

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

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**Abstract**

The European cultural policy programs, such as ECC (European Capitals of Culture), 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 that should accelerate both territorial and cross-border European cohesion. The 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 cope with inclusion and integration with populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

Our comparative research confronts contrasting cases of "European Capitals of Culture" from the south and from the north of Europe, cities recently concerned by the ECC political mechanism and cities that were elected ECC in the past, multi-centered cultural models vs. highly centralized cultural models. We aim to explore the impacts of European policies on the urban cultural geography, but also to understand the current obstacles for their efficient implementation on everyday experiences.

Keywords: Cultural Policies, Immigration, Cultural Institutions, Europe, European Capitals of Culture

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## **1. 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 European regional and municipal cohesion and 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 melting pots of cultures and traditions, European cities appear as training grounds for local policies that aim 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 local and regional cultural contexts. In July 2010, the European Commission published a work document<sup>1</sup> that considers 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 the theater production 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 the common cultural heritage and bringing closer together European citizens, several political programs were created and applied to territories that needed top-down political intervention for raising their international profiles. For instance, the “European Capitals of Culture” program (ECC), which was created in 1985 by the European Union Council of Ministers and focused initially on major big cities (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 (Marseille ECC-2013, Umeå ECC-2014, San-Sebastian ECC-2016).

The new cultural consumption pattern is conceived to stimulate integration and mobility, but also to create a legitimate and transnational ideal European citizen type. Inclusion is conceived as an 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 that are 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.

## **2. Analyzing cultural struggles in European cities with contrasting profiles**

Focusing on European cities and regions that were elected "European Capitals of

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

Culture" (ECC), our CURRICULA<sup>2</sup> research project seeks to understand obstacles for the integration of populations poorly integrated into local cultural life. The work program topic of this research focuses on 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 the "European Capitals of Culture", the CURRICULA research project focuses on relationships between European inclusive cultural policies, the immersive cultural institutions (theaters, museums, operas, 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 concerned by the "European Capitals of Culture" program, such as Marseille (ECC-2013), Umeå (ECC-2014), Wrocław (ECC-2016), to 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, but also to understand how the ECC political mechanism integrates the collective memory of targeted populations. Finally, our project focuses on heterogeneous immersive cultural institutions (operas, theaters, museums) that are analyzed and compared according to the criteria of their impact on inclusion of populations poorly integrated into local cultural life.

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

**Figure 1 - Crossovers between four European cities with contrasting profiles**

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

### 3. Research methodology

The CURRICULA research program has been 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 has been afterwards replicated in several

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

international case studies. On its current stage, the project is deployed internationally in Poland and Sweden. The long-term impacts of the European cultural policies, the cases of Bologna (ECC-2000) and Genoa (ECC-2004) will be analyzed at the final stage of the project.

In this paper we will present only results of our study on Marseille ECC-2013 that we collected during the first stage of the project. The results of surveys realized in Sweden, Poland and Italy are expected in the coming years.

For the specific case of Marseille ECC-2013, our investigation started from the following problems and questioning: How do the cultural institutions in Marseille renew their scope and redefine the relationships they have with their audiences during the period of 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 the audiences (esp. youth and immigrants) react on the new European cultural policies? Are they becoming more participative, or conversely, do they remain resilient to cultural institutions, and the new cultural offer?

We started our survey with two important theaters of the city 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 causes: (1) the two theaters are durably anchored in the Marseille's cultural landscape, and (2) they present dissimilar institutional profiles, and are located in two economically and socially very opposite neighborhoods (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2 – Two National Theaters in Marseille impacted by European cultural policies**



The National Theater of La Criée was founded in 1981. Since its foundation, La Criée is based in the prestigious downtown neighborhood near the Old-Port. Despite its central location among the upper-middle class housings, the theater was created to promote a non-elitist approach of the classical theater. The historical building of the Theater of La Criée was previously occupied by the Marseille's central fish market, a place traditionally associated with multiculturalism and immigration.

The Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene was founded in 1980. The main objective of

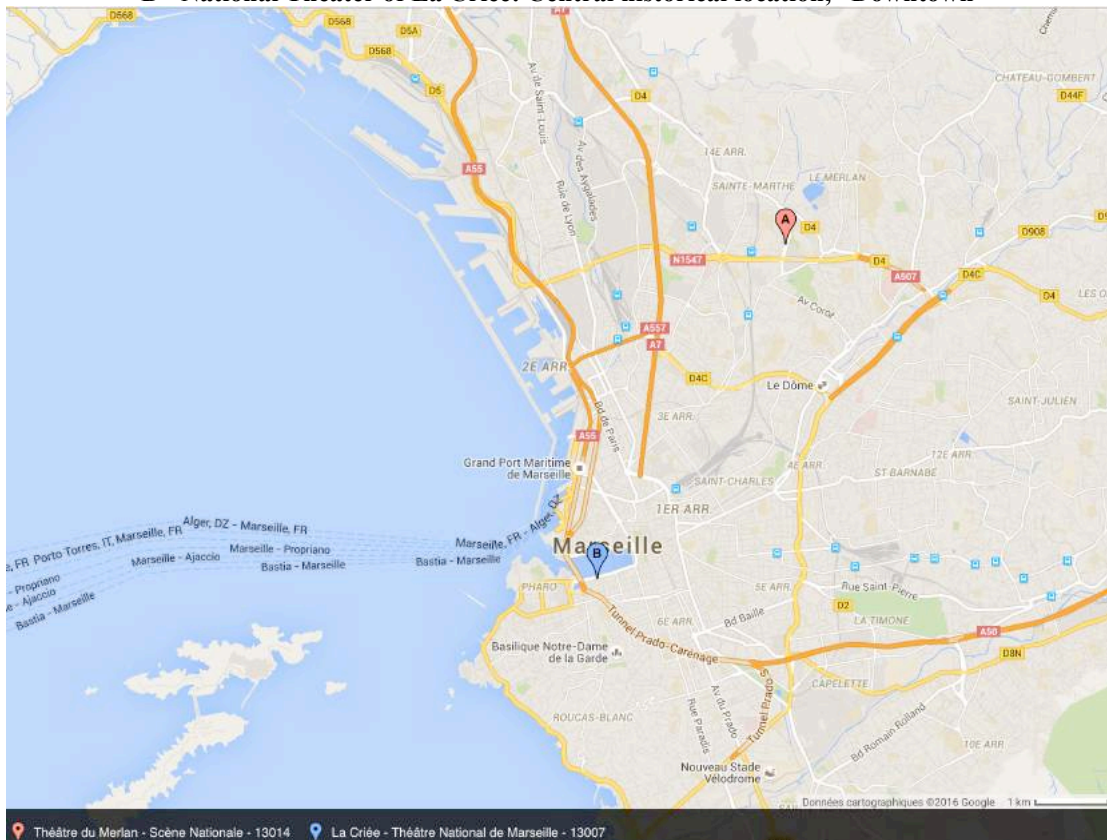
this institution consisted in the promotion of theater and cinema among the poor populations of peripheral neighborhoods. The Theater of Le Merlan is based in the north side of Marseille, in a neighborhood typically associated with immigration, drug dealers, and crimes. The premises of the Theater of Le Merlan are shared with a supermarket, a police station and a library for the children.

