I belong (t)here

A visual ethnographic case study on the community art project
***Ik was niet van plan te blijven* (I did not intend to stay)**

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Front page: Picture of the opening of the exhibition *'Ik was niet van plan te blijven'* in Podium Mozaïek, with Nosrat's *gevelstenen* at the top and the author filming at the bottom right. Picture taken by: Jasmin Peco.

Preface and acknowledgment

This thesis and film are the result of more than a year of (desk and field) research as well as digesting unedited rushes and anthropological theory as part of the master specialisation *Visual Ethnography as a Method* at Leiden University. It has been a year full with experiences wherein I have developed myself academically, personally and as a filmmaker, in countless ways. After looking into various potential subjects, I picked the topics of migration and art as they are very close to me. I was driven to the topic of migration experiences through my own background; being raised by a Danish migrant-mother and a Dutch father, I always experienced the cultural values, practices and languages of several places, here and there. For this reason I could easily empathise with the migrants involved in my research, although my mixed background is still Western European, contrary to the (second generation) Turkish and Moroccan, Armenian, Iranian, Yugoslavian, Algerian, and Syrian migrants, I focused on with this study.

I found this research opportunity by approaching *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*, a collective of artists with refugee-backgrounds centred in Amsterdam, that was about to start their first community art-project as an independent foundation. This project, *Ik was niet van plan te blijven,* focused on 50 years of migration of Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants to the Netherlands. Through the medium of 'community art', the artists not only wanted to create a platform for their artistic skills, but also socially engage themselves with social relevant themes and express their social viewpoints shaped by forced migration. This project immediately caught my attention, since I have always been interested in the interface between the social and artistic. This was also the reason I chose for the visual ethnography master-track at Leiden University.

Although I conducted four months of ethnographic fieldwork before, during my bachelor research at the University of Utrecht in Nicaragua that focused on a participatory development project [1], conducting fieldwork again, this time with a video camera, was challenging in its own ways. It was my first experience working with audio-visual methods and, apart from the preoperational course, filmmaking in general. I learned it required a lot of technical skills and insights, multitasking (filming, recording sound, and having a conversation at the same time). Also I learned that it required more investment in building rapport, gaining trust and ethical dilemmas than ethnographic fieldwork without a camera.

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[1] Berentsen, S en K. Carbajal Henken 2012 "No se aprende a pescar sin pescado" - Een onderzoek naar de betekenisgeving bij kennisuitwisseling tussen Stichting Samenscholen en lokale participanten in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. Bachelorscriptie Culturele Antropologie open access Universiteit Utrecht

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Introduction

It is often assumed in socio-political- and everyday discourses that ethnic identity of migrants consists of binary oppositions. However I am to demonstrate with this case study that this can also be experienced differently, when ethnicity is framed as inclusive ethnic identification (Jenkins 2008). This is confirmed from an empirical perspective, which explains the title of this thesis 'I belong (t)here'. The title follows a quote from the fieldwork conducted along the community art project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* (I did not intend to stay), focused on 50 years of migration to the Netherlands. Although the project was focused on Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants, a major group of immigrants in the Netherlands, the project was conducted by a collective of artists with a refugee-background, that provide an additional layer to the perspectives on migration expressed throughout the socio-artistic process.

This thesis includes the ethnographic film *Ik ben van hier en daar* (2016, 38 mins), the Dutch equivalent of 'I belong here and there', which is the main outcome of four months of fieldwork along the process of this community art project. I advise the reader to first watch the film, before continuing to reading this text, as I will refer to the film throughout this text the following way [00:00 mins], to illustrate, explain and support my argument. To provide the reader with insight in the complexity of my analysis, I also included pictures from the field, a vignette and an organigram in this document.

This ethnographic analysis is mostly based on a grounded theory approach, wherein data collected through visual ethnographic research methods during four months of fieldwork, were analysed and connected to theoretical and socio-political understandings to provide an answer to the following research question:

How do experiences with migration as expressed in the community art-project 'Ik was niet van plan te blijven' (I did not intend to stay) relate to theoretical and socio-political understandings of belonging and ethnic identity, as well as community art?

This question is important on an academic and societal level because both, 'ethnic identity' in relation to migration and integration, as well as 'community art' are recurrent topics in theoretical, as well as current Dutch socio-political debates. In this thesis I analyse my empirical findings in the light of both policy framework and theoretical frameworks to look at how the assumptions that are made in the socio-political debates concerning migration and community art are experienced by the people (community artists, participants, neighbourhood residents migrants) themselves. To understand the empirical findings it is important to look at how

migrant-experiences are coloured by perceptions in the socio-political macro-context. However, through my empirical focus on migration on a micro level, the subtle nuances in identification are represented through the voice of the migrants themselves (Brettell 2003).

In the film *Ik ben van hier en daar* I aimed to let the voices of migrants literally speak for themselves, as they are expressed throughout the socio-artistic process of the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*. The film provides an important outcome to the project, not only since it documents the project results that were 'only' presented in a temporary exhibition in the neighbourhood. More importantly it shows the artistic process and the underlying ideas and struggles of the artists. Besides that the film documents valuable ethnographic insights in the artistic process and in migration experiences, it aims to communicate these insights beyond the visitors of the exhibition. First of all, the film is aimed towards an academic audience, but also at people outside academia with a general interest in community arts and migration experiences, including community arts organisers and policy makers.

After this introduction, the first chapter deals with the macro context wherein the project under study is organised. First of all, I expand on changing socio-political debates about integration and multiculturalism in the last five decades, particularly in relation to the history of Turkish and Moroccan 'guest workers' *(gastarbeiders)*. It is the 'myth of return' that characterised their migration initially, the title of the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* (I did not intend to stay) refers to. The community art project at hand connects to these issues socio-politically with its focus on '50 years of (labour) migration': highlighting the impact of migration on former Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants, or so called 'guest workers' *(gastarbeiders)*, and the consequences of the stigmatised labelling as *allochtonen* from 'outside' in everyday language and socio-political discourses (Slootman 2014: 60). In the second section I elaborate on how community art is commonly approached as a potential strategy for social development, for example to establish 'social cohesion' amongst these migrants and in 'deprived' areas. I will explain that this provides a 'political opportunity structure' (Reus 2012) for the project under study. In the third section of the first chapter I describe the socio-geographic context of my research site: the district of Amsterdam West, where the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* is mainly situated.

In the second chapter I zoom in on the field findings, first introducing my research participants, as I describe the organisations, artists and goals behind *Ik was niet van plan te blijven.* In this chapter we see that assumptions made in policy debates, were not always met on the ground. The second section discusses the most important parts of the several phases of the socio-artistic project, my fieldwork was centred along.

The third chapter deals with methods applied during fieldwork and analysis. In the first section I go into the methods I applied during the fieldwork, which were a combination of participant observation with and without a camera, semi-structured interviews and the analysis of several documents. In the second section I elaborate on how my audio-visual data were analysed from a grounded theory approach and how it resulted in a film.

From here on, chapter four covers relevant perspectives from theoretical frameworks on the topics of 'community art' and 'belonging' that form the analytical lens through which my empirical findings can be interpreted. The first part elaborates on the concept of 'community art', wherein the concept of 'community' will be problematised and as I look at different aspects of the analytical debates, the advocative character of community art projects, that can also be recognised in this project will be discussed. Hereafter I explain how art in this context can be seen as a 'system of action' (Gell 1998), wherein the artwork is a medium through which the artists can express their perspectives on migration (Davis et al. 2010: 4) based on their own experiences and those of others they gained insight in through the 'ritual framework for social interaction' (Lowe 2000: 357) the community art project provided. In the second part of this chapter, I explain how my empirical data are in line with anthropological understandings of the concepts of 'belonging' and 'ethnic identity' as 'social constructs' that are still bounded by structures of the state in which migrants are entangled.

After this, chapter five deals with an analysis of the project. The 'impact' of the project is both analysed from a result-focused perspective in the light of expectations from funders, and from a process-focused perspective. The empirical perspectives on migration are discussed in the second part wherein I demonstrate how the project under study seems to be a critique towards the politicised distinctions between *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* in the Dutch national socio-political debates. This all cumulates to an answer of my research question in the conclusion, where I furthermore reflect on the value of my research and point out recommendations for further research.

1. Socio-political context and policy frameworks

This chapter places the community art project '*Ik was niet van plan te blijven*' (I did not intend to stay) in the socio-political macro context of community art and migration where the project was conducted and can be analysed. The evolving Dutch landscape of art policy and integration politics form the backdrop of this case study.

1.1 Multiculturalism in the Dutch socio-political debate

The group of immigrants that is often referred to as problematic in integration debates is that of the Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants and their offspring. It is the experiences of this 'group' that the project '*Ik was niet van plan te blijven*' is focused on, since 'it is 50 years ago that large groups of labour migrants started to immigrate to the Netherlands'. [2]

The current socio-political discourse on multiculturalism in the Netherlands is mainly rooted in the arrival of these so-called 'guest workers', labour migrants from the 1960s (Ghorashi 2005), the immigrants that would later become the quintessential of *allochtonen* (Geschiere 2009: 148). Like many other Western European countries, the Netherlands faced an immense labour shortage after World War II and in the following decades actively recruited foreign workers. Contrary to for example the United Kingdom, these labour migrants did not come from former colonial areas, but were recruited in the Mediterranean Area, mostly (rural) Turkey and Morocco (Malik 2015). [3] These immigrants initially did not come as immigrants or potential citizens, but as so-called *gastarbeiders* (guest workers), who were expected to return, when the national economy would no longer need their service (Malik 2015).

Given this "myth of return" (Ersanilli 2014: 1), access to (temporary) citizenship for these immigrants was easy and it was considered unnecessary to assimilate or integrate such migrants into Dutch society. Therefore the people involved remained themselves very much focused on their (prior) homeland and, as Bouras (2012) notes, it was the government itself that actively stimulated the maintenance of their Turkish and Moroccan identification and language (Slootman 2014: 59). As 'mastery of the national language and social networks that reach beyond the coethnic group are often seen as central to ethnic identity' (Phinney 1990) and to 'integration' (Slootman 2015: 9), these people were expected to remain outsiders by policy.

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[2] Project application (*project omschrijving*), December 2014
[3] Kenan Malik 'The failure of Multiculturalism' Foreign Affairs
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2015-03-01/failure-multiculturalism. Accessed 14 January 2016.

However, it soon became clear that the label of 'guest workers' could be considered as politically incorrect and practically untenable, since their arrival in the Netherlands did not turn out to be temporary (Geschiere 2009: 149). By the 1980s, when family reunification immigration peaked (Ersanilli 2014), 'the Dutch government realized that migration, initially viewed as temporary, had gained a more permanent character, it started to focus on the integration of the immigrants.' (Ghorashi 2005). As in many other European countries, the integration policy in the Netherlands has in the last decades shifted from so called tolerant to relatively intolerant towards ethnic and religious differences (Slootman 2014) – all the more striking in view of the country's reputation for tolerance and openness (Geschiere 2009: 133).

One of the turning points in the national policy debates on integration is marked by the influential essay 'The Multicultural Drama' (*Het Multiculturele Drama*) by publicist Paul Scheffer (2000). Scheffer argues that the (lack of) approach of the government towards integration has led to more polarisation within society, or 'islands of unknowingness and poverty' (2000: 4-5). Scheffer's article is marked as a 'watershed' in Dutch perceptions of immigration, 'signalling a serious crisis in the political management of immigration and integration.' (van Krieken 2012: 467). Scheffers article opened up a new discursive position: 'a social democratic critique of the problems' (van Krieken 2012: 469).

However, rather than framing multiculturalism as 'failed', these discussions are according to Boog (2014) rooted in discussions about the definition of the concept, as Scheffer pointed out that the Netherlands had an imperfect take on what 'multiculturalism' should entail. This concept will be discussed later from a broader, analytical sense (section 3.2). In the meantime distincions between *allochtoon*[4] and *autochtoon* have been politicised (Geschiere 2009, Slootman 2014) within the Dutch national socio-political debates. As Slootman argues in her study about ethnic identification amongst social climbers from second generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, this distinction causes difficulties for the second generation migrants. As ethnic identification is interpreted as unwillingness to assimilate in Dutch society, while at the same time the group is often labelled as *allochtonen* (allochthononous or Non-Dutch) from outside (Slootman 2014: 60).

Regardless of the various takes on multiculturalism, social inequality and lack of 'social cohesion' are linked to migration issues in the socio-political domain. The notion of 'social cohesion' is central in policy debates about community art as well, wherein community art is

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[4] The official Dutch definition according to the CBS of an *allochtoon* is in Dutch, a person with at least one of the parents born in a foreign (Western or non-Western) country. As opposite to *autochtoon:* someone with a Dutch background, see: http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37

seen by many policy makers as one of the various contributions to potential solutions. However, Trienekens has shown in her comparative research among community artists in the Netherlands that from the perspective of artists, it is one of the central pillars of many projects to move away from the polarised dichotomisation such as *allochtonen* versus *autochtonen* in the political debate (2011: 17). Both this advocative artistic aim and the interest of policy makers, form the backdrop against which the goals for the project under study were formulated.

1.2 Community art as a policy strategy for social development?

Discussions about the social and political value arts should or should not have, are currently 'hot topics' in Dutch media and the artistic socio-political domain. In the second half of the twentieth century, the Dutch government started providing structural subsidies to 'high arts' (theatre, opera, literature, classical music etc.) (WRR 2015:11).Yet since the 1990s, the art policy shifted from supporting 'high arts' to more socially engaged art projects (also referred to as 'participatory art', 'social design' or *sociaal artistiek werk* in Dutch). And as a result, the number of community art projects in the Netherlands has increased exponentially since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Trienekens et al. 2011).

However, due to current changes in policy, governmental subsidies to the artistic domains (as well as social domains) are decreased. This has resulted in reorganisations and discussions within the artistic domains wherein expectations of social engagement of art-projects are increased.

To stimulate social engagement of art-projects, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (*Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap*, *OCW*) for example recently initiated 'The Art of Impact' in cooperation with the six national public culture funders (*cultuurfondsen)* to research and stimulate art projects created around societal issues (*maatschappelijke vraagstukken)*.

As a comment to these policy shifts and practices, the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (*Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid, WRR*) recently published a report[5] stressing that the cultural artistic aspects in the arts should be emphasised and not be forgotten in favour of societal issues, and instead of social criteria, artistic values should be premised and the arts should not be 'in service' of other policy area's (*beleidsterreinen).* Furthermore the Council argues in the same report that the presumed economic and social

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[5] Report *Cultuur Herwaarderen* (Reassessing culture) 2015.

benefits of cultural facilities (*cultuurvoorzieningen*) are scientifically hard to measure, as a result of which expectations are high while the legitimacy of art subsidies are limited.

To approach the relation between policy and cultural projects, the concept of 'political opportunity structure' or POS (Sunier et al. 2000) can be applied, as for example Hanne Reus (2012) does in her research about the Surinam *Kwakoe* festival in South-East Amsterdam. She argues that the social and political context of socio-artistic movements are important because they provide the 'political opportunity structure' wherein these projects take place. Which determines the relative agency organisations have within a structure through the relative openness or closure of an institutionalized political system. In Reus' case the organisation of the festival is connected to the multicultural policy of the Dutch government and the subsidised facilities arising therefrom. In this case study, the concept of 'political opportunity structure' can be applied to the funding for this project (mostly facilitated by the national government) that makes this community art project possible. Looking at the different funders and their principles behind the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*, makes us able to connect this case study to the macro level wherein the socio-political policy is reflected.

The main funders involved with the project, all focused on the establishment of social art projects, and their relative investments were: the *VSB Fonds* (34.8 %), *AFK Fonds* (33%), *SKAN Fonds* (14.8%), *Stadsdeel West* (10.4%), and *Prins Bernard Fonds* (6.95%)[6]. The total amount that is invested in the project by funders is €57,500. Both in the case of the *AFK fonds* and *Stadsdeel West*, there is a direct influence of the local government, since these funders are in turn funded by the municipality. In analysing the mission statements of the various funders, all seem to specify their goals differently, though they all seem to stimulate 'culture participation' (*cultuurparticipatie)* and aim to connect the individual to society in terms of talent development (*talentontwikkeling)* and increase chances for socially disadvantaged groups (*SKAN fonds* and *VSB fonds*) to stimulate 'social cohesion'. It is not explicated though, neither in the mission statements, nor the project goals, what the concepts 'culture participation' and 'social cohesion' exactly mean and how these can be realised.

