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# Ireland's cultural policy and the protection and promotion of the cultural rights of migrants

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#### ABSTRACT

The protection and promotion of cultural rights within Irish law and policy has been historically neglected and has only recently been recognised as a policy objective in its own right with the publication of "Culture 2025. Éire Ildánach", Ireland's first dedicated cultural policy framework. This article seeks to critically review this policy specifically as relates to the protection and the promotion of the cultural rights of migrants in Ireland. Whilst recognising that the Policy Framework represents a more holistic approach to the protection of cultural rights in general, this article will argue that it fails to provide any substantive protection to the cultural rights of migrants in Ireland. The protection of cultural rights appears to be more strongly iterated in Ireland's migrant integration policy, as implemented through Government department initiatives and localised strategies, however overall, Irish policy is lacking in terms of satisfactory engagement with the cultural rights of migrants.

#### Introduction

Culture is a central tenet of humanity, influencing human life in a multitude of ways (UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, 2016, paras. 4-9). Its centrality in human life is reflected in the various methods by which international law seeks to promote and protect cultural rights (Stamatopoulou, 2007). The international legal framework is replete with provisions which aim at ensuring that individuals, groups, States, and indeed, the whole of humanity, can access, and benefit from, culture (Stamatopoulou, 2007). However, given the State-centric nature of international law, it rests upon States who have ratified international instruments to implement cultural rights at the domestic level. Unfortunately, States often consider cultural rights to be a "luxury", only to be sought once civil and political, as well as social and economic rights have been attained. Cultural rights have, therefore, been described as the "neglected category of human rights" (Symonides, 1998, p. 595) and the "Cinderella" of human rights (Xanthaki, 2015). One of the groups whose cultural rights are most in need of protection is migrants, as they move (and in some cases, are forced to move) from one culture to another

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(Mandel, 2019), and are forced to renegotiate cultural meanings and norms, driving "those who are displaced to transform their identities in order to adapt to new cultures, communities and contexts" (Kenny, 2018, p. 221). However, the cultural rights of migrants are often side-lined by States, in both law and policy, in favour of those of the majority. This article focuses on how Ireland has dealt with the cultural rights of migrants in its laws and policies. By focusing on Ireland's newly adopted cultural policy, "Culture 2025. *Éire Ildánach*", as well as other migrant-related policies and laws, the article seeks to identify, from a socio-legal perspective, how migrant culture is promoted and protected in Irish society. Schiff comments that "[a]ccording to a socio-legal approach, analysis of law is directly linked to the analysis of the social situation to which the law applies, and should be put into the perspective of that situation by seeing the part the law plays in the creation, maintenance and/or change of the situation" (Schiff, 1976, p. 287). This article, therefore, seeks to locate the law, and policies emanating from the law, adopted by the Irish State which focus on the intersection between culture and migration, in the context of Ireland's changing demographics due to migration (Feenan, 2009) and discuss the role these laws and policies have played in changing Irish society.

To appreciate the law on culture and migrants in context, the following section of this article delineates the notion of culture and describes how cultural rights are protected in Ireland. The next section focuses on "Culture 2025. *Éire Ildánach*" and explores how the issue of migrant culture is addressed therein. The article then discusses Ireland's migration context and the State's Migration Integration Strategy through the lens of the promotion of migrant culture. The next section examines how migrant culture is promoted in Ireland through government department and agency initiatives, including localised migrant integration strategies, before the article concludes with some thoughts on the place of migrant culture in Ireland's cultural policy.

### "Culture" and cultural rights in Ireland

#### The meaning of "Culture"

Before analysing Ireland's approach to migrant culture, the meaning of culture in an Irish context must first be addressed. Culture is a contested concept, meaning different things to different people, and, as Woodman comments, "[a]s a general question of social science, the meaning of culture is difficult and controversial" (Woodman, 2009, p. 8). General Comment 21 of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UNCESCR) states that "[i]n the Committee's view, culture is a broad, inclusive concept encompassing all manifestations of human existence" (UNCESCR, 2009). Consequently, Kymlicka *et al* state that "[i]n our view, there is little to be gained by trying to come up with a definition of "culture." This has proven to be a hopeless task in many disciplines. Even sophisticated attempts to define the concept of culture quickly prove unwieldy" (Kymlicka *et al.*, 2014, p. 3). The international legal framework does not provide any answer as to what constitutes culture, although numerous instruments seeking to guarantee the right of any person to the practice of his or her own culture have been adopted. Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), for example, merely provides that "[e]veryone has the right freely to participate in the

cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits' (UN General Assembly, Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 1948).

