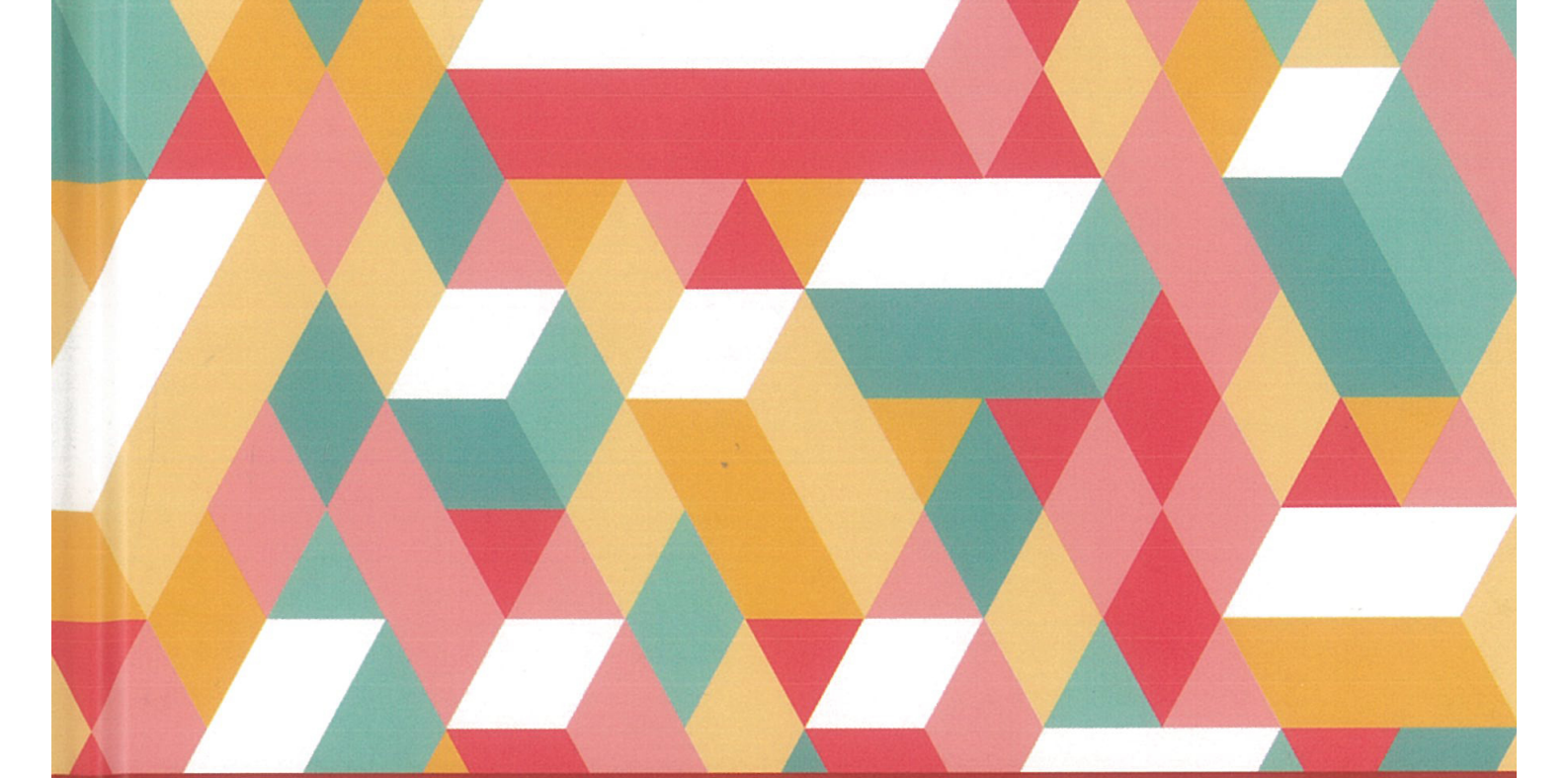




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MUSEUMS, IMMIGRANTS, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Sophia Labadi



Museums, Immigrants, and Social Justice

This interdisciplinary book argues that museums can offer a powerful, and often overlooked, arena for both exploring and acting upon the interrelated issues of immigration and social justice. Based on three in-depth European case studies, spanning France, Denmark, and the UK, the research examines programs developed by leading museums to address cultural, economic, social and political inequalities. Where previous studies on museums and immigration have focused primarily on issues of cultural inequalities in collection and interpretation, *Museums, Immigrants, and Social Justice* adopts a more comprehensive focus that extends beyond the exhibition hall to examine the full range of programs developed by museums to address the cultural, economic, social and political inequalities facing immigrants.

Museums, Immigrants, and Social Justice offers compelling insights on the ability of museums to offer positive contributions to the issues surrounding immigration and social justice at a time when both are pressing issues in Europe. It will be of interest to scholars and students of museum studies, migration studies, sociology, human geography and politics.

Sophia Labadi is Senior Lecturer in Heritage and Archaeology at the University of Kent, UK.

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LONDON AND NEW YORK

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Date

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-50229-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-14483-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC



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This book is dedicated to all the immigrants in Copenhagen, Manchester and Paris who made this research possible.

To the anonymous blood donors who saved my life.

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Acknowledgements

The idea for this book came when I was working on the 2009 UNESCO World Report on Cultural Diversity, and I would like to thank Frédéric Sampson for having included me in his team. At UNESCO, Giovanni Boccardi should be thanked for our discussions on the capability approach, which have shaped my thinking. Above all, I am grateful to Francesco Bandarin and Nao Hayashi for their support for this current project.