The interests of the funders played a significant role in the decisions that were made throughout the project in several ways. One example in which the direct influential interest of funders was reflected was that the municipality wanted the project to be focused on other, more 'peripheral' areas of the neighbourhood of Amsterdam West than for example around *Podium*

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[6] For more information see the websites of the funders (in Dutch): https://www.vsbfonds.nl/ ; http://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/wat-wij-doen/blog/afk-in-de-stad-west-ik-was-niet-van-plan-te-blijven/ (about the project); http://www.skanfonds.nl/; http://www.cultuurfonds.nl/;

Mozaïek, where most existing cultural activities are centred. In terms of content, the concepts of 'culture participation' and 'social cohesion', applied in the mission statements of the funders, were also indicated in the project application of *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*[7] as important goals for the project. However, as it became clear during my fieldwork, these concepts were hard to put into practice and had most meaning on paper, linking the project to the 'political opportunity structure'. This is illustrated by the following quote from Monique, one of the organisers behind the project, as she explains to me in an interview[8]:

'To realise a good process, you need to have the urgency to make something beautiful. And if you work process-focused, then you don't have the urgency and you'll use 'social cohesion' as a social responsible term they use in social work. I just wrote it into the project application because that is what funders want to hear nowadays, but [she whispers] I actually hate the term, because I think it's a highly complicated process!'

This quote clearly demonstrates that what is considered to be important to establish a successful community art project by practitioners, does not cohere with what is expected in line with the policies and funders involved, wherein 'social cohesion' can be established straightforward through a community art project. During my fieldwork, community art was referred to by the organisers as 'subsidised art' (*subsidiekunst*) in informal conversations. This perspective makes clear to me the relative agency, but also dependency on the financing provided by policy and its instruments: various funders.

1.3 The socio-geographical context of the neighbourhood or 'community'

The construction of the research site in this case study was mainly located in Amsterdam West, as the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* was in theory focused on this district. Though it also led me to the city centre of Amsterdam and other parts of the country, where the research participants turned out to be living.

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[7] Project application December 2014, translation by the author.
[8] Semi-structured Interview Monique 19 February 2015
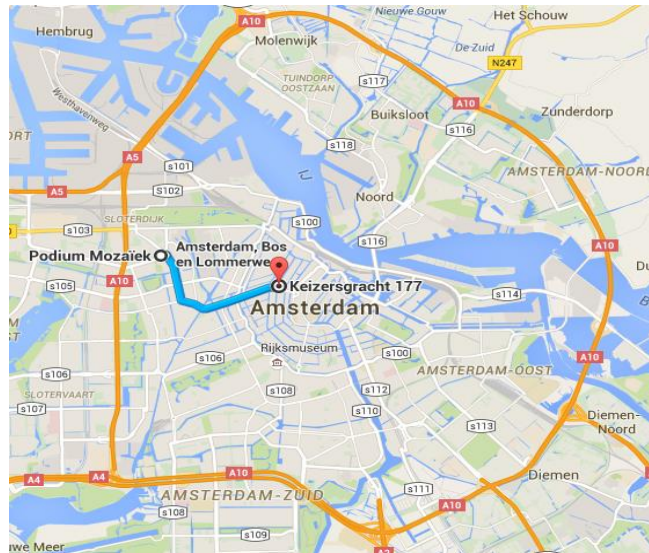
Figure 1: Location of Podium Mozaïek in Amsterdam West in relation to the office of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*. Source: google maps 27 October 2015

In the above map, the location of the district of Amsterdam West in relation to the ring and the city centre is shown, as well as the location of *Podium Mozaïek*, in relation to the office of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* in the city centre of Amsterdam. Both organisations play a central role in this research.

The district of Amsterdam West consists of six different neighbourhoods (*buurten*), amongst others: *the Kolenkitbuurt, the Gibraltarbuurt, Robertscottbuurt* and most central*: Bos en Lommer*. The studied community art project is spread out through these different neighbourhoods. The whole district, but especially the '*Kolenkitbuurt*' has for a long time been considered to be one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, characterised by lack of 'social cohesion'. In 2007 it came top of a list of forty 'problem areas' (*probleemwijken*, also referred to as '*Vogelaarwijken'*) by former minister of Integration and Housing, Ella Vogelaar.

It is a district with a high percentage of segregated immigrants, or *allochtonen* (allochthones), as these citizens are referred to in the Dutch debate. Nearly 30 percent of the *allochtonen* in the Netherlands live in the four largest cities: (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) 'mostly as a consequence of the presence of industries that employed labour migrants. Within cities there are high levels of cultural and socioeconomic segregation: 'many immigrants live in neighbourhoods with a low percentage of *autochtonen*' (Ersanilli 2014: 5) as is the case in this area as well. It is for these reasons that the district of Amsterdam West is represented in the project application for *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* as a deprived area in need for improvement. This approach coheres with the social political foundations underlying community art; it is framed in an advocative way as a political tool to bring social improvement.

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However, observations made during my fieldwork may show a more nuanced perspective, since the description of a deprived or marginalised district was not entirely met on the ground. Not only is Amsterdam West characterised by vital ethnic entrepreneurship visible throughout the district, (especially bakers, butchers, and hairdressers), but also relatively new and upmarket coffee shops, such as *Bagels and Beans*, and organic supermarkets can be observed in the same shopping areas. This lack of deprivation and perhaps even signs of gentrification is exemplified by the project's difficulties in finding empty buildings as locations for the exhibitions. Suitable locations were not easy to find within walking distance from *Podium Mozaïek*, because the neighbourhood became so popular.

Urban geographer Marco Bontje indeed comments on his blog connected to the University of Amsterdam: 'Nowadays, next steps towards fully-fledged gentrification seem to be underway, maybe not in the whole neighbourhood but definitely in significant parts of it. Indicators of this are growing media attention for *Bos en Lommer*, this time not as a deprived area but as a 'rediscovered' area, and the introduction of an acronym: *BoLo*. If a neighbourhood gets 'acronymised', gentrification can never be far away!'[9]

These observations of gentrification not only raise questions about reachability of a community art project to bring social improvement, as stated in the previous section, but also raises questions about the neighbourhoud's need for these kind of projects. As we will see in the next chapter, wherein I empirically describe the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*, the focus on the neighbourhood that is stated in the project application, just as the concept of 'social cohesion', had more meaning on paper that in the execution of the project.

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[9] blog Marco Bontje (assistant professor urban geography UVA): http://urbanstudies.uva.nl/blog/urban-studies-blog-series/urban-studies-blog-series/content/folder/bos-en-lommer-amsterdam%E2%80%99s-gentrification-frontier.html accessed on 15 November 2015

2. Field findings

During four months of fieldwork, from January to April 2015, I conducted fieldwork along the social and artistic process of the community art project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* wherein artists of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* worked towards a temporary exhibition throughout Amsterdam West. In the first section of this chapter, the different organisations and artists behind the project, my main research participants, are introduced. In the second, the development of *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*, is discussed chronologically in reference to the film *Ik ben van hier en daar* this thesis accompanies.

2.1 The organisations, artists and goals behind *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*

The roots of the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* can be traced back to Senad, art director of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* (and curator at *Podium Mozaïek)*. Since he migrated to the Netherlands as a political refugee from former Yugoslavia himself in the 1990s, he always felt a strong social engagement as an artist and felt connected to people who went through the similar experience of creating a new home in a different country. With this intention he founded *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*, and with this particular project he aimed to bring more awareness about another major group of migrants living in the Netherlands: Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants.
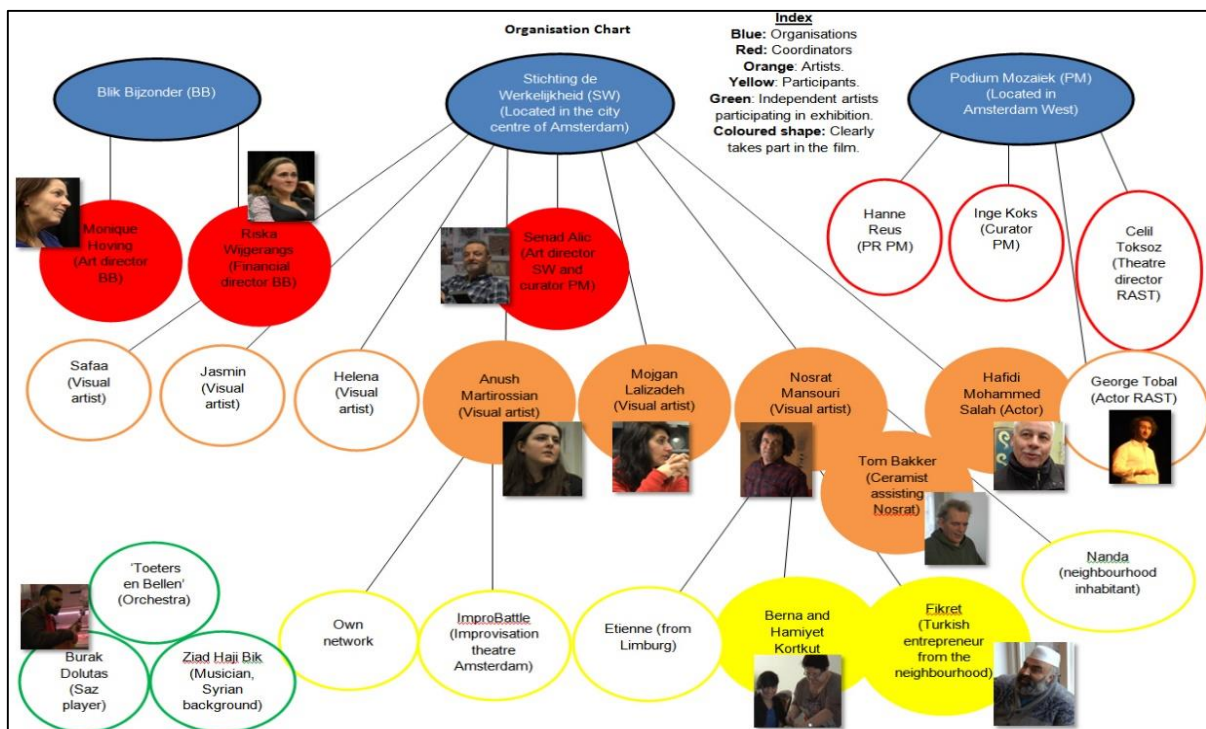

Figure 2: Organigram of the artists and organisations involved in the project

The project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*, was mainly conducted by artists from *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* and besides coordinated by *Blik Bijzonder.* Starting from this group of artists and organisers, that became my key informants and the main protagonists in my film, I used the 'snowball effect' to get access to larger networks of migrants with a myriad of backgrounds within the framework the project. The artists involved throughout the whole project, are all connected to *Stichting de Werkelijkheid,* a foundation and collective of refugee artists. In the organigram on the previous page, I have visualised the complex organisational structure between the organisations, artists and participants involved in this case study.

The key informants of this research and main protagonists in the film, can be recognised by the shape filled with the colours yellow, orange and red, in the above organigram. The artists portrayed in orange: Anush, Mojgan, Nosrat (with professional assistance of Tom) and Hafidi connected to *Stichting de Werkelijkheid,* worked throughout the whole project, and thus became key informants and main protagonists in the film. All artists connected to *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* have backgrounds as political refugees, most of the artists involved in the project migrated to the Netherlands in the early 1990s, already being professional artists, while Anush migrated to the Netherlands as a small child with her political refugee parents and received her art education here.[10]

Two of the project-participants, or so-called 'story owners', portrayed in yellow: Berna with family and Fikret, were selected as main protagonists in the film as well, because of their extensive involvement in the project, not only in the process, but also in the exhibition.[11] This helped to show the interactions between the artists and participants, as well as to include the perspective of the project-participants and analyse the impact of the project on this level.

Other artists connected to *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* were involved at the beginning of the project as well, at the so called 'interventions', conducted in December 2014 and January 2015, as I go further into below. Other (mostly migrant) artists, musicians and actors included in the organigram, just participated in the exhibition, and thus were not selected as main informants because of their temporary involvement in the project.

The project was mainly coordinated by the people portrayed in red: Senad Alic, art director of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid,* and Monique Hoving en Riska Wijgergangs from foundation *Blik Bijzonder.* Working with organisers from three different organisations on *Ik*

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[10] Therefore Anush did not completely identify with the group. Also artists participating in the collective, should in her opinion be selected according to their personality and working method, not based on their background as a refugee.

[11] In the exhibition, Fikret hosted a performance in his Butcher's shop; while Berna and her family participated with their story in the theatre play at the end of the exhibition.

was niet van plan te blijven, without having one project-coordinator, resulted in a lot of negotiations about task division, power dynamics, implementations of the project goals, communication with funders and the financing of project requirements – for example artists and location hire. However it became clear that the underlying principles of the organisations overlapped to a large extent.

Blik Bijzonder is a small foundation focused on community theatre and participatory performances[12] and already cooperated with S*tichting de Werkelijkheid* in the past. *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* (literally translated as 'Foundation the Reality'[13]) became an independent foundation in 2014 and started as a training program[14] for artists with refugee backgrounds to provide them with a social and professional network[15], and help them to make social art[16]. It has now evolved into a collective of artists cooperating 'to elevate each other's creativity, and at the same time to make connections with Dutch society'[17]. Their focus is not on high art, because many refugee artists lack the sufficient network in the Dutch national context to create high art[18]. Instead, they focus on the artist's varied background and unique experiences to create socially engaging art, not only for practical reasons, but also for political reasons: The artists of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* want to contribute their skills and (ethnic) perspectives to 'enrich the cultural and social climate of Dutch society'[19]. Therefore the framework of a 'community art' project seemed to provide a perfect platform for both artistic and social qualities of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*.

Podium Mozaïek, the third organisation involved in the project, is a theatre in Amsterdam West which offers 'world music, theatre, exhibitions, and spoken word from national and international artists'[20] and hosts international theatre company RAST[21]. The theatre presents itself as 'the cultural heart' of Amsterdam West. Because of *Podium Mozaïek's* central location in the district, it served as a meeting place throughout the project, and the location was the starting place for the exhibition throughout the neighbourhood.

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[12] http://www.blikbijzonder.nl/
[13] The ideology of the foundation is reflected in the name, namely that there is not only one (social) reality, but that things can be seen from different perspectives.
[14] Initiated by *Stichting de Vrolijkheid,* a foundation aims to bring happiness to children in refugee centres through creative methods on a national scale in the Netherlands where Riska and Monique are involved as well.
[15] Semi-structured interview Monique Hoving 19 February 2015
[16] Semi-structured interview Senad 27 January 2015
[17] Informal conversation Anush 26 January 2015
[18] Semi-structured interview Monique Hoving 19 February 2015
[19] Project evaluation 'inhoudelijke verantwoording fondsen', June 2015
[20] http://www.podiummozaiek.nl/english/ consulted on 15 October 2015
[21] http://www.rast.nl/

In the project application[22] written beforehand by the project organisers of the three organisations, the underlying aims of the project were formulated and the main course of the socio-artistic process was outlined. Instead of analysing all the goals in-depth, I only summarise and evaluate two of the various aims that are important for my academic argument. One of them is: *'To stimulate 'culture participation' through innovative cultural expressions in a neighbourhood with relatively low rates of social cohesion and reach of arts'.* This goal clearly reflects aims commonly expected in community art projects, and connects strategically to policy debates, but was only to a limited extent important from an empirical perspective, as we will see in the next section about the establishment of the project.

The second is: *'To make different perspectives on migration visible and contribute to provide insights in how those migrants deal with their experiences'.* This goal reflects the most important aspects I observed from an ethnographic perspective. It is also in line with the main focus of this research including film: the migration experiences that came to light throughout the project.

The project was built up of the following main activities, that my fieldwork and film record chronologically: gathering participants through artistic 'interventions'; individual encounters with artists and project-participants; group meetings to determine and discuss the artistic outcome; and the individual artistic working methods towards the exhibition.

2.2 The social artistic process of *Ik was niet van plan te blijven*

The project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* started with five artistic 'interventions': artistic and theatrical performances on (semi-)public locations and local businesses. At several locations throughout *Bos en Lommer* seen on the map on the next page, several artists of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* cooperated to attract attention to the project and build connections in the neighbourhood. As Nosrat put it, the interventions were about doing something unusual: 'to try to break through the day to day reality and open up conversations with people'[23].