What falls within the definition of "culture" within a society will often "reflect the historical experiences and value systems that have characterized its social development" (Mulcahy, 2017, p. 7). However, many States make a distinction between "high culture" and "low" or "popular culture." High culture can be defined as "a collection of ideologies, beliefs, thoughts, trends, practices and works - intellectual or creative - that is intended for refined, cultured and educated elite people" whilst "low culture is the culture of the common people and the mass" (Debnath, 2019, p. 474). By definition, "high culture" appears beyond the reach of migrants who often find themselves at the opposite end of the scale of society's "elite'. Thus, where a State's cultural policy, and thus funding, favours the promotion of high cultural activities, migrant culture might not be easily accommodated or well promoted.

Our analysis of Irish State agencies and State-funded cultural programmes reveals that they reflect and perpetrate Irish society's conception of culture, and preference for "high culture", although this is changing over time. The stated core policy goal of the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media is "to enhance access to and to recognise the social and economic role of the arts, culture and film sectors in Ireland by promoting and encouraging artistic expression, cultural awareness and participation" (Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, 2015). The explicit yet restrictive language used in its Arts and Culture Policy - "fine art and cultural heritage" appears to prioritise "high culture", confining its conception of culture to art and heritage. However, the State's favoured conception of culture – whether broad or restrictive – is not solidified. This lack of clarity surrounding culture is exemplified, according to Durrer and Magan, by "the slippery state nomenclature" of the Department, which "is indicative of a political culture that emphasises "pragmatic, incremental and [a] short-term-fix" approach (Cooke & McCall, 2015, p. 3, in Durrer & McCall Magan, 2017, p. 190) while at the same time, avoiding long term, strategic thinking and planning. The now cumbersome title of Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (DAHRRGA), speaks more to a lack of confidence and confusion than clarity and certainty of portfolio" (Durrer & McCall Magan, 2017, p. 190). The Arts Council of Ireland, a governmental agency, exists to promote, develop and fund the Arts, which fall squarely under a more restrictive definition that limits culture to high culture (The Arts Council, n.d.). However, its annual Culture Night programme (https://culturenight.ie) for example, endorses the broader UNESCO definition of culture as "a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, values systems traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001, para. 5), with its 2021 programme spanning classical and street art exhibitions, dance, poetry, theatre, storytelling, traditional, classical and contemporary music performances, cultural quizzes, walking tours, and comedy nights, amongst others. This illustrates that a broader concept of culture, potentially embracive of both "high" and "low", and "native" and "migrant" culture, has been adopted by The Arts Council.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the Government's Creative Ireland Programme 2017-2022, which is "the primary implementation framework for the promotion and strengthening of culture and creativity throughout Ireland" also contains a broad understanding of culture, seeking to expand

the reach of cultural activities beyond traditional audiences by establishing "Culture and Creativity Teams" that bring "together local expertise in arts, heritage, libraries, enterprise and community engagement, to foster collaboration and spark new initiatives" (Creative Ireland, 2022).

# Cultural rights in Ireland

Given that Irish government agencies have acknowledged this broader understanding of culture, it is important to analyse, from a socio-legal perspective, how the government seeks to promote cultural rights and examine how the rights of nationals and migrants are protected under the Irish legal system. While Ireland has committed to ensuring the protection of cultural rights under various international instruments, including the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, domestic legislation protecting cultural rights is very sparse. In addition, cultural rights are not explicitly protected under the Irish Constitution, apart from Article 8 regarding the status of the Irish and English languages. Interestingly, the Constitution provides that "[t]he Irish nation hereby affirms its ... right to ... develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions" (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937, Art. 1). Similarly, Irish identity and culture of the diaspora is referred to in Article 2, which provides that "the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage" (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937, Art. 2). While the Constitution encourages the practice of Irish culture of its citizens and diaspora, no mention is made of the cultural rights of migrants. This can be explained given that the Constitution was drafted in 1937, when Ireland was a country of emigration rather than immigration, however, the changing demographics of the State, to be discussed below, means that attention on the cultural rights must be refocused within Irish law and policy to truly reflect the make-up of modern Irish society.