The map below shows the location of the two theaters in the Marseille’s urban landscape (see Figure 3):

**Figure 3 - The geographical and institutional cultural heteronomy of two theaters in Marseille**

**A – Theater of Le Merlan-National Scene: Peripheral location, the “hood”**

**B - National Theater of La Criée: Central historical location, “Downtown”**



In 2013, the Theater of La Criée has integrated the “European Capitals of Culture” program. The newly elected artistic director of the theater, Macha Makeïeff, has enriched the theatrical program with new artistic genres, such as circus, dance, orchestral music, jazz and cabaret. The new institutional branding was led by Ali Baba, the musical show created by Macha Makeïeff in the spirit of tolerance and integration of the city of Marseille toward its multicultural inhabitants. The collaborations with several foreign theaters have been also engaged in order to attract in Marseille new international audiences.

The Theater of Le Merlan has also been strongly impacted by the European inclusive policies that strengthen and support the broad vision of the open theater to everyone; regardless incomes, cultural origins, age, and education level. The new artistic director of the Theater of Le Merlan, Francesca Poloniato, started with the public presentation

of the new program by an African dance that symbolized 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 is also engaged into the municipal social politics towards the immigrants.

The methodology of our research is built on the articulation of several types of statistical and cartographical data analysis. Since 2013, we work on the analysis of the Theater of La Criée and the Theater of Le Merlan ticket office databases. These databases contain addresses and zip codes of every subscribed and non-subscribed tickets buyer, but also information available on shows that he/she prefers to visit during the year. To deepen our results, we also proceeded several paper and online questionnaires with a number of detailed questions on personal cultural experiences and practices.

For the survey by questionnaire, we've chosen five different shows from the program of the Theater of La Criée, and four shows from the program of the Theater of Le Merlan. This approach allowed us to analyze the socio-demographical differences between the audiences of each show, and to understand how 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've included in our comparative scope (see Figure 4).

**Figure 4 - The main characteristics of theatrical shows included in our analysis**

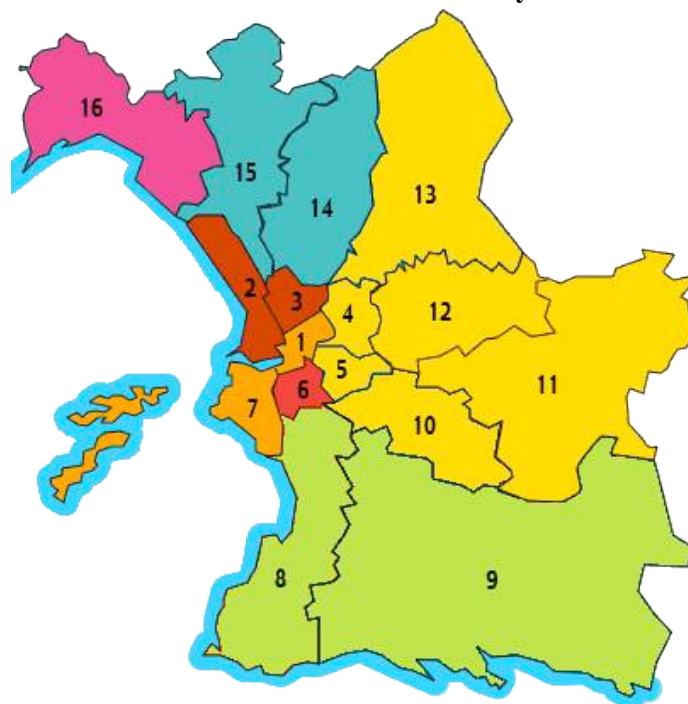
Institution	Show	Main characteristics of the show
Theater of La Criée	Cyrano de Bergerac (Georges Lavadant)	French Classical theater
Theater of La Criée	Queen of Hearts (Juliette Deschamps)	Retro cabaret style songs
Theater of La Criée	De Nos Jours (Ivan Mosjoukine Theater Company)	Modern circus
Theater of La Criée	La Mouette, Oncle Vania, Trois Soeurs (Christian Benedetti)	Modern theater based on classical pieces of Anton Chekhov
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

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 on the audiences' morphology. Thus, we build a number of small-scale datasets containing multiple dimensions about living areas, lifestyle, as well as urban, regional and cross-border cultural mobility patterns of audiences of the two theaters, and then, confront them to broader statistics databases such as those from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), to find correlations with socio-economic characteristics of Marseille's population.

Two main geographical units are structuring the INSEE databases: the zip and district codes (commune/arrondissement level) and the 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 theaters' audiences, but also, to find those where individuals are not concerned by the cultural offer. The map below shows the Marseille's districts distribution (see Figure 5).