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[22] Project application (*Project omschrijving)* December 2014, translation by the author.
[23] Nosrat informal conversation 23 January 2015
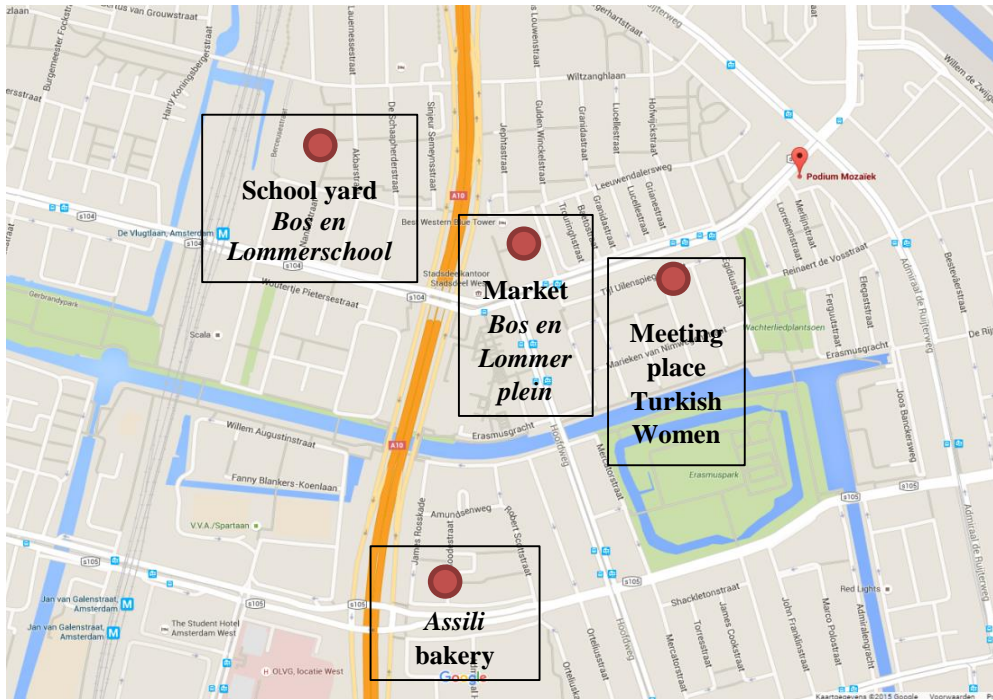
Figure 3: Locations of the five 'interventions' in Amsterdam West.
Source: Google maps. Inscription by the author

The first artistic 'intervention', conducted on 13 December 2014 on the *Bos en Lommermarkt* (daily market in the neighbourhood), can be seen at the start of the film and on the film still on the next page. Here passers-by could dress up and pose in front of a canvas with for example a Mercedes or a sunset that would symbolise motivations to migrate: 'to look beyond the horizon or to buy a new car'[24].

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[24] As explained by Safaa, the painter connected to *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*. Informal conversation 15 December 2014.

Figure 3: Still from film (2:08 mins) 'Intervention' at *Bos en Lommermarkt*

Another intervention took place around *Podium Mozaïek*, as can be seen in the opening scene of the film [00:00-5:30] where we see Hafidi (and Senad) outside the building reflecting on the comparison between the migration experiences of labour migrants and their own experiences. At the same time, Helena, another artist connected to *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* was painting portraits inside the building, just as she did at the 'intervention' in a Moroccan bakery at the *Jan van Galenstraat*[25]. This, as well as two other 'interventions' - at the schoolyard of the *Bos en Lommerschool*[26] and at a meeting place for Turkish women (*Turkse vrouwenmiddag*) in a cultural centre (*buurthuis*) - could not be included in the film. This was because I was not allowed to film by the project coordinators at these locations, as it would possibly deter potential project participants. As an alternative I made audio-recordings; the sound of the accordionist played under the title card of the film, originates from this.

Local residents reacted to these interventions in various ways: many watched curiously from a distance before they walked on, others seemed to be interested to get a free picture or portrait painting, without being interested in sharing their stories. A critical local resident blamed the project for being organised from the artists' viewpoint, and not from the neighbourhood residents themselves.[27]

Throughout the socio-artistic process, two collective meetings were conducted to exchange ideas and to assure the artist's ideas were in line with the project goals. In a first

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[25] The location where the radio-interview with Nosrat, the film starts with, is conducted.

[26] This intervention was conducted together with the local community arts-project 'Cascoland, permanently located in the *Kolenkitbuurt*. For more information, see http://cascoland.nl/

[27] Quote by local resident Paul, 27 January 2015

collective meeting after the 'interventions' on 9 February 2015, it became clear that the 'interventions' turned out to be less effective than expected in terms of recruiting resident participants. It became clear that it would take more time to make real fruitful connections in the neighbourhood and to fulfill the social goals of focussing on the neighbourhood as phrased in the project application.

This lack of result was caused by the small amount of time available for creating a new network and getting to know local residents. The artists and organisers of the project did not live in the neighbourhood themselves and had demanding jobs on the side. As well as lack of time to invest, another reason for the absence of connections and participation in the neighbourhood was that migrants from the neighbourhood were often not interested in participating and sharing their stories, because they did not see the benefit it could have for them. As a result, the artists turned to their own already existing social networks of (labour) migrants – outside *Bos en Lommer*. However, this is not explicated, neither in the project outcomes, nor in the film as for the content of experiences, stories, and themes it did not really matter. In the end, the stories presented should reflect any migrant's experience, regardless of specific living area.

Besides the collective meetings, the artists, organisers and some participants kept in contact as a group online, through email and a 'closed' Facebook group. Although Facebook functioned as an important medium, where the project was promoted (publicly), it mainly had an important function to share issues in the private group of the people from the project involved, as can be seen in figure 5. Also some participants for the project were recruited online via Facebook and websites of different organisations in the neighbourhood.

Figure 4: Screenshot Facebook page on 8 October 2015

The role of the organisers at these meetings and in the process in general, was to facilitate the socio-artistic process of the artists. As Monique explained to me: *'To facilitate that they get enough inspiration, and creative space, but in the meantime we have to take care that it is one coherent story, that it is interesting for*

viewers. It should also be accessible and be finished on time.'[28] These overall goals, that were managed by the organisers, turned out to be conflicting with the individual artistic ambitions of the artists, particularly Mojgan, evidenced in the third scene of *Ik ben van hier en daar* [11:30 mins], that represents the second collective meeting on 9 March 2015, wherein such contradicting standpoints are witnessed. Since a workable solution for this disagreement was not found, Mojgan had to withdraw from the project.

Continuing the socio-artistic process on an individual level, I now began to focus on the creative processes of Nosrat and Anush that I followed most closely in their private workspaces and in interaction with different participants, or rather migrant 'story-owners'. Since the artists were to a certain extent free to make their own choices, they could easily interweave the project goals with their own socially engaged vision on migration. Both artists I followed closely had a specific view on the individuals they wanted to focus on within the 'target group' of labour migrants and neighbourhood residents. Anush chose to focus specifically on the second generation, and Nosrat on the other hand, focused on a broader group of migrants, not just the specific Turkish or Moroccan labour migrants the project was drawing attention to.

As becomes clear in the first scene in the film - of the first collective meeting [5:10 mins] - Anush had been dealing with the topics of the project for a longer time. Both from her own experience- as she came here as a seven year old with her sister and parents as political refugees from Armenia - as from her friends having Turkish or Moroccan parents, being former labour migrants. Anush recognises the consequences of having migrant parents, often experienced as being in-between two cultures and having to deal with often contrary expectations from inside and outside the house. As Anush explains in the film, this motivated her to communicate this feeling, both to the migrants from the first generation and non-migrants. Therefore she did not need to build up a new network of migrants from the neighbourhood to understand these feelings and communicate them artistically.

Nevertheless Anush organised an event in the neighbourhood to get in touch with young people and hear their stories. This workshop was organised together with *ImproBattle*: a foundation for improvisation theatre [29] and was directed by Kor, a professional from *Imrpobattle*. Roughly 15-20 young people came to this evening, including two of her own friends. The rest of the participants, mostly young men between 13-19 years old from either Moroccan or Turkish descent, were recruited via the network of a young Moroccan actor from

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[28] Semi structured interview Monique Hoving 19 February 2015
[29] For more information, see the Dutch website: http://www.improbattle.nl/

the neighbourhood. They attended voluntarily but were payed €20 for their attendance. To ensure a safe atmosphere where problems with their parents and society were openly and playfully discussed and enacted I chose not to film this event. Instead I used audio recordings and to give an impression, I included the pictures below. It was because of this safe atmosphere that the evening turned out to be so 'successful' in terms of gathering or rather exchanging experiences of the second generation. Through the playfulness of the theatre medium, the attendees shared their stories easily and seemed to be relieved to be able to exchange them.

Figure 5: Pictures *ImproBattle*-workshop. Taken by Riska 23 March 2015

Anush chose to give expression of these conflicting feelings considering the identities of second generation migrants in an audio-installation: *Het fluisterbos* ('The whispering wood'). As seen in the film and on the picture on the next page, Anush constructed the installation in a basement with tubes wherein she attached speakers, she also used a beamer to enhance the atmosphere of a forest. During the exhibition, visitors could walk through the installation and hear anonymous voices of young people expressing verbally life as a migrant, particularly of a second generation refugee or labour migrant – in such a way as visitors might hear different voices inside their own heads, as seen in the film [22:00 mins]. Most of the 'whispering voices' Anush spoke herself, inspired by quotes of others, and she asked friends to speak texts in Dutch, Turkish and Arabic. She also included a poem of Khalil Gibran, reflecting more philosophically on the relation between children and parents.

Figure 7: Still from film (17:55 mins) Anush building her installation.

Nosrat conducted his work within this project starting from his studio in Amsterdam Southeast. At the start of the project, he came up with the idea to make *gevelstenen* (literally translated as 'gable stones') - a typical historical Dutch carved and often painted stone tablet, used to mark houses before the adoption of street names and house numbers. He got help from Tom, a professional ceramist. Both the traditional connection with Amsterdam and the public visibility are important aspects of the *gevelstenen* for Nosrat and his work as an artist in general, as he explains in the film in his studio while painting the g*evelstenen* as seen on the picture below.

Figure 8: Still from film (24:35 mins) Nosrat painting the *gevelstenen*.

Nosrat had his own unique vision on whom the project could (or should) apply to; he not only wanted to include migrants within the framework of the project – Turkish and Moroccan labour migrants that came to the Netherlands about 50 years ago- but he also included Nanda, an immigrant from Surinam, and Etiene, a 'migrant' from Limburg (the most southern province of the Netherlands).[30]

Figure 9 still from footage: Portraits of Nosrat's participants (from left to right: Fikret, Etiene, Nanda and the Korkut family)

Nosrat found similarities in all of their stories, connecting with the overall theme of the project, since Etiene for example 'fled' from his small hometown to the open-minded city of Amsterdam, and he shared feelings of displacement and homelessness with (international) migrants, according to Nosrat.

The chosen working method is meant to reflect Nosrat's personal relation with an emphasis on making a connection with Amsterdam as a place of possibilities and opportunity – as he experiences it himself, living here since he migrated as a refugee from Iran in 1991. It also reflects his vision about art that should be accessible for people on the streets. As he exclaims in the film: 'I hate art for the elite!' [25:05 mins] it is one of his motives in this project to resist 'elite culture'. Besides that, one of the central themes in his work is to 'embody memories'. In his view, memories of migrants lack a 'body', because they are not bounded to one place.[31] Besides this project, this is also reflected in other ways in Nosrat's work, where he for example makes altars for drowned refugees as seen on the picture on the next page.

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[30] Because I assumed that it would be too complicated to explain the stories of these participants in my audio-visual report and I would confuse the viewer, I chose not to include it in the film.
[31] Informal conversation 9 February 2015.

Figure 10: Still from footage, altars in Nosrat's studio

Just like Anush, Nosrat also made much use of his existing network to recruit participants, most importantly the Korkut family who we see kneading a corncob in the film. First he approached several ethnic entrepreneurs as well, and butcher Fikret participated in the end. Fikret was selected because he is both a successful ethnic entrepreneur and a key figure in the neighbourhood with a large network. He is also relatively famous, since he was awarded 'The most socially involved Turkish entrepreneur of the year' by the regional newspaper, *het Parool,* because he gives away thousands of kilos of meat to local disadvantaged people during the Islamic feast of sacrifice.[32] Berna Korkut and her family were selected because Hamiyet, her mother, had a cultural heritage story with the corncob as a strong visual symbol for her first *homeland*. This story became well known with the people working on the project from the day Senad sat around the table with the Korkut family in an introductory interview, to use as an example in the project application. This story was not only represented in Nosrat's work, but was also included in the theatre play at the end of the exhibition.

From 10 April to 17 May 2015, the *gevelstenen* made by Nosrat in participation with the different migrants, were exhibited in *Podium Mozaïek* as part of the whole exhibition of *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* throughout *Bos en Lommer*. Every Sunday in this five week period, visitors were guided by (migrant) volunteers from the neighbourhood, from *Podium Mozaïek* to different locations in the neighbourhood that included different performances, one in Fikret's shop, *Sera*, and the 'Whispering woods'(*Fluisterbos)* installation by Anush. The exhibition also included a performance by Saz-player Burak[33] in Fikret's Butcher shop [28:50 mins], a surprising 'welcome orchestra' by *Toeters en Bellen* in the style that was used to celebrate the

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[32] http://www.parool.nl/parool/nl/1204/AVHJ/article/detail/3099833/2011/12/31/Fikret-Beydogan.dhtml
[33] The musician based his performance on Fikret's story in combination with Burak's fathers experiences as a labour migrant from Turkey.

arrival of the first 'guest workers' in the 1960s, a photo exposition by Kadir van Lohuizen and ended with the theatre play[34] by actors Hafidi, George and Syrian musician Ziad, seen in the closing-scene of the film [35:30 mins].

Figure 11: Still from film (21:52 mins) openings speech of exhibition

At the opening of the exhibition, Ahmed Marcouch was invited to give a speech in which he connected the project outcomes to the broader national socio-political debates concerning multiculturalism, reinforcing the political character of the project. He has actively been involved in such debates as a politician for the Dutch Labour Party in the very same area of Amsterdam West.[35] On top of that, he spoke from his personal background as a descendent from Moroccan labour migrants which made him connect emphatically with the subjects.

In the background of the above film still we see the photo exhibition by Kadir van Lohuizen, a well-known socially engaged Dutch photographer who was, just like Ahmed Marcouch, invited quite *ad hoc* to participate in the exhibition. This way of improvised recruiting was also applied to the neighbourhood participants volunteering as guides for the exhibition throughout the neighbourhood.

After the exhibition, I attended one last meeting conducted by the project managers of all three organisations, to evaluate the project and the establishment of the project goals, which is not in the film, but needs to be discussed in the analysis, after I pay attention to my methodological approach and the theoretical frameworks through which these data can be interpreted.

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[34] Wherein the story is based on Berna's father's life story.
[35] See more in the VPRO Tegenlicht documentary about his political struggles 'Het Marcouch- effect' on http://tegenlicht.vpro.nl/afleveringen/2009-2010/meeste-stemmen-gelden/het-marcouch-effect.html.

3. Visual ethnography as a method

This chapter elaborates on how visual ethnographic research methods and data-analysis are applied in this research. The main structuring principle of my audio-visual fieldwork and the editing of recordings in the film is chronological development of the project that is discussed above. In the first section, I go deeper into the research methods applied during during the fieldwork and my influence and role as a researcher-with-a-camera in the project under study. In the second section I expand on choices I made in the selection processes of analysing and editing my audio-visual field-data, resulting in the ethnographic film 'Ik ben van hier en daar' (I belong (t)here) [2016, 38 mins], including ethics.

3.1 Conducting audio-visual fieldwork alongside an art project

The research methods I applied during the fieldwork along this community art project were a combination of participant observation with a camera, informal conversations, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and analysis of documents provided for evaluation as well as online communication throughout the project.

Conducting ethnographic fieldwork is in the first place what Clifford (1983) has called an 'unusually sensitive method', that is a highly personal and contextualised experience and therefore difficult to be prepared for. Also I want to articulate epistemologically in line with Fabian (1971) and Ferguson (1999) that knowledge is not just 'gathered' during fieldwork, but is created in different ways of interaction or 'dialogues' in the field. '*Participant-observation* serves as shorthand for a continuous interaction between the *inside* and *outside* of events: on the one hand grasping the sense of specific occurrences and gestures empathetically, on the other stepping back to situate these meanings in wider contexts' (Clifford 1983: 127). My fieldwork was indeed characterised by this challenging dialectical process of shifting between observation and participation, or an emic and etic perspective. Conducting participant observation and informal conversations and semi-structured interviews, made me able to study and compare 'what people do in relation to what they say' (Banks 2007: 4).

At the beginning of my fieldwork I noticed very quickly that observing activities was experienced to be problematic, and participation was requested as I sensed that people almost considered it to be rude if I was 'standing and watching'. During my first acquaintance with the project I was set to help right away. 'If you just hang around, it would not look attractive to

people'[36] and that was the main goal of the so called public 'interventions'. I was asked to participate in the project in several ways. The following vignette from the intervention at a Moroccan Bakery[37] is one example of this:

> *Bos en Lommer,* Tuesday 27 January 2015
>
> <u>Vignette Intervention Moroccan Bakery</u>
>
> *When I arrive at the recently opened Moroccan bakery, named 'Assili' at the Jan van Galen straat, Senad and Nosrat have already started to attach flyers with pegs on strings in preparation for the next intervention and I assist them. Besides the flyers flapping in the wind, they also want to make a poster on the window to attract attention. They ask me to write on a piece of paper 'In exchange for your story, drawing+coffee/tea, welcome!'(In ruil voor je verhaal, tekening+koffie/thee, welkom!). 'I am not going to write it!' Senad says laughing. I laugh, because I had noticed in our email contact that he has difficulties with Dutch spelling. Before we attach the poster to the window, there is an interesting discussion between Nosrat and Helena, another of the artists connected to 'Stichting de Werkelijkheid': should we write 'migrant stories' or not? Helena thinks that it has a negative connotation, since it could be associated with the immigration service. Besides, Nosrat adds, also non-migrants who want to criticize migrants are welcome to share their critical opinion. That is why I write 'story' on the poster and they will explain the rest later verbally.*

Another specific example of my participative involvement is that I transcribed the interviews Hafidi had conducted with people passing on the street during the first stage of the project; texts which would be used for a theatre play – one of the project outcomes. And towards the end of the project I was even asked to replace Anush at her installation during the exhibition, as one day she could not be there.