# Ireland's cultural policy: "Culture 2025: Éire Ildánach'

While Irish law is neglectful of cultural rights, its policy framework provides a more comprehensive structure for the promotion of culture, although this has only been developed in more recent times, with the first dedicated Irish cultural policy document coming to fruition in 2016. "Culture 2025. Éire Ildánach. A National Cultural Framework Policy to 2025" ("Policy Framework") (Government of Ireland, 2016) is the first national holistic cultural policy adopted by the Irish government. It ostensibly aims to make culture a focal point of everyday life in Ireland and, rather significantly, it represents a departure from the Irish State's "historical unwillingness ... to tackle cultural issues in a fundamental way" (Hadley et al., 2020, p. 3). Hadley et al note its ambitious aspirations and potential to affect "every aspect of Irish society and culture" (Hadley et al., 2020, p. 4). Hadley et al comment that the definition of culture used in the policy document is "derived from political expediency" and further critique that it "struggles to say anything of significance about the promotion of culture in Ireland" resulting in a lack of reflection upon "the future for Irish culture or offer any tangible supports for its development." (Hadley et al., 2020, p. 5). In respect of changing demographics in Ireland as a result of migration, the Foreword of the Policy Framework, written by the then-Minister for Culture provides that "[o]ur culture is now much more intricate and varied than ever, reflecting our increasingly diverse society" (Government of Ireland, 2016, p. 1). Indeed, the Policy Framework recognises "[t]he value of cultural diversity, informed by the many traditions and social backgrounds now in Ireland" (Government of Ireland, 2016, p. 3). In addition, the importance of cultural diversity and languages "which have become part of Irish life in more recent years" is highlighted (Government of Ireland, 2016, p. 3). The vital role played by culture in the context of integration is also recognised in the Policy Framework. For example, it states that "[c]ulture also has an important role in social integration. It must reflect Ireland's shift to a multicultural society and recognise the value of diverse cultural influences. Interaction, equality of opportunity, understanding, respect and integration all contribute to the enrichment of our culture" (Government of Ireland, 2016, p. 6).

Migration and integration are not engaged with beyond surface level in the Policy Framework, which seems to neglect migrant culture. For example, it makes no attempt to address persistent difficulties surrounding the social inclusion of migrants, in contrast to the European Union's Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021–2027 (European Commission, 2020, p. 3), nor to include migrants in decision-making processes to "ensure that integration and inclusion policies are more effective and reflect real needs" (European Commission, 2020, p. 20). A worrying feature of the Policy Framework is the apparent restriction of culture to citizens, with the text stating that "[e]very citizen should have the opportunity to live a rich and creative life, participate in the cultural life of the community and enjoy our cultural heritage" (Government of Ireland, 2016, p. 6). This is very disappointing given that culture is such a central aspect of human identity (UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, 2016) and participation in cultural activities has been noted to enhance human health (Bygren et al., 2009; Camic & Chatterjee, 2013; Napier et al., 2014) and wellbeing (Murrup-Stewart et al., 2020) among the general population. In the context of migrants, who leave (and are sometimes forced to leave) their own culture for another, the right to express and enjoy one's culture when one settles in a foreign State also has additional benefits (Cuenca-Amigo & Makua, 2017; Hadley & Belfiore, 2018; Mandel, 2019,), particularly in the context of integration into their new society and social inclusion (Kawashima, 2006). Unfortunately, migrant integration processes in Europe have been identified as facilitating the imposition of the State culture on migrants with little room for cultural diversity (de Leeuw & van Wichelen, 2012). It is hoped that the practical implementation of "Culture 2025. *Éire Ildánach*" will be embracive of migrant culture and go beyond the text's wording to ensure that integration processes in Ireland will respect the cultural rights of migrants and highlight the benefits of interculturalism for both migrants and non-migrants alike (Jewesbury et al., 2009; Office of the Minister of Integration, 2007; Platform for Intercultural Europe and Culture Action Europe, 2010), and thus positively impact on Irish society (Carbone, 2018; McIvor, 2011).

# Migration and Ireland's migrant integration strategy

#### Migration and changing demographics in Ireland

The lack of in depth engagement with migration and integration in "Culture 2025: *Éire Ildánach*" is particularly worrying given the significant number of migrants living in,

and contributing to, Irish society. The expansion of the Irish economy resulted in a rapid incline from 17,200 immigrants in 1987 to its peak of 151,100 in 2007, before rapid economic decline resulted in a sharp dip, with the number of immigrants in Ireland dropping to 41,800 by 2010. Immigration has slowly increased and by 2020 had climbed to 85,400 immigrants (Central Statistics Office, 2022). Furthermore, figures demonstrate that non-EU immigration had risen by one third, from 19,000 in 2014 to 30,400 in 2020, whilst immigration rates from within the EU have largely remained stable (Central Statistics Office, 2020). Immigration has resulted in a more multi-cultural Irish society, which requires policy response in respect of migrant integration. However, policies relating to migrants have focused almost exclusively on their economic value to Irish society, as "the instruments of Ireland's continuing economic success" (Lentin & McVeigh, 2006, p. 74) with little regard for their cultural well-being (McIvor, 2011, pp. 193–4). Restricting migrants" value to Irish society to their contribution to its growing economy underpinned an integration policy confined to "integration into the economy" (McIvor, 2011, p. 193) only; one which deprioritised "integration, interculturalism and anti-racism as matters of importance for the Irish state" (McIvor, 2011, p. 194). Post-Celtic Tiger migrants into Ireland are more than just economic migrants, however. Mclvor notes that many come for good, pursuing the avenues of citizenship and permanent residency available to them (Mclvor, 2011). The impact of this shift in terms of culture in Irish society is explained by Buchanan as marking "Ireland's passage into a new historical paradigm, an upheaval in the reality of the nation that redefined the limits and borders of what could, or should, be considered Irish" (Buchanan, 2009, p. 300).