I would like to thank Nick Merriman, Director of Manchester Museum, for having supported and facilitated my research there. I am grateful to all the staff members from Manchester Museum, past and present, who I interviewed and who provided me with access to program participants and unpublished documents. I also would like to thank the staff members at Manchester Art Gallery who facilitated access to the English Corner sessions and who I interviewed, as well as to the ESOL teachers who allowed me to attend their classes and interview their students.

I am grateful to Nana Bernhardt for having offered me a paid fellowship at the National Gallery of Denmark and for having facilitated my work there. I would also like to thank the staff of the National Gallery who I interviewed and Nana, Julie Maria Johnsen and Annette Skov for having held some of their meetings in English just for me. Julie Thesander kindly shared with me her report on language-learning programs. I am grateful for the support my research received from the staff of Thorvaldsens Museum, particularly from Line Esbjørn and Sasja Brovall Villumsen. I would like to thank Ida Brændholt Lundgaard and Sidsel Risted Staun from the Danish Agency for Culture for having taken the time to meet me and reply to my questions. Many languages teachers shared their views on the programs at the selected museums, for which I am thankful.

I am grateful to the staff of the Musée National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration (NMHI), past and present, who agreed to be interviewed or to share contacts and opinions, as well as to Benjamin Stora, one of its two presidents, for having shared with me his vision for this institution. Bénédicte Kermadec and trade union members were essential in providing access to the occupiers of the NMHI as well as their networks of supports. I am grateful to the journalists and photographers who shared their experience

of documenting the occupation, particularly Irène Berelowitch. The chapters on the NMHI benefited from inputs from many colleagues I met during my time at Stanford University. I would particularly like to thank Lynn Meskell for having encouraged me to present my early research and findings and to Lindsay Weiss for pointing me toward many references that have shaped my thinking on this case study. Research on the NMHI was also conducted during my time as a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Durham University, and I am thankful to all of the colleagues who provided me with support there.

This research benefited from funding from different schemes at the University of Kent. I would like to thank the different colleagues who provided comments on this project, including Gordon Lynch, Paul Allain, Ray Laurence, Lynn Bennett and David Garbin. Thanks are also due to Shane Weller and Karla Pollmann for having facilitated my fieldwork. I am particularly thankful to my students for their critical comments on this project.

I am indebted to Bill Logan, Peter Gould, Nicholas Mishkovsky and Gaby Pilcher for having commented on earlier drafts of this book and to Marcus Dean for his edits.

Last but not least, Damien and Clarys provided much needed unconditional support.

1 Museums, immigrants and social justice

Why this book?

The recent influx of migrants in Western Europe has made headlines and sparked debates. Museums have largely been ignored in these news reports or debates, with some notable exceptions, particularly museums in Berlin, Germany. It is indeed often assumed that museums are primarily concerned with matters related to education, the production and presentation of knowledge, national prestige and the appreciation of culture. However, such assumptions can be misleading, as they reduce the social role that museums can play in communities, and render them irrelevant when faced with contemporary societal issues. As such, museums are possibly some of the most overlooked resources that can reduce the inequalities faced by disfranchised individuals (Sandell, 2002b: 3). This social role of museums has developed with the 'New Museology' movement that began in the 1960s, that aimed to make museums more democratic, open and inclusive places (McCall and Gray, 2014: 19–35; Vergo, 1989). Although still considered controversial (Museums Association, 2013), this approach has nonetheless been embraced by some museums, academics and governments all over the world (Witcomb, 2003; Kreps, 2008: 28–29; McCall and Gray, 2014: 19–35; Halpin, 2007: 47–52; Vergo, 1989; MacDonald, 2003). This social understanding of museums stands at the heart of the work of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) which represents the global museum community. ICOM defines a museum as a 'permanent institution in the service of society and its development' (Desvallées and Mairesse, 2009: 75). It has adopted an impressive range of declarations in full respect of this definition, including the 2010 Shanghai Declaration on Museums for Harmonious Social Development or the 2010 ICOM Cultural Diversity Charter. This social understanding of museums has also been adopted by governments, as is the case for instance by the government of Denmark in the latest version of its Museum Act (January 2014). National museums associations have also put social justice at the very heart of the role of museums, as has been the case for instance with the UK Museums Association (2013).

The New Museology and these multiple documents promote diversity, and immigration is a key component of diversity. In our increasingly globalized world, unprecedented migratory phenomena have profoundly changed

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Western nations, not only in terms of volumes of immigrants, but also of diversity amongst and within them, a phenomenon that Vertovec calls 'super-diversity' (2007: 1024–1054). In the past ten years, for instance, immigration to France has risen by 1.6% per year, now totaling 11.1% of its total population; with individuals coming from all parts of the world. Another example of super-diversity is Manchester, a former industrial city in the North of England. It has a population of half a million in which at least 153 languages are spoken. Representing the histories, heritage and identity of immigrants in museums is important for social justice because it reflects who is included or excluded and made invisible from the nation and its official narratives (Fraser, 2000: 113). It is no wonder in this context that immigration museums have been built in the past fifteen years to reflect these demographic changes, including the Museo d'Història de la Immigració de Catalunya, opened in 2004, the Museo Nazionale dell' Emigrazione Italiana, opened in Rome in 2009 and the Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, opened in Paris in 2007. Yet, engagement with immigration has not remained the sole domain of immigration museums. The history and heritage of immigrants have been presented in the collections or exhibitions of national museums, the Victoria and Albert Museum for instance, or city or regional institutions, such as the Museum of Copenhagen in Denmark, or the Musée Dauphinois in France (Anderson, 1999; Parby, 2015; Duclos and Marderos, 1999).

