the region. I accepted to accompany the project as an unpaid critical friend/advisor and much later was invited and paid to participate in the training. The event took place in 2023, with three training modules, one on artistic freedom in law, one on developing

peer learning in the group, and a third centred on care and well-being. As an advisor, I compiled a glossary of terms specific to the three modules and a list of the main international conventions pertinent to artistic freedom (see Appendices VI and VII) Law professor Eleni Polymenopoulou, also present in the training, provided the more specialised legal terms and definitions. In the workshop on legal issues, I observed that none of the cases brought by the artists present pertained to international law, but rather to domestic law, again highlighting the dominance of the state in gatekeeping international protections for artists. However, the focus on care and self-care in the training signalled a change in perspective, from relocation as a practice related to artists as objects and undertaken by Global North NGOs and artists residencies, to positioning its protagonists, the artists, as subjects able to care and support one another in their own region, their own language, in or close to their own countries and communities. The need for this shift was illustrated in Yazaji and Schmidt's research on the North–South dynamic in temporary international relocation initiatives (Yazaji and Schmidt, 2020). This research had been commissioned by the Martin Roth Initiative, a major German initiative in the at-risk artist residency field. Yazaji and Schmidt found, as I had, that artists relocated in the West experienced racism but were hesitant to report it while still dependent on their residency. In a provocation commissioned by the Martin Roth Initiative for a pre-publication discussion of Yazaji and Schmidt's findings with residencies' staff and artists, I reflected on all the artists I had worked with and on testimonies from a recent forum, 'HIWA: Home is Where We Are', for Syrian theatre makers in diaspora, hosted 25 – 28 June 2022 by the Arab Theatre Training Centre, Amman Jordan. I especially recalled words I'd read by relocated Iranian poet Fatima Ekhtesari: 'Exile is an earthquake ... but I am rebuilding my new home on the ruins' (Ekhtasari, 2020, n.p.). For my provocation I wrote:

> What does it take to continue to be who you are as an artist, to reflect the experience you and your country have been through, are going through? Or what does it mean to put aside that feeling of responsibility to your country and family, and to decide to move on, to start reflecting instead on where you are now? How strong is your need to connect to others with the same memories, doubts and what the writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2018: 9–10) calls 'an accumulation of uncertainties'?
>
> (DeVlieg, online intervention, 13 July 2022)

This was reframing at-risk artists from object to subject and it was a recurring challenge, discussed in chapter one. This shift required policy debates, 'not only to influence policy outcomes but to transform the terms and the nature of the debate' (Kekk and Sikkink, 1998: 2). Our epistemic community, including the artists, was growing. New organisations and institutions were being founded in the Global North such as Artists at Risk Connection (ARC) – a project of PEN America, Artists at Risk – a Finnish international organisation that puts at-risk artists in touch with artist residencies globally and *l'Agence des Artistes en Exil* (aa-e) in France. But increased interest by funders carries with it the potential risks of all trends that rely on external funding, that is, superficiality or self-interest by those who propose initiatives without fully examining their consequences and loss of funding when the trend passes. A continuing danger was that 'the solidarity relationship renders the cause subordinate to the solidarity' (Al Haj Saleh, 2018: n.p.). I address this issue later in the discussion, but in the next section I examine the tensions and dilemmas in my practice, balancing my own power as an actor, insider, influencer and representative with my respect for the agency of others, especially those on the outside of power structures.

Insider-Outsider Tensions, Power and Paradoxes in Networks and Policy Activism

As demonstrated above, I questioned the contradictions between my instigator behaviour and my collaborative ethics. I stressed the centrality of artists' voices while I transcribed them into texts and public debates when the artists were often silent, censored at home or

awaiting residency or legal status in a potential host country. At times I huddled in my hotel room while at conferences, acting as liaison between an artist and a potential funder, juggling time zones and explaining, in one example, why a certain artist, required to send confidential documents in order to prove their grant-worthiness, was fearful of using email to send those documents because if intercepted the documents could lead to the artist's re-arrest. Epistemic trust was given to me both by the NGOs and the artists, but not fully established between the two of them. I understood networks as potential changemakers while knowing they could also protect the status quo. I called for an international solidarity, but one that did not perpetuate inequitable relations by prioritising the strongest actors. I used and cited the international human rights legislation while seeing it being abused every day, sometimes by those countries that lauded it the most. I challenged authority but collaborated with it, striving to give power to others; yet in order to do so, I used it myself when utilising my platforms for organising, advising, speaking and writing.

Power manifests in a multitude of ways. At our 2013 event in the European Parliament, civil society – ARJ EU and the invited artists – was exercising its power-to, to convene and speak to policymaking institutions despite their power-over us (Pansardi and Bindi, 2021). Amy Allen has described a third form, power-with, as 'the ability of a collectivity to act together for the attainment of a common or shared end or series of ends' (1998: 35), adding that this would manifest as solidarity when that common end would be 'overturning a system of domination' (Ibid.: 36). To achieve that degree of solidarity all necessary voices would be needed on an equal level, and this is what I set out to achieve. As Fricker states: 'Power is always dependent on practical coordination with other agents' (2007: 11). I developed techniques, sometimes painfully, for speaking with politicians. Geneviève Fraisse, feminist philosopher and French MEP 1999–2004 greeted me with:

'Good morning, Madame DeVlieg. You have seven minutes. What do you want me to do and why should I do it?'. I learned to tailor my approach to be sensitive to my interlocutors' perspectives and realised that politicians act when they sense their own advantage (Holdo, 2019). I believed strategic relationships, if ethical, were politically effective for delivering legitimacy to those in power while creatively furthering both their and my objectives (Holdo, 2019). Yet Gramsci warned of the ruling class's appropriation of subordinates' interests to stay in power (1971). Arguing from the perspective of one's target can result in one being co-opted, 'the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organisation as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence' (Selznick, 1949: 259). In the past, working with MEPs on amendments, I learned that a few changed words or a differently placed punctuation mark in a legal text can mean nothing – or everything – to its consequences.

Insider-outsider roles provided me with contacts, information and especially perspectives from different geographies, cultural contexts or levels of power. I balanced faith in change from inside the system with a commitment to tell the truth about working on the outside in order to be accountable to colleagues there. I saw in my bridging role something of what Donna Mertens explores in transformative research methodologies used by a researcher who 'recognises inequalities and injustices in society and strives to challenge the status quo' (Mertens, 2007: 212). Power, she says, is 'an issue that must be addressed at each stage of the research process' (ibid.: 213). Likewise, I engaged with power, working with powerful players who could improve conditions, when and if I felt my doing so could preclude what McKeown calls 'avoidable structural injustice' (2021: 5). When decision-makers asked for information, I complied, suggesting artists and arts activists as speakers or advisors. I joined think tanks and wrote for or spoke at policy events. From 2007 onwards, I advised the DG for Culture on their Mediterranean and EU Enlargement

policies regarding key and especially younger players whom they needed to know, and served on the High-Level Expert Forum on Mobility, 2008-2009, created by DG Culture and Education, with representatives from youth work, the arts, enterprise and higher education, to write a vision for the DG's future policy on Erasmus and other mobility programmes (European Commission, 2023). Yet one needs to balance 'a pragmatic insider strategy versus the principled outsider strategy ... [appealing] to both principle and self-interest' (Price, 2003: 585). As outsider disruptor, my public questioning of China's human rights record clearly annoyed the DGEAC staff at the DGEAC's press launch of the EU–China Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2012 (Culture 360, 2012). Free expression, I insisted, was foundational for the arts sector, and a government's role was to protect and defend artists' free expression.

My activist stance was situated in and from the middle; my 'sites of contestation' (Isin, 2009: 371) were varied, aiming to challenge both institutions and civil society. I juggled consensus-building processes with proactive disruption, calling attention to what I felt were deeper issues faced by artists than just economic factors in Europe. I asked myself if my words had any effect or if I and others were only comfortable, guilt-assuaging voices called upon regularly by institutions to demonstrate balance. I questioned whether the Global North NGOs' and my own actions were merely 'attempt[s] to reconcile ... guilt and complicity' (Tuck and Yang, 2012: 1). For years I did not see much policy change. Three times I was invited to contribute to the ifa/EUNIC yearbooks; each time I was increasingly critical in relation to the institutional lack of engagement with artistic freedom. Do the consulted really have an influence? American activist Bill Moyer described this as the fifth of his eight stages of social movements: 'battle fatigue' or 'the identity crisis of powerlessness' (1987: 22) that regularly occurs before transformative change. In 2018, eight years after my first article for the ifa/EUNIC yearbook, the German

ifa and Goethe Institute jointly launched the Martin Roth Initiative to support persecuted artists. Retrospectively, I believe that my writing and actions together with those of artists, my colleagues and networks, stimulated a change in mindsets that led to this and other positive initiatives.

Alongside the slow pace of political and institutional change, a recurring problem is the difficulty of proving the concrete, traceable impact of a longitudinal, dynamic, multifaceted networking process. As Murdie and Polizzi observe: 'The very work of TANs may make it more difficult to assess their ultimate effectiveness' (2018: 721). Victor, Montgomery and Lubell describe this as being due to 'complex processes making it difficult to discern causal or constitutive mechanisms' (2018: 25). As Ricardo Wilson-Grau writes, the dynamic nature of advocacy networks and networking is complex:

> Their political purpose is to influence the structure, relations and exercise of power, from the national (and sometimes local) to the global. These achievements are rarely attributable solely to the activities of the advocacy network. Usually they will be the fruit of a broad effort with other social actors.
>
> (2008: 5)

In order to ensure continuity, I further saw my role as keeping the other social actors, such as individual and organisational members of the networks, visible and motivated by their successes. Networks represent horizontal connections but, as previously discussed, some central or connecting roles in human networks carry more power. Yet this power, to effectively motivate a community or to ensure its expertise is heard and used, dissipates if the network or community ceases to exist. As Hannah Arendt writes, 'Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together' (1972: 143). One of the tensions faced by an individual building a community or series of networked communities is being their delegate. It means balancing the work needed to maintain dynamic horizontal inter-network and

intra-network agency amongst members, while often having to cast the deciding vote, be the final arbiter and act as the spokesperson or delegate.

The role of the delegate has been criticised as engendering 'conflicts between represented and representatives' (Gramsci, 1971: 210). For political theorist Michael Saward, representative and represented are mutually constitutive (2005). The representative, in her actions of representing, has a role in forming the self-identification of the represented. This differs from the critique that representatives usurp power from the people they purport to represent (Bourdieu and Robinson, 1985). In my practice, it was my responsibility to both be accountable to and challenge the members of the networks I represented. In this constitutive concept of representation, the representative is also transformed though her claims of representing (Saward, 2005; Decreus, 2013). I was transformed not only through those I represented or provided a platform for but through reflection on the many aporia discovered in this work and described here. My own discourse evolved over time, from a general defence of artistic freedom to calling for the concrete conditions necessary for artists impacted by displacement to claim and exercise their entitlement to professional recognition, self-development, equitable conditions and what Butler calls 'persistence and flourishing' (2009: 2). For the arts sector in Europe, the term 'flourishing' echoes the EU's often-cited 'flowering of cultures' as determined in Article 167 of the 2012 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union – but limited to the cultures of the EU member states.

However, the success or failure of a message depends on its arrival at the right moment. This requires analysis of the historical conjuncture, as Gramsci defined it – a moment of immediate, almost accidental movements interacting with more permanent structural elements of society (Gramsci, Forgacs and Nowell-Smith, 2000). Stuart Hall and Doreen

Massey wrote about the articulation of elements combining in a conjuncture: the 'complex field of power and consent, [with] its different levels of expression – political, ideological, cultural and economic' (2010: 65). For Kekk and Sikkink as for Gramsci, the conjuncture provides 'the political context or opportunity structure' (1998: 7), and in the concluding discussion to this chapter, I propose that a conjunctural moment occurred with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. This was 'an exogenous shock ... when learning occurs and actors update their beliefs in response to new circumstance' (Swinkels, 2020: 289). It is also when policy change might be effectuated.

The Promise of 2023: Towards Change

By 2023 the world had been significantly affected by a series of Covid pandemic outbreaks starting in December 2019 which caused stark social and economic disruption globally. Goods production and supply chains were disrupted by economic and geopolitical factors; the global economy suffered several crises and in addition the effects of climate change began to be felt ever more dramatically. Some called this confluence a polycrisis (Lawrence, Janzwood and Homer-Dixon, 2022), noting the 'diminishing capacity of nation-states to navigate an increasingly complex, fluid and obscure security as well as economic environment [that transfigures both] citizenship and sovereignty' (Benhabib, 2005: 46). Covid-19 dramatically altered the economic model of the arts that had relied on paying audiences, who were now prohibited from attending live events. In Europe and internationally, performance tours had provided finance and artistic prestige leading to further work, but artists were now immobilised. The pandemic further affected the production of certain art forms that depended on groups of people creating work together (IDEA Consult et al., 2021). Yet such a deep and pervasive crisis can at the same time provide a space for new opportunities to arise. Gramsci described this moment when crisis occurs due to immediate and impactful events and when political and social power

is attempting to subdue these to maintain the status quo. This provides the 'terrain' upon which oppositional elements can organise and demonstrate that conditions for change are emerging or already exist (Gramsci, Forgacs and Nowell-Smith, 2000: 210). Arts funders, whether national ministries, arts councils or charitable foundations, were called upon to, and in many cases did, invent new forms of support for the severely endangered arts sector. Two to three years of global disruption led to a degree of reflection on existing processes and systems. It was at this moment that I observed breakthroughs in how relocated artists were considered in Europe.

On 24 February 2022 Russia invaded Ukraine, escalating its illegal 2014 annexation of Crimea. Within a very short period the EU reacted to ensure Ukrainians fleeing the war would be welcomed with temporary residency status, access to social and health care, accommodation, access to education and work permits (European Council, 2023). The arts sector, first in Poland and Lithuania, then in other EU countries, also reacted. Cultural networks conferred with their members; projects were launched to match Ukrainian artists and scholars with universities and arts residencies of all artistic disciplines. As one artists' residency staff member said: 'We have until now been totally unprepared for this. We don't know how to do it. But now we have to learn' (Fukuma, 2023). Overcome by this response, grateful that it was happening and while I myself was almost daily producing and updating a list of Ukraine-and neighbour-country-based resources collecting funds, I could not dispel thoughts of the unmet needs of Syrians, Afghanis, Yemenis, Sudanese, Iranians and other artists. A year later I interviewed some of the Ukrainian artists' hosts; I was invariably told that hosting had been easy because of the new EU rules for incoming Ukrainians and especially the extra funding newly available (German and Italian artists' residencies, 2023). It was not the first time that the question of 'who is sustained' (Butler, 2009: 21) had been posed, but a new reality was evident.

Several in the arts sector, such as Kunstenpunt – Flanders Arts Institute – could see that the necessary flight of artists from various countries was not going to end. Their initial conference – 'Future Hospitalities' – set up ongoing exchanges and sourced opportunities for other incoming artists forced to flee extreme poverty, conflict or persecution (Kunstenpunt, 2023). This was care ethics, coupled with activist citizenship, in action, and it since has continued online each week (Kunstenpunt, n.d.).

Some institutions had already started to notice the need for more support to protect and defend artists' free creative expression. As discussed, the Swedish Arts Council's Artistic Freedom funding programme ran from 2021 to 2023 but only as an experimental pilot. Fortunately in 2023 its continuation was announced. In late 2019 the Council of Europe, arguably Europe's oldest defender of human rights and free expression, contacted me, Sara Whyatt, Kata Krasznahorskai and Olivia Solis to propose a digital exhibition on artistic freedom which eventually became 'Free to Create/Create to be Free' (Council of Europe, 2024). In 2020 the Council adopted a Manifesto on the Freedom of Expression of Arts and Culture in the Digital Age that we had drafted (Council of Europe, 2020). In 2022, Sara and I organised on behalf of the Council a gathering of artists to discuss 'under-the-radar' obstacles to artistic freedom, resulting in a report and an invitation by the Council to organise a subsequent meeting the following year (Council of Europe, 2023).

These events prepared the ground for 2023 as a landmark year in relation to previous years' relative inattention to displaced artists. In March, ICORN held its annual Network Meeting in Brussels, but something had changed; in my panel intervention, I noted a tangible sense of both global urgency and united agency among its three hundred participants, very many of them artists. Late in 2022, I had been invited by Salzburg

Global Seminars to curate a week-long Salzburg Global Seminar 15 - 30 March 2023, 'On the Front Lines: Artists at Risk, Artists who Risk'. Counterpoints Arts co-founder and Director, Áine O'Brien and I had proposed a similar seminar to them in 2018, but staff had changed and institutional memory had disappeared. When, at the Seminar in March I asked Susanna Seidl-Fox, the then-coordinator of the arts programme in Salzburg, why our initiative had not been taken up, she replied 'It was not the right time yet' (Seidl-Fox, 2023). The Seminar comprised fifty artists and allies from forty countries concerned with the repression and persecution of artists. It resulted in a collectively-generated Salzburg Statement targeted at governments and policymakers, human rights and arts organisations and calling for precise support actions for threatened and persecuted artists (Salzburg, 2023).

Postponed by Covid travel restrictions, the IFACCA World Summit on Arts and Culture, due to be held in Stockholm in collaboration with the Swedish Arts Council, finally took place in May 2023, under the banner of Safeguarding Artistic Freedom. The conference of over four hundred delegates discussed issues ranging from indigenous people's cultural rights to digital rights in the age of artificial intelligence, but it also discussed threats to artistic freedom and displaced artists. At the Summit, UNESCO announced one million US dollars in their Aschberg grants to fund initiatives to protect and promote artistic freedom. I reminded Magdalena Moreno Mujica, IFACCA's Executive Director, about the cool reception to 'Artists Belonging and Displacement' in 2018, asking her what had changed. She answered without hesitation: 'The polycrisis; we knew that the status quo was no longer viable and we all had to change' (Moreno Mujica, 2023).

In May 2023 a meeting of the (En)Forced Mobility working group of On the Move took place in Tunis; it too was evolving, moving from reflection to action. The session's

rapporteur wrote that the group had 'expanded from organisations working specifically on (En)Forced Mobility to organisations and initiatives that wish to act more on the issue, considering the increase of involuntary mobility in the arts and culture sector' (Fol, 2023). Indeed, in the subsequent online meeting on 28 November 2023, nearly all participants revealed concrete projects.