"Culture 2025: *Éire Ildánach*" includes a more progressive and holistic view of migrants, as they are viewed as more than economic actors. The importance of culture to the process of integraton is acknowledged and its intrinsic value to society is recognised (Government of Ireland, 2016). It is worth noting, however, that, Hadley *et al* associate the Government's enthusiasm for the promotion of culture in Ireland, through the dedicated cultural Policy Framework, with the economic value of culture for the State, and ponder whether the intrinsic value of culture would be so appreciated if its economic value to the State were not as high. In other words, certain aspects of cultural policy, such as creative industries and tourism, are economically beneficial to the State, and this economic basis arguably underpins the promotion of culture as intrinsically valuable to society as a whole (Hadley et al., 2020). In line with this reasoning, then, the unfortunate neglect of migrant culture within Culture *2025* can be explained as it lacks the same revenue-generating effect for the Irish economy as cultural industry and tourism.

#### Ireland's migrant integration strategy

Following the move away from the one-dimensional view of migrants as economic actors, the Irish government has developed some migrant integration initiatives which focus, to an extent, on culture. For example, the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration was established in 2015 and mandated "to develop, lead and co-ordinate migrant integration policy across other Government Departments, agencies and services" (Department of Justice website, n.d.). It promotes an inter-departmental, two-pronged policy approach which combines centralised, long-term integration service provision with more targeted, short-term integration initiatives (Department of Justice website, n.d.).

The Office provides funding to different programmes, including the Communities Integration Fund which funds community-led integration initiatives that promote and engage in intercultural awareness, sport and community games, arts and food and cuisine (Communities Integration Fund, 2020, n.d.; Government of Ireland, 2020; Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration, 2019). Through supporting initiatives that fall within a broader conception of culture which transcends the above-mentioned "high/ low" culture distinction, the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration provides substantive action to complement the aspirational words of "Culture 2025'. It manifests the objectives of interaction and equality of opportunities espoused by the Policy Framework and operates to make culture more accessible to migrants through facilitating grass-roots participation in policy development.

One of the key roles of the Office of Migrant Integration is to oversee the implementation of Ireland's first Migrant Integration Strategy. The Strategy was intended to span 2017-2020, but as a result of the impact of COVID-19 on its implementation, the Minister decided to extend its lifetime to the end of 2021. The Strategy defines integration as the "ability to participate to the extent that a person needs and wishes in all of the major components of society without having to relinguish his or her own cultural identity" and seeks to strike a balance between the protection of expression of migrant culture and the basic Irish societal values articulated in both the Irish Constitution and Irish legislation (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017, p. 11). The Strategy espouses "the Government's commitment to the promotion of migrant integration as a key part of Ireland's renewal and as an underpinning principle of Irish society" (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017, p. 2) and defines integration as a reciprocal process between migrants and "Irish society and institutions so that the benefits of greater diversity can be fully realised" (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017, p. 11). In addition, it sets out a framework for encouraging migrant integration and participation in society as well as for identifying and addressing barriers to integration (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017). In a similar vein to "Culture 2025", this strategy endorses a more comprehensive approach to migrant integration, seeing beyond their exclusively economic value to Irish society by facilitating their participation in all aspects of life, including culture.

In implementing the Migrant Integration Strategy, Creative Ireland and The Arts Council take specific actions to include asylum seekers in cultural life, the former through singing workshops (Kenny, 2018, p. 221) and the latter through hosting tours for migrants seeking to "enhance social inclusion and to initiate an integration process for refugees and asylum seekers" (The Government of Ireland, 2019, p. 73) as well as an art project developed through "working closely with a diverse group of people, including migrants, reflecting the zeitgeist of contemporary Ireland" (The Government of Ireland, 2019, p. 73).