In addition, in recent years, some museums have attempted to address the social and economic issues faced by immigrants by providing them with opportunities to learn the language of the host country, as well as employment and volunteering programs. Through these programs, museums are focusing on fundamental and daily problems faced by immigrants, in order to become more relevant for societies and to be used by a diversity of populations. This is also a strategy for museums to build more just, equalitarian societies and to fight more holistically against racism and ethnocentrism. Indeed, research has demonstrated that immigrants often face a number of problems in accessing language learning and employment opportunities, which have led them to be overrepresented in low-skilled and low-earning jobs (Papademetriou et al., 2009: 3; Cooke, 2006; Donzelot, 2003; Wyplosz, 1997). This is partly due to the fact that immigrants are exposed to discriminations in accessing employment and education opportunities (Council of Europe, 2009: 84; Touraine, 1991: 166, 171–173; Donzelot, 1991: 6–9). It is also partly due to a shortage of places that offer language services for immigrants. For instance, 80% of the centers that provide English for Speakers of Other Languages courses (also called ESOL courses) in the United Kingdom have significant waiting lists of up to 1,000 students (NATECLA, 2014). Providing these programs in museums can help to redress some of these inequalities.

Moreover, the lack of skilled professionals in certain occupations (nurses or doctors, for instance) in many European countries, due in part to falling

fertility levels and aging populations, has led to schemes that encourage immigrants to apply for such occupations, as is the case, for instance, with the Green Card scheme in Denmark. Programs, such as those offered by museums, which provide immigrants with opportunities to be represented more positively, to learn the language of the host country and to acquire employment skills, are likely to facilitate their subsequent employment in these occupations and help them to move out of their disfranchised positions. Finally, providing skilled immigrants with increased opportunities to learn the language of the host country can help them to be better included within that country's economy, which has been proven to boost research and innovation as well as technological progress and the creation of jobs (Hunt, 2010; OECD, 2014: 4)

Analyzing these programs on language learning and employment skills is of fundamental importance, as it is key to assessing whether and how museums have engaged with social justice issues for immigrants in order to become more relevant in societies. However, research on these programs is lacking, as most of the existing publications on this topic focus mainly on the representations of the history, heritage and identity of immigrants in museums (Gouriévidis, 2014; Whitehead et al., 2015; Innocenti, 2014; Lanz, 2014; Mason, 2013; Walsh, Goodwin and Sepúlveda, 2014; Abery et al., 2010; Sandell, 2002a).

My research intends to fill this gap. The first aim of this research is to analyze critically whether and how a wide range of museums in three European cities have addressed major issues faced by immigrants: representations of their histories, heritage and identities, issues related to language barriers as well as to unemployment and employment discrimination. The second aim of this book is to analyze how immigrants have used the selected museums in order to address these major issues. The ultimate aim of this book is to identify proposals for research and museum practice that might be able to contribute more effectively to social justice for immigrants.

The strategies to address these aims are clearly detailed later on. For now, this introduction turns to analyzing the contributions this research makes to the existing literature on museums and immigration.

Contributions to literature on museums and immigration

This book fits within the fast-growing body of research and critical enquiry of the complex phenomena of (im)migration in museums (Levin, 2017a; Gouriévidis, 2014; Whitehead et al., 2015; Whitehead et al., 2012; Innocenti, 2014; Lanz, 2014; Mason, 2013; Mason, 2010; Abery et al., 2010; Walsh et al., 2014; Lanz and Montanari, 2014). This body of research results from the wide-scale changes of migration phenomena, but also from the inherently controversial nature of the topic of immigration in museums (Pozzi, 2013: 7). Indeed, this topic destabilizes, contests and challenges the traditional museum as a modern institution and an ideological state

apparatus which has tended to represent one exclusive narrative of the past and a homogenized and imagined nation (Bennett, 1995; Macdonald, 2003: 1–16; Boswell and Evans, 1999). It is true that, since the New Museology, museums have moved away from this model of the modern museum, to take better account of issues such as multi-vocality, diversity and social relevance (Vergo, 1989; Merriman, 2007). Yet, the topic of museums and (im)migration is the gateway to address the limits of these more recent approaches and to (re)consider prominent issues. These include issues of multiple identities, counter-narratives of non-hegemonic groups, conflicting claims on the past and memories and politics of representation as well as the relevance of museums for disfranchised communities and the reconfiguration of their roles as agents of social change, social justice and inclusion.

Previous academic publications on museums and (im)migration have focused primarily on issues of representation of immigrants, as well as issues of collecting and interpreting artifacts and collections related to these groups. Issues considered have included representations of multicultural and cosmopolitan identities in national museums (Hutchison and Witcomb, 2014; Schorch, 2014; Mason, 2013; Mason, 2010); analyses of the concepts of place, identity and migrations in European museums (Whitehead et al., 2015), in museums and archives (Levin, 2017a); or collecting and interpreting materials related to immigrants memories, histories and heritage (Gouriévidis, 2014; Akbar, 1999; Musée National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, 2014; Barbe and Chauliac, 2014). Publications have also focused on multi-vocal and participatory approaches to engaging immigrant communities in interpreting existing collections (Lynch, 2011a: 148ff; Chapman and Thiara, 2010: 420–439; Witz, 2006: 107–134), representation of migration in contemporary artistic and curatorial practices (Walsh, Goodwin and Sepúlveda, 2014) and critical considerations of transnational cultural networks in museum practices (Lanz, 2014).