**Figure 5 – The administrative division of the city 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 around 16 000 IRIS codes that cover infra-communal territories scaled at the target size of 2000 residents per basic unit. Thus, the combination of big data (National statistics by zip codes and IRIS codes) and small data (ticket offices' databases and qualitative surveys on theaters' audiences) allow us to create new databases for the analysis of European cultural policies impacts in Marseille. In this way, we have the possibility 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 profile of theater audiences and socio-economic characteristics of Marseille's population. This original methodology will provide a better understanding of cultural participation and mobility in the city, as well as insights on how social and cultural stratification can be impacted – or not – by European cultural policies.

#### **4. The case of Marseille, European Capital of Culture 2013**

Since ancient Greeks have established their first settlement around 600 BC, the city of Marseille has a long historical tradition of cosmopolitanism. As a Mediterranean port, Marseille has benefited from different migration waves that have marked over time, the identity of the city. Today Marseille is still one of the most cosmopolitan cities in France, but also in Europe. In 2013, the city has been designated European Capital of Culture, and in order to confirm the status of Marseille as a cultural crossroad of

populations, the city has received from the European Union and the French Ministry of Culture, the Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations (MuCEM). The brand new and iconic museum has been built just at the entrance of the Old-Port, on the docks where most immigrants and refugees were landing in the past after WWII, when the time of colonial powers was definitely over. To celebrate the event of the new European Capital of Culture, the New York Times published two articles between 2012 and 2013 about the spirit of tolerance and integration of the city of Marseille toward immigrants. In a first issue dealing with the historic French republican concern about “who gets to be French?”<sup>3</sup> the Journal already asked “can and should the Marseillais spirit of civilized tolerance spread northward?” The following year, the Journal highlighted Marseille as “the Secret Capital of France”<sup>4</sup>. Based on these consensual considerations and in the context of identity conflicts and cultural struggles that are emerging in contemporary Europe about immigration issues, it could be interesting to ask what is the real situation of immigrants in Marseille and what relation do they have toward European institutions of culture? Are they reactive to inclusive European cultural policies? Are they becoming more participative, or conversely, do they remain resilient to cultural institutions and to the new cultural offer?

##### **5. The cultural identities of the city of Marseille: is Marseille an exception?**

Marseille is historically recognized for being a cultural crossroad of populations in Mediterranean as well as in Europe. The city is the second largest city in France and counts around 1 727 000 inhabitants for the metro area. While Paris metro area is far ahead Marseille in population (12 405 426 inhabitants), Marseille is nonetheless one of the largest city in France for the surface area with 240,62 km<sup>2</sup>, compared to Paris with only 105,40 km<sup>2</sup>. Because of its pre-eminence as a Mediterranean port, Marseille has always been one of the main gateways into France. This geographical situation has attracted many immigrants and made Marseille a cosmopolitan melting pot. According to the national statistics, almost ½ person is from immigrant ancestors. The Muslim population reaches more than 250 000 inhabitants. Marseille is also the third Jewish city 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 already, about half the population originated elsewhere from southern France mostly, but also from the northern part of the country. Since 1999, almost 25% of the population is now 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 a research comparing different regions in France, the Region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur is now clearly identified as a land of immigration (Yvan Gastaut, 2009). “Today the PACA region is a very highly urbanized area with a population of 4.5 million of urban residents, or 90% of its population approaching 5 million. A majority lies in the four major cities, Marseille, Nice, Toulon and Avignon, and in the many medium-sized cities over 20 000 inhabitants. The 300 000 foreigners or 430 000 immigrants recorded in PACA, according to the distinction drawn by the INSEE, represent almost 10% of the

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<sup>3</sup> “Who gets to be French?”, by Karl E. Meyer, The New York Times, April 11, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> “Marseille, the Secret Capital of France”, by Michael Kimmelman, The New York Times, October 4, 2013.



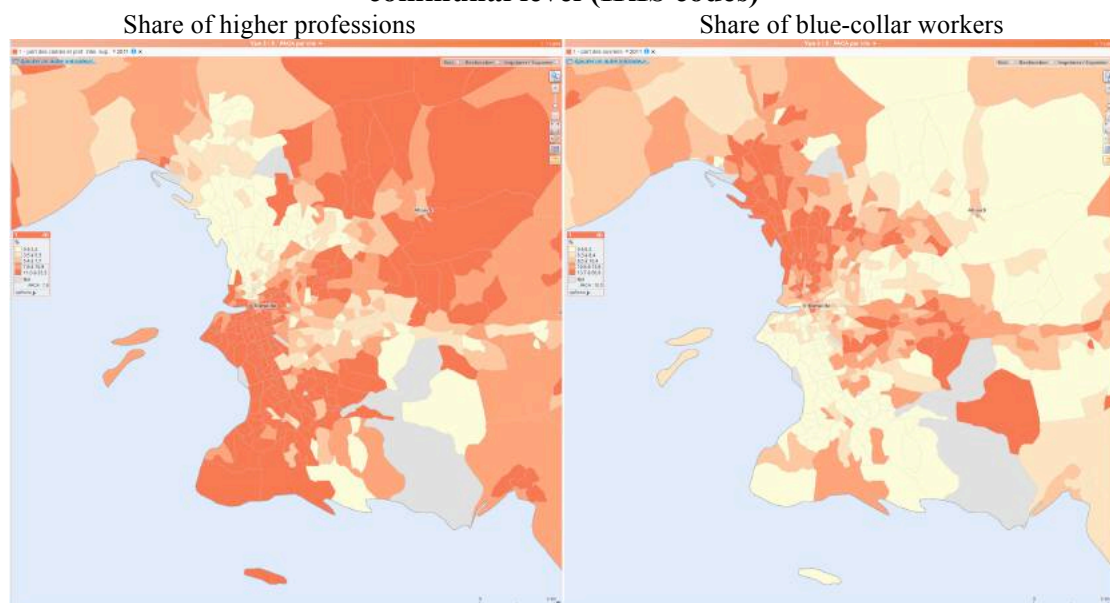
population and live, too, mainly in the urban areas, although their presence in rural areas cannot be overlooked.”