The Strategy's 2019 Progress Report (The Government of Ireland, 2019, p. 73) illustrates the practical implementation of the strategy and the localised nature of its implementation, specifically the "critical role of Local Authorities in encouraging and promoting migrant integration" (The Government of Ireland, 2019, p. 58). It highlights the local level actions aimed at integration, through both the Communities Integration Fund and Local Authorities Integration Strategies. It further outlines the successful establishment of Migrant Integration Forums by 29 of the 31 local authorities (The Government of Ireland, 2019). These are consultative forums established to provide migrants with

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the opportunity to directly participate in the development of integration strategy, including in the sphere of culture. This reflects a democratic approach to policy development in that the forums are vehicles for "engaging migrants and the so-called "host community" in collaboratively celebrating diversity and promoting participation in civic life" (Fingal Public Participation Network website, 2022.). Finally, the progress report identifies the various initiatives undertaken regarding Action 69 of the Migrant Integration Strategy, which asserts the role of Arts and Culture programmes and policy in "the promotion of the arts and culture of diverse communities across Ireland" (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017, p. 33). These include the hosting of the Dublin Greek Film Festival and the Dublin Arabic Festival, multi-lingual story-telling sessions and multi-cultural art workshops (The Government of Ireland, 2019), all of which positively impact on Irish society by celebrating cultural diversity (Human Rights Committee, 1994).

#### Local integration strategies

A comparison of the cultural aspects of migrant integration strategies of two local Irish local authorities - Galway City Council and Donegal County Council - provides insights into the advantages and disadvantages of a localised approach to migrant integration, as provided for in the Migrant Integration Strategy. In the most recent census in 2016, Galway City had the highest proportion of non-Irish residents in Ireland, at 18.6% (Central Statistics Office, 2017), while Donegal County had the lowest at 7.3%, with over half of those being UK nationals (Central Statistics Office, 2017). The local integration strategies pre-date "Culture 2025", however both are derived from the national framework on combatting racism (Department of Justice, 2001), and both complement the Framework Policy in respect of culture.

Galway City's most recent strategy, "A City of Equals - Promoting an Intercultural City" (Galway City Development Board, n.d.) seeks to better understand "the role of local government in creating the opportunities for people to work together as an inclusive and culturally diverse community" (Galway City Development Board n.d., p. 1) and sets out a framework for the creation of an intercultural city, developed in collaboration with a variety of civil society stakeholders, such as Galway City Partnership and Galway City Community Forum (Galway City Development Board, n.d.) and through community engagement (Galway City Development Board, n.d., pp. 40-42). While this strategy long predates the National Policy Framework, it reflects the core policy goals of "Culture 2025 Eire Idlanach", namely a collaborative approach to the achievement of an intercultural society. Community consultation played a central role in the development of this strategy, and the emerging themes straddle all sectors of society - social, political, economic and community – and centre on enhancing cross-community interaction and intercultural dialogue, promoting diversity and rejecting racism, and building an inclusive economy with a diverse workforce (Galway City Development Board, n.d.). Its intercultural policy objective seeks to go "beyond equal opportunities and respect for existing cultural differences to the pluralist transformation of public space, institutions and civic culture" (Galway City Development Board, n.d., p. 8) and in terms of integration, it "requires a fundamental shift in attitudes, structures and services ... (and in) the nature of the relationship between the migrants and Irish Society in general and the nature of Governance" (Galway City Development Board, n.d., p. 8). It draws on other urban, as well as European, strategies as "examples of best practice with regards to interculturalism, antiracism and integration" (Galway City Development Board, n.d., pp. 16-19) as well as the strength of the city's "Diversity Dividends and Assets" (Galway City Development Board, n.d., p. 21) which support an intercultural approach to migrant integration in the city (Galway City Development Board, n.d.). These assets include a high-level of interagency cooperation, and a strong and active community and voluntary sector, an established Intercultural Forum within Galway City Community Forum, ethnic minority-led support groups and an Intercultural Toolkit for organisations (Galway City Development Board, n.d.). Strategic actions envisaged include a public awareness campaign, the appointment of an Ambassador of Interculturalism, the creation of the Galway City Intercultural Forum, Intercultural Community Events and the Development of an Ethnic Minority Economy (Galway City Development Board, n.d.). As we await the publication of Galway City's more updated migrant integration strategy, it remains to be seen how successful its framework has been thus far in achieving intercultural integration and in positively impacting on Galway's society.

Donegal County Council's most recent migrant integration strategy, "Donegal Diversity Plan: 2011 – 2013" (Donegal County Council, n.d.) is the local translation of the national strategy towards inclusion and diversity by a Cultural Diversity Steering Group composed of "a mix of local government, state agencies and the community and voluntary sector" (Donegal County Council, n.d., p. 3). The Steering Group developed the strategy alongside the Donegal Intercultural Platform, which "provided excellent feedback from the minority ethnic communities represented on the platform" (Donegal County Council, n.d., p. 3). The key themes in this strategy are protection from racism (and sectarianism), economic inclusion, recognising diversity and accommodating for it in service provision, and promoting full participation in Irish society for migrants (Donegal County Council, n.d.). None of these themes relate specifically or significantly to culture. This strategy clearly lacks the multi-dimensional nature of its Galway City counterpart, which, in comparison, invokes a celebration of the flair that migrants afford the city in their diverse cultures and ethnicities, and seeks to build upon the benefits, such as a thriving and diverse artistic community and a bustling tourism economy. Unlike Galway City's - and indeed "Culture 2025s" - more holistic approach to integration, Donegal's strategy appears to reflect the more outdated, singular economy-based approach to migrant integration which is neglectful of migrant culture.