The expanding literature on museums, social responsibility and inclusion should also be acknowledged (Silverman, 2010; Sandell, 2002a Sandell, 2007; Janes and Conaty, 2005). However, most of these references do not focus on immigrants or on the discriminations they face. The edited collection by Sandell (2002a), for instance, focuses on making museum exhibitions accessible to, and inclusive of, diverse populations, rather than open only to the dominant groups of societies (O'Neill, 2002: 24–40; Fleming, 2002: 213–224). Delin's chapter in this volume for example focuses on disabled people and access to museums (2002: 84–97); Venegas on lesbians and gays (2002: 98–109) and Butts on the politics of indigenous recognition (2002: 225–243). Sandell (2007) also considers whether and how museum exhibitions and artifacts help to fight against the stereotypes or prejudices held by their public. In addition, Sandell and Nightingale's 2012 edited volume considers critically ways in which issues of social justice have moved from an institutional marginalization to the core of cultural institutions. This volume critically assesses categories often related to diversity and social

justice, including gender, disability and ethnicity, and calls for a more fluid appreciation of these categories. One chapter critically assesses how Italian museums have engaged with issues of diversity and (im)migration, but focuses only on issues of interpretation of collections, shared narratives and new definitions of heritage or identity (Bodo, 2012: 184). Finally, Silverman (2010) details how museums relate to social work, understood as human relationships (self, close pairs, families and groups) and again does not specifically focus on (im)migrants. The idea of museums as therapy, covered in Silverman (2010), is also considered in Pointe (2005: 113–128) and Sutter and Worts (2005: 129–152) but is not applied to immigrants.

In comparison to this proliferation of references on representation of immigration in museums and on social inclusion, publications on other socio-economic problems facing immigrants, including issues of unemployment and employment discrimination, poor language skills, and marginalization, have been rather limited with some notable exceptions (Abram, 2002: 125–141; Golding, 2009; Sandell, 2007; Monteiro, 2008: 139–146; Clarke, 2010: 138–164; Sergi, 2014: 209–219). Clarke (2010) details ESOL courses in Scotland. Abram (2002) considers the English classes program provided by the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York to recently arrived migrants. Golding (2009) considers how museums can progress intercultural understanding, primarily through inclusive museum education and learning for diverse young audiences. Sandell (2007) considers whether and how museum exhibitions and artifacts help to fight stereotypes or prejudices held by their public (which is often not composed of immigrants). Although important, these existing publications often only focus on one or two cases and therefore might not go far enough into considering how museums respond to social justice issues for immigrants, which are multi-faceted and go beyond the walls of the museums to encompass daily hardships faced by these populations.

Drawing inspiration and support from these existing publications, my research fills this gap by considering politics of representations of immigrants in museums, but also issues of language learning and employment for immigrants in museums. This research thus represents a departure from prior studies in this more holistic and comprehensive consideration of cultural, economic, social and political inequalities facing immigrants and the programs developed by museums to address them. This book has engaged not only with academic publications in museum and heritage studies, but also with key publications from sociology, migration studies, political science, economics, education and philosophy related to migration and deemed of relevance to my research. With this approach, I explore the complex and rich theme of museums and immigration whilst breaking new ground through engagement with new topics and research from other fields. I hope that this multidisciplinary approach will make this research more relevant to a wider readership, whilst helping research on museum studies to become more in tune with other disciplines' existing publications on immigration.

Indeed, the lack of engagement with research concerning social justice and immigration from other fields has caused the wider social relevance of museums for immigrants to be largely omitted by scholars and practitioners outside of the field of museum studies. I am able to confirm this through first-hand experience as member of the editorial team of the 2009 UNESCO World Report on Cultural Diversity, as well as during my time as Associate Editor of the *International Social Science Journal* (ISSJ; then still a UNESCO publication) from 2007 to 2012. As part of these assignments, I edited and published diverse papers on (im)migrations by leading academics in sociology, political sciences, philosophy or law. None of these papers, not even a full issue of the ISSJ on Cultural Diversity (2009), mentioned the relevance of museums for immigrants and cultural diversity. I hope that my research, through engaging with wider topics of economic, social and political inequalities, will be one step toward making museums more relevant for general debates on (im)migrations, for social justice and for interdisciplinary research.

Definition of immigrants and social justice

Before explaining why the case studies were selected and how the data was collected, this section turns to introducing the two core concepts of this book: immigrants and social justice. This research defines immigrants as foreign-born persons who have immigrated to a host country and did not have that country's citizenship at birth. In addition, immigrants 'are or intend to be settled' in their host country (Anderson and Blinder, 2014). All of the immigrants interviewed at the museums in Manchester, Copenhagen and Paris explained that they projected to spend their future in their host country. Using the term *immigrants* over *migrants* seemed a natural choice. From my extensive fieldwork, immigrants seemed more concerned about the issues considered in this book – getting represented in museums, learning the language of the host country, gaining employment skills or obtaining a residence permit – than migrants, who, by definition, are temporary residents. The immigrants interviewed for this research corresponded to this concept of super-diversity, presented earlier. They included refugees or asylum seekers from war zones, EU nationals (especially from the new accession countries), newly-arrived spouses or people joining family members, economic immigrants or students. Data have been analyzed, taking account of the characteristics of immigrants, as much as possible. This has helped to identify patterns in the data, including issues of exclusion regarding particular types of immigrants.