At the end of the six-month Swedish Presidency of the EU, Sweden's Minister for Culture, Parisa Liljestrand, convened culture ministers from the EU's twenty-seven member states. Their meeting of 16 May 2023 published its 'Council Conclusions on At-Risk and Displaced Artists', noting:

> [t]he significant role, historically and today, of exiled artists in promoting peace, mutual understanding, freedom, democracy and cultural diversity, and the importance of at-risk and displaced artists being given the opportunity to continue their artistic work and to continue to bear witness to ongoing events ... [reaffirming] the need for preparedness in Europe to offer support to at-risk and displaced artists in both the short and the long term, through the appropriate institutional and legal frameworks.
>
> (Council of the European Union, 2023: points 10, 12)

Significantly, the text specifically calls not only for recognition but also ongoing support for relocated artists, addressing their human, social and professional development and asking member states to:

> [C]onsider taking further measures to enhance the capacity to offer safe havens and so-called cities of refuge for at-risk and displaced artists ... and to contribute to networking for such artists ... consider applying a long-term and holistic approach when welcoming at-risk and displaced artists and their families, complementing the urgent need for a safe haven with possibilities to become a part of the local community and cultural life and to remain artistically active and heard.
>
> (Ibid.: points 14, 16)

This text, demonstrating principles of care, was a remarkable climax to a fourteen-year-plus collective struggle, even though the majority of the text referred to Ukrainian artists fleeing the Russian incursion, which is not the same as an artist fleeing personally targeted human rights abuse. Rani Kasapi, who was Deputy Director General at the Swedish Ministry of Culture when the theme was developed for the Swedish Presidency, told me: 'The strategy was to put the subject on artistic freedom and artists-at-risk on top of the agenda in all cultural activities during the presidency' and that the Swedish 'Culture and Foreign Affairs Ministries had been collaborating on this for the last five years'(Kasapi, 2023). The Swedish delegation in Brussels explained they had chosen to present the issue during their presidency because of Sweden's long and unique history of supporting cities of refuge for artists and writers at risk, and that 'it was something new; no other presidency had touched the issue' (Ek, 2023). They admitted that due to the interest in Ukraine, nearly all the other member states culture ministries easily agreed. Karin Hanssen, ICORN's coordinator for Sweden, the largest national cohort in the ICORN network, confirmed that the culture minister's office was sincerely interested in and annually discussed ICORN's work (Hanssen, 2023).

A more sceptical analysis (Jakonen, Renke and Harding, 2024) notes that Sweden's current right-wing government could in future threaten the country's long-time support for issues such as hosting artists-at-risk. In any case, despite the declining sovereignty of the state in an economically interconnected and mediated world, the key role a state can play in changing policy orientations is also highlighted in the literature on policy entrepreneurship and networked activism (Sebenius, 1992; Adler and Hass, 1992; Hass, 1992; Swinkels, 2020; Petridou and Mintrom, 2021). As I have noted above, policy advocates must scrutinise not only the words in official documents but also their underlying rationales and potential consequences. However, sometimes expediency wins;

the Council Conclusions are a meaningful victory and can be used as a platform for further advocacy.

In October 2023, the second Council of Europe gathering of artists discussing 'under-the-radar' obstacles to artistic freedom took place in Ljubljana amid Council plans to continue (Khochabo, 2023). Also in October, the Compendium for Cultural Policies and Trends, the respected information and monitoring platform generating and reviewing policy standards for governments, held their conference, 'The Right to Culture', in collaboration with the Malta Arts Council. I moderated the first panel, 'Artistic Freedom', which featured my colleague Sara Whyatt, representatives from IFACCA, the Society of Hungarian Authors, and Andreas Wiesand, a highly respected cultural policy analyst who had just completed a first series of articles discussing artistic freedom for the Compendium (Wiesand, 2023). In addition, Mimeta, an international funding agency supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was preparing to launch its research, 'Safeguarding Artists', which mapped arts and human rights resources available to support artistic freedom for artists (Anderson, 2023).

What made the difference that resulted in such a flurry of activity in 2023? I contend that civil society activism and the growth of a shared epistemic community which included an increasing number of artists impacted by displacement, provided a critical mass and raised sufficient awareness of artistic freedom to turn the attention of politicians, policy-makers and arts organisations to the artists who had been persecuted and relocated due to their artistic work. We were working at the international level but benefitted from the attention of at least two states, Germany and Sweden, which were attentive at that time to their own ideological commitments to free expression and at-risk artist relocation. A global polycrisis consisting of a pandemic, economic collapse and a war in Europe was

the exogenous shock that sharpened attention and made possible a shift in perception and recognition of at-risk artists. While the events described here are truly welcome, this thesis discusses, in care terms, the methodological importance of embodying ethics into action; in other words, following policy words with concrete initiatives to transform at-risk artists' living and working conditions. Kekk and Sikking, speaking about transnational advocacy networks, have written: 'Practices do not simply echo norms – they make them real. Without the disruptive activity of these actors neither normative change or change in practices is likely to occur' (1998: 35). It is necessary to fully address the contradiction between the legally warm welcome for truly well-deserving Ukrainians and the cold shoulder turned against 'exactly those groups [with shared colonial histories] central to the continent's changed, transnational culture and from whom, against all apparent odds, one might reasonably expect a constructive intervention' (El Tayeb, 2008: 666).

It is also necessary to be vigilant regarding the '[policy] issue–attention cycle' where 'novel discoveries are valued more highly ... [and] actors jump on the bandwagon' (Leifeld, 2018: 303). The organisations assisting relocated artists must not obscure the agency, voices and identities of the artists themselves, nor fetishise or sensationalise them for fundraising purposes. Rather than being attracted by the lure of public subsidies and foundation grants, I hope the attention given in 2023 to artists fleeing abuse of their right to artistic freedom will translate into epistemic justice, respect, recognition, substantive equality in the exercise of their rights (Xanthaki, 2023). Butler lists what society offers to lives valued and 'grievable', or, in other words, recognised: 'social and economic support, housing, health care, employment, rights of political expression, forms of social recognition and the conditions for political agency' (2012: 10). Evoking Benhabib's 'citizenship of residency' (2005: 66) that contains both local and transnational ties, Syrian

artist Khaled Barakeh, based in Berlin and working with artists impacted by displacement, told me: 'All we want is to belong' (Interview, 2 July 2021). To this I would add the development and implementation of concrete programmes and policies that ensure relocated artists impacted by displacement have equitable access to work, education, professional opportunities, arts funding and respect as artists, wherever they may be and wherever they are hosted.

Conclusion

> Being silent is an act of culpability. Rights generally do not come by themselves; it's a continuous and perennial struggle. We have to support one another; those in power tend to ignore the powerless. It's up to us to take the space, share what we do and look out for one another.
>
> (Shahidul Alam, 2023)

This thesis has critically analysed my five selected publications together with numerous public events and actions I initiated within a matrix of global governance and power, combining an analysis of both the horizontal and vertical influence of networked communities in a framework of the ethics of care. I have illustrated five key methodological tools allied to these publications and processes. They are: generating fresh perspectives such as citizenship, human rights, and freedom of expression with which to view artists-at-risk; challenging and confronting policy discourse with lived experiences of artists; utilising the capillary nature of networks to spread ideas; organising and instigating debate and events as a means of moving from ethics to action; and identifying and applying the values of care ethics – attentiveness, responsiveness, competence, responsibility, trust and solidarity.

In 'Bridging Citizenship' (2022) I proposed a new type of artistic citizenship, drawing attentiveness to the situations of persecuted artists. 'Citizenship and Culture' (2012), emanating from a transectorially networked platform of diverse competences that I instigated, challenged EU rhetoric and proposed solidarity with incoming artists. 'Analysing the Art of Resistance' (2014) raised the issue of evaluation policy, and thus recognition of and responsiveness to artists whose artistic work speaks truth to power. 'Artistic Freedom, A Moveable Feast' (2018) turned the consciousness and sense of responsibility of arts workers and networks to the situations of persecuted artists. 'Seeing the World in a New Light' (2011) urged a network of cultural diplomats and politicians

to broaden their policy perspective beyond national borders and accept the moral obligations of artistic freedom. In the thesis I have aligned the publications to lived experiences of displaced artists and advocacy processes and events executed with and by sector-crossing networks. I have also demonstrated the criticality of knowledge exchange between three sectors; arts, human rights and migration, each dependent on the unique expertise of the others in order to create the best possible circumstances for hospitality to persecuted and displaced artists.

I have deliberately avoided a discussion about aesthetics and whether or not art is political. Instead, I have focused on questions of community, responsibility and the duty of living in a shared world, in other words, rights, ethics and care. In this methodology, I have thus aimed to focus on what Lorraine Code described as:

> Feminist and other postcolonial epistemology and ethics projects, with their commitments to locating inquiry, both ethical and epistemological, in the circumstances and among the people where its successes are achieved, its failures and harms enacted, and ... counteracting the oppressions to which epistemic injustices have routinely contributed.
>
> (2008: 1)

Describing the pathways of artists-at-risk to legal and safe relocation allowed me to demonstrate the interactions and interdependency between users of policy and makers of policy. I juxtaposed the experiences of at-risk artists seeking relocation and their subsequent displacement with historicising attention to EU public policy and with civil society organisations and institutions. This was in a context of evolving engagement with the safety, well-being and professional development of the displaced artists. In this process, I facilitated new network formats to be developed and evolve. Taken together, these elements played a cumulative role in advancing a critical discourse disseminated

through the capillary actions of caring networks of artists, activists, cultural workers, funders and policymakers, aligned as a porous and transectoral epistemic community.

In a transdisciplinary study of an interdependent field, my methodology emanated from and entwined two concepts, each of which are considered both practices and methodologies. In order to break with an overly familiar perspective of networks seen in the field of cultural policy, I adopted the lens of political science, viewing arts networks as political actors. This allowed me to analyse and compare them to epistemic communities and transnational advocacy networks. This in turn allowed me to consider the ways in which the networks, and key individuals within and between networks, act to influence public policy, not only cultural policy.

Using the lens of the ethics of care has allowed me to evaluate to what degree the ethical values of care are used both rhetorically and practically in European cultural policy. As a theoretical framework, the values of care are increasingly applied but not yet to the practice of temporary relocation of artists. Viewing care as ethics has allowed me to put into dialogue moral questions surrounding human rights, the rights of displaced peoples and questions around responsibility. I propose recognition as a cognate to care's attentiveness, agency and interdependency. I include respect for artists' agency as a component of responsiveness. Interdependency is also key to my methodological framework; it is seen in care ethics as a fundamental feature of all life, whether human, animal or plant (Moriggi et al., 2020).

The arts sector is concerned with responsibility to artists' work and art itself, often to audiences and communities, also to funders. I posed the question as to what extent and to whom solidarity and shared responsibility are extended. As Fraser contends: 'The claims

for recognition of once-distant "others" acquire a new proximity, destabilising taken-for-granted horizons of cultural value' (2004–2005: 120). I draw on feminist care theory that ethics are defined by their completion in actions (Sander-Staudt, 2006; Raghuram 2016).

The thesis foregrounds a methodological framework of cultural networking viewed through a political understanding of epistemic communities grounded in the ethics of care, within which my advocacy practice can be located. Applying care ethics to transnational political advocacy networks deepens the moral awareness of what the networks are advocating for, with whom and with whose power and perspectives. Common arts practices such as inviting artists to artists' residencies, or human rights practices such as relocation, have been presented as locations of ethical care and political and social responsibility for addressing structural injustice.

Using the lens of care to view my cross-sector, international, networked practice in the relocation of persecuted artists, my contribution to knowledge presents an example of 'coalitional thinking' (Dalmiya, 2009: 295) in a sector and practice not yet examined in this way, thereby adding to the 'plurality of experiences' in the structure of care theory (Gary, 2022: 6). Methodologically entangling a political science perception of influential cultural networks with a care-rooted ethical action approach results in a new set of questions for reflection by the sector and an accompanying potential for the arts sector to see itself in a broader socio-political light. It is not to say that questions of aesthetics and economy can be disregarded, nor the unique contribution that art has to society, rather that the arts community, together with human rights and migration sectors, has a place and purpose in society beyond its usual sectoral borders. This thesis contributes to the under-researched area of 'understanding European cultural networks as transnational

advocacy actors' (Magkou, 2021: 31), in other words, as political and politically influencing organisms beyond the boundaries of the arts.

The thesis proposes the formation of transnational and transectoral advocacy networks in the arts and human rights as networked communities of care with the potential to confront injustices and co-create structural responses. It contributes to a critique of power relations between the individual, civil society, governmental authorities and the economic power held by policymaking funding organisations. Although I often worked independently I was dependent on and only effective in a much larger community, the arts and human rights sectors with their institutions, organisations, artists and activists. Examining the interplay between representations of civil society advocating on behalf of artists-at-risk and the state, I highlighted not only the importance of their interdependence in a democratic society but also the critical effect of a global conjuncture of economic, climate, health, and conflict stresses to break the status quo thinking of states and funders.

The thesis limits its discussion to artists and the arts sector, but it can be extrapolated to reflect what needs to be in place for anyone seeking a safe haven from persecution and violence, which is growing. By describing this sector's problematics and possibilities, the thesis further sheds light on the potential of other communities to recognise who can be considered as valid for their care, always remembering that epistemic communities, to retain viability and dynamism, must remain open and porous.

Decades of promoting, representing, fundraising for and proselytising the positive aspects of international cultural networks as a way to build trust and solidarity sensitised me to policy language; writing this thesis became a way for me to test the veracity of those words. Years of defending the international framework of human rights despite

confronting its failures on the ground has made me keenly aware of its biases and weaknesses but appreciative of its aspirational nature and the value of pursuing it. Artists across geopolitical areas of conflict have started publicly to express their disillusion with international human rights discourses and it is the responsibility of all defenders of human rights to ensure they are not merely rhetorical but enacted legislation. As I write in early 2024, there is extreme violence and repression of free speech in many parts of the world, notably in parts of Africa, the Middle East, Ukraine and Russia but also spreading throughout Europe. Treating refugees from these conflicts with dignity and respect is a legal duty; local integration represents a win-win situation, with local citizens more favourably disposed to help incomers if they are participants in integration activities (Böhm et al., 2018; UNHCR Global Trends, 2022).

Artists-at-risk, persecuted, relocated or impacted by displacement were the focus of only a few organisations in 2009. Today, the transector of arts and human rights has settled on a name, that of artistic freedom. There is a growing global acknowledgement of the existence and importance of endangered artists thanks to the collaborative work of civil society organisations and networks; national, international and supranational institutions. Yet the demand for safe relocation outstrips the resources available. At present, a number of EU countries, among them Italy, Germany and Sweden, as well as the EU itself, are investigating the UK's – failed – example of offshore asylum processing, which is in clear violation of binding UN treaties, while intra-EU agreements continue to shift responsibilities for hosting refugees from one state to another. Conversely, Ian Manners (2020) documents the positive practice models of 'radical agonistic cosmopolitical solidarities ... driven by grass-roots activists and groups rather than EU institutions' (ibid.: 90), who welcome and care for incomers. The arts sector could yet come to be seen in this way. It is said that artists reflect the world

around us so that we may see it anew. Some artists from Arab countries who have been welcomed and relocated in Germany, together with a number of German artists and arts organisations have, however, accused Germany and the Berlin Senate of censorship linked to continuing censorship and prohibition of alleged pro-Palestinian texts and actions as of January 2024 (StrikeGermany, 2014). The perspectives of artists who have lived experiences of authoritarianism, repression, conflict and displacement are needed to understand their mechanisms and consequences. Broadening the perspective from beyond the arts sector, offering welcome, respect, equitable support and engagement with those whose lives have been affected is necessary to become better equipped, interdependently, to care both for one another and for the continuous work of moving towards the visionary ideals enshrined in human rights.

Writing the thesis has made manifest further research that might usefully be undertaken, although establishing reliable statistics will be challenging. What is needed first and foremost is the insight, active inclusion and participation of displaced artists as well as displaced scholars and researchers such as Evgeny Shtorn and his work for CREATE (Shtorn, 2020). Useful research avenues would include surveys of arts organisations and funders' policies and programmes regarding relocated artists at-risk; identification and analysis of other support initiatives and their sustainability; studies to identify key factors that support or inhibit their professional development; and investigations with migration authorities of criteria and assessment for artists needing relocation. Further studies are needed of the audiences for relocated artists in their new host countries, including local communities from the artists' home countries, as well as connections to audiences at home.

Future research could include studies of the benefits of and support for relocating artists to safe locations within their home regions, cultures and languages rather than always to the West, by working collaboratively with remarkable emerging projects in those regions such as that of al Mawred al Thaqafy described in chapter two. Baselines should be established to assess to what extent the 2023 EU 'Council Conclusions on Relocated and At-Risk Artists' will affect policy and support programmes. Other recent initiatives to be monitored for its effect on artists, include that coordinated by the European Union-supported consortium, EUProtectDefenders, to improve the EU visa code for human rights defenders (EUProtectDefenders, 2022). The Salzburg Statement on Artists on the Front Line, cited in the preceding chapter, was launched in January 2024 and proposes how the sector can better support activist and at-risk artists. Mimeta's report, 'Safeguarding Artists', is linked to their new project called Funders Initiative for Artists at Risk, designed to build collaboration and coherence across funders internationally. All of these initiatives should be monitored to assess progress (Mimeta, 2022).

Artists with experience of persecution and displacement should advise institutions and organisations in the arts and in human rights on their programmes and criteria. Arts organisations need to provide platforms and resources for the artists, identifying institutional funders that directly or indirectly obstruct participation, including the growing political censorship of artists in the EU. As of writing, the DGEAC's Creative Europe programme has recently funded one of the first few significant grants to a multiannual collaboration project within the EU that specifically supports the career development and European touring of non-European relocated artists from the Middle East within the EU, rather than in third countries; the project is 'RAWABET: Rethinking Europe through the lens of solidarity, asylum, and the New Europeans' (Ettijahat, 2024). This is to be celebrated as a reflection of the EU's cultural mix, the concretisation of

diversity rhetoric and the reality of nomadic artists in a population-shifting world. Yet the recent polarisation of attitudes and escalation of racist attacks on Arabs and Jews sparked by the conflict in Israel and Palestine puts this progress at risk, and the arts sector is struggling with its response. Achieving equitable solidarity is difficult, but it is as valid an aspiration as human rights. As Butler writes:

> We do not have to love one another to engage in meaningful solidarity. The emergence of a critical faculty, of critique itself, is bound up with the vexed and precious relationship of solidarity where our 'sentiments' navigate the ambivalence by which they are constituted. We can always be apart, which is why we struggle to be together.

(Butler, 2020: n.p.)

I wish that my advocacy work be rendered redundant and that artists would not be obliged to flee, or only left their countries voluntarily, and once in Europe were fully recognised and supported. But that is not yet fully the case. The German ifa (Institute for Foreign Relations) has commissioned a 2024 study on long-term support for relocated artists by their diaspora communities (Bogerts and Yilmaz-Dreger, 2024). The EU's External Action Service, together with ifa, the Goethe Institute and the EU Cultural Relations Platform, a form of the civil society dialogue mentioned previously, is planning an event in Spring 2024 on artistic freedom and cultural diversity, eleven years after the similar 2013 event described in chapter two of this thesis. There are several other events planned in which I will participate; cautiously I may say that the issue is becoming more visible. I thus continue to work alongside artists, the arts sector and the human rights sector to demand that the promises of 2023 are concretely realised.