## 6. The geographical distribution of the population in Marseille

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

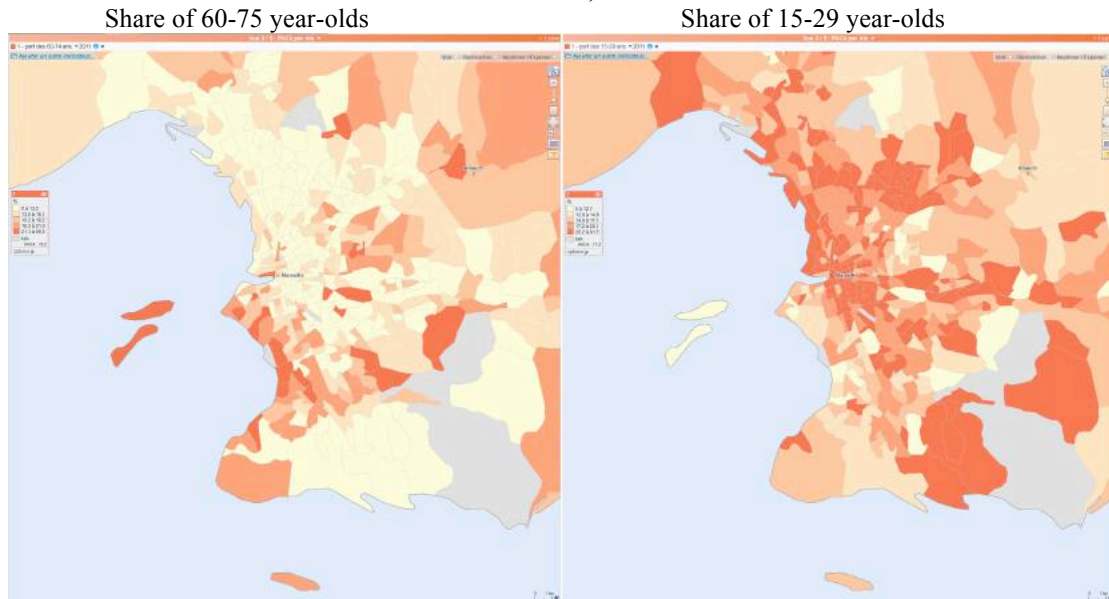
When we first start to compare the distribution by profession in Marseille at the infra-communal level, we can see a clear division of the city between the north and the south. For instance the percentage share of higher professions (CEOs, intellectual professions, and managers) is much more important in the south side of Marseille, while the percentage share of blue-collar workers appears to be located much more 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)**



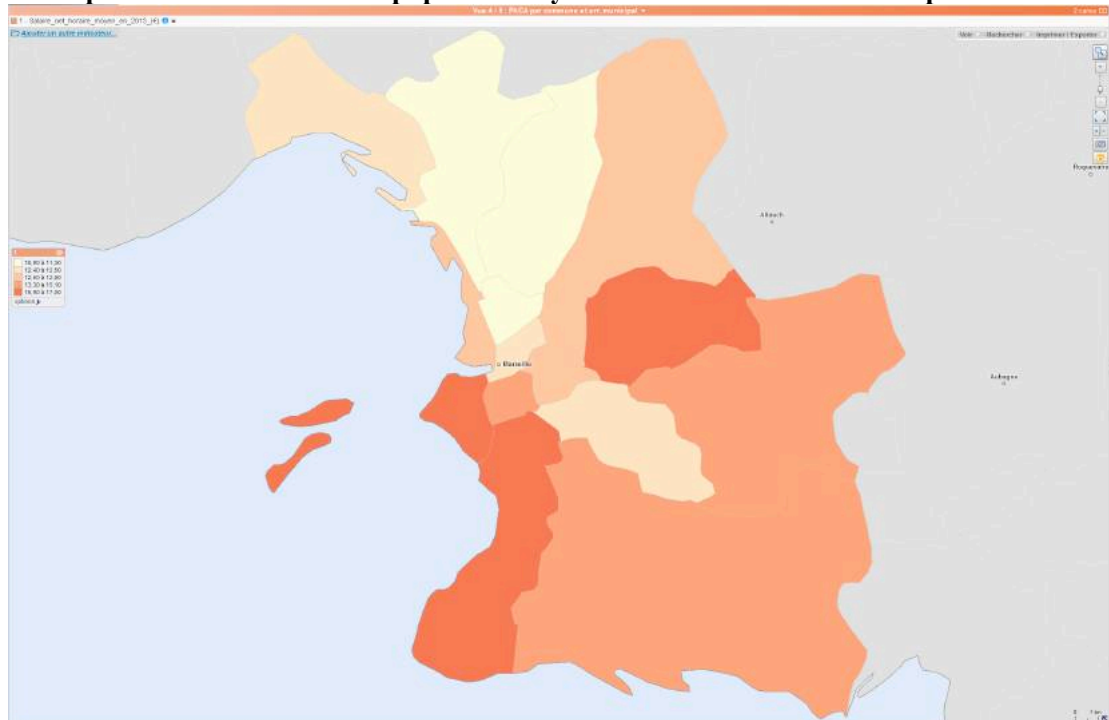
Now, when we compare the distribution of the population by age, we also find a quite divided city between the north and the south. When we look at the map of the share of 60-75 year-olds compared to the share of 15-29 year-olds, once again, it appears very clearly that the elderly population is not living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