The second core concept of this research is social justice. Social justice is about fairness, equity and protection of disadvantaged individuals. It is also about enabling all individuals to participate equally in a society free of prejudice, and of educational, cultural and socio-economic barriers. Social justice defined as the fight against inequality has recently achieved great prominence and has been defended by advocates such as Hessel, whose 2010 bestselling

booklet *Indignez-Vous!* (Time for Outrage!) demanded more social justice in particular for immigrants. His booklet inspired the formation of grass-roots movements all over the world from *Los Indignados* (the Outraged) in Spain to Occupy Wall Street in the USA. Other recent prominent defenders of social justice have also included the French economist Piketty who has documented increasing wealth and income inequality and has called for more redistributive justice (2013). The prominence of these recent publications should not conceal that different approaches to achieve social justice have been proposed over the past two centuries, as explained in the next chapter, which starts with an explanation of the utilitarian and Rawlsian theories. It then provides an in-depth explanation of the definition of social justice as capability, proposed by Amartya Sen. Capability as social justice provides the theoretical framework and structure for this research. A person's capability reflects the actual ability and freedom to choose to achieve what she wants to do and be (Sen, 2007: 271). Focusing on this approach is important, as it relates to providing individuals with alternative opportunities and options from which they have the freedom to choose in order to be able to live the life that they have reason to value. According to this approach, goods, services and resources are means to achieve what people want to be and do. A capability approach therefore questions whether and how programs effectively expand individuals' beings and doings and their freedom to choose the life they want to live. Such an approach also identifies reasons for failure.

The capability approach has seldom been applied to the field of Heritage or Museum Studies (with some exceptions, such as Lynch, 2011b: 441–458 or Hodder, 2010: 872–873), whilst it has been applied to a number of other academic fields from education (Walker, 2005; Walker and Unterhalter, 2007b) to gender studies (Robeyns, 2003; Nussbaum, 2000) or development (Dervis and Klugman, 2011; Fukuda-Parr, 2011). By following the capability approach, this research extends theoretically beyond what has been published previously in the themes of museums and (im)migrants, and is interdisciplinary in its engagement with these previous publications on the capability approach.

Social justice, defined as capability, is strongly related to the core themes considered in this research. First, issues of representation of immigrants in museums are linked to belonging and affiliation to the nation, which are some of Nussbaum's central human capabilities (2003: 41–42). In addition, lack of representation or misrepresentations 'can be a form of oppression' (Taylor, 1992: 25), and can lead to discrimination and exclusion, preventing immigrants from having the freedom to achieve what they want to do and be. In addition, this research focuses on language learning, which is part of education. Both Sen and Nussbaum have highlighted the importance of education to the capability approach (Sen, 1992; Nussbaum, 2002b, 2006), as it nurtures and conditions the acquisition of other capabilities, such as critical thinking and debating skills, necessary to exert one's agency in public and

civic life. Besides, this research focuses on programs which provide unemployed immigrants with employability skills and working experience. As highlighted by Sen, unemployment situations strongly affect the capability of individuals: they can lead to psychological harm; loss of freedom, cognitive abilities and confidence; and social exclusion (1997: 160–161). Finally, this research focuses on the occupation of the National Museum on the History of Immigration in Paris by undocumented immigrants seeking to obtain their residence permits, decent employment conditions, and the freedom to choose the life they want to live.

Museums selected and programs analyzed

The following pages explain the choice of museums and then of the countries where they are located. I considered that the best way to fulfill the aims of this research was through intensive study of carefully selected museums in Europe. Europe became the main focus of this research, as social justice is one of its core values. The project of the European Union is indeed based on the ‘humanist inheritance of Europe, which has developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law’, as explicitly explained in the preamble of the Treaty of Lisbon (European Union, 2005: 9). Article I.2 of this document further expresses that the Union’s values are respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, non-discrimination, tolerance, solidarity, equality and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities (ibid. 17).

More specifically, in the UK, I selected Manchester Museum, the UK’s largest university museum, with vast collections in archaeology, anthropology and natural history, as well as one of its partner institutions, the Manchester Art Gallery which exhibits art from the 17th century onward, with a particular focus on Victorian decorative art. I also chose the National Gallery of Denmark (Statens Museum for Kunst, henceforth SMK), the nation’s main museum of art, as well as its partner institution, Thorvaldsens Museum, which exhibits the artworks of Danish neo-classicist sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, both of them located in Copenhagen. My last case study is the National Museum on the History of Immigration in Paris (Musée National de l’Histoire de l’Immigration, henceforth NMHI), which presents the last two hundred years of immigration in France.

I carefully selected these institutions because they could be considered as representative of museums and art galleries whose mission statements focus on the understanding between cultures and the promotion of diversity (Manchester Museum, 2012; Raffarin, 2003; SMK, 2013). As already explained, the celebration of diversity is a widely shared objective of many museums in Europe, influenced by the New Museology. For instance, the National Gallery of Denmark’s strategic statement indicates that its activities intend to raise awareness of diversity and to prevent ethnocentrism,

racism and stereotyping (SMK, 2013). Since celebration of diversity is such a widely shared objective of museums in Europe, I decided not to focus only on immigration museums, as in Paris, but also to choose different types of museums. My selection has thus included a large regional institution with a diversity of collections ranging from archaeology to anthropology or natural history, in the case of Manchester Museum, or art galleries, in the case of SMK or Manchester Art Gallery. The diversity of case studies is important for issues of analytic generalization (Yin, 2003: 11), as the final chapter of this book considers the implications of the findings for research and changing museum practice (Sandell, 2007: 20).