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APPENDIX I: 'Bridging Citizenship' (2022b)

Chapter Nine

Bridging Citizenship

The Civic Contribution by Artists Impacted by Displacement

Mary Ann DeVlieg

This chapter explores an alternative understanding of citizenship, "bridging citizenship," which attempts to recognize the social contribution made by artists who have been obliged to migrate due to persecution in their home countries. Whilst not providing a solution to their often-precarious legal status, considering them as enacting a "bridging citizenship," bridging their home and host cultures with a valuable civic offer to their host communities, may provide some recognition for the contribution they provide.

The chapter focuses on the phenomenon of "artists impacted by displacement," indicating that they are artists in the first place, whose displacement, a result of their strong artistic engagement, has largely been involuntary, the only reasonable option open to them. They are artists in exile, compelled to move from their home territory, sociocultural environment and usual artistic activities for a variety of reasons. These may include armed conflict; natural disasters and severe climatic changes; violations against recognized human rights, such as those protecting and defending free expression, the rights of women, the rights of children, the right to education, religious freedom and freedom of sexual orientation, as well as circumstances depriving them of their recognized economic rights and cultural rights. With legal status in their new host country denied or postponed, their civic status may be in flux: They may be seeking asylum, have gained (or not) refugee status, be clandestine or simply classed as a migrant. Because their artworks often "speak truth to power," repressive elements in their societies want them silenced. Due to their art practices, they encounter censorship, persecution, violations of basic human rights, imprisonment, physical and mental harm, even death. These are artists who, when lacking a civil status in their new host country, cannot enjoy the same rights as other artists who are citizens or have a similar legal status.

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The chapter will first discuss citizenship, a state-bestowed legal status that has been and is increasingly contested, the critiques of legally defined citizenship and some alternative concepts of citizenship. As anti-immigrant politics spread, the status of "settled," refugee or other official designations allowing for the enjoyment of rights is increasingly difficult to obtain from the host state.[1] This is problematic for "artists-at-risk," who, once relocated to relative safety, find their lives are still in danger at home to the degree that they cannot return. When their host countries withhold or delay legal status, these artists live in limbo, between freedom and its denial.

The next section explains what rights protect artists who become targets, who perpetrates the violation of those rights and why some artists may be considered as HRDs (human rights defenders). Repressive elements found in totalitarian governments, political parties and ideological, social or religious factions often do not want people to think beyond prescribed limits. Abusing established human rights that guarantee freedom of expression, intellectuals and artists whose work invites broader reflection are targeted. As "temporary relocation" is a common form of support offered by NGOs (non-governmental organisations), this section explores what happens when the artists are relocated, and it raises concerns regarding artists whose relocation cannot be merely "temporary."

In the final section, I examine other concepts of citizenship—artistic, participative and socially engaged citizenship—to contend that the artist impacted by displacement, even if denied the state-bestowed status, can be considered as enacting a sense of citizenship, one that forms a bridge between ideas, values and cultures. Theirs is a performative citizenship, or a "bridging citizenship." They have lived and worked in one country, quite frequently transited through one or more countries and landed in another. I will argue that through their lives, artwork and art practices, these artists provide a matrix of education, inspiration and reflection, an invitation and provocation to open minds and question prevailing habits, interpretations and behaviors. As our world becomes increasingly nomadic, something that is not likely to change,[2] increasing understanding between migrants' and host communities' perspectives becomes critical to the evolution and stability of society.

CITIZENSHIP: WHAT IS IT? CONTESTED NOTIONS, EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS, ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTS

Citizenship includes and excludes. It is membership of a nation-state awarded by the sovereign state according to criteria that range from parentage (*ius sanguinis*) and location of birth (*ius soli*) to marriage and a variety of other ar-

rangements in between. It can be acquired administratively by naturalization for applicants who meet the state's requirements, but also at times by depositing, paying or investing large sums of money in a country. Sharply criticized as hypocritical by migrants' rights activists who ask if media-visible heroism is a fair criterion for expediting administrative assessments for some while ignoring others, in two recent cases immigrants in France[3] and Italy[4] have even been granted citizenship for highly sensationalized acts of rescuing children in danger.

In his exploration of the political and philosophical history of nationalism, Zygmunt Bauman critiques the myth-filled constructions of identity based on separation between us (citizens) and them (anyone else) and binding the citizens to an authoritative and administrative state.[5] Focusing on the current context, Saskia Sassen has argued that this ineluctable connection to the nation-state is also put into question by economic globalization and international legal regimes, both of which transcend borders; the internet, which makes cross-border networking and collaboration widespread; and increasing numbers of people nomadically working, studying and living who are thus "increasingly unwilling to automatically identify with a nation as represented by the state."[6]

Giorgio Agamben has further critiqued the state's power in granting what he deems is a type of involuntary membership that imposes its citizenship on every person at birth. "The sovereign state asserts its domination as it separates the human from being itself. . . . Nation-state means a state that makes nativity or birth [*nascita*] (that is, naked human life) the foundation of its own sovereignty."[7] He argues for a more holistic existence, that he calls 'form-of-life,' free of this state imposition.

> Intellectuality and thought . . . are . . . the unitary power that constitutes the multiple forms of life as form-of-life.'[8] . . . / . . . In the face of State sovereignty which can affirm itself only by separating in every context naked life from its form, they are the power that incessantly reunites life to its form or prevents it from being dissociated from its form.'[9] . . . A political life, that is, a life directed toward the idea of happiness and cohesive with a form-of-life, is thinkable only starting with the emancipation from such a division, with the irrevocable exodus from any sovereignty.[10]

If we are thus bound to our administrative state, which separates us from our natural selves, as well as others imposing an artifice of an identify whose function is no longer accurate, what about those people who have lost or left their state? Writing about refugees, specifically "those who are politically persecuted or for whom returning to their countries would mean putting their own survival at risk," Agamben cites Hannah Arendt to exemplify the

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paradoxical nature of so-called universal, inalienable human rights that are in fact denied or postponed, especially for migrants, but particularly for refugees who have been obliged to leave their home countries to escape danger.[11] As Arendt pointed out, the human rights regime applies only from the moment when migrants are given a civic status (such as "refugee" or "citizen") by the state; thus, although rights may be universal, they are not inalienable. Agamben, therefore, identifies the refugee as a key subjectivity that illustrates the problem of state bureaucracy in an international context, and demands new thinking.

> Inasmuch as the refugee, an apparently marginal figure, unhinges the old trinity of state-nation-territory, it deserves instead to be regarded as the central figure of our political history. . . . The refugee should be considered for what it is, namely, nothing less than a limit-concept that at once brings a radical crisis to the principles of the nation-state and clears the way for a renewal of categories that can no longer be delayed.[12]

Whether obtained by legal means, financial payments or media fame, with bestowal of citizenship, the state grants certain rights, especially the right to participate in the political life of the country. It is the state that also grants the official status of refugee, also giving rise to certain defined rights, but in a context marked by a certain degree of confusion, as demonstrated below.

In 1951, in the aftermath of World War II, the United Nations adopted the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in order to establish legal protections for the war's eleven million displaced people. The Convention was amended with a Protocol in 1967 to bring it into a more contemporary context, but the overall foundation remains those rights defined in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights and the legally binding UN Conventions that elaborated them. On the seventieth anniversary of the 1948 Declaration, their universality was defended anew, as well as warnings of increasing attacks on the rights contained within.[13] States that ratify UN legal instruments are bound to uphold them, but the state can and does renege on its duties, especially concerning non-citizens. Indeed, states have get-out clauses.

> While the core human rights standards apply equally to migrants and non-migrants, regardless of their legal status in a country, and prohibit discrimination on the basis of national origin . . . / . . . there are exceptions to these rules. International human rights law does allow States to treat citizens and non-citizens differently if the difference in treatment serves a legitimate State objective and is proportional to its achievement.[14]

Apart from the right to free movement in the host country, to safety and security, the right to a family life, and the right to own property (all of

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which are denied in some countries, especially those that illegally detain or "warehouse" refugees), crucially one of the most prized rights is the right for refugees to work. Artists who have been persecuted due to their free artistic expression will almost certainly have made a living, or at least part of their living, through their artistic, or arts-affiliated, work, such as teaching, broadcasting or writing. Denying permission to continue their artwork to an artist who lacks the "correct" status, means not only denying them of the means to be independent of state financial aid, but also denying them of their *raison d'être*—why they make art, why they had to leave their home and whatever they want to artistically express in their new home.

> The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees accords refugees the right to work but many host countries are reluctant to allow this right. This reluctance reflects varying concerns about labour market distortion and limited capacity to absorb new labour, the crowding of certain sectors, availability of jobs for citizens, reduction in wages and decline in working conditions. Host governments may also be swayed by popular opposition to refugee rights to work and by security concerns about large-scale refugee populations settling and working. Of the 145 States Parties to the 1951 Refugee Convention, almost half declare reservations, and even States that grant the right to work usually impose conditions on access to labour markets. The same limitations apply to many of the 48 States that are not States Parties to the Refugee Convention.[15]

The 2018 Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration held out some promise regarding a common approach to problems faced by migrants awaiting status confirmation, including the right to work. It is a non-binding document that was intended to be approved and ratified by all of the UN member states that had been party to the long negotiations. Although all 193 countries approved the text, only 164 formally approved it, with President Trump refusing for the United States, followed by Hungary, Austria, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, Chile and Australia, alongside twelve abstentions, almost certainly for some of the reasons cited above.[16] Yet, recent research indicates that populations are willing to accept incoming migrants if they are seen to be actively making efforts to integrate.[17] Studies found that local populations, while sceptical, fearful or angry about political, economic and social issues in their countries, often also feel a deep-seated warmth or responsibility for welcoming refugees and are anti-racist. Those who might be called the "conflicted, or anxious middle," in terms of attitudes, can change given more information, closer contact with refugees and confidence that integration can be achieved.

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A SENSE OF CITIZENSHIP

Alongside the critiques of legally defined citizenship in a globalized world, and the conflicted imbrication of human, citizens and refugee rights, there are other, broader notions that describe a *sense* of citizenship, not embroiled with states and legislation, bureaucracies and administrative mechanisms. These concepts focus on behaviors and social contributions that can lay claim to a socially responsible form of citizenship. *Enacting European Citizenship* describes individuals and groups enacting citizenship when they demand rights and "invest themselves in overcoming whatever injustices seem most important and related to their social lives, and dedicate their time and energy accordingly."[18] This enacting of citizenship happens even if—or perhaps especially when—those enacting themselves as citizens are not legally defined as such. Rewording Arendt's famous observation on WWII's stateless refugees whose lack of civic status of citizenship meant they were excluded from enjoying rights and from belonging to a political community, Isin and Saward suggest that, "What enacting citizenship then means is that people perform their right to *claim* rights by asking questions about justice and injustice."[19]

Isin and Saward define acts of citizenship not so much as the day-to-day established "routine social actions," such as voting or military service, which they describe as *active citizenship*. They examine what they call *activist citizenship*, comprised of "acts [that] introduce a rupture in the given by being creative, unauthorized and unconventional." Such acts of citizenship can include "movements of bodies such as collusions, evasions, clashes, demonstrations, refusals, processions, marches and so on."[20] These acts can be enacted or performed across territorial borders or boundaries; they can overlap, and they can connect to other sites. Referencing Judith Butler, they write, "What is politically significant about acts is . . . the moment in which a subject—a person, a collective—asserts a right or entitlement to a liveable life when no such prior authorization exists, when no clearly enabling convention is in place."[21]

What is important here is the idea that the legal, state-linked definition of citizenship is not the only conceivable one. Citizenship can be enacted (or performed) by the action of claiming rights, identifying injustice and calling for justice. In Arendt's words, it is exercising "the right to have rights," or in Butler's, "asserting an entitlement to a liveable life,"[22] and doing it in a dynamic, public, visible way that causes a rupture in the established order of things. It can also transcend political or territorial borders. This is, of course, precisely what artists whose work speaks truth to power, and who thus become persecuted artists impacted by involuntary displacement, do. Their art-making is a citizenship act, performed by a non-citizen still lack-

ing civic status, that engenders a dynamic moment of rupture in a context of trans-territoriality. Through their artistic interventions, these artists demand the right, for themselves and for their fellow citizens, to question dominant narratives and challenge repression. They claim the right for free expression guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and its subsequent UN Conventions, to seek out, have access to, express and diffuse opinions and information, including artistic works, freely.

HUMAN RIGHTS: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION. WHO DEFENDS; WHO VIOLATES; WHEN AND WHY ARE ARTISTS AT RISK?

Analyzing the situations of persecuted artists opens a perspective on a range of human rights, which includes freedom of expression, and of which freedom of *artistic* expression, or artistic freedom, is an integral part. Human rights also include cultural, economic, social and political rights (and others, such as children's and women's), all of which are detailed in separate UN Conventions. This section looks at some relevant rights and who perpetrates violations of them. It describes the role of the human rights defender (which can include artists) and existing protection mechanisms for defenders, especially relocation, as well as problems arising from the relocation of artists.

In the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19 deals with freedom of expression, stating that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."[23] In subsequent UN Conventions (binding international legislation for countries that have signed them), such as the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights[24] and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,[25] these rights are reiterated and further elaborated legally. Some of the rights that are pertinent to artists include the right to take part in cultural life, the right to freedom of expression and to creative activity; the right to international cultural collaboration; the right to freedom of movement (artists' mobility); the right to education and training; the right to the economic fruits of one's labour (including artist's copyright); and the right to freedom of association and peaceful assembly (which can include exhibitions and performances).

Importantly for those who had been advocating for the protection of artists for some time in Europe, the 2013 "European Union Human Rights Guidelines on Freedom of Expression Online and Offline" specifically mentioned artistic expression alongside the more commonly cited journalists and others whose risk is more widely made visible.[26]

In her 2013 UN Special Report, *The Right to Freedom of Artistic Expression and Creativity*, the then–UN special rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, defined *freedom of artistic expression* as:

> to be free from obstacles that impede the flourishing of artistic creativity, that carry an aesthetic and/or symbolic dimension, using different media including, but not limited to, painting and drawing, music, songs and dances, poetry and literature, theatre and circus, photography, cinema and video, architecture and sculpture, performances and public art interventions, etc., irrespective of whether their content is sacred or profane, political or apolitical, or whether it addresses social issues or not.[27]

Ironically, in the majority of cases, the perpetrator of the human right abuses is the state, that very institution that by law is charged with upholding the international instruments that protect human rights (as well as granting the status that guarantees them). States may fail to enforce international laws they have signed, fail to protect artists or fail to punish those who repress artists. What is more, governments use or selectively interpret various laws as pretexts to silence artists. These can include sedition, anti-discrimination or hate speech; terrorism; disturbance of the public order; blasphemy; laws against fake news; or obscenity.

In addition to the state, non-state perpetrators who target artists may include educational institutions (firing teachers); mass media, broadcasting, telecommunications, and production companies (banning or not diffusing work); unions (prohibiting an artist from working by denying membership); armed extremists and organized crime (drug mafia and gangs); religious authorities and traditional leaders (issuing condemnations of work or artists); corporations, distribution companies and retailers/sponsors (big multinationals suing artists for breach of copyright); civil society groups, associations and so on (censorship of the mob or street censorship).

ARTISTS-AT-RISK AND CENSORSHIP

Artist-at-risk is the term commonly used to describe artists whose human rights are abused, who are being persecuted due to their visible, public artworks or practices that encourage their communities to question authority; they may be standing up for the social rights of their community or calling out other injustices. They are claiming rights, calling for justice and highlighting injustice in creative ways that invite people to think about what is happening.

When describing violations against the human rights of artists, the umbrella term *censorship* is used, but there are degrees ranging from the obstruc-

tive to the deadly. Human rights organisations have signaled that violations to freedom of expression are the first warning signs of increasing overall repression.[28] Indirect censorship of artists can include loss of subsidy or sponsorship; loss of work or presentation premises, such as loss of exhibitions or performance bookings or lack of police protection. Censorship of the market happens when publishers are afraid to publish or when creating, maintaining and developing audiences are obstructed through bans of the work.[29] Freedom of mobility is threatened when artists are denied visas or banned from entry.[30]

In her 2017 UN report on the Impact of Fundamentalism and Extremism on the Enjoyment of Cultural Rights, current UN special rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Karima Bennoune, describes some of the situations in which artists are targeted, stating that abuses

> often involve attempts at cultural engineering aimed at redesigning culture based on monolithic world views, focused on "purity" and enmity toward "the other," policing "honour" and "modesty," claiming cultural and moral superiority, imposing a claimed "true religion" or "authentic culture" along with dress and behavior codes often alien to the lived cultures of local populations, stifling freedom of artistic expression and curtailing scientific freedom.[31]

In asking what artists do to invite such targeting and what are the consequences, there are many examples and just as many consequences: Some stay in the dangerous territory, some leave and some are killed.

