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Immigration, Identity and Mobility in Europe: Inclusive Cultural Policies and Exclusion Effects

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Abstract

European cultural policy programs, such as *European Capitals of Culture* (ECC), seek to develop new forms of civic cohesion through inclusive and participative cultural events. The cultural assets of a city elected "ECC" are mobilized to attract a wide range of new audiences, including populations poorly integrated into local cultural life and consequently distant from pre-existing cultural offers. In the current context of increasingly heterogeneous individual perceptions of Europe, the ECC program aims to promote cultural forms and institutions intended to accelerate both territorial and cross-border European cohesion. This new cultural consumption pattern is conceived to stimulate integration and mobility, but also to create a legitimate and transnational ideal European citizen type. However, cultural struggles and identity conflicts that are emerging in contemporary Europe, especially in the context of increasing immigration issues, raise new challenges for European cultural policies to address inclusion and integration with populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

Our comparative research addresses the contrasting cases of "European Capitals of Culture" from southern and northern Europe, cities which have recently been affected by the ECC political mechanism, and cities that had been elected as ECC in the past. This paper aims to explore the impacts of European policies on institutions, as well as to understand current obstacles to their efficient implementation. For this, we analyze the urban cultural geography through innovative statistical and cartographical methods.

Keywords: cultural policies, immigration, cultural institutions, inclusion, Europe, European Capitals of Culture

The Exclusion Paradox of Inclusive Policies

Since the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the European Community has enhanced its competence in the field of culture. The use of culture as an economic tool has become a central concern in contemporary European political thought, promoting the impact of inclusive cultural policies to strengthen both regional and municipal cohesion in Europe, as well as mobility. This new political culture is primarily based on the creative potential of urban renewal to generate new cultural scenes promoting more “participative” and “multicultural” experiences for EU citizens.

Historically associated with diversity and pluralism of cultures and traditions, European cities appear as training grounds for local policies aiming to foster the successful inclusion and participation of EU citizens. Coping with strongly heterogeneous and multicultural contexts, European regions endorse inclusive cultural policies depending on their own cultural contexts. In July 2010, the European Commission published a working document¹ that describes the implementation of inclusive cultural tools and infrastructures as part of regional socio-economic development. This document refers to various national and regional support measures for national heritage industries, such as theaters and the audio-visual sector, and recommends engaging a mapping approach of the EU cultural and inclusive policies to identify the diverse areas that require further progress.

With the aim of promoting a better understanding of common cultural heritage and bringing together European citizens, several political programs were created and applied to territories as top-down political intervention for raising their international profiles. For example, the “European Capitals of Culture” program (ECC), which was created in 1985 by the European Union Council of Ministers and focused initially on major large cities (e.g. Paris ECC-1989, Madrid ECC-1992, Stockholm ECC-1998), has changed the rules and criteria of attribution of this status in favor of smaller, cross-border or economically fragile agglomerations (e.g. Marseille ECC-2013, Umeå ECC-2014, San-Sebastian ECC-2016).

This new cultural consumption pattern was conceived in order to stimulate integration and mobility, but also to create a legitimate and transnational ideal European citizen type. Inclusion is conceived of as the equal participation of all citizens, both nationals and foreign nationals, without considering foreigners as a separate group, in all sectors and in all aspects of city life. However, cultural struggles and identity conflicts emerging in contemporary Europe, especially in the context of increasing immigration issues, raise new challenges for European cultural policies to cope with inclusion and integration with populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

Analyzing Cultural Struggles in European Cities with Contrasting Profiles

Focusing on European cities and regions that were elected “European Capitals of Culture” (ECC), our CURRICULA² research project seeks to understand obstacles to the integration of populations into local cultural life. The work program topic of this research focuses on

¹ The European Agenda for Culture – progress towards shared goals. Accompanying document to the Commission Report to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of the European agenda for culture, SEC(2010)904, 19 July 2010, 3.

² The Cultural Crucible: the Reorganization and Renewal of Institutions in the Cultural Capitals Landscape – CURRICULA. See <http://www.agence-nationale-recherche.fr/?Projet=ANR-14-CE29-0001>

cultural dynamics in different European regions with highly contrasting historical and cultural profiles. By comparing different “European Capitals of Culture”, we aim to explore how immersive cultural institutions, historically rooted and implemented in a territory, are called upon to renew their perimeter while redefining their relationships with audiences.

By examining the reorganization and renewal of cultural institutions in “European Capitals of Culture”, the CURRICULA research project focuses on relationships between European inclusive cultural policies, immersive cultural institutions (theaters, museums, opera houses, etc.) and European mobility issues, all closely related to immigration and cultural identity concerns.

By varying the contexts, sizes, politics, and cultural histories of cities elected ECC, the analysis includes cases of cities recently affected by the “European Capitals of Culture” program, such as Marseille (ECC-2013), Umeå (ECC-2014), Wrocław (ECC-2016), and their counterparts who were elected ECC in the past Genoa (ECC-2004), Bologna (ECC-2000). From this framework, we aim to explore the implementing and anchoring processes of European dynamics at the local level, and also to understand how the ECC political mechanism is integrated into the collective memory of targeted populations. Finally, our project focuses on heterogeneous immersive cultural institutions (opera houses, theaters, museums) that are analyzed and compared according to their impact on the inclusion of populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

The table below shows the crossovers between chronological dimensions (former "ECCs" vs. current "ECCs"), geographical positions (northern cities vs. southern cities), and politico-administrative orders (centralized countries vs. de-centralized countries) that differentiate the cases of each selected city (see Figure 1).

	Recent ECC	Former ECC
Northern Capitals	Umeå (2014) (Sweden – centralized country)	Krakow (2000) / Wrocław (2016) (Poland – de-centralized country)
Southern Capitals	Marseille (2013) (France – centralized country)	Bologna 2000 / Genoa (2004) (Italy – de-centralized country)

Figure 1: Crossovers between four European cities with contrasting profiles.

Research Methodology

The CURRICULA research program was launched in 2013 with the study of Marseille ECC-2013. The experience and methodology conceptualized and developed during the case study of Marseille ECC-2013 was then used in several international case studies. At the current time, the second stage of this project is focused internationally on Poland and Sweden. Studying the long-term impacts of European cultural policies, using the cases of Bologna (ECC-2000) and Genoa (ECC-2004) will occur during the third stage of the project.

In this paper we present the results of our study on Marseille ECC-2013 collected during the first stage of our research. The results of surveys implemented in Sweden, Poland and Italy

are expected in the coming years.

For the specific case of Marseille ECC-2013, our investigation began with the following problems and questions: How do cultural institutions in Marseille renew their scope and redefine relationships with their audiences during the ECC year? How do these institutions react to the restructuring of the competitive field? Are they managing adaptive or hybrid strategies with new conceptions of culture? Or, conversely, do they gradually become obsolete? How do audiences (esp. youth and immigrants) react to new European cultural policies? Are they becoming more participative, or conversely, do they remain resilient to cultural institutions, and new cultural offerings?

We began our survey with two important city theaters that were integrated into the Marseille ECC-2013 program: the National Theater of La Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene. This choice was determined by two main factors: (1) the two theaters are durably anchored in Marseille's cultural landscape, and (2) they present dissimilar institutional profiles, and are located in two economically and socially contrasting neighborhoods (see Figure 2).



Figure 2: Two contrasting cases of National Theaters in Marseille impacted by European cultural policies: On the left, the Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene, which premises are shared with a supermarket (North Side Marseille); on the right, the National Theater of La Criée located on the tourist docks of the Old-Port (Downtown Marseille).