In addition, I chose Manchester Museum, Manchester Art Gallery, SMK and Thorvaldsens Museum because they offer diverse programs on employment and language learning, which provide rich cases for analyses and fulfill the aims of this research. 'The differentiating characteristics' (Sandell, 2007: 20) of each of these programs further influenced my selection. Whilst these programs share the same goals related to social justice as the term is applied in this volume, they are all different in their conception, vision and delivery strategies. Analyses of these different programs will help to assess the diversity of approaches employed by museums to promote social justice, and identify their strengths and weaknesses. More specifically, Manchester Museum has developed a number of innovative approaches to represent and involve immigrants within the space of the museum, including the project entitled 'Collective Conversations' (2004–2008). Inspired by James Clifford's concept of the contact zone, this project focused on filmed conversations by immigrant communities, where museum objects were used as a starting point for these discussions (Chapman and Thiara, 2010: 420–439). These videos have since been displayed in the permanent galleries of the museum and posted on YouTube. The end of this Collective Conversations project has led Manchester Museum to develop more organic, diversified and fluid approaches of engagement of immigrants in interpretation and representation schemes. In addition, Manchester Museum has implemented the 'In Touch' volunteer program (2007–2010), as well as the 'If: Volunteering for Wellbeing' program (2013–2016), which provide training courses, volunteering opportunities and employment-related skills for a diversity of participants, including immigrants, who have suffered from social and economic isolation. Finally, Manchester Museum and the Manchester Art Gallery, through the use of their respective collections, provide regular and free English conversation classes for adults who are speakers of other languages. Entitled 'English Corner', these one-and-a-half-hour classes were provided (at the time of my fieldwork in Spring 2014) twice a month at lunchtime and early evening at Manchester Art Gallery and once a month at lunchtime at Manchester Museum and were led by an ESOL teacher.

SMK was selected because it provided, along with Thorvaldsens Museum, part-time employment for newly arrived immigrants who were Danish language students, during the winter of 2013. This employment program

aimed to make language students use the space of the museum and interact creatively with works of art. As part of this project, the employed students had to write a script for a short film about their interpretation and views of an artwork of their choice, all in Danish. These videos are now available on YouTube. This research also considered the follow-up employment program that ran for six weeks in the spring 2016 and employed language students to select and prepare presentations on artworks of their choice in Danish, which they would deliver during guided tours alongside the museum's usual guides. These programs were of particular interest as they focused on immigrants' personal interpretation of art and representation of their history and heritage, language learning and employment in the museum, which are the three core topics of this research. In addition, both SMK and Thorvaldsens Museum have provided language workshops for Danish language schools. Entitled 'Welcome to Language Schools', these two-and-a-half-hour sessions, led by a member of the education team from the museum, focused on making immigrants who were already learning Danish use artwork for different exercises on interpretation and conversation.

Finally, I chose specifically the NMHI as it is a unique, unprecedented and extreme case study (Labadi, 2013), which I believe will enrich this research. Unlike the selected museums in Copenhagen and Manchester, and despite being an immigration museum, the NMHI paradoxically had not developed any significant employment or language programs for immigrants (at the time of writing). Despite this lack of opportunities, this museum was chosen due to its occupation by undocumented workers (*sans-papiers*), from October 2010 to January 2011. These immigrants were fighting for the legal right to remain in France because they had been employed in France illegally for years (as opposed to demanding the legal right to remain in France for humanitarian reasons). Why did these immigrants occupy a museum? Did this occupation help them to gain their legal right to remain on the French territory on the grounds that they were workers? Did this occupation have any immediate or long-term impacts on the museum, and did it affect the representation of immigrants in the permanent galleries? These are some of the questions addressed in Chapters 3 and 6. Whilst the other programs analyzed in this research were developed and implemented by, or in agreement with, museum staff, this occupation was driven by immigrants and their supporters without the authorization of the NMHI.

Moreover, these three case studies were chosen due to the diversity of their political and social situations and the contexts of immigration in France, the UK and Denmark. Although these three countries belong to the European Union (at the time of writing at the beginning of 2017), they have different policies and programs on immigration. France has been a major country of immigration since the industrial revolution. Currently 11.1% of France's population are immigrants. Immigration, primarily from former colonies, increased significantly from 1945 to 1974, to provide cheap labor for its

reconstruction. In 1974, France stopped this program of labor immigration. This was partly replaced by undocumented migration; workers without the legal right to remain in France have continued to be employed in physically demanding trades such as construction or catering. Most of these workers are from the former French colonies, as illustrated by the undocumented workers who occupied the NMHI.

As far as its management of diversity is concerned, France primarily follows a republican model of integration. This is a process by which individuals subordinate their own culture and particularisms to a universally applicable set of values (Orlando, 2003: 397). However, this French model of integration has been gradually eroding. It has been criticized by the immigrants themselves as an exclusionary discourse and set of procedures that led them to suffer from inequalities and injustices in terms of access to housing, employment and educational opportunities (Lapeyronnie and Kokoreff, 2013). Above all, this model of integration has been attacked from within by French technocrats themselves (Descoing, 2007), who have developed *ad hoc* multicultural approaches and systems (Kastoryano, 2010: 90–91).