Artists face danger and even death by artistically expressing alignment with values of democratic citizenship, human rights and social justice. They raise questions about existing political, religious or social power structures. They may have aligned themselves with out-of-favor political parties by accepting grants, commissions or university posts, or they may have accepted subsequently outlawed foreign funding for arts projects. Some have explored sensitive periods or questionable behaviors in their countries' histories. Often, they have merely responded artistically to their own moral imperative to react to an intolerable outrage. Ramy Essam is an Egyptian rock musician who, in 2011, played his songs to the millions of people gathering in Tahrir Square demanding freedoms and the resignation of then-President Mubarak. Threatened with imprisonment and having received death threats, he fled to safe haven in Europe, where he continues to sing, promoting gender equality, freedom, social justice, equity, health care, minority rights, education and peace. His colleague and collaborator, Galal El-Behairy, a lyricist and poet, is still in prison in Egypt.[32]

Censorship of the street or censorship of the mob is demonstrated when, for example, a social group threatens or destroys artworks, or blocks public entry to an artistic event. In 2010, in Turkey, contemporary art exhibitions

began to be targets for extremist religious groups who attacked galleries and destroyed artworks. In one case, an exhibition called *Free Zone Istanbul*, part of a contemporary dance and performance festival organised annually by a Turkish cultural foundation, was attacked. Artist Rosa Bosch, the designer of the exhibition, stated, 'Each object in the exhibition has a question, which can be answered in different ways. It is doable to . . . / . . . discuss about them but the impossibility of a discussion is a sign of some dogmas. It saddened me to experience such a case while working on a project that aims to create and share discussion.'[33]

At-risk artists or their loved ones are often threatened or physically harmed or maimed. Very often political party–affiliates, police, military, government or religious groups will threaten artists' parents, siblings or partners in order to intimidate the artist to cease making or diffusing work they deem provocative. In a confidential case I worked on in 1993, film censors, knowing a young filmmaker's father had a heart condition, threatened to beat his father in an attempt to stop a film being made. The filmmaker eventually left the country with a scholarship to study film. In another case, Richard Djif, a Cameroonian filmmaker who had made a political satire, was kidnapped for some days by political loyalists, his finger was cut off and he was left by the roadside as a warning. He is still active in his home country.[34]

Artists are put in prison, or left in prison for years, in the hope that their public will forget them. Ashraf Fayadh is a Saudi-born Palestinian artist and poet who was imprisoned on weak and contested charges of blasphemy in a book of his poetry, in a series of court cases that called for his death and then later for 800 to 1,000 lashes and eight to ten years in prison. On hearing the initial court decision, Ashraf's father died of a heart attack. Despite, or because of, international outcries and campaigns for his release, Ashraf has been repeatedly put into solitary confinement, each time following international social media criticism of his treatment by the Saudis.[35]

Artists are arrested; their works are censored and banned from publication, presentation and diffusion, thus preventing them from earning a living; or they are simply and swiftly murdered. In Pakistan's Swat Valley, home of generations of musicians, singers and dancers whose cultural tradition is to provide music at weddings, the Taliban and its sympathizers are responsible for many assassinations and attacks on musicians.[36] Mark Weil was a Ukrainian/Russian Uzbek theatre director and founder of the Ilkhom Theatre company in Tashkent. His work covered a range of issues, and above all, encouraged audiences to think openly about contemporary social issues such as gender and religion. He was beaten and stabbed to death in the hallway of his apartment building. Although some men were eventually charged for the crime, members of the theatre company believe this was a government

coverup and those arrested were scapegoats.[37] Juliano Mer-Khamis was a successful actor/director/filmmaker, of mixed Israeli Jewish/Palestinian and Christian parentage. He developed the Freedom Theatre from a youth project established by his mother in Jenin, in the West Bank of the Palestinian Territories. A mixed-discipline arts centre, Freedom Theatre encouraged children in the Jenin Refugee Camp to reason, analyze and think independently in a context of strict proscriptions. Again, various suspects for his assassination have, in turn, been accused, but according to those close to him, the case is not definitively solved and is likely to have been politically or religiously motivated.[38] Whereas writers have long been accepted as defending human rights in their work, it is only relatively recently that the case has been made for artists in other disciplines.

HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS AND TEMPORARY RELOCATION

As more and more artists of all disciplines today are involved in socially or politically engaged work that 'speaks truth to power,' directly or indirectly promoting human rights, more artists could become at risk. The continuing interest and recent increase in arts school courses on socially or politically engaged work is a testimony to the spread of this art practice. Increasing numbers of artists in conflict or national revolution situations are using their art to support human rights, free expression and democratic values. Statistics are hard to come by. Very few organisations collect them, and they do not currently collaborate and cross-reference data, so a coherent picture is difficult to produce. Freemuse, an international organisation that uses a human rights approach to defend artistic freedom, has, since 2014, attempted to establish some baseline statistics through its annual State of Artistic Freedom reports. In 2017, whilst citing 533 verified cases of illegal censorship and persecution in seventy-eight countries, Freemuse admitted that this "is a big tip of a big iceberg," as there are many more cases that go unreported.[39] However, reported numbers are rising, likely due to the growing visibility of the phenomena and the fact that it is beginning to be reported. The 2019 edition details 673 cases of violation of artistic freedom in eighty countries.[40] Alongside this, for the last twenty years but accelerating in the last ten, there has been a gradual but definite movement for NGOs dedicated to free speech—such as PEN or Index on Censorship, who have traditionally only supported writers—to join together with arts advocates to serve artists of all disciplines whose artworks defend democratic, human rights and social justice values, and who are persecuted. Although there are many examples of persecution

of artists and repression of free artistic expression in the Global North, the majority of artists whose situations are grave enough to warrant fleeing the country and securing safe relocation elsewhere come from the Global South and head to the Global North.

If artists can demonstrate that their artwork or art practices defend human rights (or a human right) and that expressing this has made them a target for human rights abuses, they may be considered in the category of HRD (human rights defender). In the definition below, note the requirement to "act," acting to claim rights.

> "Human rights defender" is a term used to describe people who, individually or with others, act to promote or protect human rights. Human rights defenders are identified above all by what they do . . . / . . . To be a human rights defender, a person can act to address any human right (or rights) on behalf of individuals or groups. Human rights defenders seek the promotion and protection of civil and political rights as well as the promotion, protection and realization of economic, social and cultural rights . . . / . . . Human rights defenders can be any person or group of persons working to promote human rights, ranging from intergovernmental organizations based in the world's largest cities to individuals working within their local communities. Defenders can be of any gender, of varying ages, from any part of the world and from all sorts of professional or other backgrounds.[41]

In 1998, the UN passed a non-legally binding Declaration on Human Rights Defenders, affirming that, "State parties to the Declaration have a duty to protect HRDs against violence, retaliation and intimidation as a consequence of their human rights work. The duty to protect is not limited to actions by State bodies and officials but extends to actions of non-State actors, including corporations, fundamentalist groups and other private individuals."[42] In 2000, the UN created the mandate for the UN Special Rapporteur on HRDs, monitoring and investigating cases of abuse and encouraging states to implement key universal international human rights instruments, and in 2009 the UN mandate of Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights was created.[43] The two Special Rapporteurs now work closely together.

NGOs in the human rights and free speech sector have done much over the last decade to develop methods to protect HRDs who are subject to serious persecution. Persecuted artists have increasingly been assisted with these resources. They include emergency grants for legal, medical and psychosocial care, as well as so-called temporary relocation to quickly bring the defender (or artist) out of immediate danger, or for a period of rest and recuperation, or for additional training and support.

In 2012, Nicolaj Sønderby produced a report for the EU, entitled, "Mapping of Temporary Shelter Initiatives for Human Rights Defenders in Danger,

In and Outside the EU."[44] The report explored the increasing use of relocation and the inclusion of artists-at-risk who are considered as defending human rights. The Mapping report set the stage for the EU's EIDHR (European Instrument on Democracy and Human Rights) to continue and to improve its financial support to programmes in collaboration with human rights NGOs, cities, regions and universities that offer protection, defense and relocation to defenders. Some of these programmes specifically include writers and artists. The mapping report led to the creation of an EU exchange platform for NGOs and others who organize temporary relocation to HRDs globally.

Temporary relocation entails assisting the defender to leave the situation of danger and facilitating their stay in a so-called safe haven, or safe house, that may be in the same, a neighboring or a different country. Funding programmes, both private (e.g., NGOs and foundations) and public (e.g., the EU's DEVCO—the Directorate General for International Development and Cooperation) can offer or lead to funds for emergency assistance. Cases are rigorously verified: The HRD (including artists) must prove through documentation that they are facing a real and serious threat related to their work defending human rights.

On the local level, some municipalities and universities have long been active in shelter city movements for intellectuals, scholars and human rights activists at risk. A number of shelters have been established for persecuted artists. The original International Network of Cities of Asylum (INCA) was founded in 1993 by the International Parliament of Writers (IPW) in response to the assassination of writers in Algeria and elsewhere, and although the IPW was dissolved in 2005, the initiative continued, led by a newly formed network of cities, ICORN (International Network of Cities of Refuge, now numbering over seventy cities). In 2014, ICORN's membership decided to offer residencies not only to writers, but to artists of all disciplines. Over the same period, there has been a substantial increase in the numbers of artists' residencies, temporary studios or workspaces intended to give artists focused time for reflection and creation. Although only a fraction of these offer places to at-risk artists, there are increasing numbers of spaces open to artists who must be relocated to safety. Classic human rights defenders' residencies have opened to qualifying artists, and new programmes have recently been created, such as the Artists' Protection Fund based in the United States and the Martin Roth Initiative based in Germany. All have selection criteria and procedures, and all believe that temporary relocation, providing space and time to work away from threat, is useful for an artist who is facing danger due to the nature of their artwork or practice. Other initiatives have started to appear, such as the relatively new Artists at Risk Connection platform based at PEN America, and the annual Safe Havens conference, organised each December, bringing

together artists-at-risk, arts associations, human rights and free speech NGOs, lawyers and public authorities to share information and good practice.

Thus, we see more paradoxes: States have the power to grant rights-giving status, but they can also withhold those rights; yet on the other hand, they have a duty to protect those who act to claim rights.

ISSUES CONCERNING RELOCATION OF ARTISTS

While relocation is a crucial safeguard, there are concerns. Although there is usually a honeymoon period marked by feelings of relief and freedom, depending on the degree of trauma experienced and the degree to which an artist has an international network and profile, a relocation is generally not an end, but the beginning of a series of challenges. Some of the issues associated with temporary relocation for artists are coming to the surface. Some of these highlight the North/South divide, others are questions of equitable access and professional development support, still others are related to appropriate care for the trauma that the artists may have experienced, and some are linked to the lack of civic status, and thus obstructions to their rights.

There is the question of artistic brain drain. The overwhelming majority of artists-at-risk residencies are in the Global North, particularly in Europe, where there is a prevalence of public subsidies and grants. HRD NGOs and others have become aware that for many reasons including language, culture and proximity to home and loved ones, it is advisable to relocate within the defender or artist's home region. There are some, but few, ICORN cities in the Global South, notably in Brazil and Mexico, with potential for others in Africa. Other regional initiatives, such as el Mawred al Thaqafy (Arab Culture Resource), have started to support safe havens and artists' protection projects. Yet supporting at-risk artists may compromise the safety of the regional organisation, and various countries are making it illegal to accept foreign funding, especially for projects that support human rights or free speech. Thus, for the moment and despite current efforts to support regional responses, the Global North countries are the most frequent destinations, and Global South initiatives must keep a low, sometimes secretive, profile in order to continue.

Relocation is usually for a limited period from a few weeks, up to (more rarely) one or two years. Artists are most often hosted in artistic residencies, where they may continue to do their artistic work, or again, more rarely, offered a scholarship for further artistic education. Yet, it is an open secret that most "temporary relocation" is not temporary at all, but long-term or even permanent.[45] In many cases, it is impossible to return to the home country if

the danger has not passed. This has been seen in the follow-up to the Arab Spring revolutions—in Egypt, for example, where the government and military have ensured a repressive state security environment. Turkey is another case where artists and intellectuals are as much in danger now as when the current government began its purge of opponents. The last few years have seen Myanmar open its doors to free expression, including for artists, only to close them down now very severely.

Despite HRD relocation programmes that include preparation for the return home and potential dangers, the relocated defenders and artists often find the danger is too great. In these cases, they may be helped to search for a second residency or a third and so on, or to seek political asylum (although this is always advised only as a very last resort). It can take years for civic status to be decided—then eventually granted—during which time the artist may have no status in the host country, and thus not be able to claim the rights granted only when the status is received. This is where public policies designed to support artists' careers and development, or policies that aim to regulate immigration, can pose obstacles. Most arts councils are mandated to grant funds only to legal citizens. Many countries do not allow asylum seekers to earn money or grants. Applying for refugee status can take years. If an artist "temporarily" relocated cannot go back, what legal status can they obtain in the host country, how long will this take, how will they continue to exercise their "right to claim rights" and how will that affect their artistic work?

If artists realize that they cannot return home, how do they compete in an artistic landscape with many local artists and relatively fewer funds? Who is their audience once they have changed their environment? Is it their old public, from whom they are now distanced, or a new local public, with whom they may not share a perspective? Which gatekeepers (museum or gallery directors, curators, performance programmers, festival directors, publishers, etc.) will understand their aesthetic, which may be very different from the local one, and promote them? How do they learn to work the subsidy system, learn to use both the local language and the arts jargon, and find enough work to support themselves?

Artists need to keep working as artists, even if they have to flee danger in order to feel their work has value. Specialized refugee psychologists testify that in order to avoid mental and emotional stress, refugees need to feel their sacrifice has value, and is justified as contributing to the good of their community or family.[46] It is therefore far better to host artists within an artistic milieu than a general refugee or HRD facility. But arts residency staff need to be trained and competent to address some of the complex issues these artists may carry, such as hidden trauma or extreme worry about family members.

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When an artist arrives at a site of relocation, they will have been through an extreme experience and will start another. Most artists, at risk in their context, do not realize the danger until it is very late. They need to find a place of safety. They may go from one hiding place to another in their own country until they have exhausted their friends' and colleagues' hospitality. They may leave on their own, as an ordinary refugee, alone or with others. Depending on the country of arrival (and we see policies hardening), they may be lucky and get a time-limited visa, or get invited to a short-term artists' residency, a training or higher education course, or even a temporary teaching post in another country. In any case, where they arrive, they do not belong; they are not citizens, according to the legal definitions. They do not belong as those with generations of roots in that place belong. They are deemed "foreigners." They may be asylum seekers, migrant workers or guest lecturers, or they may be simply called, in the more benign term, "newcomers." If they have fled persecution, it is likely that they will not be able to return to their country of origin, at least not in the short- or even medium-term. They are "exiles." Their lived experience of displacement is what they cannot help but carry, and as artists, offer, to their host societies. Although displaced from their home countries, they are the opposite of what, at the 2016 Conservative Party conference, the British Prime Minister Theresa May called, "a citizen of nowhere." I will argue that they can, and do, embody, enact or perform a certain sense of citizenship.

"Artists impacted by displacement," as defined in the introduction to this chapter, is a working title I currently use, although constantly inviting feedback from artists who may fit the description. My definition necessarily requires a movement that is, to a significant extent, involuntary, due to an untenable situation in the artist's home location. (This is also the definition of exile.) There are numerous variations and situations involved in the decision to leave a home base under duress. Some artists, seeing the writing on the wall, for example, of intolerance to their gender or community orientation, political ideas or religious views, may leave before being pushed, as it were—they can observe others' fates, or the general political, social or even economic climate that will eventually force them to face danger and/or abandon their artistic work. Whereas a migrant is anyone who has moved from their home for any reason, a refugee has moved to escape conflict, persecution or other factors that put them in need of international protection and lead to justifiable fears of a return home. As we have seen, however, the official status of "refugee" is not assumed; it needs to be granted by the hosting state. Those awaiting the decision on their request to a state for this protection, and thus, their official refugee status, are called asylum seekers. Artists impacted by displacement may fall into any of these categories—they may be migrant

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artists studying abroad; they may have moved to a country where their artistic work can continue. They may have already nourished and networked an artistic career on an international level. Some artists may leave impending difficulties via a totally legitimate artists residency, scholarship, performance tour, showcase, arts festival or conference. And then they may stay. Like anyone in exile, they will develop perspectives on their experiences, and like all artists, their experiences, whether physical, intellectual or spiritual, will be present in some way in their work: Their dynamic, public acts rupture accepted ways of thinking and invite reflection. Many feed into a globalised art scene and discourse, with aesthetics not only shaped by local influences and cultural norms, but underpinned by a wider, cross-border and global frame of reference. Some will exercise their art practice by creating closely and interactively with participants, while others will prefer to offer their created works to a public that can face and reflect on it as it stands.

Artists' freedom of artistic expression is protected under the international human rights regime, and when they are themselves persecuted because their art promotes recognised human rights, they can be considered as human rights defenders and be supported with emergency funds and relocation to safety. However, there are legitimate concerns for artists who have been relocated. Some of these directly relate to the loss of rights if they do not have civic status in the new host country, if they are neither citizens nor refugees. An understanding of an artist-at-risk, or any artist impacted by displacement, as fulfilling a civic role by providing a type of "bridging citizenship," might be useful in valorizing their contribution to civic life and provide a pathway to more inclusive policies.

ARTISTIC, PARTICIPATIVE
AND SOCIALLY ENGAGED CITIZENSHIP

There are various explorations of citizenship related to art and artists using terms such as *artistic citizenship*, *artivism* and *citizen artists*. Although socially engaged art practice has long been a staple of the arts curriculum and the arts sector, a renewed and growing interest by a new generation has resulted in more recent university and other artists' training programmes' specialist courses.[47] In the United States, the Aspen Institute Arts Program defines *citizen artists* as those who engage in proctive participatory practices, as well as those who take a more formal or personal path, as:

> Individuals who reimagine the traditional notions of art-making, and who contribute to society either through the transformative power of their artistic abilities, or through proactive social engagement with the arts in realms including

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education, community building, diplomacy and healthcare . . . [This includes] citizen artistry and musicianship, largely founded in the ideals of empathetic connections between artists and communities, as well as inspiration, imagination and transformation.[48]

In the introduction to *Artistic Citizenship: Artistry, Social Responsibility, and Ethical Praxis*, editors Elliott, Silverman and Bowman argue against the eighteenth-century European "arts for art's sake" justification for art, which imagines that the intrinsic or aesthetic quality of art is the only legitimate one. While not committing themselves to a strict definition of *artistic citizenship*, the book sets out to examine and demonstrate examples of ethical art-making, by "conscientious artistic citizens," and "art practices that implicate responsibilities to each other and to our collective identities."[49] Underlining their arguments with the premise that the arts are essential, fundamental social endeavors, they write,

> The arts are made by and for people, living in real worlds involving conflicts large and small. As such, the arts are also and invariably embodiments of people's political and ideological beliefs, understandings, and values, both personal and collective. Accordingly, artistic endeavors involve a special kind of citizenship—civic responsibility to conceive of and engage in them with a view to the particular social "goods" they embody or nurture. The arts are rich human actions replete with human significance and, by extension, ethical responsibilities.[50]

Another clearly political perspective on socially engaged arts practice is given by Grant H. Kester. Using examples of politically engaged theatre, he defines *the aesthetic* as "the relationship between self and other; subjective or interior and social or exterior experience." He continues:

> For me the aesthetic is, in a way, the missing piece of modern political theory, as it raises essential questions about how we come to think differently about our condition from the perspective of immediate, somatic experience, how we form a sense of social solidarity or antagonism, and how we come to both envision and feel new political and social forms. At the core of the modern concept of the aesthetic is the principle of autonomy, which marks out the space within which new forms of agency and new forms of creative or emancipatory thought might be cultivated.[51]

Kestzer echoes the idea of creating a reflective rupture. Envisioning and feeling new political and social forms also brings to mind Agamben's "new political community" (Agamben 2000) or art critic, curator and artistic director of Rome's MAXXI museum, Hou Hanru, as he identifies refugees as creating new conditions of culture,

. . . migrants turn their "exile" into a process of engaging and negotiating with urban/suburban spaces. Culturally and physically, their presence and active involvement strongly changes the social and cultural structures of the city in order to produce new cities. . . . Internally the structure of the population, public behavior, values, etc. are becoming increasingly diversified and transformed.[52]

This process includes the work that artists who have been obliged to move will have created in their home countries and will continue to do, acting as social bridges, in the new host country, artistic projects that, in Rosa Bosch's words, "aim to create and share discussion" and that encourage people to think and express freely. It includes work that is dynamic, disruptive, connects across territories, claims rights for self and others and changes status quo perceptions.