The National Theater of La Criée was founded in 1981. Since its foundation, La Criée has been based in a prestigious downtown neighborhood near the Old-Port. Despite its central location among the upper-middle class housing, the theater was created to promote a non-elitist approach to classical theater. The historic building of the La Criée Theater was previously occupied by Marseille's central fish market, a place traditionally associated with multiculturalism and immigration, situated in the city at the crossroad of populations on the tourist docks of the Old-Port.

The Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene was founded in 1980. The main objective of this institution was the promotion of theater and cinema to the poor populations of peripheral neighborhoods. The Theater of Le Merlan is based on the north side of Marseille, in a neighborhood for some time already associated with immigration, drug dealers, and crimes. The premises of the Theater of Le Merlan are shared with a supermarket, a police station and a library for children.

The map in Figure 3 shows the location of the two theaters in Marseille's urban landscape.

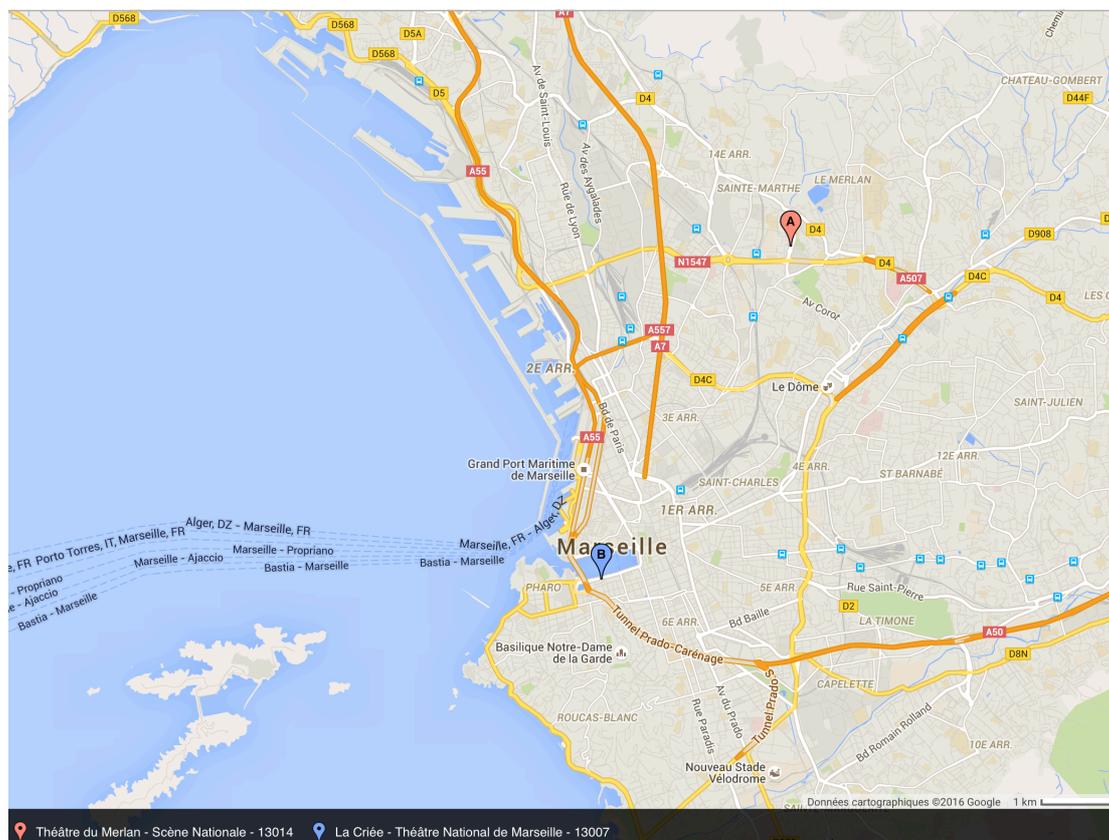


Figure 3: The geographical and institutional cultural heteronomy of two theaters in Marseille
 A – The Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene: Peripheral location, the “Hood”
 B – The National Theater of La Criée: Central historical location, “Downtown”.
 Map data © 2016 Google.

In 2013, the Theater of La Criée was integrated into the “European Capitals of Culture” program. The newly elected artistic director of the theater, Macha Makeïeff, enriched the theatrical program with new artistic genres, such as circus, dance, orchestral music, jazz and cabaret. This new institutional branding was launched with *Ali Baba*, a musical show created by Macha Makeïeff showing the spirit of tolerance and integration of the city of Marseille’s multicultural inhabitants. Collaborations with several foreign theaters have also been created to attract new international audiences to Marseille.

The Theater of Le Merlan has been strongly impacted by European inclusive policies strengthening and supporting a broad vision of a theater open to everyone regardless of income, cultural origin, age, or educational level. The new artistic director of the Theater of Le Merlan, Francesca Poloniato, began the public presentation of the new program with an African dance symbolizing the “young” image of the institution. The annual program of the theater combines rock, rap, slam, juggling and hip-hop shows with several “intellectual” avant-garde representations. By offering free tickets to the youth and family associations of the neighborhood, the Theater of Le Merlan also engages municipal social politics with the immigrant populations who belong to these associations.

The methodology of our research is built upon an articulation of several types of statistical and cartographical data analysis. Since 2013, we have analyzed the Theater of La Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan ticket office databases. These databases contain the addresses and zip codes of every subscribed and non-subscribed ticket buyer, as well as information on shows that these individuals prefer to visit during the year. To deepen our understanding, we also implemented several paper and online questionnaires with a number of detailed questions on personal cultural experiences and practices.

For the questionnaire survey, we chose five different shows from the program of the Theater of La Criée, and five shows from the program of the Theater of Le Merlan. This approach allowed us to analyze socio-demographic differences between the audiences of each show, and to understand how the inclusive programs of the two theaters meet the expectations of different types of spectators. The table below describes the main characteristics of each show that we have included in our comparative scope (see Figure 4).

Institution	Show	Main characteristics of the show
Theater of La Criée	Cyrano de Bergerac (Georges Lavadant)	French Classical theater
Theater of La Criée	Queen of Hearts (Juliette Deschamps)	Retro cabaret style songs
Theater of La Criée	De Nos Jours (Ivan Mosjoukine Theater Company)	Modern circus
Theater of La Criée	La Mouette , Oncle Vania , Trois Soeurs (Christian Benedetti)	Modern theater based on classical pieces of Anton Tchekhov
Theater of La Criée	A Midsummer Night's Dream The Comedy of Errors (Propeller Theater Company)	Modern interpretation of Shakespeare in English with French subtitles
Theater of Le Merlan	Smashed (Gandini Juggling)	Artistic juggling with apples
Theater of Le Merlan	Asphalte (Cie Denière Minute)	Modern dance and hip-hop
Theater of Le Merlan	Dormir 100 ans (Pauline Bureau)	Youth and family show
Theater of Le Merlan	Diner with André (Tg Stan & de Koe)	Avant-garde theater
Theater of Le Merlan	Soirée Gravitation	Music concert (poetic rock)

Figure 4: The main characteristics of theatrical shows included in our analysis.

The qualitative questionnaire surveys give us information about the cultural mobility and the subjective preferences of each respondent, while the ticket office databases provide an overall view of audience make-up. After collecting these data, we built a number of small-scale datasets containing multiple dimensions about living areas, and lifestyle, as well as urban, regional and cross-border cultural mobility patterns of audiences of the two theaters, and then, compared them to broader statistics databases such as those from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), to find correlations with the socio-economic characteristics of Marseille's population.