The UK, like France, saw major waves of immigration after 1945 from the Empire and Commonwealth, as well as refugees from Eastern Europe fleeing communism. Yet, the net migration rate became positive only in the 1980s. Before then, emigration of British nationals to Commonwealth countries, like Australia or Canada, as well as European countries, such as Spain or France, was greater than immigration to Britain (IPPR, 2007: 8). Migration to Britain has increased sharply from the mid-1990s onward, because of the need for highly skilled workers, its attraction to students and the rise in asylum seekers' applications (Grillo, 2010: 51). Since 2004, Britain has attracted many citizens from the Central and Eastern European countries which recently joined the EU, originally because it was one of the few countries which did not place any restriction on immigration from these nations and also because of the availability of many seasonal jobs in agriculture or food processing (IPPR, 2007: 9).

From the 1960s to the beginning of the Millennium, the UK embraced multiculturalism with measures aimed at managing diversity and ensuring that communities were equally and equitably treated by the societies that host them (Labadi, 2010: 10). These included introducing culturally sensitive practices, providing information in multiple languages or ensuring public recognition of diversity through supporting minority organizations (Vertovec, 2010: 84). Yet, this model of multiculturalism has been criticized, particularly for accentuating or preserving cultural differences and leading to community separation. These failures have led to the adoption of a post-multicultural model since the turn of the century, that focuses on reducing socioeconomic inequality for immigrants and the promotion of national identity as well as the marginalization of competing values (ibid. 90–93).

As far as Denmark is concerned, the diversification of its population is a relatively new phenomenon. According to available figures, 10.4% of the Danish population are immigrants, of which around 6% originate from non-European countries, whereas in 1980 these non-European immigrants made up just 1% (Statistics Denmark, 2013: 5). This increased immigration is partially the result of voluntary policies to compensate for low birth rates and the penury of skilled workers in specific professions. Despite this increased diversity, Denmark has one of the most restrictive immigration policies in the European Union. Most of the immigrants, irrespective of their country of origin, highlighted during their interviews the difficulties they faced whilst immigrating to Denmark. This is partially due to the fact that, when signing the Maastricht Treaty, Denmark opted out on justice and home affairs, so that it is possible for it to have more restrictive migration policies than other EU countries (Adler-Nissen and Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2010: 137–161).

Three approaches seem to characterize the way in which Denmark deals with migration and its increasingly diverse population (Hedetoft, 2010: 119). The first approach is assimilation, a position that has been defended by the Danish People's Party, based on the adoption, by all, of a so-called 'Danish culture' in order to ensure homogeneity of the population. The second approach is integration, a model similar to the French approach which aims to treat everybody in a non-discriminatory manner and which divides a line between the public and private sphere. The third approach is multiculturalism, the recognition of ethnic diversity and the accommodation of this diversity within the public sphere.

Methods of data collection

Having detailed the reasons for choosing the different museums and programs in Copenhagen, Manchester and Paris, I now turn to explain my strategies for data collection. Intensive case studies and a multi-sited approach were considered the best way to fulfill the aims of this research, as this enabled a holistic and comprehensive understanding of the themes under study (Meskell, 2007: 384–385; Hamilakis, 2011: 405). At each of these museums, I conducted extensive semi-structured interviews with a wide list of stakeholders. This approach aimed to gain a detailed understanding of the programs selected, their impacts on the institutions and on their target groups, as well as to clarify how immigrants used museums to address issues considered in this volume. Conducting interviews with immigrants is one of the strengths of this research. It adds an original dimension due to the fact that the voices of immigrants have tended, with some notable exceptions (see Monteiro, 2008: 139–146 or Bounia et al., 2012 for instance) to be excluded from previous publications on museums and (im)migration (Whitehead, 2015; Gouriévidis, 2014). In addition, I undertook participant observation, held many informal discussions with staff and visitors, attended public meetings and events and organized multiple visits. The aim

was to gain a more complete understanding of the programs selected for analysis, as well as the values, power relations and dynamics at play in the selected museums (Meskell, 2010: 433). I also accessed unpublished internal documents to understand fully the institutions and programs analyzed. The combination of interviews, participant observation and analyses of unpublished internal documents permitted some distance with the data collected. This was essential to assess critically some statements and views provided by my different informants against other available sources. These interviews, participant observations and data collection took place in blocks of days or weeks between November 2012 and December 2016. In addition, I was a fellow at the National Gallery of Denmark in March and April 2014 and at Manchester Museum from May to July 2014, in order to immerse myself in the 'richness and diversity of everyday practice' (Meskell, 2005: 83).

More specifically, following the concept of 'multiple co-existence', interviews were carried out with the multiplicity of actors who played a part in the selected programs and who co-existed in the space of the museum. (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009: 83). This strategy enabled a deeper and critical understanding of the museums and projects analyzed, as data collected was constantly challenged through engagement with this diversity of stakeholders and perspectives (Meskell, 2010: 434). Through this approach, I was also able to develop some critical reflexivity of the claims made during interviews and in the documents read, as well of my own biases and positioning (Hodder, 2003: 56–59). Targeted individuals for interview included museum staff, ranging from directors to curators, education staff, program managers and front of house staff as well as program funders and language teachers. I also interviewed immigrants, as their views are key to understanding whether and how museums have tackled issues of cultural, economic, social and political inequality. I focused on immigrants who had attended one or more of the selected programs at SMK, Thorvaldsens Museum, Manchester Museum and Manchester Art Gallery. I also conducted evaluation of language-learning programs with selected participants through focus groups and interviews. In Paris, I targeted immigrants who had occupied the NMHI. Although this movement was composed primarily of men, I also targeted and interviewed women, as well as trade union representatives who organized this occupation, activists and NGO representatives who supported this *sans-papiers* movement, to gain a diversity of perspectives.