Although I first doubted from an ethical perspective if this would be 'going native', as is considered 'not done' in anthropology, I accepted the invitations, because it showed that 'they' really had started to see me as part of the group. In fact, throughout the entire socio-artistic process, I was the only one who was constantly in contact with everyone. I built up a good rapport particularly with the artists, which was extremely useful when working with camera equipment that might otherwise become 'distancing'.

As as another form of participation and reciprocity I offered to share my video recordings with the organisation at the start of the fieldwork or to make a (short promotional)

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[36] Informal conversation Monique, intervention 21 December 2014

[37] The location where the radio-interview with Nosrat we hear at the start of the film is conducted as well.

film for the project. However, the organisers rejected this idea, since they already hired a professional filmmaker, Jasmin, who with his Croatian-Yugoslavian background is part of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* to make a promotional video about the project. This made me explore other means of participation and reciprocity and gave me freedom to make the film as an outcome of this fieldwork as 'independent research' and to share the results afterwards.

Carrying and using a video camera as part of my fieldwork, often forced me into the role of the observer, which made it easier to 'take a step back and look at a distance'. Once I gained their trust, the project coordinators and artists allowed me to be present at all stages of the process and I was allowed to attend and film all the meetings and most events. At some 'interventions' in the beginning of the project, I was not able to film, to protect the privacy of possible participants, that might be anxious of being filmed. The 'target group' of the project particularly made this difficult, since some migrants were for several reasons afraid to be filmed, and on one occasion literally ran away[38]. I thus especially focused on the individual and interpersonal working methods of the artists in private settings throughout the process. Filming publicly during the (opening of the) exhibition was not perceived as problematic, because its purpose was to gain as much media attention as possible.

Applying visual ethnographic research methods was not always as straightforward as one might expect. The limitations of filming also quickly became clear since, as MacDougall puts it: 'the camera can record only a single perspective at any time' (2006: 34). Also the creative (thought) process of the artists was not clearly visible in the beginning. Therefore I asked questions to make the artists reflect on their tacit knowledge and make it clear verbally on camera.

Additionally I conducted semi-structured interviews with the organisers, artists and participants before, during and after the process, to gain more insight into the personal experiences and thought processes behind the project. To avoid socially accepted answers I tried to create informal settings for the interviews, by for example asking questions during the working process so the questioning resembled more of an ordinary conversation. I chose to not always record the more in-depth semi-structured interviews on camera, but with an audio-recorder only, to create an informal enough atmosphere, where my research participants would feel free to speak their minds yet without losing access to raw data for my analysis.

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[38] I did not inquire about this personally, but my assumption, based on conversations with others, is that it has to do with their fear of negative representation in the media.
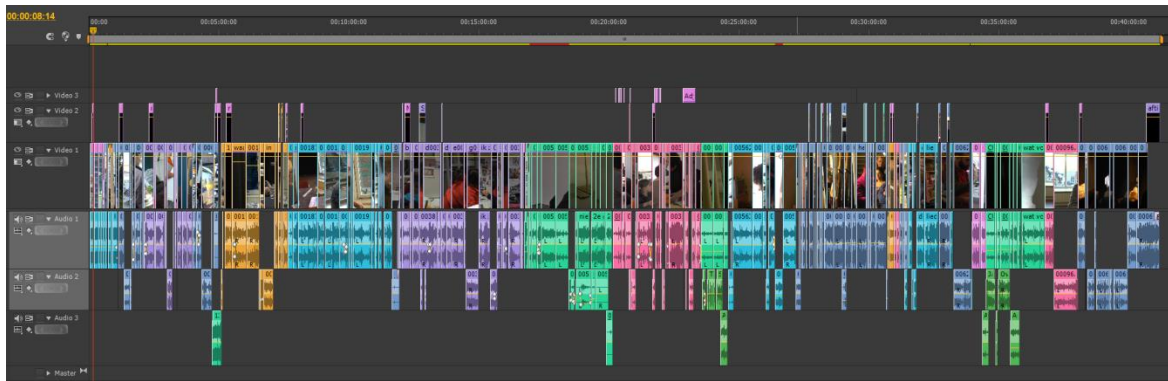
3.2 Film as analysis

Figure 12: Screenshot timeline of the final version of 'Ik ben van hier en daar' in Adobe Premiere Pro.

The above image shows the timeline of the film at one of the final stages of editing in Adobe Premiere Pro, the editing program I used; the different colours showing the scene-structure. As can be read in detail in the transcript (see appendix - including English translations used for subtitles), the film consists of twelve scenes, chronologically depicting important moments.

The film came about through a complex selection-process with different stages, wherein conscious choices were made, at times having to do with practical limitations. The first stage of selecting happened 'in the field', by selecting where to be present and when to push the 'record' button on the camera. As mentioned before, I aimed to be present as much as possible in the different phases of the artistic process and the execution of the project. I recorded moments wherein the underlying artistic and social ideas of the artist and organisers of the project were discussed: during the recruitment of project-participants, during creative interventions, in a brainstorm, during meetings, at interactions with participants, during the individual artistic developments of the artists and in reflection-interviews. In addition I recorded additional footage of the atmosphere in the neighbourhood. This fieldwork resulted in 40 pages of field-notes, more than 15 hours of video- recordings, and about 10 hours of audio-recordings of interviews.

It is important to note that the phases of data eliciting and analysis, were not clearly distinguished in this research, since I started editing my footage, while the project was not finished yet (due to the timing of the project in combination with the planning of the master program that provided the framework for this research). I kept track of my own thought process throughout the whole process of doing research, by writing reflections down. In this way the 'gathering of data' and the analysis were not separated entirely, just as observations cannot be separated from thought-processes.

Through editing, the roughly 25 hours of recordings were selected based on a grounded theory approach. First, I transcribed and logged all recordings, marking every clip with certain characteristics such as the length, quality, and possible theme's. Slowly the overall structure of the film took shape, constituting 'building blocks' of different phases of the project, which included the main overall themes that are discussed in this thesis.

Not all methods could be foreseen beforehand and on the other hand, some strategies I aimed for, could not be put into practice. I for example aimed beforehand to edit my recordings of the artistic process in the same style as the working process (for example intuitive or systematic), which did not turn out to be a realistic aim in establishing a more or less coherent style in the overall editing structure. The style of my footage already seemed to be quite divers, as some recordings were made in a 'dialogical setting' (Fabian 1971), while other footage could be characterised as an observational style as defined by Grimshaw and Ravetz (2009).

Although the recordings of collective meetings were made in an observational style, as a 'fly on the wall', it can be assumed that the presence of a camera made the different protagonists 'enact' their viewpoints somewhat stronger. For example in the meeting wherein the conflicting standpoints of Mojgan and the organisers became clear [11:30 mins]. Fabian writes that the role as ethnographer, 'is no longer that of questioner; he or she is but a provider of occasions, a catalyst in the weakest sense, and a producer […] in the strongest.' (Fabian 1990: 7). Not that I organised the meetings myself, but the influence of the presence of a researcher and a camera on the situation cannot be denied.

According to Fabian, a lot of knowledge anthropologists are looking for, can be found in the study of action and performance (1990: 6). But not only the process of conducting a (community) art project can be seen as a performance in this research, also the conversations between me, the artists, organisers and participants. Visual anthropology can therefore indeed be seen as 'performative anthropology' wherein knowledge is constructed in interaction, as anthropological filmmaker and theorist MacDougall has argued (2006: 272).

An important ethical issue concerning that of the visual representation of the project, is 'the inability to maintain anonymity given the indexical nature of photomechanical representations' within visual anthropology (Banks 2007: 39). Anthropologists in general 'have an ethical obligation to consider the potential impact of both their research and the communication or dissemination of the results of their research participants' (AAA Statement of Ethics 2012: 5). Bill Nichols also stresses the ethical responsibility of documentary filmmakers in the following way: 'Because they aim to represent others instead of portraying

characters of their own invention' (2001: 6). Therefore 'informed consent' is important to give the informants a sense of ownership, as mentioned in the AAA Statement of Ethics (2012).

Keeping these ethical issues in mind, I aimed to stay as close as possible to the way my informants represented themselves and before going public I showed the film to my main protagonists, so as to gain consent. After sharing the film, the organisers and most artists confirmed that I managed to emphatically show their mental and social struggles in establishing the creative process and the exhibition wherein it resulted. They gave me a few suggestions to include additional recordings, for example more of the exhibition in the film, however they understood my focus after I explained my choices to pay more attention to the artistic process from an academic viewpoint.

The style of the film can, according to Janine Prins - supervisor of this project for Leiden University - be characterised as 'informal'. I agree with this as in the film my presence is not denied and my technical shortcomings are included as well. Also I aimed to emphasise that the film is a construction of reality, by including several so-called 'jump cuts'[39]. My reflexive, informal approach is not only exemplified in the informal conversations during the creative process of the artists, but particularly stands out in the reflective conversation with Anush, wherein she asks my opinion about the installation she is building [18:10 mins]. In the film, I leave the answer up to the viewer, since I did not find myself in the position to give an answer (and I must admit the question made me feel quite uneasy), and wanted to remain an 'independent researcher'.

This scene also emphasizes the rapport I built up with Anush, as well as the other artists. In the next shot, my involvement is even accentuated more, since I appear in front of the camera, when she asks me to help her to build up her installation. I included this shot, not only to emphasize my participation in the project, but also as a kind of meta-analysis to blur the line between the ethnographer and the informant, inspired by for example Alyssa Grosmann as she inserts stop motion animation showing herself to add a reflexive layer of doing fieldwork to her ethnographic research about the daily life of nuns in a Romanian monastery in her film *Into the field* (2005, 28 min.).

Closely observing the socio-artistic process of the artists collectively and individually, also gave me the chance to gain insights in the similarities of the working methods of artists

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[39] 'Jump cuts' are cuts in filmediting wherein two sequential shots of the same subject vary only slightly in camera position to create a disruptive effect in contrary to to continuity editing or 'seamless' montage that create an ilusion of a realistic representation of reality.

and anthropologists. These similarities are exemplified by Mojgan[40] 'Actually, what we want to know as artists, is what they don't want to tell, that is the secret, the character, the identity...' Conducting research along the side of artists who would often have the same questions, led to insights in the 'secrets' of the personal experiences of the artists and of the people they 'studied'. It thus provided a 'double layer' of insights that are reflected throughout this thesis and film.

However, adopting the research-strategy to be led by the artistic process, also caused confusion, since I was guided by choices my key informants made. I was therefore not able to clearly demarcate the focus of my research beforehand. It was only in retrospective, going through a time consuming process of logging and editing all my audio-visual data and analysing all my field notes, that the overall patterns were recognised. The end-result of this analysis, however, provides valuable insights that can be communicated to a broader audience through the film.

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[40] Informal conversation. 6 February 2015

4. Theoretical frameworks in practice

In the following sections I focus on theoretical frameworks about the concepts of 'community art' (4.1) as well as 'belonging' and 'ethnic identity' within the context of a 'multicultural society' (4.2), in order to analyse my empirical data in relation to assumptions made in socio-political debates.

4.1 Community art

To begin with, some relevant aspects of the background of the concept of 'community art', can be pointed out to make clear why the concept can be applied, however critically, to my empirical findings. After discussing a brief history and broad definition, I critically examine the concepts of 'community' and 'art' as discussed in scholarly literature.

The rise of 'community art' (also referred to as 'participatory art', 'social design' or *sociaal artistiek werk* in Dutch) began at the end of the 1960s throughout Europe, North America and Australia (Rose 1997; van Erven 2013). Although the exact definition of community arts has been much disputed by its practitioners, the bottom line can be described as 'that it actively involves people in an artistic process or in the production of a work of art' (De Bruyne et al 1998: 20). While the concept of 'community art' has, according to Crehan (2011), always been applied in an advocative way by artists and organisers to establish social political goals, it is (only fairly) recently increasingly recognised as such by politicians and applied as a policy. Nowadays policy makers and planners seem to agree on the importance of community participation, 'but those same politicians and planners tend to be less clear as to what 'participation' actually means' (Crehan 2011: 186).

Just as the *WRR* signals in regard to current policy debates (as discussed in section 2.1) it is also notified from scholarly critique that positives effects of culture participation (*cultuurparticipatie*) are often too easily ascribed to community art (van Erven 2013: 8). Eugene van Erven, a Dutch researcher (and organiser of the International Community Arts festival in Rotterdam) is internationally recognised for his involvement in and publications about community art. He too signals that community art often involves 'a fragmented and diffuse practice, wherein details are drowned in an increasingly pressing urge for empirical proof (2013: 8). My own empirical data contribute to this notion of 'pressing urge', as it became clear by following a community art project, that many assumptions ascribed to community art from a policy perspective, are not possible nor important throughout the execution of a project (to be elaborated on in section 5.2).

The notion of 'community' in community arts projects, can equally be problematised from the perspective of my empirical data. Kate Crehan for example examines the concept of 'community' in 'community art' as a 'warmly persuasive term conjuring up the imagined organic *gemeinschaft* of a more humane premodern world' (Crehan 2011: 40-1). Because of the lack of operationalisation of the term, the mysteries of the 'community' became, according to Crehan 'a saleable commodity in the urban generation marketplace.' (2011: 186). This lack of defining also resulted in financial possibilities for the project at hand.

In cases where community arts are applied in a 'classical sense', as described by for example Lowe (2000), community participation on a *grassroots level* could serve as a 'ritual framework for social interaction' creating a 'community symbol' (2000: 357), and can thus be linked to the concept of 'social cohesion' as mentioned in socio-political debates. This might explain the popularity of the concept of 'community art' in the socio-political discourse. However, in this case study, community participation only applied to a limited extent, since it was not aimed for within the time and resources available for the project. Also the participation that was aimed for is indirect, which is reflected in the approach of 'participants' as 'story-owners': it was through their stories that they participated, inspiring artists in their artwork.

In my view however, the approach of community art as a 'ritual framework for social interaction' can still be applied to this case study: Although grassroots participation in the artistic process was limited, the art-work did show grassroots perspectives on migration - compiled from experiences exchanged through interactions within the framework of the project. The difference between 'classical' community art projects in the sense described by Lowe (2000) or Crehan (2011) and the project I studied, is that the interactions (where positive effects such as empowerment and ownership can be ascribed to) did not so much take place on a collective 'community' level, but on an interpersonal level between individual artists and migrants, reflecting on their mutual migration experiences.

Another key issue in many diverse practices of community arts stressed by Rose (1997) is that they alll display a 'critique of the mass media and high arts as reproducing only ruling class ideologies by assuming a consensual set of values, and that outside this centre are other groups with different values who are excluded from the means of public self-expression.' (Rose 1997: 3). This turned out to be a key issue in the project under study as well. Now, to what extent can the concept of 'art' be analysed to understand its meaning as a 'critique of high arts and mass media'- within community art projects and in particular this case study?

As we have seen amongst the artists in this project, it is one of their motives in this project to make art accessible for everyone and resist the 'high art' or 'elite art' as particularly

Nosrat refers to [25:05 mins]. And Anush also does not want her installation to be 'too abstract' [18:10 mins]. Therefore it is important to recognise 'both the making of art and its consumption are threaded through with power relations that make 'art' more accessible to some and less accessible to others.' (Crehan 2011: 5). Community art then is a medium that seeks, what Crehan frames as: a more 'democratic' approach in terms of accessibility.

Inspired by Gell (1998) I approach 'art' here as 'a system of action, intended to change the world, rather than encoded symbolic propositions about it' (1998: 6). This is also what my fieldwork entails: following a 'system of action' and study the social and creative processes wherein art is created. I thus analyse 'art' from a process-focused perspective instead of from a result-focused perspective, which leads my focus to the artists and their intentions.

As we have seen in this case study, the role of the artists is complex in community art projects because they need to negotiate and defend their artistic freedom within fields of tension between organisers/principals, neighbours/participants and other institutions and their own professional ambitions. This complexity is also often discussed in literature about community art (see for example van Erven 2013, and Trienekens et al 2011).

Despite the complex negotiations of artists in this context, I would still argue that for most artists, art as a 'system of action' provides a source of agency for the artists to show their perspectives on migration. Because 'media are often a source of agency, with migrants not only changed by the country to which they migrate but also in turn producing changes in the receiving country.' (Davis et al. 2010: 4). For the artists of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*, (community) art can be seen as a profound medium and a source of agency through which they express their perspectives on migration. As '[…] the relation between migration and aesthetics not simply one of representation, in which the latter is simply a mode of representing the former' (Durrant & Lord 2007: 12). In this case study, the artists with refugee-background are seen as active agents who show their viewpoints on the world around them on their terms, translated in fitting content and form. The viewpoints and perspectives expressed in this case study both focus on their own experiences as refugees, as well as other (labour) migrants; all equally stigmatised in mass media and political debates.