Artistic Citizenship: Artistry, Social Responsibility, and Ethical Praxis contains a series of chapters by contributors who, to a large degree, discuss diverse forms of participatory, engaged art, that is, art that directly engages with participants who have agency in the process. On the other hand, the Aspen definition also speaks specifically of artists who are not necessarily engaging "proactively . . . in various realms including education, community development . . . ," but rather "through the transformative power of their artistic abilities."[53] For me, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but rather they are flexible points on a moving scale, and many artists place themselves on different points on the scale, adapting to their own artistic interests, their public and the context.

Many artists impacted by displacement very understandably do not wish to be seen as victims, refugees or objects of pity, and they object to the role that is sometimes placed on them to portray this. As "A," an artist relocated to the West from a country in civil war, due to attempts by militias to frame and arrest him, says, "All they want me to do is come and talk about being a refugee. I don't like to do it, but they pay me, and, well, I need money too. But what I really want to do is to study and become the best theatre artist I can be." Yet aside from theatre projects and continued drama study, "A" willingly volunteers artistic and organisational services in projects that build bridges between the disapora and the new local host community. "B" is a novelist whose gender-oriented stories made flight to safety necessary. His work as a novelist continues privately, even while he also works part-time helping other artists who had to flee danger to integrate into the community. And "C," a feminist writer who also had to flee persecution, now devotes herself entirely to socially engaged writing initiatives with migrant women in her city.

Yet another approach has been taken by Be Aware Productions, a Turkish theatre and film production company based in Wales. Involved in a 2012 digitally interactive play in Turkey called *Mi Minör* with a significant social

Figure 9.1.   Untitled.
Source: Sulafa Hijazi. Image: Sulafa Hijazi, 2017.

media presence, the three associated with it—actress Pinar Ogun, writer Meltem Arikan and director/actor Memet Ali Alibora—had to seek safe haven (and have since been condemned in absentia to life imprisonment without parole). The play was set in a fictional country, supposedly a democracy but in reality a dictatorship, where the musical note Mi was banned. During the 2013 protests in Gezi Park and elsewhere, the play was condemned as a rehearsal to topple the government, in a wide-ranging smear campaign orchestrated by pro-government media.[54] Although they had not done so

in Turkey, they decided to form their own production company once in the UK. One of their plays, *Enough Is Enough*, deals with sexual harassment and the empowerment of girls, and it has toured their new host country in mostly deprived and remote territories. Pinar Ogun relates, "In some areas, the team was shocked by the lack of interest in arts, but on the contrary in other areas, they observed the transformational power of it."[55] After the play one of the girls asked Pinar to teach her how to become a feminist. "It was like an answer to the everlasting question, 'why do we make theatre?'"[56] They have decided to use their own experience of repression to open the minds of the people where they are now. "Since coming to the UK, apart from some individual professional projects, they have done work on domestic violence, the Welsh language and identity. When their life sentences were announced in Turkey, their response was to say—look, we are working here as theatre makers, we've made our home here."[57]

Khaled Barakeh is a Syrian artist and cultural activist based in Berlin whose practice also spans the spectrum. Having already served in the Syrian Army, he studied art in Syria, then in Denmark. Facing his call-back to the Syrian Army, he was granted political asylum in Germany. With a base in conceptual art practice, he creates stunning images and installations, drawn on his personal life experience:

> . . . through acts of joining and separation, decontextualizing and reconstructing the narratives, blurring the lines between real and fiction and highlighting presence by absence—that of words, objects, individuals, victims, bodies. His art practice can be categorized as cultural hacking—revolving around both personal and social narratives, it often transforms pre-existing materials, objects and data in order to change their contexts through repetitive acts of transformation. Through these actions, Barakeh aims to create new environments for the audience, challenging their expectations and pre-existing assumptions.[58]

Barakeh certainly reflects his sociopolitical concerns, and the work itself is fully grounded in art theory and years of study of aesthetics. His lived experience of constrained migration, in any case, comes through in what he creates and in his extremely committed activities as curator and arts organiser, hosting a residency for at-risk artists, teaching art courses for artists impacted by displacement and speaking out on behalf of migrant and refugee artists, especially but certainly not limited to those from Syria. He has managed to build a practice that both reflects the inner creativity in his own solo works, as well as being totally committed to the multiple communities with whom he identifies.

I would argue that life experiences are inherent in an artist's work even if not directly depicted: Art asks us to reflect back ourselves, on its impact on

Figure 9.2.   MUTE.
Source: Khaled Barakeh. Image: Guevera Namer, 2020.

us and our own experience. In the words of Ghanaian sculptor now based in Nigeria, El Anatsui:

> I think that art is something that should lend itself to constant recontextualization . . . / . . . While science class attempted to feed us information, art asked us to search for something from within ourselves. I believe the creative endeavor is about exploration. It is bound to be open-ended, divergent, and free to various contextualizations. People approach this work with different antecedents, and these are what enable them to read meaning into it, or not get any meaning at all, which is still not a waste of time.[59]

Anatsui also prefers the notion of interconnectivity to categorization by country or region of origin (and thus he reflects the transnational journeys of artists impacted by displacement). He continues:

> . . . interconnectivities [between places] have been largely economic, political, militaristic, linguistic, cultural, religious, and psychological. They have created a cauldron of experiences that impacts contemporary art and society.[60]

It is this 'cauldron of experiences' that artists impacted by displacement can also offer us, an 'interconnectivity' that invites those of us who have not been

dislocated, to connect on some level. If art elicits in us a response according to what we see or hear or feel in it, resonating with our own life experience, then the experience of forced displacement will connect to something in us and accordingly bring us a certain sensitivity and sensibility. This art-making is on another point on the scale; it invites the viewer, listener or reader to reflect on the human condition and their own resonance with it. This is illustrated well in an interview with Syrian philosopher and writer based in the UK, Odai Al Zoubi, regarding his book of short stories, *Silence*:

> I was actually criticized by friends and people who say that some of my stories in fact say nothing about the war, and I like this comment. Yes, they are not about the war per se, they don't tell you who's fighting whom, they don't tell you why we have a war. First of all, this is not what literature should do. . . . [The book] is about human communication and how sometimes silence might be a way to communicate with other people. There is an introduction where I talk about the different kinds of silence. There is silence when you don't need to utter any words because the person you're communicating with understands what you want to say without you talking. There is the silence that comes from a feeling that your words are pointless. There is no point in saying them because nobody would understand you. Sometimes, you don't talk because you're too tired or because you're too sad or you don't know what you want to say because you, yourself, are very confused.[61]

This nonparticipatory art-making is also a dynamic invitation and offer to the community or society to shake off habitual thoughts. It asks the one engaging with it to realize anew what it is like to be in that community or society, to consider identities, commonalities, differences and solidarities. Though two very different types of creators, El Anatsui's and Zoubi's words also relate to artists whose lives embody the experience of repression by a sovereign state that violates their human right to free expression, assembly and so on, either by persecuting them or failing to protect them, but whose artwork is not necessarily a direct or didactic depiction of this situation or their own political stance. In countries with harsh censorship laws, artists have learned to work more abstractly, using metaphor or allegory to address repression. Yet their artworks, for which they have been targeted, are still demonstrably dynamic cracks in the status quo.

Some artists impacted by displacement make work that does directly challenge injustice or claims rights, and some feel a personal need to use their arts skills with others who have gone through the same experience—they work in camps, or with migrant or refugee communities in the new host community. Another reaction by artists impacted by displacement is to make artwork that directly speaks to forced migration, its histories and legacies, or the fear, frustration, humiliation, political injustices or challenges to integration in a new

host country. Still others make work, motivated by the experiences they have had in their home country, that can raise self-awareness by people in the new host country of aspects of their histories or lives that they take for granted. Those whose legal status is still in question, or who are still struggling with the trauma associated by their persecution or flight, may have difficulties doing this type of work—for example, if they are in detention facilities where they cannot go out, or cannot do any work to earn money, or cannot travel to network with other artists or arts organisations. Many of them find a way—by volunteering, or with the support of other artists or artist-led initiatives. We might say they are enacting a kind of citizenship between non-citizens, a new form for a new citizenship of a community of not-yet citizens in the legal sense. A community nonetheless, whose mutual support, common challenges and collective dreams form a citizenry.

Most artists simply wish to make art, to be an artist, to give form or shape, whether in an object or in a practice, by creating a product or facilitating a process that expresses their will to create. Not all artists wish to focus on one singular aspect of their lives, such as the migration experience. They do not seek to be eternally identified with victimhood or suffering, labelled as "the refugee," but as an artist free to explore any artistic pathways and ideas where their inspiration takes them. Breaking free from simplistic and constraining labels imposed by others, however, does not mean leaving aside one's own experiential truths. These are the truths, or contradictions, confrontations, dilemmas or even joys or mysteries that may echo in us, who in turn, experience the work. The work of artists who live in involuntary exile, whose forced displacement has an impact on them, may have an impact on those of us in their new host communities, if only they have the necessary support to make, show and diffuse their work, and if we have the necessary mindset to engage reflectively with it.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter aimed to set out a different notion of citizenship, going beyond or perhaps in parallel with its historical-legal meaning and the paradoxes that accompany the nation-state's behaviours and responsibilities. The chapter described a sense of citizenship that requires action, is publicly visible, calls out injustice and asserts rights, especially when they are not freely available. It involves breaking with established ways of thinking, seeing and ordering social life, may transcend borders and is enacted by one or more community members to benefit others. It is akin to a civic duty to inform, to educate, to broaden understandings, to honour the human spirit—and also to affirm, by

the exercise of them, universally recognised rights of freedom of expression, thought, opinion, belief and culture. The chapter described how artists whose artwork embodies these values, can see their own rights violated by repressive social or political perpetrators. Ironically, after experiencing persecution and flight, if relocated to a "safe" country, these artists may face the denial or postponement of the enjoyment of their rights in the "safe" country, at least or until such time as the host state grants (and sometimes it doesn't) official refugee or citizenship status. This can obstruct their ability to continue to do the very work they need to do to make sense of their lives and to offer us new perspectives of our lives and times. Yet artists impacted by displacement may engage in citizenship behaviors and actions in a variety of ways, explicitly or implicitly, whether by inviting participation in their art or offering artworks to be reflected upon. Their work and their actions connect their own life experiences to the new communities and societies of which they have become part.

The type of citizenship that artists impacted by displacement enact is extremely important to our societies today, especially when the artist's artwork or practice has been defending human rights whether overtly or indirectly. It calls into question the rise of xenophobia and populist nationalism that we see in many places today. It reminds us that we cannot take our freedoms for granted. It reminds us that even in our "free" countries, not everyone is free to enjoy the same supposedly human, guaranteed and universal rights. But this enacted citizenship also has the power to engage even with fearful exclusionist members of the public.

Artists impacted by displacement perform or enact this sense of citizenship as a civic or a public offering they would in any case normally provide, as any artist making work for audiences and participants. But this civic offer is informed by three experiences common to artists impacted by displacement no matter which path they have taken. The first is the experience of their homeland, its cultures and values, and the repression or conflict that has forced them away. The second is the experience of involuntary migration, whether logistically straightforward or not. The third is the experience of observing, confronting, engaging with, reflecting on and impacting the new, host society, its values and its cultures. Hou Hanru describes this as an ongoing, historical process:

> battles for cultural difference and exchange, and even hybridization, have never ceased to unfold on the streets. Social mobilization for coexistence and justice between different communities continues to play its role in the making of new localities. . . . Accordingly, the social and political claims of different "new" and "foreign" communities must be heard and cultural differences accepted and even promoted as a key element for the society to adapt to the global change. . . . At the very forefront of this battle are "immigrant" artists, especially those

from non-Western parts of the world. They not only recount the story of exile, but also create new and innovative narratives of the new localities. . . . They propose new visions and scenarios of the reality-in-progress.[62]

This is the sense of a citizenship that bridges. Through their artwork and the inspiration and reflection in it, the artists impacted by displacement provide a bridge between here and there, now and then, and articulate the condition of being in-between. They link sites across national borders that interrogate national status quos, social injustice and obstacles to freedom. They do not simply observe, but they actually embody one of the most striking phenomena today—involuntary global migration, and its causes: intolerance, polarization, inequality, racism, armed conflict and climatic and other destabilizing changes threatening traditional livelihoods and ways of life. Their lives and work are real-time demonstrations of cultural diversity, plurality, equity (or inequity), decolonialization, the universality of human rights and free expression. In a current world context marked by the movement of peoples and the ideological provocations released in its wake, their civic gift is to make us think and see what we, who have not moved as they have, cannot see—what we will need in order to live, survive and thrive in this changed world. In Hanru and Scardi's view, "What unites them is an intercultural outlook that is not a deliberate choice, but a spontaneous response to the stimuli and influences of the different environments in which they have ended up living."[63] They represent, in Hanru's words:

> a new condition of culture lead[ing] to a new understanding of the notion of identity . . . / . . . It implies a de-identification of the established notion of identification that is often derived from one's dependence on the nation-state community, and a re-identification based on the very complex experience of every individual or group confronting and living with others along the routes of global travel in an attempt to resettle themselves in "new worlds."[64]

Artists who have been impacted by the experience of displacement display a sense of citizenship in their work that speaks, directly or indirectly, to this experience. They bridge the culture and values of their homeland, the experience of externally obliged migration and transit to one or sometimes more countries and of relocation in a host country with its own culture and values. Targeted by repression and violation of their basic, universally recognised human rights, whether freedom to express or freedom to live a dignified life, they claim rights for themselves and others, questioning authority and calling out injustice. Indeed, many are recognised as human rights defenders. They can be considered as enacting an activist citizenship as well as artistic citizenship. Even when their work does not speak explicitly of their concerns, or

when it is not directly participatory in physically or digitally engaging with participants, it still provides an educational, reflective, perspective-broadening service to the public. In doing so, they offer novel, audacious and honest observations of the state of citizenship and democracy.

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APPENDIX II: 'Citizenship and Culture' (2012)

Mary Ann DeVlieg

Citizenship and Culture

> "We can say without exaggeration that never has civilization been menaced so seriously as today. ....today we see world civilization, united in its historic destiny, reeling under the blows of reactionary forces armed with the entire arsenal of modern technology."[27]

The notion of 'citizenship' and especially 'active citizenship' has been developed in the EU for over ten years. The concept is linked to various areas of EU policy, from the need to create a deeper sense of personal belonging to the EU space and political project, to certain EU educational and learning goals aiming at combating racism and supporting acceptance of cultural diversity. However, the term citizenship is problematic, especially when related to political borders such those of an autonomous region, nation or indeed the EU. It is exclusive rather than inclusive; it disenfranchises any person who does not hold the citizenship of the place.[28] Thus even a 'good' person, actively involved in positive behaviour in their community has no claim to associated rights if s/he does not happen to have a legal document granting them citizenship of the territory in question. In a world marked by massive migrations, the lack of a passport should not deny rights. As Simon Mundy used to say, "We should speak of 'all the people in Europe' rather than 'all of the European peoples'." Of course, the term citizenship can be used metaphorically to refer to a social contract of rights and responsibilities, but we are surrounded by its legal use on a day to day basis, all the more so in an EU marked by different legal treatment between 'ressortissants' (those for whom the territorial law will decide) and those who are merely residing in a place for whatever reason. And let's not forget that the term itself historically refers to the exclusive Greek so-called direct democratic system that only gave the right to vote to males who had undertaken military service, excluding women, slaves and foreigners. Today there are increasing calls by social and human rights organisations for non-citizen immigrants to take part in the polity of their communities – it was only in the late 19th and early 20th century

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[27] Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art, Andre Breton and Diego Rivera, 1938
[28] Wikipedia definition - Citizenship denotes the link between a person and a state or an association of states. ...Possession of citizenship is normally associated with the right to work and live in a country and to participate in political life....Nationality is often used as a synonym for citizenship – notably in international law...http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizenship
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that the vote was actually taken away from immigrants in the USA[29] - and the controversy still rages in the UK whether citizen-prisoners should be allowed to vote, in defiance of the European Court of Human Rights' decision that it should be allowed in the EU.

Citizenship thus implies that a State confers rights offering various protections and freedoms and in return citizens have consequent responsibilities to that State. It's not so easy today. In many parts of the world, including the EU, residents as well as citizens are forced to insist, to demand, to fight for internationally acknowledged rights from governments who avoid giving them due to a variety of reasons ranging from political or economic ideology to election promises or financial affiliations.

'Global citizenship' perhaps sounds more like a reflection of current reality as well as implying shared responsibilities amongst members of the human race, but it seems that by 'active citizenship' we are really talking here about a desire to encourage people who share interests and values to undertake actions in order to influence their communities, and thus by inference wider society, in positive directions.

But what interests and values, and whose definition of 'positive'? Isaiah Berlin coined the phrase 'value pluralism' to describe his belief that there are differing and even seemingly contradictory values though it is possible for these each to have an inner logic or truth and thus to be respected as such.[30] Examples are found in the differences between East and West - the legacy of Confucianism (collective society) and Aristotle (individualistic society).[31] Things become more complicated when comparing the values of a community who honour the right to free expression (the so-called 'right to offend or shock'[32])

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[29] http://www.immigrantvoting.org/material/misconceptions.html

[30] "I came to the conclusion that there is a plurality of ideals, as there is a plurality of cultures and of temperaments. I am not a relativist; I do not say "I like my coffee with milk and you like it without; I am in favor of kindness and you prefer concentration camps" - each of us with his own values, which cannot be overcome or integrated. This I believe to be false. But I do believe that there is a plurality of values which men can and do seek, and that these values differ." New York Review of Books, Vol. XLV, Number 8 (1998)

[31] Richard Nisbett, The Geography of Thought, The Free Press (Simon and Schuster) NY, 2003

[32] The UN Human Rights Committee (the body that oversees implementation of the ICCPR) has stressed this point: Article 19, paragraph 2, must be interpreted as encompassing every form of subjective ideas and opinions capable of transmission to others, which are compatible with article 20 of the Covenant, of news and information, of commercial expression and advertising, of works of art, etc.; it should not be confined to means of political, cultural or artistic expression. Moreover the mere fact that an idea is disliked or thought to be incorrect cannot justify preventing a person from expressing it. http://www.article19.org/pages/en/key-aspects.html

and those of a community who honour the dignity of their religious founders above all.