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



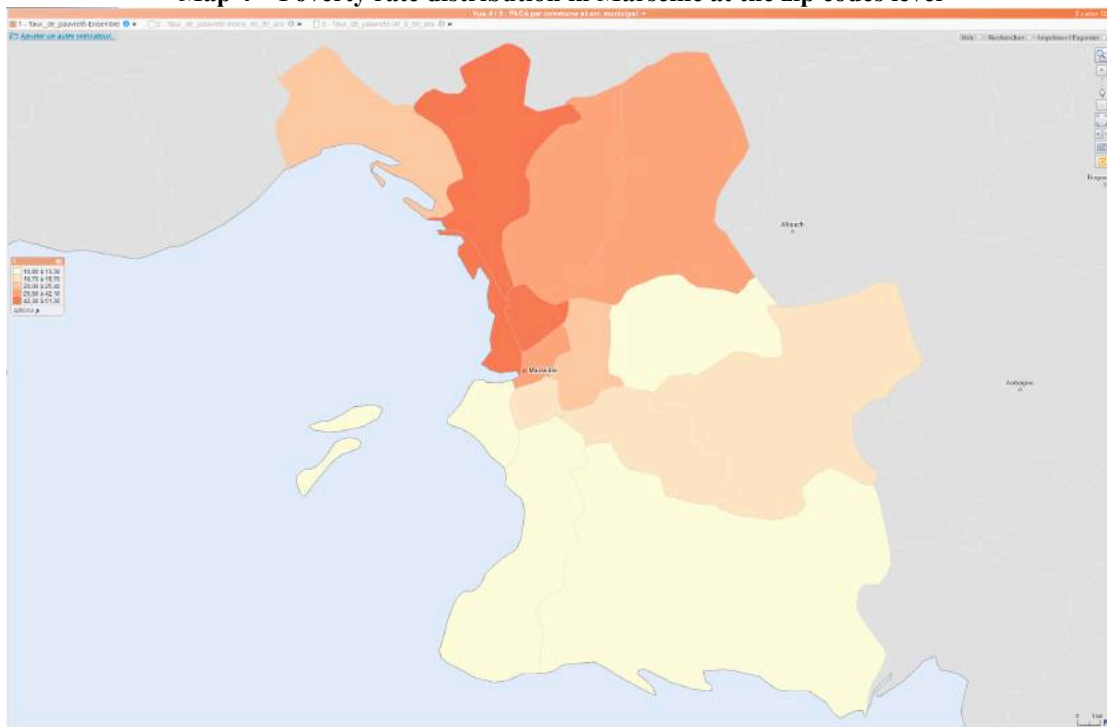
Then, if we compare now three different maps on incomes and poverty rate, we find strong relationships with the two variables we've just explored before, by analyzing profession and age. On the first map, we see the income distribution across the city of Marseille. As we can observe, the population with the highest incomes live in the south and east sides of the city. While the south side of the Marseille's waterfront appears to be very wealthy, conversely the northern neighborhoods seem to be rather disadvantaged economically (see Map 3).

**Map 3 – Distribution of the population by income in Marseille at the zip codes level**

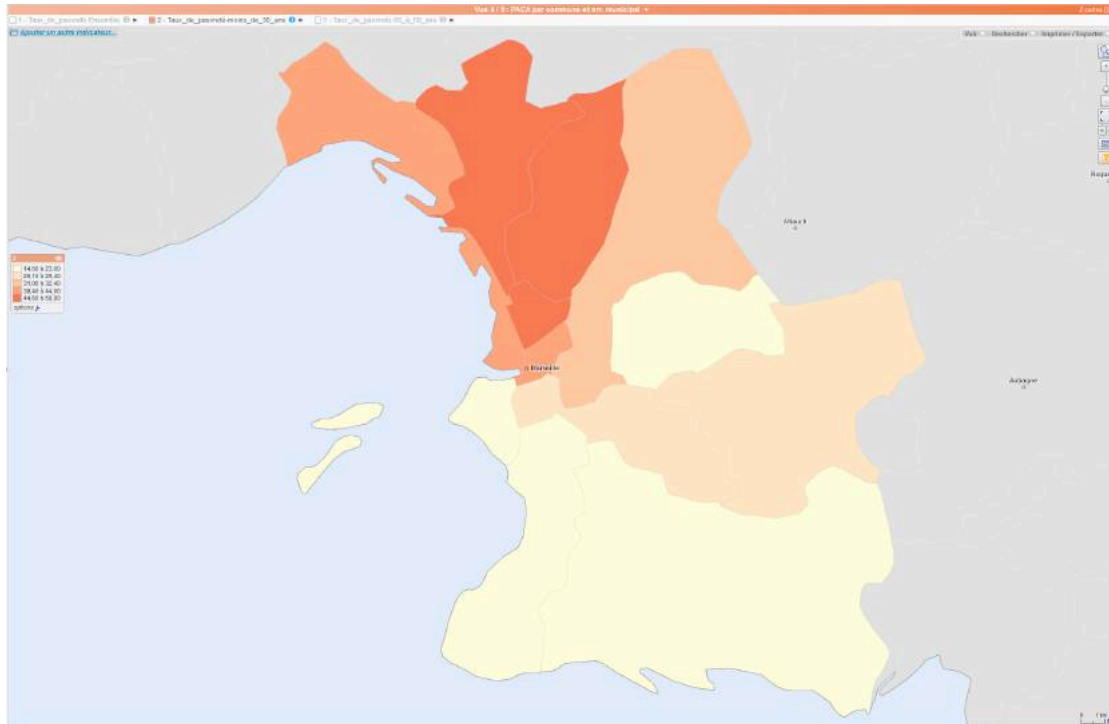


To contrast with this observation, we can compare the previous map on incomes with the following one that is based on poverty rate. What we can observe is the exact opposite of the previous one, where the poorest population is essentially based in the northern neighborhoods of Marseille (see Map 4). In this present case, and considering what we just analyzed before, 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 can observe on the next map on the poverty rate distribution of the population under 30 year-olds (see Map 5). Interestingly enough, the districts of the city that have the highest poverty rate are also the youngest ones.