Two main geographical units structure the INSEE databases: zip and district codes (commune/arrondissement level) and IRIS codes (infra-communal level). The city of Marseille is divided into sixteen districts. Each district has its own zip code (13001, 13002, etc.). These codes allow us to locate the different urban zones inhabited by the theaters' audiences, and also to identify where individuals are not engaged with cultural offerings. The map below shows the distribution of Marseille's districts (see Figure 5).

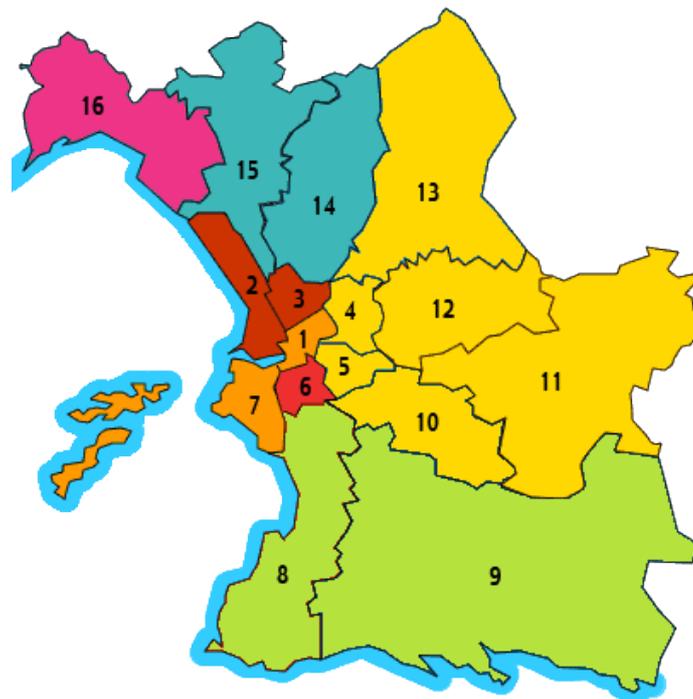


Figure 5: Administrative divisions of Marseille by district.

The IRIS (Aggregated Units for Statistical Information) geographical division is more detailed than zip and district codes. France is composed of approximately 16,000 IRIS codes that cover infra-communal territories scaled to the target size of 2,000 residents per basic unit. Thus, the combination of big data (National statistics by zip codes and IRIS codes) and small data (ticket office databases and qualitative surveys on theater audiences) allowed us to create new databases for the analysis of the impacts of European cultural policies in Marseille. Using these methods, we were able to test and evaluate the inclusive power of cultural institutions concerned by the ECC program, such as the Theater of La Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan, by finding correlations between the social profiles of theater audiences and the socio-economic characteristics of Marseille's population. This original methodology provides a better understanding of cultural participation and mobility in the city, as well as insight to how social and cultural stratification can be impacted – or not – by European cultural policies.

The Case of Marseille, European Capital of Culture 2013

Since the ancient Greeks established their first settlement around 600 BC, the city of Marseille has had a long historical tradition of cosmopolitanism. As a Mediterranean port city, Marseille has benefited from the different waves of migration that have marked the identity of the city over time. Today Marseille is still one of the most cosmopolitan cities in France, as well as in Europe. In 2013, the city was designated as the European Capital of Culture, and to confirm the status of Marseille as a cultural crossroad, the European Union and the French Ministry of Culture funded the construction of the Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations (MuCEM). This brand new and iconic museum was built directly at the entrance of the Old-Port, on the docks where most immigrants and refugees entered after WWII following the end of colonialism. To celebrate the new European Capital of Culture, the *New York Times* published two articles in 2012 and 2013 about the spirit of tolerance and the integration of immigrants in Marseille. In a first issue addressing the historic French republican concern about “who gets to be French?” (Meyer, 2012, April 11)

the newspaper asked “can and should the *Marseillais* spirit of civilized tolerance spread northward?” The following year, the newspaper highlighted Marseille as the “Secret Capital of France” (Kimmelman, 2013, October 4). Based on these consensual considerations and in the context of identity conflicts and cultural struggles emerging in contemporary Europe about immigration issues, it is interesting to ask the following questions: What is the real situation of immigrants in Marseille and what relation do they have toward European institutions of culture? Are they open to inclusive European cultural policies? Are they becoming more participative, or conversely, do they remain resilient to cultural institutions and to new cultural offerings?

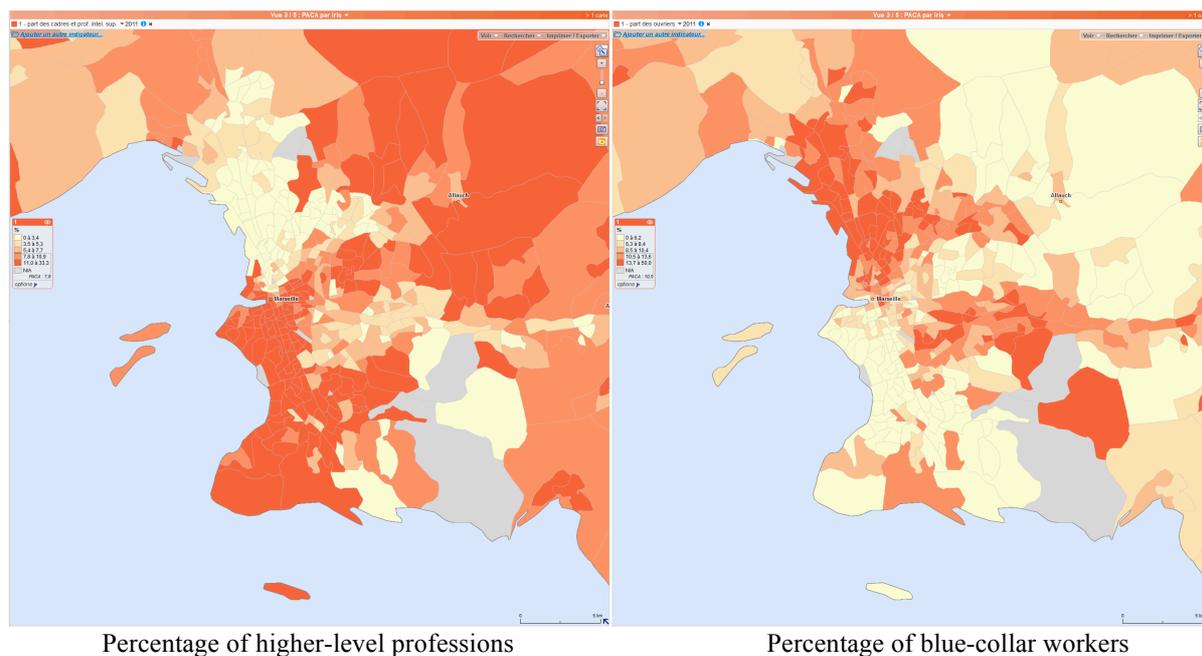
The Cultural Identity of the City of Marseille: Is Marseille an Exception?