It is worth noting the vastly different geographical locations of Galway and Donegal, which undoubtedly influence their migrant integration strategies. Galway is a prominent city located on the West coast of Ireland, well connected to the capital city Dublin, as well as to other cities, serviced by motorway, railway lines and an airport (This is Galway, n.d.). By contrast, Donegal is a remote, rugged, hard-to-reach county with poor public transport links to the rest of the country (Boland, 2021). This urban/rural divide and transport accessibility factors have an impact in terms of the numbers of migrants who resettle in these locations. Thus, accessibility and demographic issues may explain why migrant integration efforts are far less comprehensive and much less of a priority in rural Donegal, as opposed to in Galway city. Furthermore, Donegal's geographical location, on the border with Northern Ireland, underpins the emphasis of its strategy on issues such as sectarianism, which has ravaged Northern Ireland and its bordering counties since partition of the island of Ireland. The vastly different contexts of integration correlate to the varying

strategy approaches to migrant integration in these two counties, reflecting a "localised agency of place-based approaches" (Durrer et al., 2019, p. 317).

The implementation of migration strategies at a local level allows for more tailored solutions to issues in respect of migrant integration and inclusion in society as they arise in that specific location, through facilitating grassroots-level engagement between policy developers and localised civil society organisations and indeed the migrant population itself. However, as demonstrated by the divergences in Galway City and Donegal County's respective strategies, such a fragmented approach will impact on local society in different ways

Two recent reports of The Immigrant Council of Ireland provide insights into the different localised approaches to migrant integration (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2018; 2020). Disappointingly, they highlight a notable lack of focus on the promotion of migrant culture within local strategies across the board. The 2018 document states that only six strategies mentioned intercultural training for businesses, while just five strategies sought to promote interfaith dialogue and events (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2018). In response to this, many of the key proposals made by The Immigrant Council seek to promote culture and cultural rights. Such proposals include actions for local libraries to take, as the "best placed among all local authority services to facilitate and encourage intercultural interaction, dialogue and learning" (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2018, p. 14), and a recommendation that each local authority should establish and operate an intercultural small grants scheme "as a means of targeted, ring-fenced support for facilitating more public intercultural events providing opportunities for people of Irish and other cultures to interact" (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2018, p. 15), for example, by supporting minority groups to host public celebrations of key cultural events. The document also proposes supportive public communication by local authorities of messages "on key dates reflecting important cultural celebrations for migrant groups" (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2018, p. 15) and provides a list of examples of dates that must be recognised at the very minimum. Furthermore, the introduction of "Community Inclusion Open Days" by more local authorities, the inclusion of migrant voices and perspectives by authorities in the development of strategies and plans of all local authority functions and the establishment of "Local Community Development Committees" would offer some agency to migrants in providing an opportunity to assist in shaping the development of local strategies (The Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2018). This can be an especially powerful tool in terms of facilitating the collaborative development of local authority actions that truly reflect both Irish and migrant culture, as envisioned by "Culture 2025: *Éire Ildánach*", which can positively impact on Irish society.

Ireland's Migrant Integration Strategy has recognised in theory the importance of migrant culture and the cultural rights of migrants and is in line with the approach to culture espoused in "Culture 2025'. However, the Immigrant Council's review shines a spotlight on aspects of the practical implementation of the Migrant Integration Strategy which fall short of the aspirations of "Culture 2025'. Moreover, the implementation of the Strategy is delegated to a large extent to local authorities, resulting in significant disparity between how the cultural rights of migrants are protected and promoted, depending on the place where they live. Another significant discrepency in respect of the protection of cultural rights is seen in the differentiation between migrants who are asylum seekers and those who are not. While Ireland's Migrant Integration Strategy does provide for the

promotion and protection of the former, it fails to provide any conrete protection of the cultural rights of asylum seekers, who are received and accomodated in Ireland under a system called Direct Provision.

#### Direct provision and the cultural rights of asylum seekers

A notable, and regrettable, policy approach to migration into Ireland is the operation of the Direct Provision system for asylum seekers,<sup>2</sup> under which private contractors (Free Legal Advice Centre, 2009) are engaged by the State to run communal reception centres where people await the determination of their applications by the International Protection Office, often for lengthy and undeterminable periods of time (Thornton, 2019).<sup>3</sup> As of September 2020 there were 44 reception centres operating across 18 counties in Ireland (Dáil Éireann, 2020). Under this internationally criticised system, the Irish State "directly provides" essential services to asylum applicants, including accommodation, food and medical care, and a small weekly allowance (Doras, n.d.), with little focus on cultural rights, in either their individual and collective dimensions (Higgins *et al*, publication forthcoming). Indeed, the Direct Provision system's infringement of the rights of asylum seekers, including their cultural rights, is well documented in scholarship (O'Reilly, 2018; Thornton, 2019; 2015; 2014).