4.2 Belonging and ethnic identity in a 'multicultural' society

The most central theme that can be recognised from migration experiences expressed throughout the art project under study is the feeling of 'belonging here *and* there'. These feelings are in line with what Gupta and Ferguson consider as 'a generalized condition of

homelessness' concerning the collective identity of migrants and refugees, whereby 'familiar lines between "here" and "there".... become blurred.' (1992: 377). This 'collective identity' is generally refered to as 'ethnic identity' or 'ethnicity', a concept that, just like 'culture' has been a central and widely discussed concept within the development of anthropological theory. In classical studies, ethnicity was approached as fixed, however since Barth wrote his introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) ethnicity has commonly been seen as a social construct (see for example Baumann 1999, Jenkins 2008, Modood 2007).

Jenkins proposes that ethnicity 'is best thought of as an ongoing process of ethnic identification.' (2008: 15). Analysing my empirical data from this perspective, I aimed not to 'label' my research participants according to their 'ethnic' background, but look at various ways they identified with several places, or seemed to connect to none specifically.

From a transnational perspective in social sciences, identifications of migrants are explained the following way: 'Transnationalism directs attention, rather, to a social existence attaching individuals and groups not primarily to one particular place, but to several or none' (Eriksen 2007: 113). Nevertheless, Espiritu accurately points out the limitations of this conceptual approach, since migrants are still bounded by the structures of the state wherein they are entangled/settled (2003: 12).

Also Jenkins notes: 'ethnicity- as a social construct - might be imagined, but its effects are far from imaginary' (2008: 173). In other words, it can be recognised from an analytical perspective that ethnicity is a 'human product'. However 'that does not mean that it is less sociological real or less normative important than other 'human products', just like class or gender' (Modood 2007: 84) and that it can be difficult or ambiguous when it comes to experiences of migration.

Analysing encountered experiences I noticed, in line with Eriksen, that 'There is no evidence for the assumption that it is inherently problematic to 'live in two cultures', but such ambiguous situation can certainly be difficult to handle in an environment where one is expected to have a bounded, delineated social identity.' (Eriksen 2010: 167). In this case study we have seen that expectations 'to have a bounded, delineated social identity' are raised from a societal level, causing distress with 'second generation' offspring according to Anush.

As we have seen in socio-political debates on multiculturalism (see section 1.1), the concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'culture' are often framed from an essentialist view (Ghorashi 2010), or as 'reification of identity' (Jenkins 2008). Apparently the 'new de-essentialising consensus' within anthropology (Baumann and Sunier 1995: 3) has thus not permeated the world outside academia, at least it has not permeated political debates, nor individual experiences.

Geschiere gives an explanation for this: In these socio-political debates, 'the discourse of belonging is very much present, particularly for expressing both the feeling that new immigrants should adapt themselves to the culture of the national groups that do belong and the rising fear that especially the "second generation" of immigrants will refuse to do so' (Geschiere 2009: 130). As we see in this case study, such fear results in politiced distinctions between *allochtoon* and *autochtoon* (Geschiere 2009, Slootman 2014) within the Dutch national socio-political debates. Eriksen also explains that it is the political power of naming that makes social classification relevant (2010: 107). According to him, 'second- or third- generation immigrants thus become anomalies not primarily by virtue of their culture but rather because they fail to fit into the dominant categories of social classification in society.' (Eriksen 2010: 167).

In Dutch society that is framed as 'multicultural', it is assumed that ethnic identity equals cultural identity. This has consequences for notions about 'Cultural Citizenship' in a socio-political debate based on the presumption that one can only be loyal to one country and culture (Slootman 2014). According to Baumann (1999) this is an equalisation often made in Western European understandings of 'multiculturalism'. However, ethnic identification of (second generation) migrants, as is empirically demonstrated in Slootman's study on second generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands, 'do not reflect rigid cultures that preclude orientation to the society of residence; they can even go hand in hand with proceeding acculturation.' (2015: 15). The project under study seems to show that loyalties can go hand in hand, contrary to assumption made in political debates. After all, a main finding is that people themselves say: 'I belong here *and* there'.

Besides these 'external boundary constructions', also 'internal boundary construction' can be recognised here, concerning ethnic identification of second generation migrants, often leading to conflicts with their parents (Eriksen 2010: 167). Such conflicts are also witnessed by Slootman, where she writes that social mobility of second generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants was limited by expectations of their parents, who prioritised values of being a 'good' 'Moroccan' or 'Turk' above for example education level (2014). These kind of conflicts are also empirically encountered in this study, as the example of Anush' installation exemplifies most clearly when she showcases second generation migrant experiences. The parents, the first generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, seem in the perspective of the second generation presented by Anush, to 'cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality' (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 378).

5. Project evaluation

In the first section of this analysis chapter, the 'impact' of the project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* and the concept of 'community art' are evaluated. In the second section, the perspectives on migration expressed throughout the project are analysed in relation to socio-political and theoretical understandings of ethnic identity and belonging.

5.1 Impact and expectations of community art

Researching the 'impact' of community art projects is particularly difficult because of the large number of stakeholders (Newman et al 2003). I therefore analyse the 'impact' in different ways, first in terms of socio-political expectations raised by the project goals that connect to expectations of funders. Thereafter I shed light on the project from a process-focused perspective that seems to be more relevant to understand the impact of *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* in line with my film.

As we will see below, evaluating the 'impact' or success of the project, my empirical data seem to correlate with critique provided by the *WRR* (2015) on current changing policy debates, and with scholarly critiques on community art that positive effects of culture participation (*cultuurparticipatie*) are too easily ascribed to community art (van Erven 2013: 8). I want to stress these issues by looking at the first project goal: '*To stimulate 'culture participation' through innovative cultural expressions in a neighbourhood with relatively low rates of social cohesion and reach of the arts'*. However as the concepts of 'social cohesion' and 'culture participation' are not exactly defined in the project application, it is difficult to 'measure' if the project lived up to expectations these concepts seem to raise. However I aim to analyse the concepts here from the light of my empirical findings.

In the official evaluation by the project coordinators (*Inhoudelijke verantwoording IWNVPTB*, June 2015)[41]; the cooperation with different local organisations and entrepeneurs is stressed in this regard. For example those who cooperated in the 'interventions': *Cascoland* and entrepeneurs Bakery *Assili*, and Fikret's Butcher store *Sera* that cooperated in the exhibition. Although I would argue this selection of participants was mostly based on those who were key figures and had strong networks of their own. Besides, the former two organisations only participated in a single 'intervention'.

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[41] A document that clearly evaluates the results of the project goals strategically towards the funders of the project.

As Riska explained during the evaluation meeting among the project-organisers[42]: 'We would have needed more time to invest in this process, but we didn't have the money to do it now.' The artists therefore had difficulties establishing a strong relationship with neighbourhood-residents (outside their own network).

On the other hand it became clear that many neighbourhood residents were not interested in participating in the project, and others were only interested in meeting once. Nanda for example, who participated in Nosrats *gevelstenen*-project, did not show up during the exhibition, and did not show an interest in either the *gevelsteen* or the portrait that was made of her as part of the project.[43] Nanda's reaction as well as reactions of neighbourhood-residents during the interventions made clear that they did not see the benefits of participating. While others did participate in the exhibition, guiding visitors through 'their' neighbourhood, or hosting visitors such as Fikret.

Besides Fikrets example, I want to pay attention to two other occasions where the framework of the artistic process provided a fruitful 'ritual framework for social interaction' (Lowe 2000: 357) wherein space was created for dialogues and reflection.

Here I especially want to pay attention to the benefits of the interactions throughout the project in this regard, illustrated most clearly in the case with the Korkut family. Berna and the rest of the Korkut family not only participated enthusiastically as they gained recognition for their story. In fact, as Berna explains in the reflection interview included in the film, she became more conscious of the symbolic meaning (cultural heritage) of a seemingly ordinary object- a corncob that her mother brought from her father's village in Turkey. She also explains in the interview that it was because of the setting the project provided that her mother, Hamiyet, started to share the story about the past for the first time with her children [34:15 mins]. In my view this shows the deeper meaning a project like this can have on participants.

Also the reactions of the second generation Turkish and Moroccan young people from the neighbourhood who participated in the *ImproBattle* theatre-improvisation workshop Anush organised were very positive. From their reactions, it appeared that they felt empowered because they could share their experiences. The extent to which project participants benefited thus seemed due to how much benefit they saw in the project themselves.

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[42] Evaluation meeting18 June 2015

[43] There could be several external reasons for this as well, an interesting explanation by an artist from Cascoland, another community arts organisation in the neighbourhood, was that she got tired of participating, since she participated in a lot of projects, including community theatre play before. But these are only assumptions, since I was not able to speak to her personally.

Looking at benefits for the neighbourhood, another critical point that can be pointed out is the relatively small range of the project because of the temporary character of the exhibition and the small number of visitors[44]. Information about the backgrounds of the visitors were however neither included by the project-organisers nor by me. Nevertheless, from my observations during the exhibition, it seemed that the main part of the visitors were female and above 40, while a small part of the visitors had mixed backgrounds in terms of ethnicity. The latter mostly got involved through the networks of the artists, organisations and participants involved.

It can also be questioned if the underlying ideas of the exhibition were received by the visitors. A point of critique that did become visible through the reactions of visitors was that according to some, the message of particularly Anush' installation remained vague,[45] because the context and the overall theme of the project were not always presented clearly. A reason for this was that the artists and organisers relied on (migrant) volunteers from the neighbourhood that could tell from their own experience, but were not always knowledgeable about the underlying ideas of the artists and thus not able to communicate this. However, people who did have background knowledge about the topic, such as Berna, did recognise herself in the issues showcased.

The balans between the artistic and social goals thus played out in different ways on the level of neighbourhood residents and project participants. The resources available to invest in the kind of 'culture participation' to stimulate 'social cohesion' that was promised to funders beforehand, were in my view not within the range of the project.

The social expectations raised by funders to reach these goals also caused difficulties for the artists. These issues relate to the field of tension between artistic and social goals, as discussed in literature about the positioning of artists in community art projects (see for example in van Erven 2013). It became clear throughout the development of the project under study that the social responsibilities could contradict with the artistic ambitions of the artists. This is most clearly demonstrated in the scene of the meeting when the (provocative) artistic ambitions of one of the artists, Mojgan, conflicted with the overall goals of the project [11:30 mins]. Whereafter Mojgan was forced to withdraw from the project given the social obligations of the project. Subsequently in the film, Anush reflects on the compromises she needed to make, as her artistic work was not autonomous, but relational to other works and the way it was perceived, was an important pillar [18:53 mins].

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[44] While the organisers aimed to reach 800 visitors, only 300 visitors came to see the exhibition.
[45] Which provides an answer to the question Anush asks to camera in the film [18:10 mins].

On a collective level however, it can be said that the artists of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* benefitted from the project, since the project turned out to be an important opportunity for broadening their network. Since it was the first time they conducted a project as an independent organisation, they could spread their name through cooperating with different organisations and visitors of the exhibition. Besides, it was also a medium to share their perspectives on migration in the artistic outcome and throughout the process.

The most significant benefits of the project thus resulted from contacts on an inter-individual level between the artists and participants, instead of on a collective 'community' level, where the benefits seem relatively limited and outside the focus and reachability of this project.

5.2 Perspectives on migration from different experiences

The migration experiences of both the project-participants and the artists, as well as the perspectives on migration expressed by the artists, are the main focus of my research film, which is in line with the second goal of the project: *'To make different perspectives on migration visible and contribute to provide insights in how those migrants deal with their experiences'*. In the official project-evaluation[46] the following feelings are indeed recognised: 'feelings of displacement, loyalty problems of youngsters towards their parents and society, loss of family members, guilt feelings of parents, etc.' Instead of analysing the way it is evaluated by the project-organisers however, I aim analysing the empirical perspectives here

The perspectives on migration the artists of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* express in this project are based on their own experiences and the experiences of others. By both showing difficulties of identification among migrants and showing in their eyes ideal, inclusive perspectives, the artists seem to criticise and move away from dichotomisations of *allochtonen* and *autochtonen* in national political debates.

The most extreme example of this is Nosrat's approach of project-participants or story-owners. As he included Etiene, a Dutch participant who 'fled' to Amsterdam because of the tolerant character of the city[47], he showed with his approach on migration that feelings of displacement can not only be connected to international migrants, and therefore even provokes the label of migrants in general.

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[46] *Inhoudelijke verantwoording IWNVPTB*, June 2015
[47] Interview Nosrat 7 March 2015

Also the artists criticise the label of 'refugee-artists' they present themselves with through the collective of *Stichting de Werkelijkheid*. Anush complained about this self-representation to me in an informal conversation about the structure of the organisation. According to her it is too fixated on the label of an artist who migrated as refugees. According to herself, she did not 'fit in' because she came to the Netherlands as a child with her parents, grew up here and was educated as an artist here. At the same time Anush recognises the necessity for the foundation to phrase this certain 'category' towards funders, 'when it is not clear who you are or what you represent, how will you ever convince funders to give financial support?' she asks herself. [48] Hence, this critical note addresses the difficulties the artists experienced to oppose labels when connecting to policy and its instruments: various funders. From this starting point, I want to nuance relevant differences in migration experiences between the 'refugee' artists and the 'labour' migrants, before I go deeper into analysing the perspectives that are shown in the film.

In the radio-interview with Nosrat at the start of the film[49], the journalist asks Nosrat, inspired by the title of the project-title: 'Did you intend to stay here?' His answer, 'No I did not plan to come here either, but it happened' clearly demonstrates the differences in migration experiences of the refugee-artists in relation to Turkish and Moroccan immigrants with labour migration background the project was aimed at. More important than the differences in their migration-backgrounds and reasons for migrating however, seems to be here that the artists can be viewed as active agents through their art in this case study, who reflect on their similar experiences of being a migrant in contemporary Dutch society.

The difficulties of being considered a migrant are in the art-project most clearly addressed through Anush' vision. Her installation expresses the field of tension from which so-called second generation migrants often suffer: living between contradicting expectations from their parents and Dutch society, as well as general stigmatisation in socio-political and everyday discourses. The perceived contradicting values result in feelings of schizophrenia, as Anush explains.[50] In her opinion, the differences between second generation labour migrants and second generation refugee is not significant here. Anush explains in an interview[51] that other factors than the exact backgrounds were more important: 'I can't really say I discovered any differences between the groups, more importantly is the stigmatisation about the groups from

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[48] Informal conversation. Anush 19 February 2015.
[49] Radio-interview conducted on 27 January 2015 at one of the interventions in the *Assili* bakery.
[50] Brainstorm 9 February 2015
[51] Semi-structured interview 19 April 2015

society, and the development of the way parents deal with bringing up their children in another culture'. This correlates with theoretical understandings about these migrants (as discussed in section 4.2), in the sense that they often do not completely 'fit in', neither to social categories in dominant society Eriksen (2010) nor to expectations of their parents to be a 'good' 'Turk' or 'Moroccan' (Slootman 2014).

The overall perspective expressed by the artists in the project however is that belonging to several places, ethnicities or cultures at the same time, is possible and can be seen as abundance that could be more acknowledged on a societal level as well. From the various conversations the artists and I myself conducted throughout the project, it became clear that various forms of identification can exist at the same time. For example some migrants seem to (occasionally) identify with Amsterdam, such as Nosrat, to transcend issues about ethnic identity, while some, for example Fikret, rather identify themselves as 'new *Nederlander'* [8:30 mins]. This issue is best summarised by Marcouch in his opening speech of the project: 'So let us please not force people to cut off their roots, to choose between being Moroccan or Dutch. I am both. And personally I am Muslim as well, others may identify with something else, but I am also *Amsterdammer'* [27:30 mins].

Conclusions

This thesis, and the film *Ik ben van hier en daar* (I belong (t)here) (2016, 38 mins), provide insights in experiences with migration expressed within the context of the community art project *Ik was niet van plan te blijven* (I did not intend to stay). In both word and image, understandings from the field are communicated. The emic understandings are represented in the film, and this written document makes clear how these findings can be connected to socio-political and theoretical understandings of belonging, ethnic identity or rather 'identification' and community art. This thesis is structured around the three different levels from which the concepts are interpreted: on a socio-political level, empirical level, and theoretical level. In connecting these findings it is possible to answer the question at the core of this research:

How do experiences with migration as expressed in the community art-project 'Ik was niet van plan te blijven' (I did not intend to stay) relate to theoretical and socio-political understandings of belonging and ethnic identity, as well as community art?

As we have seen in socio-political debates on 'multiculturalism' it is often assumed in Dutch socio-political debates hat one can only belong to or identify with one culture at the same time. Throughout the project under study however, the contrary is brought to light from an empirical perspective. The title of this document, the expression of 'I belong (t)here', for me captures the most important feeling expressed throughout the project, of belonging here *and* there. It is not only a literal quote from the theatre play at the end of the exhibition, but also a condensed expression of many experiences expressed throughout the project. This important empirical finding clearly directs towards inclusive, situational understandings of belonging and (ethnic) identifications, and as such, seems to complement current anthropological understandings of the concepts as a 'social construct' (Jenkins 2008). It however contradicts assumptions in socio-political debates about migrant identities. In fact, what makes the experiences of inclusive approach difficult is the opposite assumption about ethnic identification in Dutch 'multicultural' debates.