**Map 4 – Poverty rate distribution in Marseille at the zip codes level**



**Map 5 – Poverty rate distribution of the population under 30 year-olds in Marseille at the zip codes level**

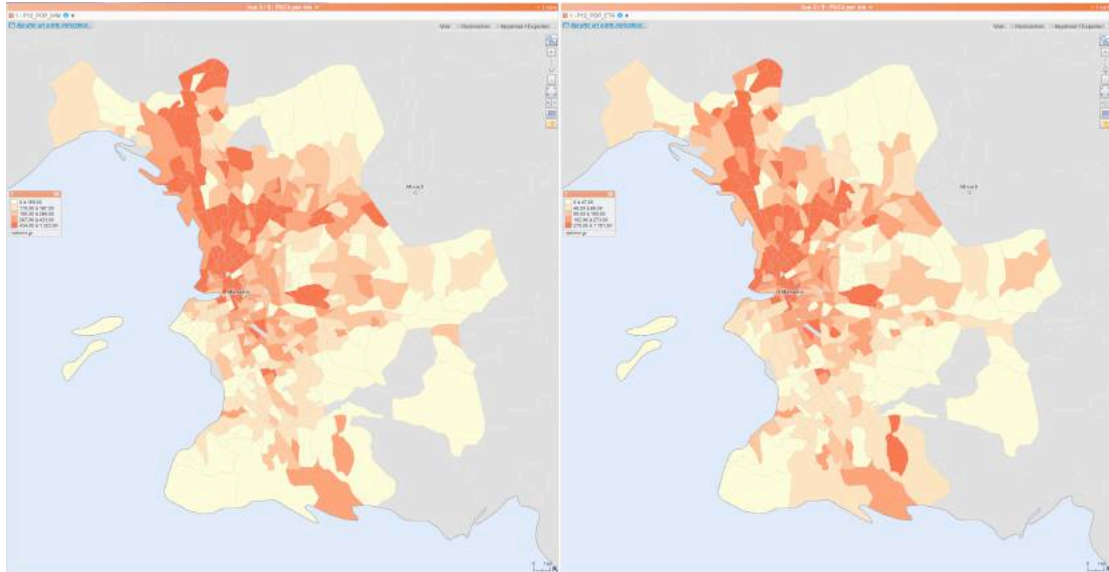


Finally, once we move on to the analysis of the immigrant and foreign population distribution in Marseille, contrasting by income, age and profession, we find strong evidences that these populations are likely to be correlated with young, undereducated and low incomes neighborhoods. The two following maps indicate the distribution of the immigrant and foreign population across the city of Marseille (see Map 6). As we can observe on the two maps, the districts with the highest immigrant and foreign population share 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 assumptions that the status of both immigrants and foreigners might 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)**

Share of immigrants

Share of foreigners



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

To test these assumptions, we made repeated measures through statistical analysis with SPSS. The database used for the test was coming from National statistics (INSEE) and was scaled at the city level of Marseille. The results we found give strong evidences to our analysis. When testing immigrants as 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. = 0.000; see Table 1). Then, when we repeated the test with immigrants as dependent variable, but controlling 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. = 0.000 for 0-14 year-olds; and  $t = 7.012$ , Sig. = 0.000 for 15-29 year-olds). Conversely, correlations were significant but negative with age categories of 45-59 and 75-+ year-olds ( $t = -5.257$ , Sig. = 0.000 for 45-59 year-olds; and  $t = -2.939$ , Sig. = 0.004 for 75-+ year-olds; see Table 2).

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

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	20,602	24,185		,852	,395
	Nombre de personnes de 15 ans ou plus Cadres et Professions intellectuelles supérieures	-,012	,067	-,008	-,184	,854
	Nombre de personnes de 15 ans ou plus Ouvriers	1,553	,092	,704	<b>16,877</b>	<b>,000</b>

a. Dependent Variable: Nombres de personnes immigrées

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

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	51,677	25,970		1,990	,047
	Nombre de personnes de 0 à 14 ans	,702	,073	,626	<b>9,646</b>	<b>,000</b>
	Nombre de personnes de 15 à 29 ans	,365	,052	,377	<b>7,012</b>	<b>,000</b>
	Nombre de personnes de 30 à 44 ans	,021	,093	,018	,222	,824
	Nombre de personnes de 45 à 59 ans	-,580	,110	-,439	-5,257	,000
	Nombre de personnes de 60 à 74 ans	,292	,131	,184	2,219	,027
	Nombre de personnes de 75 ans ou plus	-,315	,107	-,176	-2,939	,004

a. Dependent Variable: Nombres de personnes immigrées

## 7. Analyzing immigrant participation into European institutions of culture: two National theaters with contrasting profiles

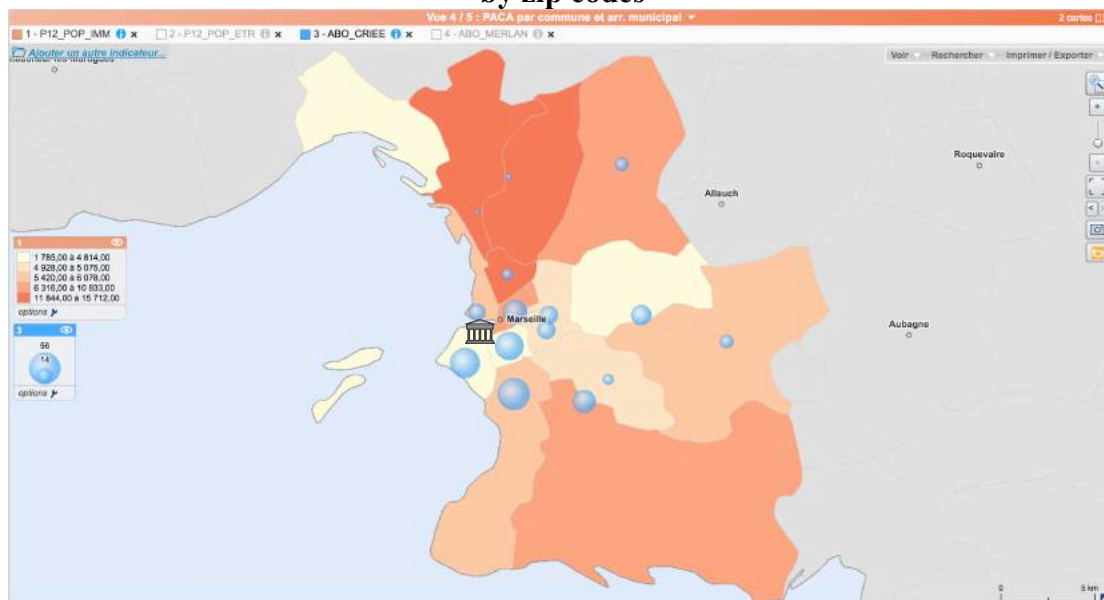
So what can be drawn from these observations? How do these results overlap with cultural practices? To what extent immigrants are integrated into cultural life of institutions? And what is the influence of European cultural institutions on these populations? To answer these questions, we started from 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 the hypotheses about immigrants' participation into these institutions, we asked to audiences two very simple questions: (1) where do you live in the city?, and