Until recently, people within the Direct Provision system were not permitted to work,<sup>4</sup> meaning that their meagre allowance from the State - €38.80 per week for an adult, €29.80 per child (Citizens Information, 2022) - was their only means of purchasing personal items such as books, of attending cultural events, such as theatre productions, or of contributing to other cultural activities (Ní Raghallaigh and Thornton, 2017, p. 390). The often cramped and run-down accommodation centres themselves further isolate residents from cultural participation. Moreover the control of almost every aspect of their everyday lives under which they may practice cultural expression is relinquished to the privately contracted accommodation managers (Nedeljkovic, 2018). Cultural and social isolation are the hallmarks of this system due to the often remote physical location of centres, an apparent lack of effort to group people of similar cultural backgrounds together and the lack of communal recreational spaces for residents to gather, socialise and participate in cultural expression (Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission, 2020).

The Irish Migrant Integration Strategy highlights importance of cultural diversity, however it does not extend in any meaningful way to those living under Direct Provision, whose situation in "a politics of exclusion" (O'Reilly, 2018, p. 821) denies them any concrete protection of their cultural rights. This is perhaps the Government's greatest policy failing in terms of cultural rights protection for migrants in Ireland and indeed, following years of national and international criticism, the Direct Provision system is set to be dismantled in the near future and it is hoped that Ireland's new system for asylum seekers better protects their rights in all spheres (Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2021).

#### Promoting migrant culture in Ireland

As previously outlined in this article, "Culture 2025" fails to engage with migrant culture beyond a surface level and does not adequately or fully reflect the international legal

framework or the needs of Irish society. However, the government, via the Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and the Arts Council of Ireland have undertaken a number of initiatives with regard to the practical implementation of Ireland's cultural policy, some of which have addressed migrant culture.

# The Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media

The Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media ("The Department") plays an important role in "in shaping, articulating and coordinating Government policy in the field of culture" (Government of Ireland, 2016, p. 20). Cultural awareness is part of its core policy goal whilst the values of inclusivity and diversity are central to some initiatives relating to culture (Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media, 2015, 2021). The beneficiaries of the 2021 funding scheme are identified as cultural institutions that "hold collections of moveable cultural heritage of national importance, or collections that are unique in the country and relate to matters of national interest, or that relate to international culture; these institutions are open to the public and their collections are accessible to the public" (Government of Ireland, 2021, p. 1), or alternatively "meet a specific unmet cultural need" (Government of Ireland, 2021, p. 2). Beyond fleeting references to "international culture" and to "unmet cultural need(s)" there seems to be neither explicit endorsement of Ireland's evolving, increasingly diverse cultural make-up nor specific funding programmes to promote same. The specific schemes and events funded by the Department provide better insight into how it facilitates the promotion of migrant culture. A stated objective of one such event, the Culture Night programme (Culture Night, 2022; https://culturenight.ie), is to extend the reach of cultural access beyond already engaged audiences to those who may not normally have access, such as marginalised migrant populations. This is very much in line with the intercultural approach outlined in "Culture 2025", drawing on the related strategies of democratisation of culture and audience development (Arts Council England, 2011; Carbone, 2018; European Commission Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, 2012; Hadley, 2017; Hadley, 2021). Practical action for the achievement of increased cultural engagement by marginalised groups is evident in the terms and conditions of the Culture Night Programme, which requires that any event staged under it must demonstrate a commitment to, inter alia, the promotion of diversity and inclusion and/or the creation of opportunities of the engagement of marginalised groups, explicitly mentioning asylum seekers, refugees and migrants (https://culturenight.ie). The Department's initiatives represent a concrete attempt to fulfil the State's legal obligation concerning the cultural rights of migrants, and to positively impact on Irish society through the promotion of cultural diversity.