Can participation in culture make us more positive participants in our communities? Jewish Romanian writer, Norman Manea reminds us, "I have a friend at Yale and he told me the university had bought Stalin's personal library after the fall of Communism. And he comes to me one day and says: 'Norman, this is astonishing, these books speak of an extremely cultivated man, his side notes are those of a remarkably intelligent man.' And let's not forget that this is the same man who used to deliver those idiotic speeches and give some awfully foolish, even imbecile instructions for his people..."[33] We don't even have to go back to any of history's numerous book-burnings to demonstrate that 'cultured' people can act in an 'uncivilised' manner.' Nationalistic movements induce citizens to great activity, and involve cultural and artistic elements to a large degree. The very recent return to nationalist culture policies in Hungary and Romania are yet another reminder of how culture can be used to support any political ideology. Participation in, knowledge of, appreciation of and creation of the arts do not automatically make a person a more active member of their society and 'more active' does not necessarily mean ''a better person'.

However, in order to narrow our discussion, let's look at the contemporary arts instead of culture at large or the arts in general. The contemporary arts sector today holds no consensus on how far art is valid solely for its own sake, or how much 'all art is political' or even what is real art.[34] Ai Weiwei has asked, "How can you have a show of "contemporary Chinese art" that doesn't address a single one of the country's most pressing contemporary issues?"[35] but others beg to differ, "Actually, we wish this tedious term (political art) would go away. These days it usually operates to obscure competing notions of the 'political', replacing potential antagonisms with the self-congratulatory

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[33] Norman Manea, interview with Christian Visan, in the Buenos Aires Herald 15 May 2012 http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/100836/'language-is-home-and-homeland-for-a-writer'

[34] Associate curators of the 7th Berlin Biennale, the Russian art collective Voina (War), told the following anecdote in one of the show's accompanying publications: 'Kazimir Malevich, after the revolution in Petrograd, armed with a pistol, passed through artists' studios asking who was still painting birches and demanded real art. Armed with a weapon. That is real art.' ....Right-wing rhetoric disguised as activism – for this is what Voina is spouting – is always bizarrely simplistic: it implies that the world isn't large enough to accommodate a multitude of responses to its many problems. I prefer to ask: How can change be manifested if it can't first be imagined? And who would ever assume that imaginations run along straight lines? Jennifer Higgie, Editorial to Frieze magazine, Issue 149, Sept 2012. http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/shouts-murmurs/

[35] Ai Weiwei: 'China's art world does not exist' http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2012/sep/10/ai-weiwei-china-art-world

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assumption that all 'political' art shares a liberal/progressive and ultimately compatible perspective."[36]

Yet observers to the scene readily admit that certain contemporary practices in all the artistic disciplines are concerned overtly with the profound belief that art can stimulate productive reflection on the social, economic or political issues currently affecting our societies. Increasing numbers of artists are choosing to exercise their artistic practice by taking a stance as much as possible 'outside of society' (in itself impossible, but understandable as an aim) and criticising what they see as aberrant, unwanted, deviant. These tendencies might include EU policy, global capitalism or the failure of governments to reduce C02 emissions. And artists not only reject, but also explore: 'artistic' initiatives such as The Blackmarket for Useful Knowledge and Non-Knowledge brings experts and audiences to examine contemporary themes and issues and 'to learn and unlearn' together. American visual and performance artist Susanne Lacy, whose artistic interests cover violence, poverty, sexism and racism, explains her work in this way, "'the best I can hope for is to relate a set of experiences that move us in a direction of understanding each other better, understanding social systems better, thinking about new ways to make art.'[37]

The 2003 book "Reading Lolita in Tehran" by Iranian writer Azar Nafisi is premised on the experience that literature can teach empathy: whether or not we agree with the behaviour of the characters, we understand why they act as they do. And philosopher Martha Nussbaum argues convincingly that participation in the arts and humanities carries values and habits of thinking that can indeed raise the sensitivity and awareness of individuals and groups (thus of communities), by exercising and practicing critical interrogation of dominant narratives, empathy for others and so on. All of these are fundamental to be able to engage with a certain kind of Western humanistic consciousness, of which democratic principles are a major part.[38]

Participation in arts processes can also raise awareness of identities and support the development of sufficient individual or group confidence necessary to occupy one's place in wider society or to demand one's legal rights. Greek-Ukrainian curator Victoria Ivanova explains, "...wide gaps in

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[36] Anja Kirschner and David Panos, in Frieze magazine http://blog.frieze.com/art-and-politics-a-survey-part-

2/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%253A+FriezeBlog+%2528 Frieze+Blog%2529

[37] http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/shouts-murmurs/

[38] Skills for Life, in The Times Literary Supplement, April 30, 2010, edited extract of "Not For Profit: Why democracy needs the humanities" publ by Princeton Univ Press, NJ, 2010

social equality hinder mutual recognition of integrated members in the same social body. This is where art can make a significant contribution. Spaces where art coincides with the promotion of human rights and the interests of social justice can support vulnerable communities. In this context, work on recognition of human rights violations which these communities suffer is the first step. Artistic expression can provide the necessary framework or platform for the second stage: the reclaiming of their rights."[39]

With their work, artists protest - against thoughtlessness, against hypocrisy, against one-track mentalities, against assumptions. Because of their critical voices, artists (and also cultural operators who support them) are highly vulnerable targets for those who disagree with their views. And because this is a major artistic tendency in our time, artists are hitting sensitive spots and facing censorship, threat, physical and mental danger at worst, and withdrawal of support or the means of creation and diffusion at best. For this reason, a fresh impetus has arisen in several quarters to promote and defend artists' human rights, including but not limited to that of free expression. ICARJ (international coalition for arts, human rights and social justice) is an informal group of arts networks and human rights NGO's initiated by freeDimensional in 2010[40]; the EU Working Group ARJ (arts-rights-justice) was initiated as part of the EU's social dialogue 'Access to Culture' platform in 2012 and the ITI (International Theatre Institute/UNESCO) has also in 2012 formalised their Action Committee on Artists' Rights.[41] Theatre Without Borders is a global, volunteer network of theatre artists who work on collaboration and reconciliation and are frequently called upon to support artists in danger. Pioneers such as Freemuse (since 1998), International PEN (since 1921) and Index on Censorship (since 1972) are currently collaborating with a range of 'new' European and international partners such as Africa's Arterial Network, India's Jaya Natya Manch, Russia's May Congress and the US's National Alliance Against Censorship in order to launch Artsfex[42], an initiative intended to become a supportive global network and monitoring system for violations of artistic freedom of expression.

The World Conference on Artistic Freedom of Expression organised by Freemuse and the Frit Ord Foundation in Oslo November 25-27 2012 will bring together censored artists, journalists, scholar and support organisations to explore the phenomenon - "Cultural artefacts carry with them the power to influence the minds and motivations of the masses and with it, the power to

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[39] Victoria Ivanova, co-Founder and curator, IZOLYATSIA. Platform for Cultural Initiatives.
[40] www.artsrightsjustice.org
[41] http://www.iti-artistsrights.iti-germany.de//pages/about-us.php
[42] www.artsfex.org
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divert people from an awareness of and compliance with the normative behaviours of a society, as dictated by religious and political ideologies."[43] Those who wish to repress such opinions fight back with repression of their rights, for example the right to freedom of expression, to public assembly, to collective representation or a fair trial. There is a body of thought that even argues that repression of arts and artists ought to be used by the EU or other international observers as a major indicator of the degree of democratic freedoms and principles in a country.

This artistic practice of protesting - against a one-dimensional world - by increasing people's sensitivity, awareness, critical analysis and stimulus for imagining alternatives, could be labelled as 'active community-ship' or active engagement in the world, and it could be an encouragement to the general public (or at least their own community of interest) to be itself more critical and discerning, interrogating dominant narratives and questioning the received wisdom they take for granted. It can lead to more sensitive, empathetic, inclusive community members, especially when coupled with community- or team-building processes. It can lead to the development of a confident voice for an individual or group, hitherto marginalised. Respect and implementation of the established human rights of artists and cultural operators may lead to raised awareness and critical discernment amongst a public who will consequently have access to a divergence of opinions. But as we can see in the Pussy Riot case, it can also lead to the hardening of exclusionist attitudes and ideologies - in this case amongst Orthodox believers and others who feel personally wounded by what they see as a desecration of their holy place.

Where does this lead us? World view matters, context matters, and so does education - and that means... arts and culture. Norman Manea (and others) have argued that, "we are not only the product of a family, a place and a community. We are also the result of our reading, the product of our bibliography as well as our biography."[44]

So if our participation in arts or culture, reading, empathising, criticising, highlighting, crying in the wilderness, protesting... spurs us to action with others in our communities - be they citizens, residents or mere passers-through, we can look for reasons from artist and art critic, John Berger, as he first desperately questions, "What one is warning and protesting against continues unchecked and remorselessly. Continues irresistibly. Continues as if in a permissive unbroken silence. Continues as if nobody had written a single

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[43] www.artsfreedom.org
[44] Norman Manea, "La nostra vità è nei libri", p 84, Internazionale 964, 31 August 2012

word. So one asks oneself: Do words count?", ...and then concludes, "To protest is to refuse being reduced to a zero and to an enforced silence...one protests in order to save the present moment, whatever the future holds."[45]

Mary Ann DeVlieg

Secretary General, IETM (International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts)

Chair: ARJ (Arts, Rights, Justice) Working Group of the Access to Culture Platform

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[45] John Berger, Bento's Sketchbook, Pantheon Books (Random House), USA 2011
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APPENDIX III: 'Analysing the Art of Resistance' (2014)

ANALYZING THE ART OF RESISTANCE

By Mary Ann DeVlieg

A theatre director is beaten and stabbed to death in front of his apartment. Another is shot to death in front of his wife and child. A filmmaker is kidnapped, his fingers cut off, and he's left to bleed along the roadside. A radio DJ wakes to see his car in flames. A writer comes home to a house drenched in kerosene. A dancer is raped. A performance artist is kidnapped and beaten. A singer is imprisoned for years. A television comedian is kidnapped, threatened and told to never work again or be killed. These are real cases of artists whose artwork speaks truth to power and upholds social justice.

Shall we measure the work of these artists by the number of people in their audiences, how many workshops they have given or how much turnover their artistic output has generated, directly or indirectly, to the 'evening economy' of the city? Can these standardized indicators capture the depth or long term effect of thought-provoking artistic interventions in highly charged public and political contexts?

We are living in a period of measurement by economic indicators that define financial and legal support. The arts sector has continuously baulked at submitting its 'intrinsic values' to market measures, even if it has been tempting

to play the risky game of citing urban regeneration and 'creative' economic development as benefits.

Today, we believe that public and private financial support ought to be awarded on the basis of objective criteria that confirm an (often elusive) idea of quality. The distribution of money must be accountable to taxpayers and donors. Subjective choice here is suspect, yet evaluation concepts have been offered, argued, and contested with no clear conclusion. Are we hell-bent on finding the perfect means of objectively assessing artistic quality, aesthetic delight, taste, and the impact of thought on human development?

Evaluating the impact of art and cultural activity is tough already. Throwing in human rights and free speech complicates the issue. Support for human rights defenders who confront governments, civil or religious groups is justified by international law. But how do we evaluate arts practices that raise awareness of universal rights or individual identities in situations where they are denied? Egyptian writer Alaa Al-Aswany writes, "My father told me his legacy to me was prison cells. My legacy to my son will be prison cells." On what 'impact measures' are artists risking their lives?

More research is needed on alternative methods to analyse fields that resist economic-based measurement. We need to describe the real impact of supporting artists and cultural communicators whose politically or socially charged work places them into the crosshairs of repressive regimes intent on quashing perspectives differing from their own. If numbers-driven criteria can be supplanted by deeper, more long-term analysis, donors can feel confident supporting such work.

Some researchers are trying to explain what happens in circumstances where traditional quantity measures are not the most meaningful indicators. In a recent article, Dr. Patrycja Kaszynska dissects "the difficult relationship between cultural value, economics and the problem of measurement and evaluation." She concludes that a major problem is the assumption that a natural hierarchy of disciplines places economics on top, as the final arbiter of all other disciplines: a hierarchy, which is not accepted by many, and is accompanied by "the fear of flattening all expressions of value into a single register."

Regarding human rights, Johannes Thoolen adds, " The first problem of assessment is that common to all human rights advocacy work, namely the difficulty of measuring and establishing a causal link between a particular intervention and an outcome.... assessing advocacy for individual cases is the least developed."

Clearly, the current means of valuing art that upholds social justice is inadequate. There must be a more comprehensive method that brings together different disciplines as well as value systems and objectives.

freeDimensional (fD) is one of a very few NGOs and non-profit associations working at the intersection of arts and human rights. Since 2006, fD has supported artists and culture workers whose artistic work presents alternatives, challenges the status quo, a government line, or fundamentalist views. These cultural communicators may be threatened, their economic livelihood denied; they and their families can be physically harmed, imprisoned, or worse. fD recognizes them as doing the work of human rights defenders, identifies shelters in artists residencies, and develops artists' safety networks in high risk regions.

But non-profits such as fD are mired in the current evaluation stalemate, pressed by funders to demonstrate impact in an interdisciplinary area comprising sectors bogged down by lack of adequate evaluation methodologies.

There is light at the end of the tunnel. At the upcoming International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR) in Hildesheim, Germany, fD will call out to universities and researchers interested in tackling these issues, identifying best practices and exploring alternative methods to describe the impact of supporting artists whose work defends human rights and social justice.

The challenge is about measuring the impact of work that influences thought, poses a question to engrained perspectives, and may take years or even generations to reach a concrete tipping point. Rebecca Solnit finds, "many now do not even hope for a better society, but they recognize it when they encounter it, and that discovery shines out even through the namelessness of their experience."

Let's work across disciplines – cultural workers, human rights workers, universities, and researchers – to share information, build upon lessons learned, and ultimately find ways to measure impact and convince potential legal and financial supporters. It is important to uncover the ripple effects of these artists' courageous behaviour and in doing so, learn how to better support, defend, and protect those who undertake it, at great risk to their own safety.

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APPENDIX IV: 'Seeing the World in a New Light' (2011)

Seeing the world in a new light London, Athens, Madrid, Mexico City, Tunis and Cairo – the people of many cities around the world are harbouring a sense of anger against the state and the system, against the rich and globalisation. What can Europe do? Does culture have a role to play? It can show how open debate and freedom of thought are vital to a dynamic and democratic society. Europe should take advantage of these opportunities. **By Mary Ann DeVlieg**

Politicians tend to be obsessed with GDP growth and the economy, while often neglecting the long-term interests and wellbeing of the majority of their people. As Will Hutton, former editor of *The Observer* writes, "There is the sensation of being impotent, of being forgotten, to see services being taken away from us with nothing in exchange and above all, of not being listened to. It is not possible to treat society as a budget line."

Policy provides a framework for incentives and disincentives, opportunities and effective actions in support of the desired goals. All policies are value-based and 'values', like ideologies, are in themselves subjective. Having 'no policy' is policy-by-default, as a lack of policy also has consequences. Ideally, a policy framework should be sufficiently open and flexible to allow for new, surprising and innovative responses and methods and new ways of looking at things.

So, which values do we want to use as the basis of Europe's policies? Free market economy? Definitely. Social protection? Of course. We don't want a hypocritical Europe, but one which embodies humanistic values in its treaties, conventions and charters. We want Europe to differentiate itself from other continents by upholding its social values. If we accept that public policy is a set of fundamental ideological choices that influence behaviour, then we need to create EU policies that reflect our values. Or, in the words of British historian Tony Judt, "to practice ethical politics is to show coherence between intentions and acts."

If Europe stood for freedom of expression, it would respect the fact that most of the latest wikileaks were already in the public domain and none of them had been classified as 'top secret'. And the six percent classified as 'secret' would have been

available under various freedom of information acts. So European politicians should not (as some have) call for wikileaks founder Julian Assange to be "strung up", regardless of their thoughts about the man.

If Europe stood for respect for the life and the dignity of the individual, it would not have found seven Tunisian fishermen, who saved 44 Africans from starvation and drowning off the coast of Sicily by taking them to the island of Lampedusa, guilty of aiding illegal immigration. Previously, Europe had not brought any charges against those who had beaten African migrants to death in the same region.

Joined-up morality

The British speak of 'joined-up thinking'; but how about 'joined-up morality'? Bankers' bonuses and relaxation of the arms trade…no wonder people are angry. No wonder the Egyptians are saying, "We don't need the West."

Yet morality – like 'democracy' and 'terrorism', 'revolutionary hero' and 'enemy of the state' – can be slippery concepts. They need to be looked at more closely. Morality has to be discussed, debated and tested in real life; it needs agreement and decisiveness. "Thou shalt not kill", "Ah yes, but, well, you know, there are cases when..."

It's the same with democracy: 'voting' is not its definition. Voting is merely the end result of a whole series of preconditions such as clearly-defined and transparent options, which are understood by

"No wonder people are angry. No wonder the Egyptians are saying, 'We don't need the West.'"

an informed population who understands the complexity of their environment and the impact of their free choices. Preconditions such as a society which understands the opportunities they have to approve, amend or sanction the political direction of their representatives. Would our ideal Europe send election observers or would it focus on working with the local population to create these preconditions? If it's the latter, then the arts and culture could have a lot to offer.

Imagination, empathy, critical thought, creativity, curiosity, an interest in complexity and analysis are all qualities that are cultivated in the arts. They are amongst the preconditions for democracy in our globally interdependent world. They help guard against the manipulation of weaker members of society and against the kind of aggressive nationalism and populism that is based on fear-mongering. They support the spread of thoughtful, questioning populations who can make democratic choices. This quality of innovative thinking based on empathy can also help decision makers and politicians to combine economic growth policies with those favouring human and social development.

However, arts and culture cannot mend what's broken. They cannot miraculously build instant trust in people whose confidence has been systematically destroyed and replaced by cynical protectionism. But they can stimulate the mind and show that open debate, freedom of thought, concern for others and the acceptance of new ideas are essential for a dynamic and democratic society.

The following words still ring true today. They were written by an American (or more precisely, an Irish-American), and Europe would be well-advised to heed them today:

"Too much and too long, we seem to have surrendered community excellence and community values in the mere accumulation of material things. Our gross national product ... counts air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage. It counts special locks for our doors and the jails for those who break them. It counts the destruction of our redwoods and the loss of our natural wonder in chaotic sprawl. It counts napalm and the cost of a nuclear warhead, and armored cars for police who fight riots in our streets. It counts Whitman's rifle and Speck's knife, and the television programs which glorify violence in order to sell toys to our children. Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages; the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wit nor our courage; neither our wisdom nor our learning; neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country; it measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile....."
(Robert Kennedy, March 1968)

Cultural institutes and the new European External Action Service (EEAS) can work together to strengthen and provide a forum for the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights as recognised in the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon and the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity. Together, they can promote arts and culture projects that exemplify the European values of unity through diversity, cooperation and collaboration and the added value provided by working together. These are special, though not unique, aspects of the European project, and we should be proud of them. Cultural institutes and the EEAS can support the new, positive, angry movements in the arts, such as the EU-funded partner project Sostenuto. This project introduces a paradigm shift by uniting the arts, business, sociology, climate change, human rights and city planning in a cross-sector collaboration combined with modern management methods.