(2) what is your means of transport? The first question gives us information about whether the person is living far or close from the theater. The second, what kind of means of transport he or she takes to come to the theater. The public had the possibility to choose between five choices: (1) by feet, (2) by public transport, (3) by bike, (4) by car, (5) other. Before analyzing the results, we merged the data provided by our surveys on the two theaters with data from the National census of population. We then mapped our results from the two theaters combined with data about immigrants' census. The first layer (with blue bubbles) indicates the proportion of the theaters' audiences by district. The second one (by the color intensity) indicates the proportion of immigrant population. On each map, we indicated with a temple symbol the theater location, in order to situate the institution in the city in regards to its audiences.

After testing these different variables and comparing maps, we find evidences that none of the two theaters' audiences is correlated with immigrant population. Furthermore, we find that whatever the location of the theater or cultural institutions (whether they are central or peripheral), there is no significant impact or influence on immigrant population. We find for instance no significant impact when the cultural institution is in a central location of the city such as for the Theater of La Criée. The immigrant population remains poorly integrated into local cultural life and doesn't necessarily feel the need to go downtown to have cultural practices. On the first map, we can observe that most audiences of the Theater of La Criée is coming from central, southern and eastern neighborhoods of the city. However, very few of them are coming from the north side of the city, where we find the highest proportion of immigrant population (see Map 7).

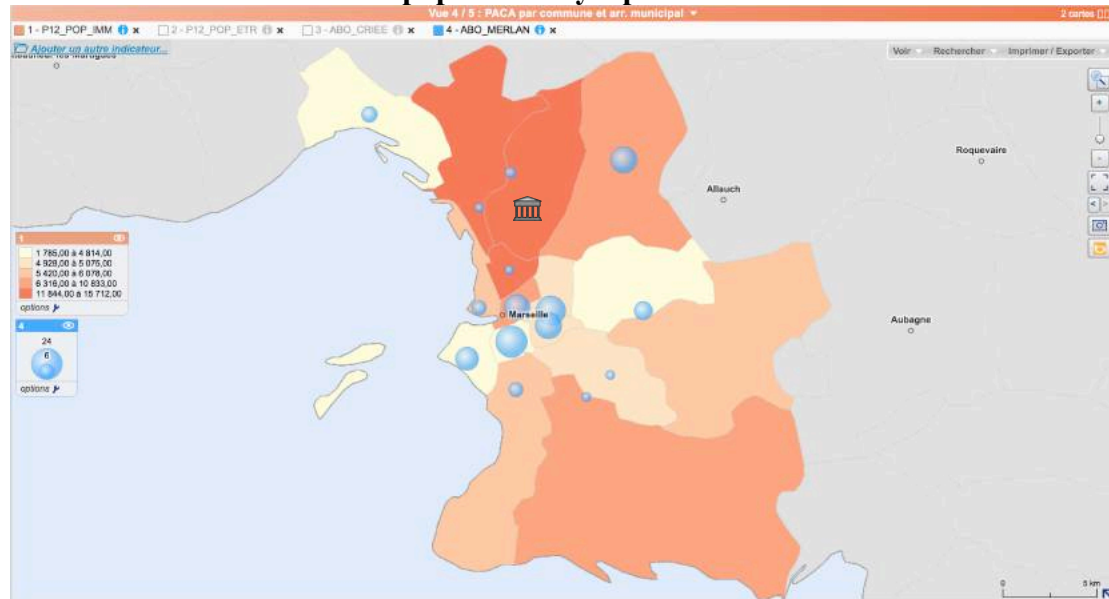
**Map 7 – Distribution of La Criée Theater's audiences vs. immigrant population by zip codes**



In the case of the Theater of Le Merlan, we find no significant impact either when the cultural institution is integrated into poor and peripheral neighborhoods. Despite the fact that since its creation in 1980, the Theater of Le Merlan has been specifically dedicated to attract 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 constraints to make the institution accepted into northern neighborhoods of

Marseille. As we can observe, most audiences of the Theater of Le Merlan come from central Marseille neighborhoods, although we can find some exceptions such as in the 13<sup>th</sup> district (north eastern nearby neighborhood) or in the 16<sup>th</sup> district (north western nearby neighborhood). However, in districts where the proportion of immigrant population is the highest, the impact of the Theater of Le Merlan remains still very low. In other words, immigrant cultural practices stay apart from the top-down cultural legitimacy, even when European cultural offers are brought to these populations (see Map 8).

**Map 8 – Distribution of Le Merlan Theater’s audiences vs. immigrant population by zip codes**



To control these observations, we did some simple frequency tests about how people come to the theater, and by which means of transport, in order to compare factors of distance and proximity between audiences and the two theaters.