Marseille is historically recognized for being a cultural crossroads for populations from the Mediterranean as well as Europe. The city is the second largest city in France and has about 1 727,000 inhabitants in its metro area. While Paris’s metro area is much greater than Marseille in population (12,405,426 inhabitants), Marseille is a much larger city with a surface area of 240.62 km², compared to Paris with only 105,40 km². Because of its pre-eminence as a Mediterranean port, Marseille has always been one of the main gateways into France. This geographic location has attracted many immigrants and made Marseille a cosmopolitan melting pot. According to French national statistics, almost one in two inhabitants have immigrant ancestors. The Muslim population of the city counts over 250,000 inhabitants. Marseille also has the third largest Jewish population in Europe after Paris and London. Many people in Marseille come from elsewhere in France or from abroad. By the end of the 18th century, approximately half the population was not born in the city; these populations came mostly from other parts of southern France, but also from the northern part of the country. In 1999, almost 25% of Marseille’s population was born outside metropolitan France. This cosmopolitan situation has made Marseille and the region of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur very diverse culturally and geographically. According to research comparing different regions in France, the Region Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur is now clearly identified as land of immigration (Yvan Gastaut, 2009). “Today the PACA region is a very highly urbanized area with a population of 4.5 million urban residents, or 90% of its population, approaching 5 million. The majority lies in the four major cities, Marseille, Nice, Toulon and Avignon, and in the many medium-sized cities with over 20 000 inhabitants. The 300,000 foreigners or 430,000 immigrants recorded within the PACA region, according to the distinction drawn by the INSEE, represent almost 10% of the population and live mainly in urban areas, although their presence in rural areas cannot be overlooked.”

The Geographical Distribution of the Population in Marseille

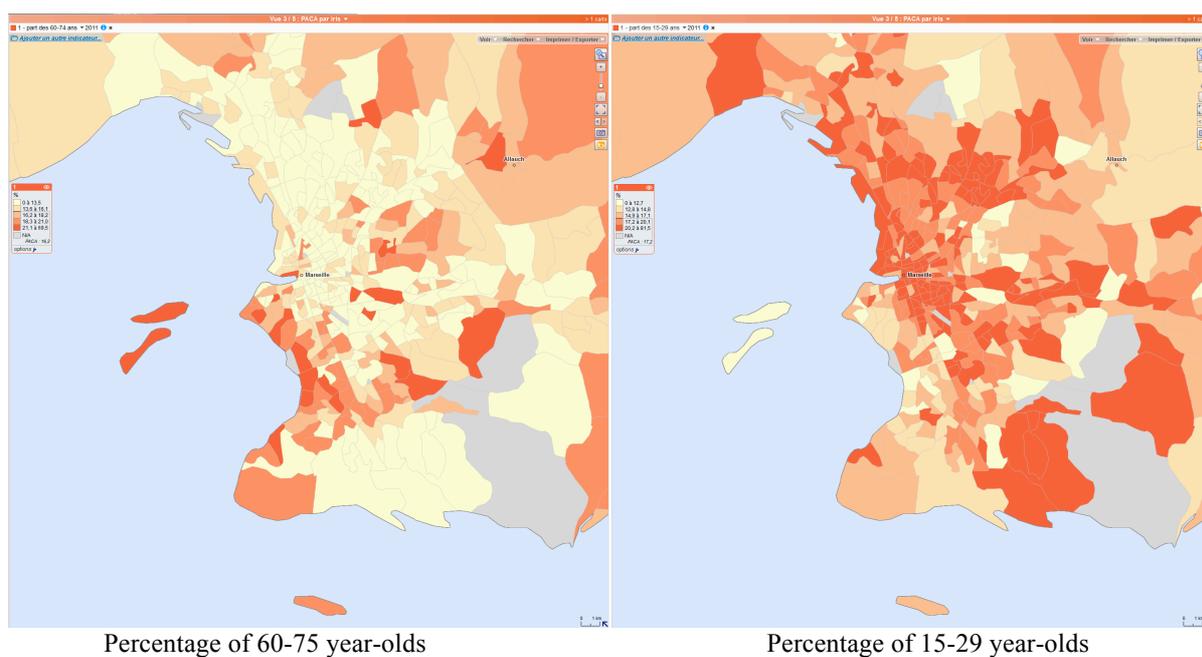
Despite its very singular and cosmopolitan composition, Marseille is also a divided city. When analyzing the city by profession, income, age and ethnicity, we find dramatic results related to the socio-demographic distribution of the population.

When we compare the distribution by profession in Marseille at the infra-communal level, we can see a clear division of the city between the north and the south. For example, the percentage of higher-level professions (CEOs, intellectual professions, and managers) is much more important in the south side of Marseille, while the highest percentage of blue-collar workers is located in the north side of the city (see Map 1).



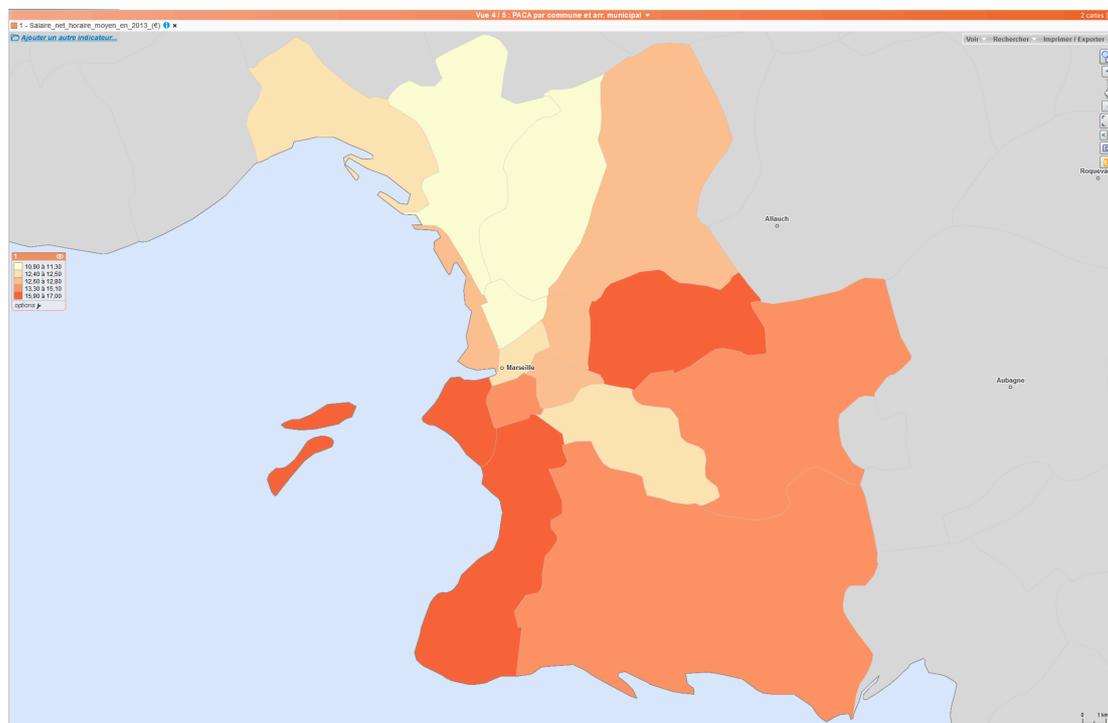
Map 1: Distribution of the population by profession in Marseille at the infra-communal level (IRIS codes).

When we compare the distribution of the population by age, we also find a city that is quite divided between the north and the south. When we look at the map of the percentage of 60-75 year-olds compared to the share of 15-29 year-olds, once again, it clearly appears that the elderly population is not living in the same neighborhoods as the younger. Despite the fact that many young people live downtown in the historical center of the city – as is the case in most cities in Europe – a large percentage of them are nonetheless living in the northern neighborhoods of Marseille. By contrast, most of the elderly population is living on the south side of the city, in the neighborhoods along Marseille’s waterfront (see Map 2).