In this project, Anush on the one hand addresses difficulties with the so-called second generation that seem to be divisive issues of generations and cultural values. On the other hand, Nosrat seems to transcend these difficulties with his inclusive approach that is not so much focused on backgrounds, but on similar experiences. When Nosrat's argument, of not putting migrants, or *allochtonen* in a box, is extended, it can be questioned if it is even relevant to talk about 'ethnic' identification.

The concept of 'community art' that provides the framework wherein these insights came to light, is in current policy debates increasingly framed as a strategy for social development. This explains the choice the project-organisers made to focus on the neighbourhood, and also to include the concepts of 'social cohesion' and 'culture participation' in the project goals. Although the concepts only to a limited extent had explicit meaning throughout the artistic process, formulating these motives in the project application, provided a 'political opportunity structure' (Reus 2012) through connecting to assumptions about these concepts made on a policy level, the organisers received funding to realise the project. It however also raised socio-political expectations to serve as an instrument for social development that could not be achieved within the limited resources available for the project.

Also the expectations to reach social goals often seemed to be contradictory to artistic ambitions, wherein the organisers seemed to have agency to a certain extent (in comparison to the artists) to give meaning to the concept of 'community art' and 'social cohesion' themselves. On the one hand the organisers seemed to stress the importance of artistic freedom, however on the other hand this freedom is limited because of expectations of the funders of the project. And it seems it is because the organisation is dependent of funders to realise projects that the ideal Monique reflects at the start of the project, that artistic ambitions should be prioritised, could not completely be realised.

This 'ideal' is in line with critique provided by the *WRR* (2015) on current changing policy debates as the Council argues that artistic goals should be prioritised and that it cannot be seen as a straightforward 'instrument' for social development. Shedding light on my field findings from this perspective, it seems that the concept of 'community' can be problematised in this case study, since the focus on and thus benefits for the neighbourhood were limited in this project. The lack of focus on the neighbourhood however did significantly change the focus of the project content wise. And I would argue, evaluating the project, that there were other social benefits of the project, perhaps not so much on a 'community level', however on an inter-individual level.

In other words, the label of 'community art' thus seems to be a cumbersome, yet also practical and political possibility for artists with refugee backgrounds to create a platform for their artistic work and to express their visions and show their critical perspectives on belonging in Dutch society based on their experiences and those of other migrants. The advocative element that can be recognised in this case study both provokes 'elite art' and adresses stigmatised perceptions of *allochtonen* in mass media and socio-political debates as the artists express their perspectives on migration.

This MA thesis and film thus give an oversight of how migration experiences expressed within the framework of a community art project can contribute to more nuanced socio-political understandings, and complement theoretical understandings on both topics.

Despite the goals that are difficult to achieve and moreover hard to measure expectations of community art projects, I would still recommend, based on this case study, to conduct these kind of projects in a paradoxical socio-political climate of 'belonging' filled with essentialist approaches and dichotomisation. My recommendation is based on the benefits for those directly involved that can possibly be spread through their networks, the visitors of the exhibition and on top of that through this research and film.

Having said this, I want to outline some recommendations for community art projects and further research, based on the analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of this project under study. The main 'best practices' of the project, I would argue, were related to already existing organisations and networks of the artists, such as through *ImproBattle* and the Korkut family. For both the success can be addressed I think not only to the creative medium and protected space. In the former case however, also the cooperation with a local professional was involved. Benefits of theatre-workshop might even have been enhanced when a follow-up meeting would have been organised. This was in fact characterising for most of the events conducted in the neighbourhood, as many were one-time events, one could say these were 'missed chances' in terms of in-depth social benefits. The success in the case of the Korkut family can be related to the fact that they were already familiar with *Stichting de Werkelijkheid* and thus trusted Nosrat easily to come to their home.

Therefore a main recommendation that both addresses the organisation of a community art project and ways in which further research on the topic of community art can be explored, is through conducting longitudal research in a neighbourhood, or among a 'target group', before conducting a community art project. That is, if the goal is indeed to bring social improvement to the neighbourhood. Supposedly, the positive social impact of such projects can be more effective when more time is invested in exploring and building connections. Working with local artists, or in the local environment of the artists involved, hence might be more effective. These connections might also be strengthened by working with a more multidisciplinary, preferably local, team. For example local social workers could provide in-depth insights in local 'problems' and needs, and could through their professional network contribute to enlarging the network of project-participants. Following the process of a community art- project like I did during fieldwork, provided insights in the way how ideals or goals, were for several reasons met on the ground. Future research could also focus on how the concepts of 'social cohesion'

and 'community participation' can be operationalised at the level of organisers and funders, to provide more insight in how the 'political opportunity structure' functions.

Recommendations for further research however stretch beyond the framework of community art to the questions the content of the project raised. An important question is: How could the insights in the empirical, personal feeling that ethnic or national identities do not exclude each other and both – or more - can be experienced at the same time (correlating with understandings of 'ethnic identification' from theoretical anthropological debates) permeate the socio-political debate? And just as important: how can it permeate the lives of the second generation migrants, so that the 'problematic feelings of schizophrenia' Anush addresses, can be dealt with more easily and flexibly? Within the project itself, Nosrat's approach, to focus on individual experiences regardless of their exact ethnic backgrounds, might convey a solution for this. However, a condition that can be pointed out is then, that more space should be created for these nuanced understandings in policy, so that artists themselves do not have to label themselves as 'refugee-artists' to receive funding, and not have to work within the limitations of social responsibilities.

This again opens doors for possible research about how community arts can serve as a framework for this. And how community art projects might become a more effective way to communicate this message from bottom up to a political level? And then, can the benefits of these projects be enhanced when there is more financial support provided by policy?

Concludingly, I want to reflect on the research methods I applied and the value of the film. Conducting ethnographic research along this project turned out to be an effective way to access migrants with a myriad of different backgrounds, experiences and perspectives. The film can also be seen as a form of 'documentation' of this specific community art project. It is therefore not only of value for the organisers of this project to reflect on, but also to other community art organisers to gain insight in the complex process. With the film I thus hope to communicate meaningful ethnographic insights about migrant-experiences and the process of conducting a community art project to broader international (academic and non-academic, migrants and non-migrants) audiences, hence far beyond the visitors of the temporary exhibition.

The film is first of all aimed at an academic audience, as it is meant to provide in-depth ethnographic insights in migration experiences of refugee-artists and labour migrants as well as insights in the complex social and artistic process and role of artists in community art projects. However, the informal style and 'straightforward' chronological descriptive structuring, make the film accessible enough to reach a broader non-academic audience as well. Besides, the

content of the film is meant to reach a wider audience, since many migrants might recognise the experiences that are expressed and it seems important to create more understanding about this, both towards those involved with migration themselves, and perhaps even towards politicians.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Transcript film 'Ik ben van hier en daar' Salina Berentsen	English translation for subtitles
Intro (radiofragment waarin Nosrat wordt geïnterviewd) Er is hier een heel bijzonder kunstproject gaande en het heet 'Ik was niet van plan om te blijven', en daar ga ik onder andere over praten met kunstenaar Nosrat, Goeiemorgen.' Nosrat: 'Goedemorgen!' 'Jij komt uit Iran, was jij van plan om te blijven?' 'Nee ik was ook niet van plan om te komen, maar het is zo gegaan.' 'En door jouw levensloop en je bent kunstenaar heb je gedacht, daar moet ik wat mee, daar ga ik een kunstproject van maken, van al die migranten die hier, onder andere in de kolenkitbuurt in Amsterdam wonen.' Nosrat: 'Nou het is een gezamenlijke idee, dus er zijn veel partijen bij betrokken, je weet dat dit jaar wordt 50 jaar migratie gevierd, dus daardoor is een project ontwikkeld en er zijn een paar kunstenaars gevraagd om daarmee iets te doen, en om over migratie iets te kunnen maken heb je inspiratie nodig, en we dachten die inspiratie gaan we ophalen bij mensen die echt zelf migranten zijn.' Nosrat: Mag ik 'je' zeggen? Ik ben Nosrat, en ik hoor dat je best wel veel verhalen hebt, en is het een idee om even te kijken hoe kunnen we in contact blijven...? Safaa:... wordt compleet... drie kleuren Alsjeblieft meneer! Nosrat: Nou kijk eens aan, je bent binnen twee minuten in Indonesië geweest en terug, dat is het. Hij heeft die doek geschilderd, hij is schilder. Hafidi: 'Vorige keer was beter, het was ook koud, maar toch.... er waren heel veel mensen... we hebben ook gesprekken met mensen gehad, was leuk.	Intro There is a very interesting art project happening here, '*I did not intend to stay*' and with me is one of the artists behind it. - Good morning Nosrat. - Good morning! - You are from Iran, did you intend to stay here? - No, I did not plan to come here either, but it happened. Is it because of your life experience, and your background as an artist, that you decided to make an art project that is focused on all the migrants that live here in the neighbourhood in Amsterdam? - It was a collective idea, with many parties involved, because this year marks 50 years of migration to the Netherlands, so a project was developed and I am one of the artists involved. And to make art about migration, we got our inspiration from other migrants. My name is Nosrat and I hear you have a lot of stories... There you go! Look at this, you've been to Indonesia and back in two minutes! He painted this canvas... Hafidi: Last time it was better, because there were more people... A photo album about guest workers... -Yes with beautiful pictures, from there and here. Look at these small rooms for guest workers, *and the first families that came*

Kijkboek over gast... ja het zijn prachtige plaatjes echt. Het zijn foto's?
Ja alleen foto's. ja kijk daar, maar ook hier. Die kamers van gastarbeiders, kleine kamers, en de eerste families die kwamen hier.
Als je kijkt naar deze foto's van land van herkomst, dat is wel armoede, maar dat is licht, dat is vrolijkheid....
En dat is na een week lang werken Hafidi, kijk (dan kom je en dan val je gewoon in slaap.)
Ja die eerste generatie die heeft zo hard gewerkt!
Ik: Herken je ook veel van je eigen verhaal in het verhaal van anderen?
Hafidi: Ja zeker! Alles wat ze vertellen dat herken ik, ook als ze teruggaan naar Turkije, dat is hetzelfde gevoel als ik heb. Na 2-3 weken moet je terug, want er is daar niks meer.
En ook dat jij daar ook met een afstand wordt behandeld, jij hoort niet meer bij ons…
En ook kinderen, die hebben niks met daar te maken met het land van... (herkomst)

Hafidi (acteert) : Ik heb hier veel geld verdiend. Mercedes? Ik ben niet voor niks naar Nederland gekomen! Ik heb alles, ik kan een vrouw komen, auto, huis

here.
If you look at the pictures, you see poverty back home, but also light and happiness.
And look after a long week of working…
The first generation worked so hard!

Do you see similarities with your story and the stories of others?
For sure! I recognise everything they say. For example when they return to Turkey, they have the same feeling as I do. After a few week they must return, because there is nothing left.
And to be treated with a distance because the people there say you don't belong here anymore.
And (our) children, they don't have anything to do with our homeland.

(acting) I earned a lot of money here. Mercedes?
I didn't come to the Netherlands for nothing! I could buy everything, a woman, a car, a house...

Scene 1 5:30 Brainstorm:
A: Als de opdracht voor mij is, om iets te verbeelden, om een bepaald wederzijds begrip te bewerkstelligen tussen überhaupt de Nederlandse bevolking en migranten.
Het is gewoon persoonlijk, ik heb het gevoel dat ik het echte onderwerp uit de weg ga, als ik alleen maar een mooi verhaal vertel.
M: want heb je het gevoel dat het droomverhalen moeten zijn? Het mag natuurlijk alles zijn, ook de rauwe mislukte...
A: Ja ik denk waarom wil ik dit doen? Ik heb geen zin om gewoon een oppervlakkig project te maken en dan denk ik 'oh leuk een verhaal' dat gaat gewoon niet. Er zit blijkbaar wel gewoon een diepgewortelde frustratie en emotie, en daar wil ik wel wat mee doen, maar daar wil ik wel wat mee

Scene 1 Brainstorm:
Anush: If the instruction to me is to establish understanding between Dutch citizens and migrants...
I personally have the feeling that I would avoid the real issue, if I would just present a nice story
Monique: It doesn't have to be a fairy tale; it can also show the dark side.

Anush: Yes my motivation isn't to make something that makes people think, "oh that's a nice story", that wouldn't work for me. I have a feeling of deep rooted frustration and emotion that I want to express. In a way that is understandable for others.

doen op een manier die toegankelijk is voor iemand anders.

Kijk je ontkomt niet aan je eigen referentiekader, en ik ben gewoon zo trots op mijn ouders dat ze dat wél hebben gedaan: zelfopoffering, eigen gedachtes en meningen bijgesteld door interactie met hun kinderen. En ik kan het gewoon niet uitstaan dat iemand dat niet doet en ook niet ziet dat daar een frictie zit of een probleem.

Nos: Dus wat is je rol als kunstenaar hiertussen? Wil je mensen opvoeden dat het niet zo zou moeten zijn, of?

A: Ik weet niet in hoeverre buitenstaanders beseffen wat het betekent om schizofrenie te ontwikkelen omdat je letterlijk in twee culturen opgroeit. Snap je? Dus puur het verbeelden van die problematiek, zou misschien al mijn rol zijn.

Nos: waarom maak je niet iets dat ik als bezoeker dat ervaar, die onmacht en dat je in een situatie twee persoonlijkheden moet ontwikkelen? Triester dan dit is het niet, maar het is ook puur schoonheid.

A: die grotere spanningsveld en frictie is meer bij jongeren die buitenshuis wel uitgesproken zijn, maar die letterlijk twee levens lijden.

Want zo ken ik er echt wel zat die dat hebben.

Scene 2 8:05 Gevelsteen Fikret Wat mis je in Turkije? Van waar ik kom, ik die bergen missen. Fikret: (Je weet het, Iran en zuid Turkije precies hetzelfde. Hoog.) Toen wij die lente begint, moet alle schapen buiten met de lammeren. Toen mijn vader moet een schaap de baby uit, ik ga die schaap een beetje opruimen. Ik toen kinderen ik spelen met die kleine dingen ik zie adelaar komt. Ik schrik 'Bababa die lammeren weg, schieten!' Hij zegt, nee jongen kan niet schieten, Allah, dit is voor hem regelen, je kan niks doen. Als ik schieten, adelaar ook vallen. Hij mag kindje meenemen. We hebben genoeg schapen! Delen altijd goed, toch? Nos: en jij doet het ook zo toch? En dat geef je ook aan je kinderen door?	**Scene 2 Gevelsteen Fikret** What do you miss in Turkey? I miss the mountains, the people, the life…(you know, Iran and South Turkey are exactly the same; high up.) When I was in the mountains in spring with the sheep, my father would tell me to watch the sheep while one was giving birth. Once, when I was playing with the sheep, an eagle came and took the new born lamb. I panicked and asked my father to shoot the eagle! But my father said: "No my son, we don't shoot the eagle. This is how Allah arranged it. It can take the baby, it's children have to eat as well. We have enough sheep! Sharing is always good, isn't it? And this is how you do it as well, right? Do you pass it on to your children as well? - Yes I say to my children, what you share is

The right column (above the Scene 2 row):

You can't escape your own experience; I am proud of my parents, how they did it: They put their own thoughts and opinions aside, through interacting with their children.
And it frustrates me when people don't do that and don't see that there is a problem with that either.

Nosrat: So what is your role as an artist in relation to this? Educating people that it shouldn't be done this way?
Anush: I don't know to what extent outsiders understand how people can develop feelings of schizophrenia by literally growing up in between two cultures. So just showing the problem would be my role.

Nosrat: Why don't you make something through which the viewer can experience that? Feeling powerless from being in a situation where you have to develop two different personalities? There's also beauty in the sadness!
Anush: This tension and friction happens most often to young people who are outgoing and confident outside, but live a double life inside the family home.
I know many people who are like that.

Fik: Ja ik zeg tegen mijn kinderen, niet wat jullie houden, wat jullie delen is van jullie! Maakt niet uit kleur, geloof, we zijn allemaal mensen.

Nos: en de bedoeling is dus kijk wie allemaal hier gekomen is, vijftig of zestig jaar geleden. Wat is ervan gekomen. Ieder doet zijn eigen ding. Hij doet zijn eigen ding, zij doet haar eigen ding, iedereen is bezig met het leven.

Fik: Mooi. Kijk wij zijn nieuwe Nederlander geworden, we hebben eigen land, maar bij ons zeggen ze niet waar je geboren bent, maar waar je eet en drinkt, dát is jouw land! Eerste land hier geworden, tweede land Turkije geworden. Als ik weer naar Turkije ga, dan zeggen ze, jullie komt uit het buitenland toch? Ik zeg 'ja daar ook zeggen ze!' (lachend) Ik zeg hoe weet u dat? Wij hebben alles normaal, maar jullie zien heel anders uit.