Like the new International Coalition of Arts, Human Rights and Social Justice, founded in 2010, the cultural institutes and the EU can support initiatives demonstrating our freedom to criticise society, in order to, in Martha Nussbaum's words "ask the imagination to move beyond its usual confines, to see the world in new ways."

Mary Ann DeVlieg has been working in the cultural sector for more than 30 years. Since 1994 she has been the Secretary General of IETM (International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts). In 2010 she co-founded the International Coalition on Arts, Human Rights and Social Justice.

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APPENDIX V: 'Artistic Freedom, A Moveable Feast' (2018)

Despite the excellent work of __FreeMuse__, __PEN__, __ICORN__, __freeDimensional__, and the __Arts Rights Justice__ EU working group, we need more involvement from the general public and from artists in the free world. Some of the major issues we are dealing with in the field of artist rights and safety include reaching artists in peril, assisting artists to escape home country threats, coordinating placement and host options, supporting threatened artists (including legal, medical, educational, and artistic support), and spreading awareness to arts communities and beyond. This series will highlight the work that is being done around artist rights and safety in the theatre world, in the hopes that we can ignite dialogue, spark further exploration, and encourage more people to get involved in this growing field.—Jessica Litwak, series curator

What then is the role of art in a post-truth world?

We call it that, "post-truth," but we should call it "lies"—an era where some people are not ashamed to openly lie for their own ends.

I do believe that the true nature of things comes out, and that's why intentions in art are always revealed in the work. If artists are interested in their fellow humans and in this society, that will also come out in the work. I guess this interest is also called solidarity. Again, I don't feel like artists should particularly be singled out, but we all need to question if we show enough solidarity with our fellow humans.

—**Wolfgang Tillmans**

We are living in a moment when many contemporary artists have turned to social engagement as an artistic form. Like **philosophers**, they bring into an investigative light the behaviours, words, and deeds that society is taking for granted.

Like journalists uncovering embarrassing or illegal activities, artists thus become targets for repression by those who do not want an informed, questioning public. In most parts of the world, there is a "battle of narratives" in the public space.

Freedom of expression as a concept has been around for a long time, but freedom specifically of artistic expression is relatively recent, although organisations such as **PEN international** or the UK's **Index on Censorship** have been active for many years supporting writers. In 1998, **Freemuse** was founded, researching cases, advocating on behalf of censored, persecuted, and imprisoned musicians, and also negotiating behind the scenes for their freedom and safety. Freemuse is the only organization that publishes annual **statistics** on violations of freedom of artistic expression (for all art forms since 2014). Active since 1993, **ICORN** (the International Cities of Refuge Network) was established in 2006 and is now an international network of nearly seventy cities that host writers and other artists fleeing persecution. **freeDimensional** (since transitioned into **ArtistSafety.net**) was formed in

2006 as well—a ten-year project that matched artists-at-risk (as they are called) with artists' residencies to host them in safety.

> **Artists-at-risk are those whose artwork speaks truth to power, upholds social justice ideals, and exercises human rights, and as a direct result, they see their human rights threatened, abused, or violated.**

In 2017, Freemuse cited 533 cases in seventy-eight countries, saying, "This is only the tip of the iceberg"—there are many more that are unreported. Reported numbers are constantly rising, probably due to growing visibility of the phenomena. Although some artists are uneasy with the title, the recognition of artists as human rights defenders (HRDs) has been crucial, because human rights and freedom of expression NGOs have systems of monitoring abuses as well as support programs and funds to protect HRDs. Gradually, increasingly, artists, arts organisations, and individuals who support at-risk artists can access these systems and are setting up artists-at-risk-specific programs including funds, scholarships, or relocation to temporary safe residencies.

In 2013, a landmark report was presented to the UN by Farida Shaheed, then the UN Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights. Her report, **<u>The Right to Freedom of Artistic Expression and Creation</u>**, highlights art's specificities, among which:

> …artists may entertain…, but they also contribute to social debates, sometimes bringing counter-discourses and potential counterweights to existing power centres. …contesting meanings and revisiting culturally inherited ideas and concepts…/… An artwork differs from non-fictional statements… interpretations given to an artwork do not necessarily coincide with the author's intended meaning. Artistic expressions and creations … should not be reduced to be carrying a specific message or information.

Arts Rights Justice Academy, University of Hildesheim 2017. Photo by Clemens Heidrich.

Artists-at-risk are those whose artwork speaks truth to power, upholds social justice ideals, and exercises human rights, and as a direct result, they see their human rights threatened, abused, or violated. We use the umbrella term "censorship," but there are several degrees, from the annoying to the deadly:

- A gallery or theatre decides to **cancel an event** due to public or private pressure.

- A **sponsor withdraws a prize** for an artist's controversial work; public subsidy is cut or a city council cancels permission to use a studio or rehearsal space.

- The artist is put on a **secret blacklist** by the public authorities.

- A **group threatens or destroys artworks**, or blocks public entry to a theatre performance. **Police use the excuse** of protecting the public and force the closure of an event.

- Artists or their loved ones are threatened or physically harmed.

- Or the **artists** are simply **murdered**.

- Or they are arrested as a warning, or put in prison, or **left in prison for years** in the hope that their public will forget them.

- Indirect censorship can include loss of subsidy or sponsorship; loss of premises, loss of exhibitions or bookings; lack of police protection. Censorship of the market happens when publishers are afraid to publish or creating, maintaining and developing audiences are obstructed through bans of the work.

- Freedom of mobility is threatened when artists are denied visas or banned entry, as **recently in the USA**, and many face aggressive interrogation at airports.

There is increasing danger to artists on social media, with threats coming from those who disagree with them on issues their work speaks to (such as women's rights, religion, rights of minorities, or political affiliation). Social media platforms themselves are **guilty of censoring work** that should be legally shown.

Finally, self-censorship is abundant where and when artists feel threatened. In 2015, "almost half of the 2,900 Swedish artists who responded to a questionnaire had experienced threats and violence due to their work, mainly by 'right-wing extremists and racists,' and a third had withdrawn from the public domain or abandoned certain themes" (**Swedish Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis**, 2016).

The State is charged with protecting and defending the rights it has put into law, yet the State is the perpetrator in the majority of violations—by failing to enforce international laws they have signed, failing to protect artists or failing to punish those who repress artists. Non-State perpetrators include:

- educational institutions (firing teachers)
- mass media, broadcasting, telecommunications, and production companies (not diffusing work)
- unions (prohibiting an artist from working by denying membership)
- armed extremists, organized crime (drug mafia and gangs)
- religious authorities, traditional leaders
- corporations, distribution companies and retailers, sponsors (big multinationals suing artists for breach of copyright)
- civil society groups, associations, and so on (censorship of the mob, street censorship)

Governments use various laws as pretexts to silence artists:

- Sedition, anti-discrimination, or hate speech
- Terrorism
- Disturbance of the public order
- Blasphemy (in Myanmar, a café owner from New Zealand was **sentenced** to two-and-a-half years' imprisonment and hard labour for insulting Buddhism by using an image of Buddha wearing headphones in a post on Facebook.)
- New laws against fake news
- Obscenity: in the USA, religious groups have tried to cover up nude statures in public parks

In her 2017 **report** on the contribution of artistic and cultural initiatives to creating and developing right-respecting societies, the current UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights Karima Bennoune states that abuses,

> Often involve attempts at cultural engineering aimed at redesigning culture based on monolithic world views, focused on 'purity' and enmity toward 'the other,' policing 'honour' and 'modesty,' claiming cultural and moral superiority, imposing a claimed 'true religion' or 'authentic culture' along with dress and behavior codes often alien to the lived cultures of local populations, stifling freedom of artistic expression and curtailing scientific freedom.

There is widespread ignorance of what is actually permitted or prohibited legally. Artists and arts professionals do not fully understand the law. Often international law has been ratified but is not enforced, or there are still national laws in the books that actually contravene international law—which, by the way, takes precedence over national legislation when ratified by a country.

> **The State is charged with protecting and defending the rights it has put into law, yet the State is the perpetrator in the majority of violations—by failing to enforce international laws they have signed, failing to protect artists or failing to punish those who repress artists.**

And, of course, the general public hardly ever understands what is legally permitted and because arts organisations have not worked to deepen their understanding, the public is often unsympathetic to the artist or art work. In almost all cases of public demonstrations against an art work, the demonstrators have not read the book, nor seen the play or movie, nor taken the opportunity to understand the artist's intention in making the work. The general public can be our biggest threat or our most solid support. When incited by populists, they can protest blindly, manipulated by fear, hatred, or their own existential frustrations. Yet they can also stand up for "their" local arts organization. Dialoguing deeply with audiences well before any controversy arises is clearly a responsibility of arts organisations all over the world today, and some **museum directors in the USA** are calling for more action in this regard.

In a few countries, specialist lawyers, associations, or organisations defend the arts and artists against illegal violations of freedom of expression. It is crucial that lawyers and judges everywhere become more informed.

States, police, or other public services responsible for protecting freedom of expression often demonstrate ignorance of the law, wrong interpretation, or wilful transgression. Imprecise and undefined legal concepts such as insult, glorifying terrorism, or blasphemy are cited inaccurately. Although Iceland, Malta, and Denmark have all recently removed their national laws against blasphemy, UNESCO **reports** that "…insult to religion and blasphemy, as well as perceived transgressions of traditional

and conservative values, accounted for over a third of court cases against artists worldwide in 2016."

The laws state that everyone, everywhere, no matter what their political or religious persuasion, has the right:

- To hold opinions
- To receive and share information and ideas
- To express, seek out, find and access opinions (in certain conditions, including those which others might find offensive)

International conventions include freedom of thought, conscience, and religion but also the right to peaceful assembly; freedom of association; the right to form and join trade unions; to benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any literary or artistic production of which a person is the author; the right to leisure (the rights of children include the right to play).

Arts Rights Justice Academy, University of Hildesheim 2017. Photo by Clemens Heidrich.

Freedom of artistic expression is included in many of the United Nations' international legal instruments ratified by many countries around the world. They include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948; International Conventions on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) from 1996; Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)1969 and several others. In 2005 UNESCO published its first Global Report on the Protection and

Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, monitored and updated with a "global report" every two years. In its most recent **Global Report,** Chapter 10, Promoting the Freedom to Imagine and Create, focuses on freedom of artistic expression. Signatories to the 2005 UNESCO cultural diversity convention are asked to go further than mere protection, and to actively enact supportive policies and funding.

> **Although the rising interest in protecting and defending freedom of artistic expression is absolutely to be welcomed, there is still much to do to develop public understanding and support, as well as informing professionals in the arts and legal sectors.**

On a regional level, in the EU there are several references including the **EU Guidelines on Freedom of Expression Online and Offline from 2014.** These EU guidelines play an important role, not only in EU Member countries but also for EU delegations and diplomats stationed in non-EU countries. Artists are explicitly mentioned in the definition of human rights defenders in the texts.

Of course, artists are not obliged to offend, insult, or provoke, just as audiences are not obliged to see the work, read it or listen to it. Many are surprised to learn that it is **permissible to insult** or offend. Why? Because such accusations are subjective: what may be insulting or offensive to one person may not be at all upsetting to another. The laws were formulated to protect someone expressing their freedom of opinion from, for example, governments, extremists, or social groups who merely do not like those opinions. International law has thus set a number of tests to ascertain if the suppression of free speech is legitimate or not.

There are tests for the legality and necessity of suppression, and to assess the proportionality of the action taken. The context of an insult will be examined by lawyers according to seven factors:

1. *what* was said,
2. *who* said it and to *whom*,
3. *how* was it said,
4. *when* was it said,
5. *where* it was said,
6. *what intent* the speaker had, and
7. *what impact* the statement had (**Article 19**)

This article cannot trace the history of the emergence of arts-specific initiatives, but we can briefly describe the main essential responses: *advocacy* (public and private); *relocation* to safe places; *emergency funds* to assist in the costs of relocation,

lawyers and medical support; and *training* for the arts sector, activists, lawyers and jurists, and NGOs.

Several new initiatives have been recently founded or funded, such as **ARC, the Artists at Risk Connection**, based in New York at PEN America that features a database of organisations that assist artists-at-risk, or the **Artists Protection Fund**, also based in New York, that, like ICORN, places artists in safe residencies or universities. Free speech advocates are starting to support artists although the big NGOs tend to focus only on the most famous cases. More artists residencies are offering to host artists-at-risk, although the residency period needs to be longer than usual and residency staff require training to psychologically and professionally support the artist. These programs usually include formal "verification" to ascertain if the story of the defender is legitimate and the degree of danger is serious. But we are also finally beginning to look into the importance of supporting the relocated artist to integrate fully in their new life and work environment. Still, relocation or international advocacy campaigns treat symptoms. The causes are more deeply rooted in societies.

There are also some good models such as Index on Censorship's "**Law Packs"**—online booklets created by artists, lawyers, and the police that outline the most common legal accusations against artists, how artists can prepare and protect themselves, what the law actually says and guarantees, how to approach the police if necessary. The Law Packs only refer to UK law but they are an excellent model that other countries could adapt.

Another good initiative is the annual **ARJ (Arts-Rights-Justice) Academy at the University of Hildesheim** in Germany. It brings together arts associations or organisations, artists, lawyers, human rights, and free speech NGOs to share knowledge and expertise.

Emergency Funds to assist in relocation, legal and medical costs for verified cases are accessible by artists-at-risk, sometimes in collaboration with their hosts. **EU ProtectDefenders** is a consortium of twelve HRs NGOs working internationally funded by the European Commission. From the USA, **Freedom House** runs similar international programs and there are other activist support organisations that may support artists, specifically for **women**, or other targeted defenders, such as **LGBTQI** advocates.

Although the rising interest in protecting and defending freedom of artistic expression is absolutely to be welcomed, there is still much to do to develop public understanding and support, as well as informing professionals in the arts and legal sectors. Let's face it, it would be better if we did not even have to relocate artists or defend artistic freedom because the popular and legislative climates in our countries were favourable. As Tillmans points out to those of us in the arts sector, it's all about solidarity.

APPENDIX VI: 'Stand for Art Glossary' (2023)

Stand for Art GLOSSARY
Compiled by Mary Ann DeVlieg with Legal Definitions by Eleni Polymenopoulou
for al Mawred al Thaqafy
24 July 2023

Artists and Human Rights Defenders

Artist at risk – an artist who is persecuted due to their artwork. They may face repression from the state, police, militia or other government authorities; by social or religious groups, by nationalistic or political factions; through racial or gender discrimination; by commercial interests, through false accusations, falsified criminal charges or other attempts to stop their work as artists. They may be blacklisted, threatened, prohibited from assembling with others, prohibited from doing their artwork, arrested, detained, tortured, killed. Their friends and families may be similarly threatened as a warning or punishment.

Artist impacted by displacement- artists whose displacement, a result of their strong artistic engagement, has largely been involuntary as the only reasonable option open to them. They are artists in exile, constrained to move from their home territory, socio-cultural environment and usual artistic activities due to a number of factors. These may include armed conflict; natural disasters and severe climatic changes; violations against recognized human rights such as those protecting and defending free expression, the rights of women, the rights of children, the right to education, religious freedom, freedom of sexual orientation; as well as circumstances depriving them of their recognized economic rights and cultural rights. With legal status in their new host country denied or postponed, their civic status may be in flux: they may be seeking asylum, have gained (or not) refugee status, be clandestine or simply classed as a migrant. Because their art works often 'speak truth to power', repressive elements in their societies want them silenced. Due to their art practices, they encounter censorship, persecution, violations of basic human rights, imprisonment, physical and mental harm, even death. These are artists who, when lacking a civil status in their new host country, cannot enjoy the same rights as other artists who are citizens or have a similar legal status.

(DeVlieg, 'Artists, Displacement and Belonging', IFACCA, 2019)

Human Rights Defender (HRD) – Human rights defenders are those individuals, groups and organs of society that promote and protect universally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms. Human rights defenders seek the promotion and protection of civil and political rights as well as the promotion, protection and realisation of economic, social and cultural rights. Human rights defenders also promote and protect the rights of members of groups such as indigenous communities. The definition does not include those individuals or groups who commit or propagate violence. A HRD must not deny anyone else any recognised human right.
Artist-as-HRD – In some cases an artist can be considered as a human rights defender and benefit from the resources available to medical and legal assistance and temporary relocation. If the artist's work expresses universally recognised human and cultural rights such as (but not limited to) expressing in their own language, behaving according

to their own customs, upholding rights of women or minorities, expressing a political preference, associating with others, and so on. Note that this is not limited to political or religious artwork; the artist may be 'performing' or embodying their rights or the rights of their community in their art practice.

See also the 1998 UN Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (in Arabic: https://www.ohchr.org/ar/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/declaration-right-and-responsibility-individuals-groups-and

Relocation and Artists Residencies

Artists' residency, at-risk artists residency – a facility such as a studio, offered to an artist for a specified period of time in order to work on artistic projects. It may be paid by the organisation or a third party through a stipend or scholarship, or may require payment by the artist. It may come with a living space or not. It may come with materials appropriate to the artist's work or not. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Artist-in-residence At-risk artists residencies offer time out and a safe space for an artist who is persecuted.

Temporary relocation - A measure for assistance and protection of human right defenders (HRDs) in danger, by supporting them to relocate inside their country, within their region or abroad in case of urgent threat and where appropriate, issuing emergency visas and facilitating temporary shelter in other states.

Visa - A visa is an official document that allows the bearer to legally enter a foreign country. The visa is usually stamped or glued into the bearer's passport. There are several different types of visas, each of which afford the bearer different rights in the host country. See this comprehensive website that describes visa types, which countries you can or cannot enter with your passport, etc. (It is USA based, but covers international info.) https://www.passportindex.org/visa.php https://www.passportindex.org

Peer Coaching and Care

Peer coaching - Peer coaching (also known as co-coaching) is a confidential process where two or more people, who are at a similar level in their jobs or a similar situation, support each other to work through challenges they are facing. During a coaching session, peer coaches take turns to coach each other. A peer coach actively 'reflectively' listens without judgment, reflects back what they are hearing, asks 'open insightful questions', and supports their peer coaching partner(s) to come to a new realization about their blocked situation, see it from a different perspective, understand more options, decide on a course of action and so on. It is a technique, it can be learned, there are many people who can teach it but it can also be done informally. It takes some practice to be good at asking open insightful questions. It

cannot be a 'leading' question reflecting an opinion that the asker has. It cannot be answered with yes or no or a single word. Often it starts with how, why or what…
The experts on relocated artists and those accompanying them are in fact the relocated artists and the people who accompany them. Thus, peer coaching can be a useful, economically viable way of fostering mutual support and advancing knowledge and expertise in a sector.