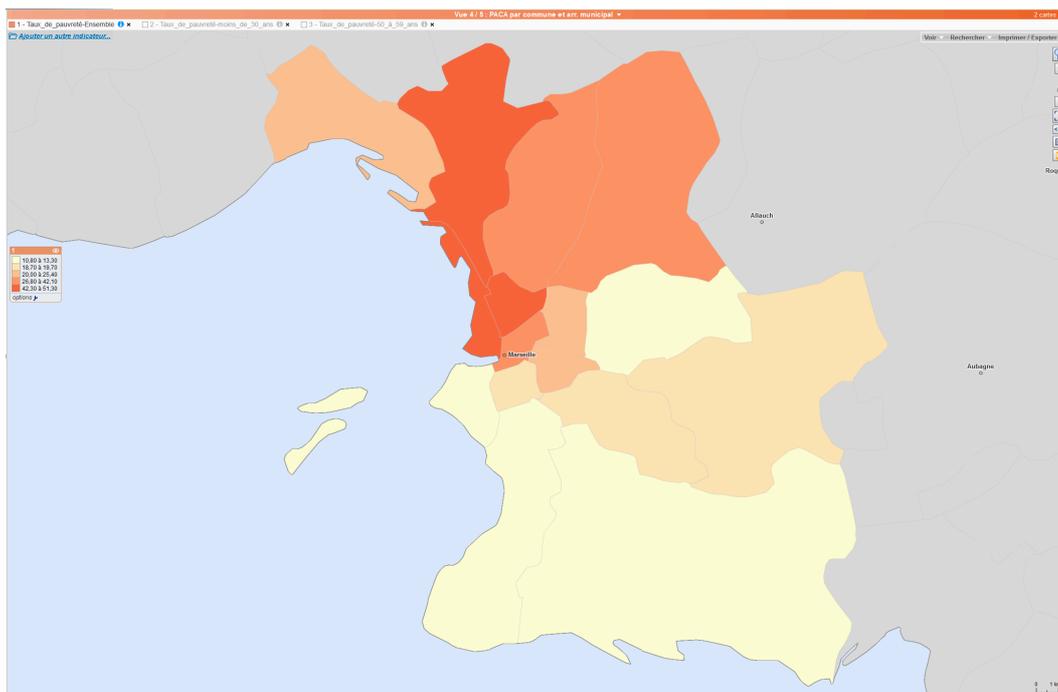
Map 2: Distribution of the population by age in Marseille at the infra-communal level (IRIS codes).

If we compare three different maps showing income and poverty rates, we find strong relationships with the two variables that we previously explored, profession and age. On the first map, we see the distribution of income across the city of Marseille. As we observe, the population with the highest income live in the south and east sides of the city. While the south side of Marseille's waterfront appears to be very wealthy, in contrast, the northern neighborhoods seem to be rather economically disadvantaged (see Map 3).

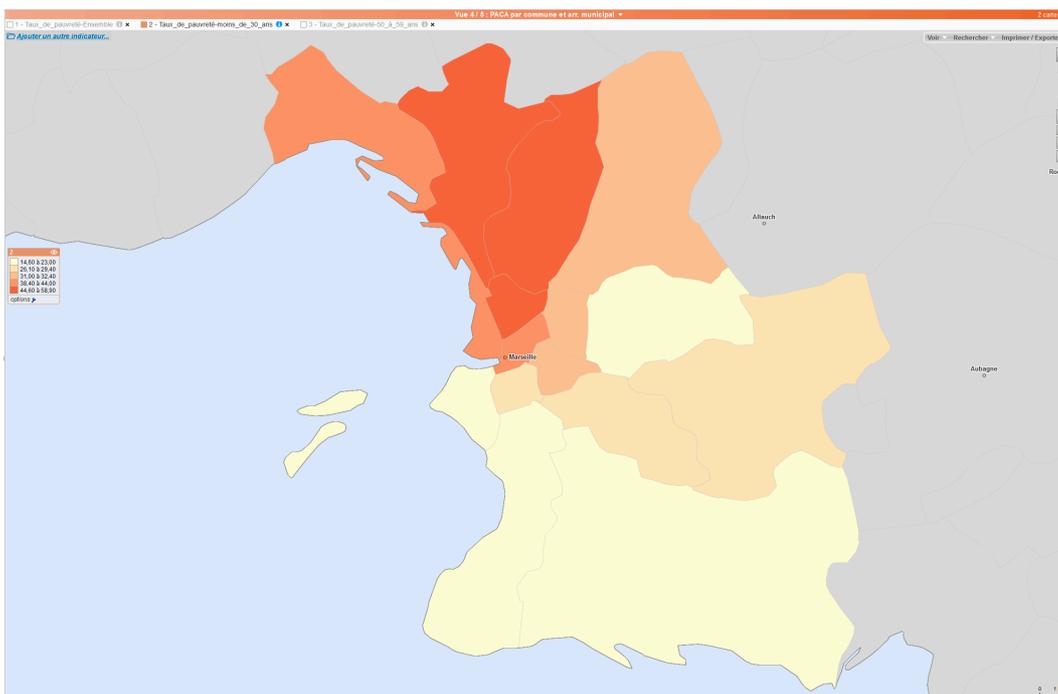


Map 3: Distribution of the population by income in Marseille at the zip code level

In contrast to this observation, we can compare the previous map on income with the following one based on poverty rate. What we observe is the exact opposite of the previous map. The poorest populations are essentially based in the northern neighborhoods of Marseille (see Map 4). In this present case, and considering our previous analyses, we can see that the poverty rate is strongly correlated with neighborhoods where the population is not only undereducated, but also very young. This is exactly what we observe on the next map showing the poverty rate distribution of the under-30-year-olds (see Map 5). Interestingly, the districts of the city that have the highest poverty rates are also the youngest ones.



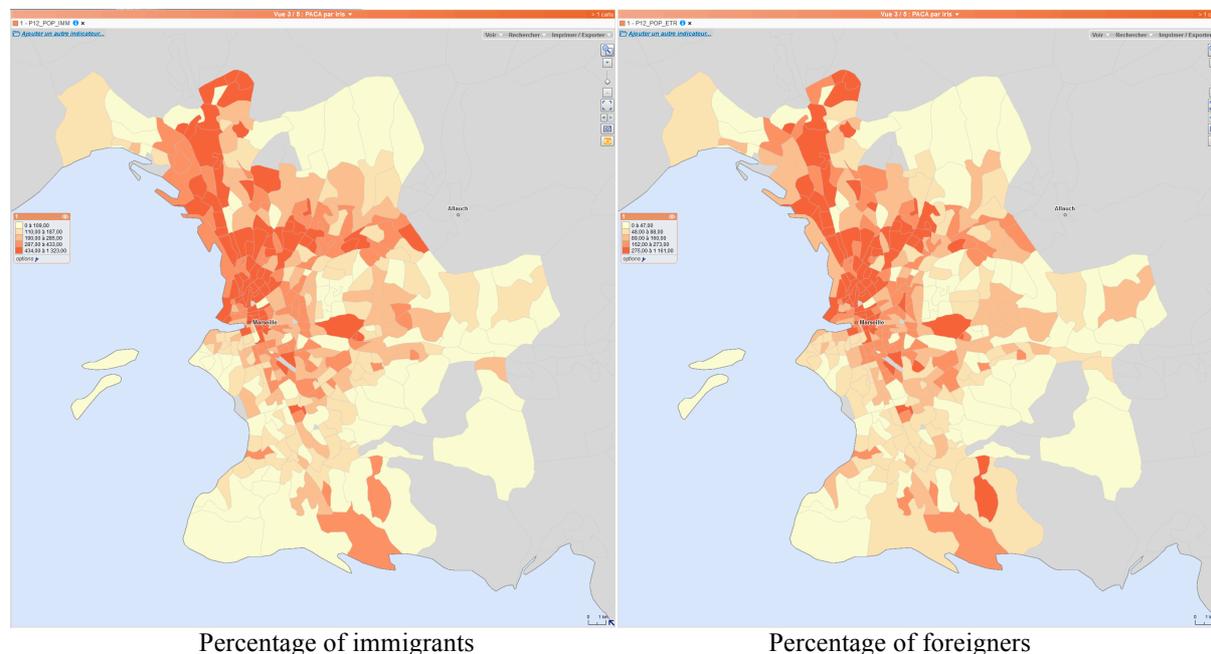
Map 4: Poverty rate distribution in Marseille at the zip code level.