Fik: alle verhalen van de wereld zijn daar gebeurd.

NOs: maar kijk ik heb zelf niet veel gezien van Iran, ik was 23 toen ik hier kwam. Maar daar in Iran is ook niemand die zegt, kom laten we even naar dit oude ding, gebouw gaan.

Fik: Ja het is schitterend...

Fik: Ja je weet het, als ik petrol heb, politiek altijd slecht.

Tom: dan is de cultuur niet meer zo belangrijk, dan gaat het om de olie.

Nos: centjes ja.

Fik: Iran is ook schitterend, is jammer, eentje komt van links, ander van rechts en van boven...

Nos: Ja Homeini heeft alles kapot gemaakt.

Nos: Je kan het proberen? Of wil je niet proberen?

Fik: Jawel

Nos: Hij is de *usta*, ik zeg dat jij de meeste ceramicus (keramist: ceramist) bent,

Tom: ik heb ook nog nooit een gevelsteen gemaakt!

yours, not what you keep. (I tell them their colour or religion doesn't matter, we are all human!)

Nos: With this project we want to know from people who came here 50 or 60 years ago, what became of them. Basically everyone does their own thing, just like her or him; we are busy with life.

Look, we just became new *'Nederlanders'*, we have a saying in my language that your country is not where you were born. But where you eat and drink. So this became our first country and Turkey our second.

When I go to Turkey they call me a foreigner. Then I laugh and explain to them that they say the same here! When I ask them why, they say that I look different.

Fik: There is lots of ancient history there.

Nos: Look I didn't get to see much of Iran, since I was 23 when I came here. But in Iran no one would say, "Let's go look at this ancient architecture".

While it's a beautiful country! But people are not interested.

Fik: Yeah you know, when there is Petrol in the picture... Then the culture is not important anymore! It is all about and money!

Fikret: Iran is beautiful, but they came from all sides to destroy it.

Nos: Homeini destroyed it all.

Nos: Do you want to try?

Fikret: Sure...

Nos: Tom is the *usta,* the ceramist.
I also never made a *gevelsteen* before, it's not something you do every day!

11:30 scene 3 bijeenkomst 9 maart

Mojgan: ik probeer, door de manier waarop ze iets vertellen, mensen iets laten voelen. Dus mensen gaan in de mist iets ervaren, iets voelen. Het doel is dat mensen even

11:30 scene 3 meeting 9 march

Mojgan: I want to make people feel something. So people would walk through the fog and experience something. My goal is to make people experience how it is to be

laten voelen mijn wereld, de wereld van mensen die niet-Nederlands zijn, migranten. Gevoelens gewoon even voelen.

Mon: Wil je dat het zwaar wordt? Het klinkt zwaar?

moj: ja kijk identiteit is altijd angstig, is altijd zwaar. Identiteit opbouwen, over identiteit iets maken of iets doen, het is altijd angstig, want we gaan gewoon van de ene stap naar de andere stap.

Mon: Ik snap heel goed dat het vanuit het makers perspectief een betekenis heeft, maar vanuit het publieksperspectief moet je mensen verleiden om ergens in te stappen wat spannend is.

Sen: ja mee eens

Mn: en daar moet je over nadenken, want anders denken mensen 'verdorie ik ga weg!'

Moj: Ja maar dat is goed toch?

Mon: nee dat is niet goed! Dat is echt een verantwoordelijkheid die je hebt als maker om het publiek wil je iets laten beleven en als ze weg willen van die beleving....

Moj: nee kijk wij zijn één stukje verantwoordelijk, maar voor de rest zijn wij niet verantwoordelijk voor mensen gaan zien of voelen.

Mon: nee dat klopt, maar als mensen weg gaan omdat het zwaar is, of ze het benauwd krijgen... dan missen ze de beleving!

Moj: Ja kijk dat bedoel ik! ik krijg ook een benauwd gevoel soms, dus dat is ook een part, net als het paspoort laten zien. Dat is ook een deel, ik wil gewoon dat mensen bij de deur hun identiteitsbewijs laten zien.
dat wil je nu doen?
Ja natuurlijk!

Mon: Ja maar lieve Mojgan, dan geef je mensen dus de beleving dat ze buiten moeten wachten!

Moj: Ja klaar, dat is ook een deel van mijn project. Ik heb ook vijf jaar moeten wachten op mijn identiteit.

Senad: ik zou het jammer vinden als mensen tegen mij zeggen van je mag niet naar binnen. Maar laat me iets doen dan!

Moj: Ik denk, Shockeren is ook goed!

Anush: dat is goed, maar ik heb het gevoel vanuit het hele plaatje, de hele voorstelling, waar vier werken onder vallen, dat als

a migrant. Just to make them feel experiences of non-Dutch, or migrants.

Mon: Do you mean to make it intense? It sounds emotionally charged?

-Yes, identity is always frightening and intense. To develop or express your identity is hard, because you never know the next step.

Mon: I understand the meaning from a maker's perspective, but from a viewer's perspective, you have to entice people to enter something that might look challenging.

-I agree.

-Otherwise people would just want to leave!

Mojgan: But that is good, isn't it?

Mon: No it's not, because we have a responsibility as social artists to make people experience something, and they shouldn't want to run away from that experience...

Moj: I think we are only partly responsible for what people experience, for the rest they are responsible themselves.

Mon: That is right, but if people want to leave because it is too overwhelming, they miss the experience!

Moj: That is exactly what I mean, I also feel distressed by it.
That is why this is a part of it, just like making people show their passport.
I want to make people show their passport at the entrance.

Monique: But dear Mojgan, then you force people to wait outside!

Moj: Yes that will also be part of my project. I also had to wait 5 years for my identity!

- I would find it a pity if an artist would just let me wait outside, couldn't you think of something to keep me occupied?
I think shocking is good as well!

Anush: I agree, but if you consider the bigger picture, this whole exhibition has four artists. If people leave because they are angry or shocke, or cold …
then they will miss Hafidi's performance, for example, or another one...

mensen bvb boos weglopen of naar huis gaan omdat ze het koude hebben buiten. Dat ze daarna misschien niet meer naar de voorstelling van Hafidi gaan omdat ze naar huis willen.

Moj: dat wordt het weer een heel ander concept. Misschien begrijp ik jullie niet!

Mon: maar Mojgan ik begrijp je normaal altijd!

Maar ik weet niet of ik dat goed vindt. Ik wil ook niet te veel lopen vroeten, want ik weet dat je normaal met heel veel integriteit iets vormgeeft dus ik wil daar ook niet te veel in laten rommelen.

Misschien moeten we het nu heel eventjes laten want we hebben ook nog even tijd nodig voor Anush...

Ik heb even een kopje koffie nodig...

Moj: Then the whole concept changes! Maybe we just don't understand each other!

Mon: But Mojgan, we normally always understand each other!

But I don't know if I can agree with this. I also don't want to push you (to another direction) too much, because I know from experience your work is normally shaped with sensitive integrity.

Maybe we should let it rest for now, because we also need some time for Anush...

But I need some coffee first!

15:30 Scene 4 opbouw Anush (1)

Eh ik moet nog steeds even die dingen opsturen, die bestanden…

Het is meer een soort onderbuikgevoel, een beetje eh een verwarrend beeld, gevoel wat ik over wil brengen, ja ik kan het moeilijk uitleggen omdat het zo eigen is.

Ik wil gewoon het effect bereiken dat de bezoeker zelf ook een beetje gedesoriënteerd wordt als ie eruit komt en dat ie ergens begrijpt waar het thema over gaat, dat het gaan over dubbele, om moeten gaan met verschillende invloeden, dingen die je als buitenstaander ook niet kan verstaan soms, maar dat je snapt van iemand anders verstaat wel beiden, die hoort bij allebei, die kan én dat nederlandse verstaan, én dat andere verstaan… zoiets.

Bepaalde dingen mogen wel wat letterlijker zodat je wel begrijpt over welke groep het gaat, maar niet meer allemaal. Dat dus.

18:20 Maar denk je dat het beter is zo zelf voor mij, of denk je dat het te abstract wordt?

18:33 Jij zou eigenlijk heel even moeten….

Erbij komen staan… zodat als die dan valt…

Anush (audio):Ja je moet er toch elke keer rekening mee houden dat je niet écht autonoom werk maakt. Het is voor publiek en het is in verhouding met andere werken die ook nog in die route zitten, dus je kan niet alleen maar blij mee zijn als je het zelf

15:30 Scene 4 creation Anush (1)

It is a kind of an uneasy gut feeling, a disillusioning image that I want to convey, although it is hard to explain...

I just want to make people feel disoriented themselves, so that they understand what the subject is about. Differences from two cultures, different influences, although it is difficult for non-migrants to understand. That we can belong to both. We both understand Dutch and the other language... Something like that...

I'll put some of the recordings in Dutch so the visitors understand what the subject is about, but not all of them will be.

Do you think this will work, or do you think it becomes too abstract?

Could you help me please?

Anush (audio): Yeah you always have to consider that your work is not autonomous; you have to consider how it will be perceived, also in relation to the other works that are part of the exhibition.

So you can't be satisfied when you only understand it yourself and sometimes you have to make compromises. I for example think it is better with less explanation, but that is because I know what it is about…

begrijpt, sommige dingen vind ik dan een concessie, ik vind het bijvoorbeeld mooier als er niet te veel uitleg is, maar dat komt omdat ik weet waar het over gaat en als je alleen bent dan is het ook weer anders, dus al die randvoorwaarden van wat daadwerkelijk de voorstelling is, dat zijn allemaal van die praktische dingen… Als arbeidersmigrant toen had je gewoon het recht en heb je daar gebruik van gemaakt om hier te komen, en is het meer misschien voor de tweede derde generatie apart dat zij zich nu moeten verantwoorden of zij moeten zich bewijzen dat zij óók hier mogen zitten zonder dat daar vragen over worden gesteld van ben je eigenlijk wel een Nederlander? Of, weet je dus kinderen, die ergens geboren worden hebben gewoon niet zelf de keuze gemaakt, dus je kan ook niet de verantwoordelijkheid op hen afschrijven. Dat blijft in elke situatie zo, ook voor vluchtelingen.	Migrating here as 'guest workers', people profited from the invitation and right to come here. And now the second and third generation have to stand up for themselves and say that they belong to here, while people ask them if they are really Dutch.

Children are born somewhere, and they didn't make that choice themselves, so you can't blame them. That is the same in every situation for second generation migrants, whether your parents are refugees or labour migrants. |
| 18:43 scene 5: gevelsteen maken familie Korkut
 (Turks) Ham: ik hoor je wel Selim
Wat zegt ze?
Bor: Ze wil naar buiten.
Ham: we gaan vandaag maïs maken, dat was Berna's idee.
Murat zou hier ook goed in zijn.
Berna: Nee hij is vooral goed in tekenen.

Nos: gewoon door het midden en dan zo rechttrekken.
Ber: dat wordt de onderkant of niet?
Ber (turks) daar wordt hij dichtgemaakt.
Bur: het is net deegwaar hè? Daar is ze heel handig in.
Ber: Burc wil jij een foto van mij maken?
Bur: Wil je ook nog kijken?
Ber: Dan staat op de foto dat m'n moeder het overneemt, die eerst niet wilde hè?

Tom: Kijk, zo moet het.
Bur: ja precies, kom maar!
Ham: ja mooi Maïs.
(Turks) wist je dat deze maïskolf uit je vaders dorp komt?
Nos: Ik moest onderweg ook even denken, die maïs van jullie is een soort van cultureel | 18:43 scene 5: gevelsteen with family Korkut

(Turkish) I hear you Selim.
What did she say?
- She wants to go outside.
Hamiyet: Today we will be sculpting corncobs, it was Berna's idea.
Murat would also be good at this.
- No, he is better at painting.

Nosrat: Just make a straight line...
Berna: This becomes the foundation, right?

It's just like dough, isn't it? My mother is very good with that.
Berna: Could you take a picture of me?
Berna: Here we have proof of my mother taking over, while first she was not interested.
Exactly, that's how you do it!

(Turkish) Did you know this corncob comes from your father's village?
Nosrat: On my way here I thought of this corn as being a kind of cultural heritage, right?
Berna: That is what it became indeed. |

erfgoed, toch? Ber: ja ondertussen wel ja. Nos: van zo'n beetje 35 jaar oud. En dat het ook een levend iets is. Ber: sterke Turk. Ham: hop hop Nosrat: manshallah! Ik aan Ber: zou jij jezelf ook echt in Turkije zien wonen dan? Ber: Nou aan de ene kant wel, want qua cultuur staat het dichter bij mij, bvb dat je deur constant open staan voor mensen, en dat als je naar de bakker gaat, je er drie uur over doet, terwijl het maar twee minuten lopen is, bij wijze van spreken. Mensen zijn constant in contact met elkaar. En hier is het veel kouder en killer wat dat betreft, iedereen sluit hier om 6 uur de deuren en je ziet niemand meer op straat. Terwijl daar is het constant aan het leven en dat mis ik hier wel. Politiek gezien zou ik er niet heen willen, maar verder… Tom: dat zat ik te denken dat we nu gaan kijken hoe dit dan komt… Ber: familie Korkut of zo, Nos: oh mooi, kijken of je moeder het goed vindt zo? Ham: ja mooi. ik: een nieuw familiesymbool… het zijn cijfers liefie. één, negen, zeven, drie Nos: Juist, heel goed. Bur: Dat is het jaar dat *nene dede* ontmoet heeft.	Nosrat: Because it is 35 years old and still so alive with (symbolic) memories. (Turkish) Manshallah! (me) Could you imagine yourself living in Turkey? Berna: On the one hand I can, because the culture is closer to me, people's doors are always open and walking to the bakery around the corner could easily take three hours! People are constantly interacting with each other there. But here people are much colder. Here the doors close at 6 o'clock and you don't see anyone on the streets anymore. I miss the liveliness on the streets; it is only the political atmosphere that does not attract me at all... Tom: So we can mould it like this.. - And then write 'familie Korkut'? Nosrat: It looks beautiful! Do you think your mother would like it? Hamiyet: Yes it looks pretty. - It's like a new family symbol, isn't it? The numbers are 1 9 7 3! - Very good! That's the year Grandma and Grandpa met each other.
<u>22:00 scene 6: opbouw Anush (2)</u> fluister quotes: 'waarom zegt hij tegen mij dat hij nooit hiernaartoe had moeten komen?' In welke taal denk ik? Welke taal spreek ik in mijn dromen, waar ben ik écht. Tot wie bid ik? Waarom bid ik? (Turks) (arabisch slaapliedje)	<u>22:00 scene 6: creation Anush (2)</u> (whispering) Why is he telling me he never should have come here? In what language do I think? What language do I speak in my dreams? Where am I really? To whom do I pray? Why do I pray? (Turkish, same meaning) *Arabic lullaby*
<u>23:00 scene 7: Nosrat en Tom beschilderen gevelstenen</u> ik: ik kan me nog herinneren dat jij ook iets over het droste- effect zei, wat zij je ook alweer? Nos: Kijk Duizend-en-een-nacht heeft een structuur, ken je Duizend-en-een-nacht?	<u>23:00 scene 7: Nosrat and Tom painting gevelstenen</u> What did you say about the Droste effect again? Look, just like the 'Arabian Nights'. Do you know the story? Not really?

ik: niet echt?	It is a book from old Persia; they call the
Nos: het is een oud boek uit oud Perzië, daar noemen ze het raamvertelling. Daar noemen ze het raamvertelling, dan heb je een verhaal, en in dat verhaal gebeurt weer een verhaal en in dat verhaal gebeurt weer een verhaal. Zoals dit (wijst aan)…	structure a frame story. It has a story within a story. Like this...
En met dit geheel is het ook zo, ik heb mijn eigen verhaal en al die mensen hebben ook hun verhaal en dat komt weer in kader van mij en zo gaat het door. Dat is het droste-effect. Vind ik altijd boeiend, dus als je het leven zijn eigen ding laat gaan, zoals de natuur, dan klopt alles zoals een puzzel in elkaar. En dat heb ik ook in dit project geprobeerd, organisch. Niet alleen in vormgeving, maar ook in het proces.	It is the same here. I have my story, and all the people I work with also have their own story. Which is brought into my story, and so on. That is the Droste effect. I always find it fascinating; to let life happen, just like nature, so everything fits together as a puzzle. I also tried to let things emerge organically in this project, not only the design, but also the whole process.
Ah ja hier, dit is een hele enge, met zwart, dan maak ik een mooie neus.	Here I make a beautiful black beak...
Nos: weet je wat het is? Als je kunstenaar wordt, of bent, dan kom je in een bepaalde elite terecht en dan verlies je het contact met het echte leven, dat is het probleem met kunst maken. Dus dat vind ik het leuke aan de gevelsteen, het is echt voor de gewone man, dat iedereen het kan zien, je hoeft er geen museum ticket voor te kopen. Ik haat het, kunst voor de elite, daar wordt ik misselijk van. Daarom wordt ik ook misselijk van al die openingen met een glaasje wijn.	You know, if you are an artist, you become part of this elite culture and loose contact with real life. That is the problem with art. What I like about these *gevelstenen*, is that it is accessible for ordinary people. You don't have to buy a ticket, everyone can see it. I hate art for the elite! It makes me sick, all these exhibitions. Openings with glasses of wine...
<u>25:30 scene 8 opening expositie</u> goedemiddag, welkom in *Podium Mozaïek*. Wat we vandaag gaan meemaken is het resultaat van een samenwerking tussen een groot aantal partijen. Nosrat Mansouri, misschien kan ik jou ook even hier naast me vragen om hier te komen. Voor dit project heb je gevels ontworpen, het is de fysieke vertaling ook van je aanwezigheid hè? De aanwezigheid van een grote groep mensen die hier soms meer dan vijftig jaar wonen... Nos: Nou kijk ik ben altijd geïnspireerd door Amsterdam, gevelstenen zijn ook typisch iets Amsterdams, Het is algemeen bekend dat allochtonen veel meenemen op vakantie, dus voordat ze dit meenemen, moeten ze 3x nadenken van zal ik dit wel doen. Daarom hebben we gekozen	<u>25:30 scene 8 opening exhibition</u> Good afternoon, welcome to *Podium Mozaïek*. This exhibition is the result of a collaboration between a large number of parties. Nosrat Mansouri, can I ask you to come up here? For this project you designed a *gevelstenen*, a physical manifestation of people's presence, right? The presence of a large group of migrants that in some cases lived here more than 50 years. .. - Yes I am always inspired by Amsterdam. And *gevelstenen* are characteristically from Amsterdam. It is well known that immigrants take as much as possible with them on holiday, but with this they have to think about it ten times first. So we chose something heavy that can be walled up.

voor iets dat zwaar is en in de muur ingemetseld gaat worden, dus vandaar de keuze voor de gevelsteen.