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



**Table 3 – Means of transport used to come to the Theater of La Criée**

**How do you come to the Theater of La Criée?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid - By 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		

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

**Table 4 – Means of transport used to come to the Theater of Le Merlan**  
**How do you come to the Theater of Le Merlan?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	3	1,6	1,6	1,6
- By foot	1	,5	,5	2,1
- By bike	3	1,6	1,6	3,7
- By public transport	22	11,8	11,8	15,5
- By car	137	73,3	73,3	88,8
- By the Merlan theater's shuttle	21	11,2	11,2	100,0
Total	187	100,0	100,0	

However, some differences appear when analyzing the attendance of Theaters depending on different shows offered. By comparing the audience's preferences between five shows for the Theater of La Criée, and four for the Theater of Le Merlan, we observe some significant variations between the two institutions.

For instance, in the case of the Theater of La Criée, despite the diversity of artistic offers varying from classical French theater to modern circus, we can see that we have no change in audiences depending of the different types of shows offered by the Theater. The new "inclusive" program of La Criée weakly attracts populations from the northern districts. Only 5 persons from the second district (13002) and the third (13003) attended "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "A Queen of Heart"; 4 persons from the thirteenth district (13013) attended "Trois Tchekhov" (see Table 5).

However, regarding the attendance of audiences living in the southern districts (esp. 13006, 13007, 13008, 13009) we can observe that the majority of them are more attracted by classical types of theater shows (“Cyrano de Bergerac”, “Trois Tchekhov”, “Cie Propeller”). The audiences from the eighth district (13008), particularly are 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 of them attended “A Queen of Heart” (cabaret show), and 3 “De Nos Jours” (circus show).

Thus, the inclusive European policies devoted to enhance the cultural mobility and attract new populations in the downtown of Marseille, mainly concern populations that are (1) already acquainted with the Theater of La Criée, and (2) essentially living in the wealthy southern districts nearby the institution.

The table below indicates the distribution of the audiences 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 (see Table 5).

**Table 5 – Distribution of the La Criée Theater's audiences in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows**

Count		Nom de la représentation					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)	
Question 27 -	13001	5	6	9	1	9	30
Résidence	13002	5	5	1	1	3	15
Marseille (détail	13003	2	2	2	0	1	7
arrondissement)	13004	4	0	8	2	4	18
	13005	2	2	4	2	8	18
	13006	17	8	11	3	5	44
	13007	21	7	9	5	7	49
	13008	28	4	11	3	10	56
	13009	7	3	13	2	4	29
	13010	1	2	0	0	3	6
	13011	3	3	2	1	1	10
	13012	9	6	3	1	3	22
	13013	2	2	4	1	1	10
	13014	0	0	2	0	0	2
	13015	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	13190	108	50	79	22	59	318

However, the general assumption of the centralization and gentrification of theaters' audiences becomes more balanced in the case of the Theater of Le Merlan. The restructuring and “inclusive” rebranding of the Theater of Le Merlan was focused on the immersion of the Theater in its local environment (i.e. in northern poor districts neighborhoods), and on the attraction of local audiences (mostly young immigrants). The comparison between four heterogeneous shows from the Theater's annual program points out some differences among audiences depending on the types of shows offered.

While we find a strong presence of inhabitants from the Marseille's southern districts (13005, 13006, 13007) on certain types of shows such as “Asphalte” (hip-hop show), “Smashed” (juggling show) and “My Dinner with André” (avant-garde show), we find nonetheless a significant change of audiences once the Theater performs

dedicated shows to youth and families, such as with “Dormir cent ans”. Among the four shows, we can see that “Dormir cent ans” attracts most of the local population from the northern districts (12 persons from the 13th, 14th and 16th district). However, the specific artistic and avant-gardist staging form of “My Dinner with André” is more comparable with offers presented at the Theater of La Criée, and is clearly more in line with audiences from the Marseille's southern districts (19 persons coming from the 5th, 6th and 7th district). Thus, we can make the assumption that the downtown's residential populations, who attend the Theater of La Criée for its avant-garde shows, tend to come to the Theater of Le Merlan mostly for similar offers. However, we can assume that the inclusion into the Theater's program of more dedicated shows to youth and families could potentially raise the immigrants' population interest to come more often to the Theater of Le Merlan.

The table below indicates the distribution of the audiences of the Theater of Le Merlan in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows included in the program during the “European Capital of Culture” year (see Table 6).

**Table 6 – Distribution of Le Merlan Theater's audiences in different Marseille districts, depending on five heterogeneous shows**

Count		Representation				Total
		ASPHALTE	DORMIR CENT ANS	MY DINNER WITH ANDRE	SMASHED	
51 - 48. Si vous vivez à Marseille, pouvez-vous préciser l'arrondissement :	13001	4	2	3	7	16
	13002	0	2	1	2	5
	13003	0	1	0	1	2
	13004	5	6	2	8	21
	13005	5	2	7	3	17
	13006	4	4	9	7	24
	13007	1	1	7	4	13
	13008	0	0	3	2	5
	13009	1	0	1	0	2
	13010	0	1	0	1	2
	13012	0	1	0	7	8
	13013	2	9	2	4	17
	13014	0	2	1	0	3
	13015	1	0	1	0	2
	13016	0	1	1	4	6
	84000	0	0	1	0	1
Total		23	32	39	50	144

## Conclusion and discussion

Three main conclusions can be drawn from these different results:

*Primo*, we can observe a weak correlation between (1) the inclusive European policies applied to cultural institutions and (2) the participation of audiences poorly integrated into local cultural life. In the two cases of 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 among the audiences of both “classical” and “contemporary” shows.

*Secundo*, the regular theater audiences can easily reach the peripheral districts to participate to new cultural offers, while populations poorly integrated into cultural life are not attracted by cultural offers of 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 towards populations that are already familiar with local cultural offers. By 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.

*Tertio*, 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”. Thus, 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 in low incomes 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 transports across the city between the center and periphery.

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