Map 5: Poverty rate distribution of the population under 30 year-olds in Marseille at the zip code level.

Finally, once we move on to the analysis of immigrant and foreign population distribution in Marseille, compared by income, age and profession, we find strong evidence that these populations are likely to be correlated with young, undereducated and low income neighborhoods. The following two maps show the distribution of the immigrant and foreign population across the city of Marseille (see Map 6). As we observe on the two maps, the

districts with the largest percentages of immigrant and foreign residents are essentially located in the north side of Marseille, where, as we have seen before, the population is mostly young, poor, and undereducated. Furthermore – all things being equal – we also find strong correlations between district locations on the two maps for both immigrant and foreign populations. These observations provide strong evidence that the status of immigrants and foreigners may be correlated and share the same social profile.



Map 6: Distribution of the immigrant and foreign population in Marseille at the infra-communal level (IRIS codes).

Based on these results, we now have a better idea about the social profile of populations living in the north and south sides of the city of Marseille. From our observations, we can conclude that while the population of southern neighborhoods of the city is older, more educated and wealthier, the social profile of the population from the northern part however, is younger, undereducated and from both poor and low-income backgrounds.

To test these assumptions, we conducted repeated statistical analyses using SPSS software. The database used for the test came from the National Statistics Office (INSEE) and was scaled to the city level of Marseille. The results we found give strong evidences to our hypotheses. When testing immigrants as the dependent variable, and controlling for numbers of higher professions (i.e. CEOs, intellectual prof., and managers) and numbers of blue-collar workers, the regression analysis gives a significant and positive correlation with blue-collar workers ($t = 16.877$, Sig. = .000; see Table 1). Then, when we repeated the test with immigrants as the dependent variable, but controlled for six age categories (from 0-14, 15-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60-74, 75+), the results gave significant and positive correlations with age categories of 0-14 and 15-29 year-olds ($t = 9.646$, Sig. = .000 for 0-14 year-olds; and $t = 7.012$, Sig. = .000 for 15-29 year-olds). Conversely, correlations were significant but negative with the age categories of 45-59 and 75+ year-olds ($t = -5.257$, Sig. = .000 for 45-59 year-olds; and $t = -2.939$, Sig. = .004 for 75+ year-olds; see Table 2).

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	20,602	24,185		,852	,395
Number of persons executives and higher-level professions 15 years of age or older	-,012	,067	-,008	-,184	,854
Number of persons blue-collar workers 15 years of age and more	1,553	,092	,704	16,877	,000

a. Dependent Variable: Number of immigrants

Table 1: Regression test – Professional status of immigrants in Marseille controlling for two categories.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	51,677	25,970		1,990	,047
Number of persons aged 0 to 14 year olds	,702	,073	,626	9,646	,000
Number of persons aged 15 to 29 year olds	,365	,052	,377	7,012	,000
Number of persons aged 30 to 44 year olds	,021	,093	,018	,222	,824
Number of persons aged 45 to 59 year olds	-,580	,110	-,439	-5,257	,000
Number of persons aged 60 to 74 year olds	,292	,131	,184	2,219	,027
Number of persons 75 years of age and over	-,315	,107	-,176	-2,939	,004

a. Dependent Variable: Number of immigrants

Table 2: Regression test – Age of immigrants in Marseille controlling for six categories.

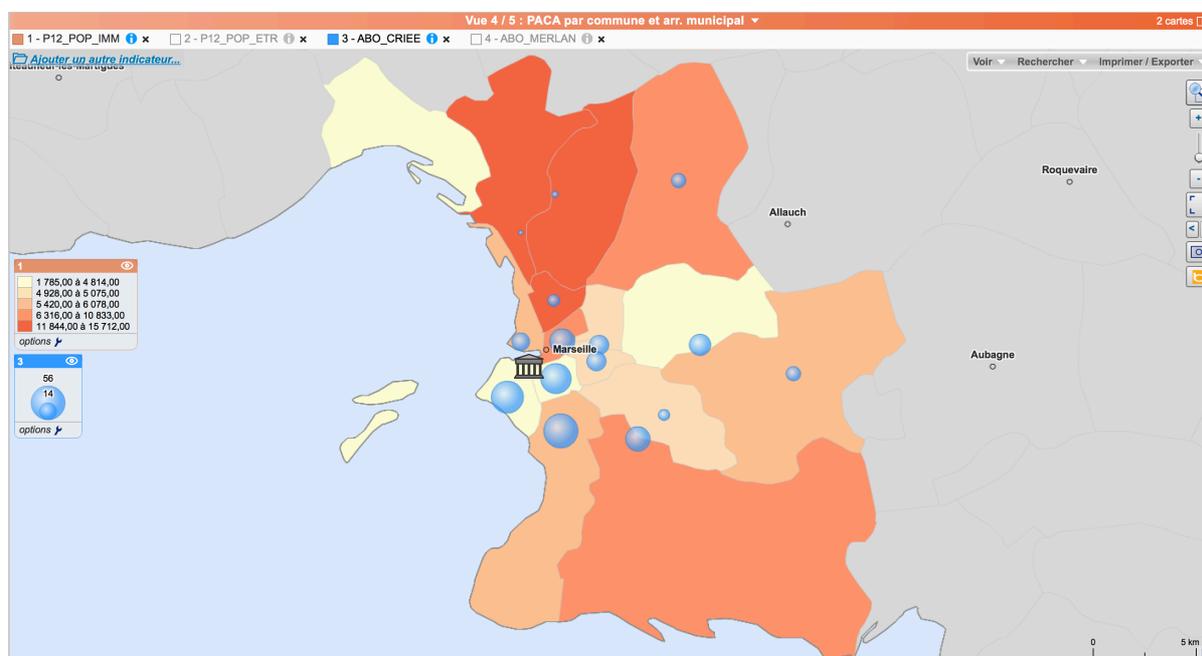
Analyzing Immigrant Participation in European Institutions of Culture: Two National Theaters with Contrasting Profiles

So what conclusions can be drawn from these observations? How do these results overlap with cultural practices? To what extent are immigrants integrated into the cultural life of institutions? And what is the influence of European cultural institutions on these populations? To answer these questions, we began with the analysis of two national theaters' audiences with contrasting profiles. One is located in the historical center of the city (The Theater of La

Criée). The other is integrated into a supermarket in a suburban neighborhood (The Theater of le Merlan).