Marcouch: dank voor de uitnodiging, en een hele eer om deze opening te mogen doen, en eigenlijk wordt ik ook wel blij van het feit dat we steeds meer van dit soort projecten doen, namelijk het verhaal vertellen van buurten en wijken, maar hier aan de muur en waarschijnlijk straks in de route die we met de kunstenaars gaan lopen, ook veel verhalen van migranten. Mensen die van ver komen. . Ook ik ben van ver gekomen. En ook ik ben van ver gekomen, namelijk van het verre Noord Afrika in 1979, mijn vader was hier al eerder, als gastarbeider, zo werd hij genoemd door de beleidsmakers en zo werd hij ook uitgenodigd hiernaartoe, maar zo voelde hij zichzelf en zijn hele generatie eigenlijk ook. Wij zijn gasten. En het kenmerk van een gast is dat je nooit eigenlijk te veel moeite doet, want je bent maar tijdelijk….

Máár wat hij niet bedacht had, was eigenlijk voor die hele generatie ook, was dat mijn aanwezigheid betekende ook de confrontatie met de Nederlandse samenleving.

Het is een mooi kunstproject, maar het zijn eigenlijk ook grote vragen die we met dit soort projecten proberen te beantwoorden, die ook relevant zijn voor vandaag, maar ook voor onze toekomst. Namelijk de vele vragen die we horen, en dat heeft mij natuurlijk ook als tiener bezig gehouden, is de vraag 'Wie ben ik?' Ben ik Nederlander? Marokkaan? Ben ik Moslim? *Amazingh*, ben ik Amsterdammer? En dat heeft me echt jarenlang als tiener beziggehouden. Dus laat ons nou niet mensen dwingen zijn wortels af te snijden, te kiezen tussen het Marokkaans zijn en het Nederlands zijn, ik ben allebei. En ik ben ook Moslim, in mijn geval. Bij anderen zal het iets anders zijn..

Dus ik hoop dat we na vandaag, veel meer van dit soort verhalen vertellen, van waar we vandaan komen, wie we zijn. dat inspireert mensen in onze omgeving. Maar het is zeker ook cruciaal en urgent dat we die verhalen vertellen, ook voor de nazaten van

That is why we chose to make the *gevelstenen.*

Marcouch: Thank you for the invitation, what an honour to open this exhibition that runs throughout the neighbourhood. It makes me happy that there are an increasing number of these kinds of projects that tell the stories from people in the neighbourhood, and people that came from far.

Just like them, I also came from far, from North Africa in 1997. My father came here earlier as a guest worker. He was invited by the government, but it is also how the first generation felt. That they were guests. Therefore that generation didn't really make an effort. They thought their stay was supposed to be temporary...

But what my father didn't realise was that the presence of his children increased the confrontation with the Dutch society. It is a beautiful art project, but there are bigger questions that we try to answer with these kinds of projects, that are relevant today, but also for the future. Questions that also bothered me as a teenager. Who am I? Am I Dutch? Moroccan? Am I Muslim? Amazigh? Am I from Amsterdam? That troubled me for a long time: Who am I? Am I Dutch? Moroccan? Am I Muslim? Amazingh? Am I from Amsterdam? That really bothered me when I was a teenager. So let us please not force people to cut off their roots, to choose between being Moroccan or Dutch. I am both. And personally I am Muslim as well and others may identify with something else.
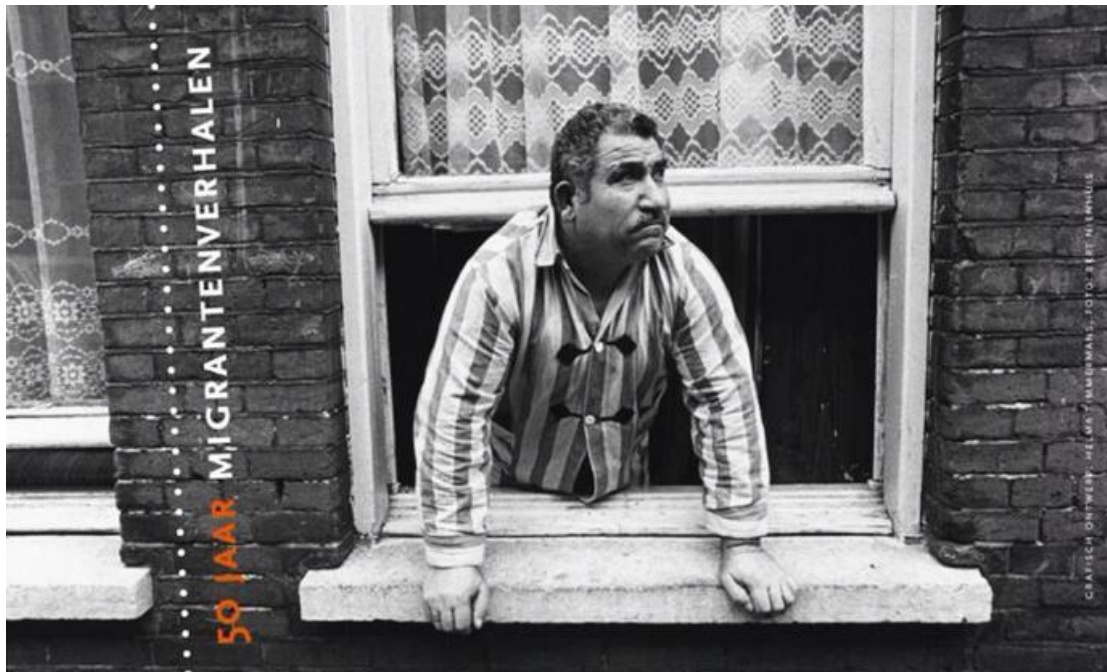
I hope that from today on, we tell more stories of where we come from, who we are. Because that can inspire our surroundings, but it is also important for the descendants of migrants. Because they also struggle with these questions, even if they only come from this neighbourhood.

migranten, want die worstelen, ook al komen ze nergens vandaan, maar gewoon uit Bos en Lommer, worstelen ook met dat soort vragen.	
28:50 scene 9 route Hillie: het is een hele gezellige winkel, je vindt er van alles en nog wat… Burak: welkom dit is dus de slager van Fikret, My name is Burak Dolutas, geboren en getogen in Amsterdam. Dit is de Saz, een oosters snaarinstrument die nu voornamelijk in Turkije wordt gebruikt. Er hoort hier normaal een adelaar te staan, maar die hebben jullie vast wel gezien in Mozaïek zelf. Die adelaar staat dus symbool voor het verhaal dat Fikret met zijn vader heeft meegemaakt. En toen kwam er een adelaar en die pakte een lammetje en die vloog ermee weg. Toen heeft z'n vader gezegd, 'Nee jongen, daar doen we niks aan, de baby adelaars moeten ook eten. - liedje En mijn vader, die was vroeger ook herder en op een gegeven moment moet je natuurlijk ook kunnen leven van wat je doet, en dat kon op een gegeven moment niet meer. En toen kregen ze de mogelijkheid om naar Europa te komen als gastarbeider, dus naar Frankrijk, Nederland, Duitsland en noem maar op. Toen was het heel aantrekkelijk, en was het 'Europa, wauw laten we gaan!' en de bedoeling was om hier te komen, wat geld te verdienen om daar een huis te kunnen komen, zoals het project zelf ook heet, ik was niet van plan om te blijven, maar dat gebeurde wèl. Het volgende liedje, daarin wordt letterlijk verteld 'op een vreemde plek is mij iets overkomen, huil niet mijn ogen, huil niet. Toen ik zocht naar een oplossing voor de problemen die ik heb, ben ik in nog diepere problemen terecht gekomen. De schade is groot, huil niet mijn ogen, huil niet. Dank voor je gastvrijheid!	28:50 scene 9 route This is a very cosy shop, where you can find anything you like... Burak: Welcome, this is Fikret's butchers; My name is Burak Dolutas, born and raised in Amsterdam. My instrument a Saz, an eastern stringed instrument that is mostly used in Turkey. The eagle-stone that is connected to Fikret, you have probably already seen it in *Podium Mozaïek*... The eagle symbolises a story Fikret and his father experienced. Where an eagle grabbed their lamb and flew away with it and his father said, "boy, there is nothing we can do about this, eagles also have to eat". (*Turkish folk song*) My father was also a shepherd. But at some point he was not able to live from his work anymore, and then he got an invitation to come to Europe to work as a guest worker, to France, The Netherlands or Germany.... Since it was very attractive he said, "yes let's go!" But their intention was to come here only to earn some money and then return. As the project is also called, *'I did not intend to stay'*, but staying is what happened. The next song is literally translated as: In a strange place something happened to me, My eyes, don't cry... When I searched for a solution for my problems, I ended up in even deeper trouble. The damage is great, don't cry my eyes, don't cry... Thank you for your hospitality!
31:30 scene 10 fluisterbos Nurcan: Die persoon gaat jullie één voor één naar beneden brengen, dus jullie kunnen daar iets leuks horen, daarna gaan we naar *Podium Mozaïek*. Dus heel graag binnen heel stil zijn, gewoon fluisteren.	31:30 scene 10 'whispering woods' When you enter, an artist will guide you down (to the basement) one by one. Please be very quiet and listen to the whispering woods.

mp3's (arabisch slaapliedje)	*Arabic lullaby*
Zij komen bij mij aan tafel, op sandalen en slippers, vrouwen zitten apart, met hun ogen. Ze vinden de tafel te hoog, en mij eten niet goed genoeg. Ook het schilderij moet van de muur, anders worden ze boos. Ze willen mij van tafel, samen met mijn schnitzel en wederhelft.	(Whispering): They come and eat at my table, wearing sandals, women sit separately. They don't like my schnitzel and my painting on the wall...
(arabisch)	*(Arabic)*
gedicht Khalil Gibran:	*Poem of Khalil Gibran:*
En hij zei:	And he said:
Je kinderen zijn je kinderen niet.	Your children are not your children.
Ze zijn de zonen en dochteren van 'slevens verlangen naar zichzelf.	They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself.
Ze komen door je maar zijn niet van je.	They come through you but not from you,
En alhoewel ze bij je zijn, behoren ze je niet toe.	And though they are with you, they belong not to you.
Je mag hun je liefde schenken, maar niet je gedachten.	You may give them your love but not your thoughts.
Want ze hebben hun eigen gedachten....	For they have their own thoughts...
Armeens slaapliedje	*Armenian lullaby*
Scene 11 Reflectie intermezzo	Scene 11 Reflection intermezzo
33:20 Anush interview	33:20 Anush interview
Anush: Wat voor reacties? Ja eigenlijk wel vaak positief, ik denk dat de mensen die het uitspreken wel vaak positief zijn, die vinden het vooral de ervaring ook wel spannend omdat ze niet weet wat er gaat gebeuren en het hele gebeuren bij elkaar, dat je hier binnenkomt en niet weet wat je moet verwachten en dat je dan naar beneden gaat is best wel spannend. Wat ze horen, mensen zijn vaak wel ontroerd, ik heb een paar keer gehad dat mensen in tranen omhoog zien komen.	How do people react? Positively most of the time. Most people who give their opinion are positive. They find the experience thrilling because they don't know what will happen when they go down to the dark basement.... Afterwards people are often touched, a few times I saw people coming up with tears in their eyes.
Ik: Mensen die Turks verstaan, of?	People who understand Turkish?
An: Nee het waren wel Nederlanders, dus misschien door het gedicht of ik weet het niet eigenlijk, die heb ik niet persoonlijk gesproken…	No they were Dutch, so maybe it's because of the poem, but I didn't speak to them personally....
34:15 Berna interview	34:15 Berna interview
Ja die gevelsteen, daar moeten we erg om lachen. Ik had het er toevallig met mijn moeder over vorige week en toen zei ik als jij die maiskolf niet uit de kast had gehaald, dan was die hele maiskolf niet in beeld geweest, want we hebben eigenlijk helemaal niks met maïs. Maar het was wel heel leuk om die gevelsteen te maken, want er kwamen wel allemaal verhalen los en van	We had to laugh a lot about the *gevelsteen*! I talked about it with my mother and said, "If you didn't take out that cob of corn, then it wouldn't have been in the picture at all". But it was a lot of fun to make the *gevelsteen*, because of it my mother shared a lot of stories. And in the end the corn fits us very well, because it is from the area where my father comes from.

die dingen. En uiteindelijk past die maiskolf wel heel erg bij ons omdat het uit een gebied komt waar mijn vader zelf vandaan komt. Daarvoor zijn we er misschien niet bewust van geweest, dat het zo'n symbool is van de plek waar het vandaan komt. Het gaat natuurlijk vanzelf, je neemt iets mee, zet het in de kast en denkt er verder nooit meer over na, want die herinnering zit natuurlijk in jouw hoofd en daar leeft alles, en niet per se in een maiskolf, dus dat heeft ons toch wel herinnert van die stomme maiskolf komt daar ook vandaan, dus... Ik kan het ook niet uitleggen eigenlijk....	Maybe we were not aware of its significance at first, that it symbolises the place where it is from. It comes naturally to take something, put it away and not think about it again. Because the memories are in your head and you don't necessarily connect them to a corncob. But because of this project we became conscious of our memories again... It is hard to explain...
35:30 Scene 12 theaterstuk Hafidi: zeeën van maïsvelden, ons kleinste Berna, speelt altijd daarin. Deze maiskolf heeft Hamiyet bewaard, Maïs op verre reis naar Nederland heeft haar kleur verloren, Maís die wortels, velden, bergen en zon mist, net als Hamiyet. Niemand verlaat zomaar het land waar zijn hele familie woont, waar liefde heerst. Niemand verlaat zomaar, de zomernachten en de mooiste verhalen uit het dorp. Niemand verlaat zomaar, de smaken van vijgen en granaatappels, de geuren van kahua en hegua en de grote feesten na de oogst. Ik heb het gedaan. Maar het was voor even, ik was niet van plan om te blijven. George: en nu, nu ben ik terug naar het dorp waar ik geboren ben, ik lig al drie maanden naast mijn vader en mijn grootvader, aan de voet van de berg met uitzicht op de theevelden. En de aarde waar ik uit gekomen ben, bedekt mijn hele lichaam. Daar lig ik. En vanuit mijn graf, mis ik Amsterdam. Ik werd geboren in het oosten en werd oud in het westen, van hier en van daar, ik heb een goed leven gehad, ik ben er trots op. Ik ben hier en van daar en dat kan niemand van me afpakken. Niemand. Haf: Niemand.	12. Theatre play Oceans of cornfields... (Where Berna used to play) Berna's Mother kept this corncob. Corn that lost its colours on its way to The Netherlands. That misses its roots and the mountains just like (Hamiyet) Berna's mum. Nobody simply leaves their country where their loving family lives. Nobody leaves the summer nights and the stories from the village. Nobody just leaves the taste and smell of figs, pomegranates and the harvest feasts. I did it. It was supposed to be temporary; I did not intend to stay. Now I have returned to the village where I was born. Lying beside my father and grandfather. I returned to the soil from where I came. And from my grave, I miss Amsterdam! I was born in the East, but grew older in the West. I had a good life, and I am proud of it! I belong to here and there. And no one can take that away from me! No one!

Appendix 2