When undertaking my fieldwork in Paris, I tried to be critically reflexive of the biases of being "at home". I took care that my degree of familiarity with this country did not prevent me from having the necessary critical detachment. Yet, being French does not automatically lead to a lack of critical distance in every situation (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009: 74). Any society is by definition heterogeneous (Abu-Lughod, 2011: 131–138) and individual identities are fluid, complex and do not necessarily fit within neat cases of nationalities (Motzafi-Haller, 1997). Concepts including educational or ethnic background, class, gender and so on might make someone

an outsider rather than a full element of a nation-state. The fact that I am of Algerian background, was partly educated in the UK (where approaches to Museum studies are different to France), have worked internationally for fifteen years rather than for a French company and have spent lengthy periods of time away from France, has helped me develop a critical and distanced approach to the case study of Paris. Besides, rare are those academics from non-European or occidental background writing on museums and immigrations in Europe, and this characteristic represents also a strength and an original dimension of this research.

Structure of the book

The book itself is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 2 details understandings of social justice as the capability approach, explaining its relevance for this volume and providing a theory that frames the other chapters. It explains how the capability approach, developed originally by Amartya Sen, departs from previous theories of social justice, primarily the utilitarian movement and the theories of Rawls. The core concepts of the capability approach, such as a person's capability, functionings or conversion factors are then defined. This chapter then moves on to clarify the notion of agency, considered in this research as a fundamental additional concept that assists individuals in being who they want and doing what they want.

The next four chapters have been organized thematically, in order to reflect the rich findings from the data analyses. Chapter 3 focuses on issues of representation of immigrants in the selected museums in Manchester, Copenhagen and Paris. These issues have already been well covered in previous publications, reflecting their importance and the need to engage with them. However, this chapter departs from previous publications as it is guided by the notion of social justice as capability. It starts by explaining how representation can be understood as social justice and capability. Using this framework, the following paragraphs critically analyze how different programs developed at Manchester Museum, SMK and Thorvaldsens Museum have helped to represent the histories and heritage of immigrants in their permanent and temporary galleries, and how useful participating immigrants have found these schemes. The last section turns to analyze how undocumented workers have reacted to the building and permanent exhibition of the NMHI. It also details how this institution has subsequently integrated this unplanned event within its interpretation and permanent exhibition.

Chapter 4 focuses on an increasingly core function of museums: the provision of language learning workshops and programs for immigrants who want to learn the language of the host country. It starts by detailing the importance of education and of speaking the language of the host country for the capability approach as well as for the development and strengthening of the agency of individuals. It then analyses whether and how programs proposed at Manchester Museum, Manchester Art Gallery, SMK and

Thorvaldsens Museum improve the real opportunities offered to immigrants to learn and speak the language of the host country. In doing so, this chapter pays particular attention to analyzing critically whether and how the workshops offered by the selected museums differ from, but also complement, educational offers by more traditional language schools. A final section identifies the reasons why some immigrants do not attend these programs, identifying issues and patterns of exclusion from the museum.

Following a similar structure, Chapter 5 focuses on critical analyses of volunteering or employment programs provided at Manchester Museum, SMK and Thorvaldsens Museum. These programs provide work experiences but also key employability skills for participants. This chapter starts by detailing how employment relates to capability and agency, as a way of framing and guiding the following pages. It then analyzes whether and how museums have been able to provide immigrants with valuable work experience and key skills needed to thrive in our difficult and volatile working environment, including resilience or adaptive behavior. These paragraphs also detail whether participating immigrants consider these programs useful in providing them with relevant experiences and skills. Finally, this chapter focuses on identifying and critically examining issues concerning the exclusion of certain immigrants from these employment or volunteering schemes and opportunities, as well as the limits of these programs.

Chapter 6 continues the exploration of the theme of employment and museum but considers it from a different angle than previously. Whilst Chapter 5 analyzed employment programs solely developed by the selected museums in Manchester and Copenhagen, Chapter 6 comes back to the unauthorized occupation of the NMHI by undocumented workers or *sans-papiers*. In its first section, this chapter considers how this occupation helped to build and strengthen the agency and capability of the working *sans-papiers*. It then moves on to consider why and how these immigrants have used the NMHI to address issues of employment discrimination and legal status. The following parts turn to consider the different reactions of the museum staff, from tolerance and support in the first instances to rejection of this movement and its termination after almost four months of continuous occupation. To end, a critical analysis of the long-term impacts of this occupation for the occupying immigrants in particular and working *sans-papiers* in general is provided.

Finally, Chapter 7 starts with a summary of the key findings from the research and highlights in particular the shortcomings and issues identified. Using these results, five innovative proposals are made, targeting researchers and museum professionals so that they might be able to contribute more effectively to social justice for immigrants. These proposals range from innovative approaches to language learning, to the provision of employment skills or representation of diversity in museums, to better understanding of audiences and of the reasons why some audiences cannot or do not visit museums and participate in their programs, and organizational changes to ensure synergies and coherence between different programs museums provide.

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