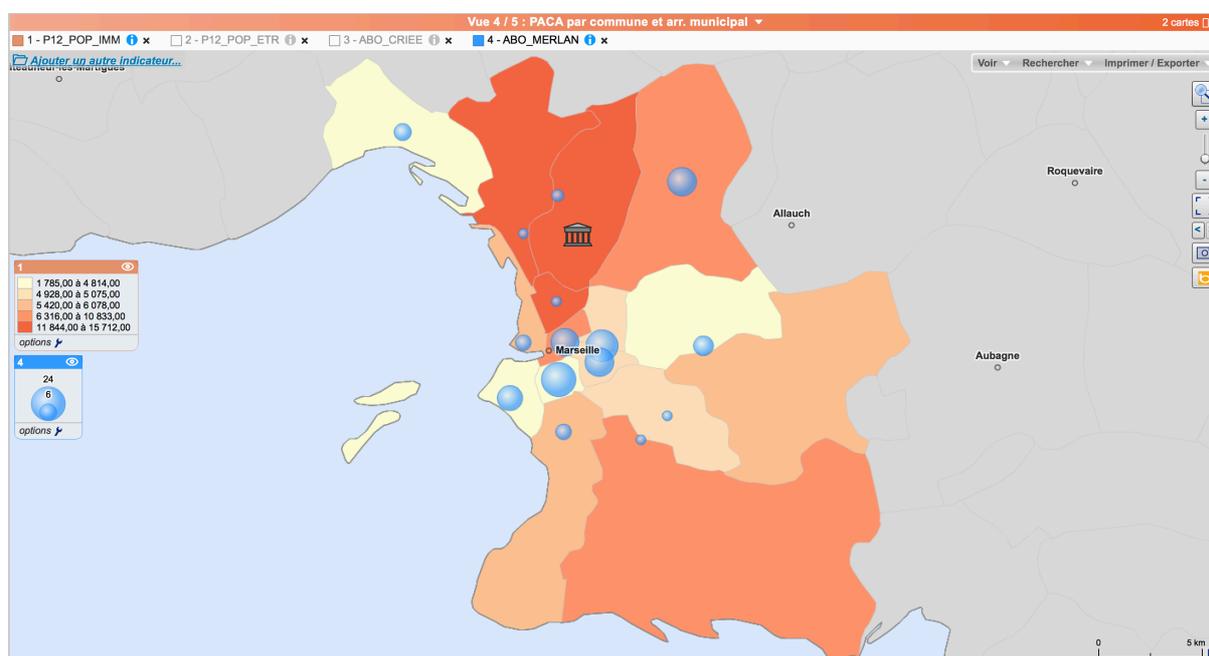
To test hypotheses about the participation of immigrants with these institutions, we asked audiences two very simple questions: (1) Where do you live in the city? and (2) What is your means of transportation? The first question gives us information about whether a person is living near or far from the theater. The second, what kind of means of transport he or she uses to travel to the theater. The questionnaires asked respondents to choose from five answers: (1) by foot, (2) public transportation, (3) bike, (4) car, (5) other. Before analyzing this data, we first merged the data gathered with our surveys with data from the national population census. We then mapped our results from the two theaters combined with census data about immigrants. The first layer (with blue bubbles) indicates the proportion of theater audiences by district. The second (by color intensity) indicates the proportion of the immigrant population within these districts. On each map, we use a temple symbol to indicate the theater location to show the location of the institution in relation to its audience.

After testing these different variables and comparing maps, we found evidence that neither of the two theaters' audiences is related to the immigrant population. Furthermore, we found that whatever the location of the theater or cultural institutions (whether they were central or peripheral), there was no significant impact or influence of these institutions on the immigrant population. We found, for instance, no significant impact when the cultural institution was located in a central location of the city such the Theater of La Criée. The immigrant population remains poorly integrated into local cultural life and does not travel downtown to engage in cultural practices. On the first map, we can observe that most audiences of the Theater of La Criée come from central, southern and eastern neighborhoods of the city. However, very few are from the north side of the city, where we find the highest proportion of immigrants (see Map 7).



Map 7: Distribution of La Criée Theater's audiences vs. immigrant population by zip code.

In the case of the Theater of Le Merlan, we found no significant impact despite the cultural institution's location in a poor and peripheral neighborhood. Despite the fact that, since its creation in 1980, the Theater of Le Merlan has specifically dedicated attention to attracting populations poorly integrated into local cultural life, we can see from the following map that, even thirty five years later, there are still some significant challenges to overcome before the institution is accepted into the northern neighborhoods of Marseille. As we observed, most of the audience of the Theater of Le Merlan comes from central and southern Marseille neighborhoods, although we do find some exceptions such as individuals coming from the 13th district (a north eastern neighborhood nearby) or the 16th district (a north-western neighborhood nearby). However, in districts where the immigrant population is the largest, the impact of the Theater of Le Merlan remains very low. In other words, immigrant cultural practices stay separate from top-down cultural legitimacy, even when European cultural offerings are brought to these populations (see Map 8).



Map 8: Distribution of Le Merlan Theater's audiences vs. immigrant population by zip code.

To analyze these observations further, we did some simple frequency tests about who goes to the theater and by what means of transportation, in order to compare factors of distance and proximity between audiences of the two theaters.

As expected, we find that, despite the fact that most of the La Criée's audience comes by car (47,1%) – mostly from southern districts, see Map 7 – nonetheless a significant part of them come on foot (28,7%). These results confirm the fact that the Theater of La Criée mainly attracts populations from downtown Marseille, given that most of its audience lives in the nearby central neighborhoods, when they are not from the south side of the city (see Table 3).

How do you come to the Theater of La Criée?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
– On foot	117	20,7	28,7	28,7
– By public transport	90	15,9	22,1	50,7
– By car	192	34,0	47,1	97,8
– By bike	9	1,6	2,2	100,0
Total	408	72,2	100,0	
Missing				
System	157	27,8		
Total	565	100,0		

Table 3: Means of transportation used to come to the Theater of La Criée.

In contrast, however, the Theater of Le Merlan does not get the same results. We find that 73,3% of the audience comes by car, while only 0,5% come on foot. These results confirm the fact that, despite its location in a northern district of Marseille, the Theater of Le Merlan does not have a great impact on the population of its nearby neighborhood (*i.e.* immigrants), but rather attracts audiences from central and eastern districts of the city. As seen in the table, the factor of distance is stronger than proximity as the great majority of audience comes by car when not by public transportation or with the theater's shuttle (see Table 4).

How do you come to the Theater of Le Merlan?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
– On foot	3	1,5	1,5	1,5
– By bike	1	,5	,5	2,0
– By public transport	3	1,5	1,5	3,4
– By car	24	11,8	11,8	15,3
– By Le Merlan Theater's shuttle	150	73,9	73,9	89,2
Total	22	10,8	10,8	100,0
Total	203	100,0	100,0	

Table 4: Means of transportation used to come to the Theater of Le Merlan.

However, some differences appear when we analyze the theaters' attendance depending on the different shows offered. When we compare audience preferences of five shows at the Theater of La Criée, and four at the Theater of Le Merlan, we observe some significant variations between the two institutions.

In the case of the Theater of La Criée, despite the diversity of artistic offerings varying from classical French theater to modern circuses, we see little change in the type of audience depending of the different types of shows offered by the theater. The new "inclusive" program of La Criée only weakly attracts populations from the northern districts. Only 5 individuals from the second district (13002) and the third (13003) attended "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "A Queen of Heart"; 4 individuals from the thirteenth district (13013) attended "Trois Tchekhov" (see Table 5).