Care and Self-Care - A focus on self-care and care in general has been a tendency in the arts already for some years (we can see it even in the 1970s) reflecting the difficulties of women and carers in the professional arts, the high rate of burnout amongst artists and arts managers, and doubtless the Covid pandemic that exacerbated existing precarity in the arts. That 'care' and 'self-care' has become both an industry and a social phenomenon linked to so-called 'snowflakes', has made it ubiquitous. In the last few years, 'care' as a conference, training and project theme has proliferated to the extent that some people are tired of it. However, it is still an issue; people in the arts are still burning out, and they include the case workers of staff members who are charged to accompany relocated artists-at-risk, themselves often traumatised and needing care.

There are a few issues we can list with regard to case workers and relocated or persecuted artists:

In the arts we are passionate. We tend to work too hard, never say 'no' to anything and feel guilty if we are not doing something expected of us.

Arts managers or operators are trained to 'serve artists'. If an artist at risk is relocated to our organisation and we have the job to accompany them, their needs are often more than we can realistically fulfil. Often there is no one sharing the job with us, and no one for us to go to for help.

In terms of the artist themself, getting psycho-social help may be embarrassing or unacceptable in their home culture. The artist may not even know that they need this type of help.

They may have some sessions with someone in one type of therapy that is not a good fit for them, and give up, not realising that there are many different approaches.

If the relocated artist is legally or securely in a country with good, public social and health services, they may be able to get free care. The residency where they are 'should' be able to guide them to these services. But they may not be in such a country, do not have the right kind of visa, or are do not have a legal statute that allows them access to these services.

There is a professional code amongst psycho-social therapists that no one should give services for free. This is in order to keep a level playing field and ensure everyone can be properly paid for their work (depending on the country more or less 100 $ or € per session). However, this is a dilemma for a persecuted artist, relocated, with very little or no income.

Law

Law - General

Law: a set of rules regulating human behavior and a source of restraint
Domestic law: the law applicable within the jurisdiction of a State
Jurisdiction: power, including judicial authority (i.e., courts or states exercise their jurisdiction)
Civil law: the oldest civil legal tradition (Europe, France, Germany)
Common law: the common law tradition (US, Australia, UK, India ...)
Islamic law: the Muslim legal tradition (Muslim States)
'Hybrid' legal systems: States whose legal systems have significant influences of more than one legal tradition (e.g., mixture of civil law and Sharia law)
Private (civil) law: rules regulating relations among individuals
Public law: rules regulating relations among individuals and States
Tort: a branch of private law about civil wrongs generally entailing liability / individuals' acts or omissions that cause harm to others, interpersonal wrongs (e.g. negligent injury; civil defamation)
Criminal law: the body of law concerning crime and punishment, generally involving the State prosecuting authorities
Plaintiff: the complaining party
Defendant: the one against whom a claim is brought
Constitution: The highest form of law within a State
Legal precedent (stare decisis): may have important value in some cases, especially in common law systems (judicial law making)
Regulations / policies: rules of normative content, issues by public authorities, bodies of the public administration
Legal principles: values entrenched in the law, e.g., no crime should be punishment twice, no punishment without law
Judgements: Final decisions issued by courts, are binding upon parties
Provisional measures (precautionary measures): measures ordered by courts under a usually succinct or rapid procedure intended to prevent harm, usually aiming at protecting persons at risk and while a judgement is pending

Legal Definitions Regarding Artistic Freedom and Creative Practice

Common restrictions [to freedom of expression and creative practice]: all restrictions imposing subsequent liability on the grounds of protection of either private or public interests These can include protection of children, women, religious or cultural standards, property, terrorism, state secrets etc. and are sometimes legitimate and sometimes unlawful pretexts
Censorship (non-legal term): a generic notion that encompasses all situations where the free flow of information is unduly inhibited – it involves all types of stringent or overbroad restrictions to freedom of speech, including attempts to limit dissent.
'Censorship' is a generic term and can be used to cover a range of actions from editing, banning, taking books or films from the market to harassment, intimidation, threats, blacklisting, arrest, detainment, torture, killing.

Prior censorship (legal term): imposition of prior restraints by State's organs, i.e. any attempt by State's organs (judiciary, legislature etc) to suppress in advance of publication.

Collateral censorship: censorship exercised by private actors rather than the State, especially social media and internet platforms

Interference with a right / infringement of a right: restriction, limitation

Defamation (tort, criminal): tort and in some cases, crime, involving harming or damaging one's reputation

Media regulation: the setting of rules for the media (and oversight of compliance with those rules), most of the times lawful

State regulation: regulation through government / public bodies (bodies that operate within the public sector)

Classification committees: bodies that regulate arts and entertainment, including through classification decisions and screening visas

Judicial review: the ability to request through judicial means the review of the decision or action of an administrative / executive / legislative public body (e.g. classification authority), in order to determine its lawfulness

Statutory regulation: regulation through bodies that are set up and operate under legislation

Self-regulation: informal regulation through independent bodies, voluntary/ self-regulatory bodies, with minimal control or influence by the government

International Law

International law (public): The rules primarily regulating conduct between States, and also international organisations (IOs)

Sources of international law: primarily include treaties, and customary international law

Treaties: International agreements between States in written form governed by international law, they are generally binding upon States (resolutions, declarations etc are **not** treaties)

Customary international law: State practice accompanied by 'belief' of a legal obligation, e.g. prohibition of torture)

United Nations Charter (1945): the document establishing the United Nations

United Nations: an international organisation, established with the purpose to 'maintain international peace and security... To develop friendly relations among nations .. and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace .. to advance Human Rights and the rule of law domestically ..'

International human rights law: The part of international law that deals with individual rights and State duties under international law

Sources of international human rights law: primarily human rights treaties, especially those concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, and customary law

 Human Rights Instruments and Bodies

Major Universal Human Rights Instruments and Bodies

The International Bill of Rights: UDHR, ICCPR and ICESCR

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the first standard-setting document that was passed by a United Nations General Assembly Resolution on the 10 December 1948

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: the leading international human rights treaty in the area of civil and political rights

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: the leading international human rights treaty in the area of socio-economic and cultural rights

international human rights bodies: bodies that overview human rights treaties (treaty-based and charter-based)

Treaty bodies: expert bodies (i.e. bodies consisting of experts in the area of human rights law) established in the context of the United Nations, to monitor and implement human rights treaties, e.g. the CEDAW Committee: the body of experts monitoring the implementation of the CEDAW (the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women)

UN Human Rights Committee: the main body that interprets and monitors the implementation of the ICCPR

The UN Committee on Social, Economic and Cultural rights (ESCR Committee): the main body that interprets and monitors the implementation of the ICESCR

The UN Human Rights Council: the main political body of the United Nations (charter-based body) working in the area of human rights law

UN Special Procedures / Special Rapporteurs: independent experts established under the mandate of the UN Human Rights Council

Major Regional Human Rights Instruments and Bodies Outside the Arab World

Treaties

European Convention of Human Rights (1950): the first Human Rights instrument negotiated in the context of the Council of Europe (CoE) = 47 member States

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) ('the Nice Charter'): main Human Rights instrument negotiated in the context of the European Union (EU) (= 27 member States), binding since 2009

American Declaration on Human Rights passed in the context of the Organization of American States (OAS) (=35 member States)

American Convention on Human Rights negotiated in the context of the Organization of American States (OAS)

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR, 'the Banjul Charter') in 1981. (54 out of the African Union's 55 States have signed it)

Main Human Rights Bodies

European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg, France)
European Court of Justice (Luxemburg)
European Commissioner for Human Rights (HR) currently: Dunja Mijatović from Bosnia and Herzegovina, elected in 2018)
European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)
Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR Commission) (in Washington DC)
Inter-American Court on Human Rights (IACHR Commission) (in Costa Rica)

African Commission of Human and Peoples Rights (in Banjul, Gambia)
African Court of Human & Peoples Rights (in Arusha, Tanzania)

Major Regional Human Rights Instruments and Bodies in the Arab World

Arab Charter of Human Rights negotiated in the context of the League of Arab States
(LAS) (=22 member States) http://www.lasportal.org
Arab Court of Human Rights: its statute is established but not functioning yet
Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC) (=57 member States (Syria suspended)
http://www.oic-oci.org/oicv2/
- OIC Documents : the Universal Islamic Declaration (1981)
http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/islamic_declaration_HR.html ; Cairo Declaration on
Human Rights in Islam (1993) http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/cairodeclaration.html

Appendix VII 'International Conventions, Culture' (2023)

MAIN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS REGARDING ARTS AND CULTURE
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24 July 2023

To find out if your country has ratified these treaties: Country-by country list of states that have ratified human rights treaties and the current status in those countries of the legislation: https://indicators.ohchr.org

Universal Periodic Reviews: To see what other countries and the UN has recommended regarding the progress (or not) of your country in achieving the goals in the treaties: https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/upr/documentation

I. UNITED NATIONS

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 this is non-binding, but normative, in the sense that it creates international standards: codification of customary international law or a reflection of the general principles of international law) **To create binding legislation, the UN and its member states created the two conventions listed below.**
In Arabic:
https://www.ohchr.org/en/human-rights/universal-declaration/translations/arabic

This is a milestone document in the history of human rights. Drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, the Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 (General Assembly resolution 217 A) as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It sets out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected and it has been translated into over 500 languages. The UDHR is widely recognized as having inspired, and paved the way for, the adoption of more than seventy human rights treaties, applied today on a permanent basis at global and regional levels (all containing references to it in their preambles).

Important for us:
> **Article 19**
> *Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.*
>
> **Article 27** *states that everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.*

From the outset there was general agreement to the effect that the substance of the Universal Declaration should be translated into the hard legal form of an international treaty. The General Assembly reaffirmed the necessity of complementing traditional civil and political rights with economic, social and cultural rights, since both classes of rights were "interconnected and interdependent. Two treaties were drafted: a

Covenant setting forth civil and political rights (ICCPR) and a parallel Covenant providing for economic, social and cultural rights (ICESCR). Contrary to many pessimistic expectations, they have mostly been ratified simultaneously. The United States has left aside the ICESCR, and China has not found it convenient to ratify the ICCPR.

The International Bill of Human Rights, comprises the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the ICESCR (and its Optional Protocol) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), including its first and second Optional Protocols.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, (ICCPR) 1966. This is binding legislation for countries that have ratified it.
In Arabic: https://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/iccpr/iccpr_a.pdf

It commits the states that have ratified it to the right to self-determination, to privacy, to liberty and freedom, fair treatment under the law without any discrimination, and against arbitrary arrest and detention. It prohibits torture, cruel punishment and slavery, and protects free assembly and association.

As of June 2022, the Covenant has 173 parties and six more signatories without ratification, most notably the People's Republic of China and Cuba; North Korea is the only state that has tried to withdraw.

Important for us:
> Article 19
> *1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.*
> *2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.*

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 1966. This is binding legislation for countries that have ratified it.
In Arabic: https://www.ohchr.org/ar/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights

It commits its parties to work toward the granting of economic, social, and cultural rights (ESCR) to territories under the control of another state, and individuals, including labour rights and the right to health, the right to education, and the right to an adequate standard of living. As of July 2020, the Covenant has 171 parties. A further four countries, including the United States, have signed but not ratified the Covenant

Important for us:
> **Article 15** *recognises the right of everyone to participate in cultural life, enjoy the benefits of scientific progress, and to benefit from the protection of the moral and material rights to any scientific discovery or artistic work they have created. Also Article 15 staes that the States Parties to the present Covenant*

undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.

The principle of "progressive realisation" acknowledges that some of the rights (for example, the right to health) may be difficult in practice to achieve in a short period of time, and that states may be subject to resource constraints, but requires them to act as best they can within their means. The requirement to "take steps" imposes a continuing obligation to work towards the realisation of the rights. It also rules out deliberately regressive measures which impede that goal. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also interprets the principle as imposing minimum core obligations to provide, at the least, minimum essential levels of each of the rights. If resources are highly constrained, this should include the use of targeted programmes aimed at the vulnerable. Some provisions, such as anti-discrimination laws, are already required under other human rights instruments, such as the ICCPR.

II. UNESCO

UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) Non-Binding https://en.unesco.org/creativity/convention
in Arabic: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000246264_ara

Based on human rights and fundamental freedoms, through this historic agreement, the global community formally recognised the dual nature, both cultural and economic, of contemporary cultural expressions produced by artists and cultural professionals. It aims to shape the design and implementation of policies and measures that support the creation, production, distribution of and access to cultural goods and services.

It recognizes the sovereign right of States to maintain, adopt and implement policies to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expression, both nationally and internationally, and supports governments and civil society in finding policy solutions for emerging challenges. But importantly, establishes a framework for participatory systems of governance for culture.

The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted by the UNESCO General Assembly on 2 November 2001, treats the freedom of artistic expression as the basis of cultural diversity. Article 6 of the Declaration reads that "while ensuring the free flow of ideas by word and image, care should be exercised so that all cultures can express themselves and make themselves known. Freedom of expression, media pluralism, multilingualism, equal access to art and scientific and technological knowledge, including in digital form, and the possibility for all cultures to have access to the means of expression and dissemination are the guarantees of cultural diversity".

The 'purposes' of the UNESCO Convention, can be interpreted from both its Articles 1 (Objectives) and 2 (Guiding principles) which underline the protection and promotion of diversity of cultural expressions as the Convention's basic purpose and the respect

of human rights as one of its guiding principles. Finally, pursuant to Article 5(2) of the UNESCO Convention, "when a Party implements policies and takes measures to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions within its territory, its policies and measures shall be consistent with the provisions of this Convention.

The Convention currently has 148 countries (by way of acceptance, approval and ratification of accession) and the European Union as parties and concerns the specific context of freedom of expression, including artistic.

UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of the Artist (1980) Non-Binding. In English, French and Spanish, Arabic:
https://en.unesco.org/creativity/publications/unesco-recommendation-concerning-status-artist-1980
In Arabic: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114029_ara.page=177

Section III.3 states: "Member States, recognizing the essential role of art in the life and development of the individual and of society, accordingly have a duty to protect, defend and assist artists and their freedom of creation. For this purpose, they should take all necessary steps to stimulate artistic creativity and the flowering of talent, in particular by adopting measures to secure greater freedom for artists, without which they cannot fulfil their mission, and to improve their status by acknowledging their right to enjoy the fruits of their work.

Member States should endeavour by all appropriate means to secure increased participation by artists in decisions concerning the quality of life. By all means at their disposal, Member States should demonstrate and confirm that artistic activities have a part to play in the nations' global development effort to build a juster and more humane society and to live together in circumstances of peace and spiritual enrichment".

The Mexico Declaration of Cultural Policies (1982): Non-Binding.
key document of the UNESCO establishing guidelines for cultural policies In English, German, **French, Spanish** https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000052505
In Arabic: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/search/N-EXPLORE-93c3be92-2c64-4018-b050-b0bdccfebb72

It defines culture broadly: "Culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs."

It links culture to identity (Articles 1 – 9) and says it must be protected: "Article 2: The assertion of cultural identity therefore contributes to the liberation of peoples. Conversely, any form of domination constitutes a denial or an impairment of that identity." "Article 5: Cultural identity and cultural diversity are inseparable."

It links culture to development (Articles 10 – 13), to heritage (Articles 23 – 26) , and to democracy (articles 17 – 22): "Article 19: The aim, above all, should be to open up new

channels for democracy through equality of opportunity in education and culture."
"Article 27: The flowering of culture is inseparable both from the independence of peoples and from individual freedom. Freedom of opinion and expression is essential for the creative activities of artists and intellectuals alike."

It links culture with art education, with creation (Articles 27 – 29), with science and communication (articles 30 – 36): "Article 36: A free flow and a wider and more balanced dissemination of information, ideas and knowledge, which are among the principles of a new world information and communication order, imply for all nations the right not only to receive but also to transmit cultural, educational, scientific and technical information."

It discusses planning, administration and financing of cultural activities. (Articles 41-42)

It discusses international cultural collaboration (articles 43 – 50): "Article 43: The widest possible dissemination of ideas and knowledge on the basis of cultural exchanges and encounters is essential to man's creative activity and to the full development of the individual and of society."

And the role of UNESCO. (It set some standards for the UNESCO 2005 convention on cultural diversity – see above)

Binding or non-binding?

An international convention or treaty is an agreement between different countries that is legally binding to the contracting States. Existing international conventions cover different areas, including trade, science, crime, disarmament, transport, and human rights. **A convention becomes legally binding to a particular State when that State ratifies it.** Signing does not make a convention binding, but it indicates support for the principles of the convention and the country's intention to ratify it. As contracting States are legally bound to adhere to the principles included in the convention, **a monitoring body is often set up to assess State parties' progress in implementing the convention by considering reports periodically submitted by States**. Human rights conventions do not contain any enforcement mechanism to compel States to comply with the principles of the convention or with the recommendations of the monitoring body, and the implementation of these conventions depends on the commitment of each country.

UN Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights (currently Alexandra Xanthaki)

The UN Special Rapporteurs (in a framework called 'special procedures') are independent human rights experts with mandates to report and advise on human rights from a thematic or country-specific perspective. They are non-paid and elected for 3-year mandates that can be reconducted for another three years. As of October 2022, there are 45 thematic and 14 country mandates.
With the support of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), special procedures, they:

- Undertake country visits
- Act on individual cases of reported violations and concerns of a broader nature by sending communications to States and others
- Contribute to the development of international human rights standards, and
- Engage in advocacy, raise public awareness, and provide advice for technical cooperation.

For the arts and culture sector, the Special Rapporteurs have been extremely knowledgeable and extremely helpful, listening to us, advising us, reporting to the UN and to our countries any problems they find. They are not staff members of the UN, and their natural allies are us - civil society. They have other jobs and usually are extremely busy keeping their 'real' jobs and also doing their work of the Special Rapporteur. The arts and culture sector, globally, hugely appreciates their work. Some of the landmark 'Special Reports' are listed below. It is really worthwhile to see all of their Reports!

Farida Shaheed (2009 - 2015). Farida was the first UN SR, and she really shone a light on the right to freedom of artistic expression and creation.

> https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-cultural-rights/artistic-freedom

Karima Bennoune (2015 – 2021). Karima came after Farida, and was also a close ally.

> https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-cultural-rights/universality-and-diversity

> https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-cultural-rights/cultural-rights-defenders

Alexandra Xanthaki (2021 -)
https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-cultural-rights

> Her Report on Cultural Rights and Migration is available in Arabic:
> https://daccess-ods.un.org/tmp/3575866.52040482.html

> Also her Report on Development and Cultural rights is in Arabic:
> https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N23/123/22/PDF/N2312322.pdf?OpenElement

All UN Special Rapports in the Field of Cultural Rights to date:
https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-cultural-rights/annual-reports