However, regarding the attendance of audiences living in the southern districts (esp. districts 13006, 13007, 13008, 13009) we can observe that the majority is more attracted by classical types of theater shows (“Cyrano de Bergerac”, “Trois Tchekhov”, “Cie Propeller”). The audiences from the eighth district (13008), are particularly strongly attracted by the “traditional” classical shows such as “Cyrano de Bergerac” (28 persons), and tend to be less interested by “modern” shows. Only four attended “A Queen of Heart” (cabaret show), and 3 “De Nos Jours” (circus show).

Therefore, we can conclude that inclusive European policies devoted to enhancing cultural mobility and attracting new populations to downtown Marseille, mainly concern populations that are (1) already acquainted with the Theater of La Criée, and (2) essentially living in the wealthy southern districts near the institution.

Table 5 shows audience distribution of the Theater of La Criée in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows included in the program during the “European Capital of Culture” year. Southern districts are indicated in orange. Northern districts are in purple, and central and eastern districts are marked in grey. Because of its central location, the Theater of La Criée is gentrified but geographically and socially more diverse than the Theater of Le Merlan. According to the chi-square test of independence – χ^2 (df = 60, N = 356) = 64.993, $p > .05$ – there is no correlation between the origins of audiences in the city and specific theatrical offerings (see Table 5).

Count		Name of representation					Total
		Cyrano de Bergerac	A Queen of Heart	Trois Tchekhov (La Mouette, Oncle Vania, Trois Soeurs)	De nos Jours (Cie Ivan Mosjoukine)	Cie Propeller – Shakespeare (Songe d'une nuit d'été & Comédie des Erreurs)	
If you live in Marseille, can you specify your district:	13001	8	6	9	1	9	33
	13002	6	5	1	1	3	16
	13003	4	2	2	0	1	9
	13004	8	0	8	2	4	22
	13005	9	2	4	2	8	25
	13006	22	8	11	4	5	50
	13007	25	7	9	6	7	54
	13008	31	4	11	3	10	59
	13009	9	3	13	2	4	31
	13010	1	2	0	0	3	6
	13011	3	3	2	1	1	10
	13012	10	6	3	1	3	23
	13013	6	2	4	1	1	14
	13014	0	0	2	0	0	2
	13015	1	0	0	0	0	1
	13190	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total		144	50	79	24	59	356

Table 5: Distribution of the La Criée Theater's audiences in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows
 χ^2 (df = 60, N = 356) = 64.993, $p > .05$ (.307).

However, the general assumption of centralization and gentrification of theater audiences becomes more balanced in the case of the Theater of Le Merlan. The restructuring and “inclusive” rebranding of the Theater of Le Merlan focused on the immersion of the theater in its local environment (i.e. in northern poor district neighborhoods), and on the attraction of local audiences (mostly young immigrants). The comparison of five heterogeneous shows from the theater’s annual program demonstrates some differences in audiences depending on the type of show offered.

While we find a strong presence of inhabitants of Marseille's southern districts (13005, 13006, 13007) during certain types of shows such as “Asphalte” (hip-hop show), “Smashed” (juggling show) and “My Dinner with André” (avant-garde show), we see a significant change in audience when the theater performs shows dedicated to youth and families, such as “Dormir cent ans”. Among the four shows, we see that “Dormir cent ans” attracts the greatest number of local inhabitants from the northern districts (12 individuals from the 13th, 14th and 16th district). However, the specific artistic and avant-gardist staging of “My Dinner with André” is more comparable with the theatrical offerings of the Theater of La Criée, and is clearly more in line with an audience from Marseille's southern districts (19 individuals coming from the 5th, 6th and 7th districts). Therefore, we can make the assumption that downtown residential populations, who attend the Theater of La Criée for its avant-garde shows, tend to come to the Theater of Le Merlan mainly for similar offerings. However, we can assume that the inclusion of more shows dedicated to youth and families in the theater's program could potentially raise the immigrant population's interest to come more often to the Theater of Le Merlan.

The table below shows the distribution of Theater of Le Merlan's audience in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows included in the program during the “European Capital of Culture” year. Southern districts are indicated in orange. Northern districts are in purple, and central and eastern districts are marked in grey. Because of its location on the north side of Marseille in peripheral neighborhoods, the Theater of Le Merlan is less gentrified but also geographically and socially less diverse than the Theater of La Criée. According to the chi-square test of independence – X^2 (df = 64, N = 154) = 95.953, $p < .01$ – there is a strong correlation between audiences from central and southern districts of the city, and specific theatrical offerings, that is in the present case, with avant-garde shows. However the Theater of Le Merlan remains poorly inclusive with populations from northern districts that count a large proportion of immigrants (see Table 6).

Count		Name of representation					Total	
		ASPHALTE	DORMIR CENT ANS	MY DINNER WITH ANDRE	SMASHED	SOIREE GRAVITATION (CONCERT)		
If you live in Marseille, can you specify your district:	13001	4	2	5	7	0	18	
	13002	0	2	1	2	1	6	
	13003	0	1	0	1	1	3	
	13004	5	6	2	8	0	21	
	13005	5	2	7	3	0	17	
	13006	4	4	9	7	1	25	
	13007	1	1	8	4	0	14	
	13008	0	0	3	2	0	5	
	13009	1	0	2	0	0	3	
	13010	0	1	0	1	0	2	
	13011	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	13012	0	1	0	7	0	8	
	13013	2	9	2	4	0	17	
	13014	0	2	1	0	0	3	
	13015	1	0	1	0	1	3	
	13016	0	1	2	4	0	7	
	84000	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	Total		23	32	45	50	4	154

Table 6 – Distribution of Le Merlan Theater's audiences in different Marseille districts, depending on four heterogeneous shows
 X^2 (df = 64, N = 154) = 95.953, $p < .01$ (.006).

Conclusion

Three main conclusions can be drawn from the results of these analyses:

First of all, we observe a weak correlation between (1) inclusive European policies applied to cultural institutions and (2) the participation of audiences poorly integrated into local cultural life. In the two cases of the theaters investigated during our survey – the Theater of La Criée (downtown theater) and the Theater of Le Merlan (peripheral theater) – immigrants, young and poor populations were underrepresented in the audiences of both “classical” and “contemporary” shows.

Secondly, regular theater-going audiences can easily reach the peripheral districts to participate in new cultural offerings, while populations poorly integrated into cultural life are not attracted by cultural offerings in downtown Marseille, despite the new “inclusive” programs of the La Criée central theater. This “one-way” urban cultural mobility is part of the “exclusion paradox” of inclusive policies that are effective mostly with populations that are already familiar with local cultural offerings. In contrast, populations poorly integrated into local cultural life are becoming even more excluded, particularly in the context of current European cultural policies, such as the “European Capitals of Culture” program.

Thirdly, in the case of the Theater of Le Merlan, local populations from the northern districts of Marseille mostly participated in the youth and family show “Dormir cent ans”. Therefore, cities and institutions could potentially be more attractive and inclusive for new generations of immigrants under the following conditions: (1) by increasing the geographical proximity of cultural institutions and amenities to low income neighborhoods, (2) by providing inclusive cultural programs more focused on youth and families as well as on immigrants' ordinary concerns and ambitions, (3) by improving urban mobility and public transport across the city between the center and periphery.

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