# The Arts Council of Ireland

As the Irish Government agency for developing the arts, the Arts Council acts as a platform for the development of the arts as a central aspect of Irish society and works in collaboration with stakeholders, from artists to public policy makers (The Arts Council, n.d.). Its strategy centres on the value of "respect for diversity of artistic practice, of public engagement, and of social and cultural traditions" (The Arts Council, 2015, p. 11) and it includes earmarked linguistic diversity, local-led initiatives and cultural diversity audits as important aspects of its strategy, entitled "Cultural Diversity and The Arts: Policy and Strategy 2010" (The Arts Council, 2010). It favours an intercultural approach through "promoting inclusion and interaction between individuals and groups from different cultures and recognising the need for two-way negotiation and change" (The Arts Council, 2010, p. 6). A recognition of plurality within Irish society, and within minorities themselves, underpins its pledge to ensure that strategies are nuanced and that tokenism is avoided, so that "individual artists or audience members should not be expected to act as representatives for their ethnicity or culture" (The Arts Council, 2010, p. 6). The document identifies certain barriers to participation of minority ethnic and cultural communities, framing the issue within the context of democratisation of culture and audience development, as a lack of knowledge and capacity of those charged with Arts provision to ensure it reaches all groups causing "a paucity of effective communication taking place between arts providers and individuals from minority ethnic and cultural communities" (The Arts Council, 2010, p. 5). The Arts Council's "Making Great Art Work" three year plans 2017-2019 (The Arts Council, 2015) and 2020-2022 (The Arts Council, 2017) respectively, in the context of public engagement, seek to diversify audiences of the Arts and increase engagement with particular communities (The Arts Council, 2015; 2017). Again, the promotion of migrant culture is framed within the notion of an audience development strategy which strives to make culture more democratic in terms of its outreach to more marginalised members of society, such as migrants. Furthermore, funding is directed to organisations who actively promote culturally diverse interaction (The Arts Council, n.d.). A number of Arts Council initiatives seek to open up the Arts, both in terms of creation and enjoyment, beyond an exclusive and elitist audience, including a Local Partnership Scheme, the Artist in the Community Scheme and The Connect Mentoring Programme, some of which have the potential to benefit the migrant community in Ireland (The Arts Council, n.d.). Such funding schemes thus react to the changing demographics of Irish society.

# Conclusion

The promotion and protection of the cultural rights of migrants is an important obligation on States. Numerous international instruments exist which place obligations on State Parties to protect the cultural rights of all people within their jurisdiction, including migrants. This is because, as stated by the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, these rights "are transformative and empowering, providing important opportunities for the realization of other human rights" (UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, 2016, para. 5). Ensuring respect for the cultural rights of migrants helps to facilitate their better integration into, and consequent contribution to, their adopted society, in addition to various other benefits in terms of health and wellbeing (Bygren et al, 2009; Camic & Chatterjee, 2013; Napier et al, 2014). Ensuring this respect thus both ameliorates the lives of migrants as well as enriches "the fabric of society as a whole" (Human Rights Committee, 1994, para. 9). This article sought to address the cultural rights of migrants in Ireland from a socio-legal perspective, situating the legal and policy frameworks focusing on the intersection between culture and migration in the context of Irish society and its changing demographics. It has illustrated that Ireland respects the right to culture, through its ratification of international treaties and adoption

of policies following on from treaty obligations, however the State's societal makeup is not always adequately reflected or considered in such policies, and the cultural rights of migrants are too often side-lined.

"Culture 2025. *Éire Ildánach*" is a significant document, being Ireland's first national holistic cultural policy. In respect of the cultural rights of migrants, this Policy Framework reflects international legal instruments which underline the intrinsic value of culture and the importance of cultural diversity, which is to be lauded. Unfortunately, the Policy Framework does not engage in any depth with the issue of migrant culture. Adopted shortly after "Culture 2025", the Migrant Integration Strategy, which refers to "Culture 2025", takes a similar approach to acknowledging the importance of culture but also goes further in explicitly recognising the role of culture in migrant integration and the importance of interculturalism. This Strategy has led to the development of several initiatives which have promoted migrant culture at the practical level. These initiatives have included the Arts Council's "Culture Night" Programme, the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media's "Creative Ireland" programme, and the Office of Migrant Integration's Communities Integration Fund.

Some of these initiatives have a national focus but the practical implementation of the Strategy has been delegated to a significant extent, with local authorities taking a lead role in the implementation process. This approach has both advantages and disadvantages, as a local authority can tailor an integration activity based on local demographics and needs, but it also leads to a rather fragmented approach to the cultural rights of migrants, as was illustrated in the case studies of the Galway City and Co Donegal local authority approaches to migrant integration discussed above. To date, however, there has been a lack of empirical evidence as to how these policies directly impact on the cultural rights of migrants. From the brief qualitative discussion above, it is clear that some initiatives which have emanated from these policy documents have had a positive impact on the cultural rights of migrants, such as the Local Partnership Scheme, the Artist in the Community Scheme and the Connect Mentoring Programme (The Arts Council, n.d.; The Government of Ireland, 2019).

To conclude, it is recognised that a number of benefits have accrued to migrants as a result of the Galway City and Co Donegal Migrant Integration Strategies, but improvement can be made in future policies. For example, both documents are quite vague as to how they are to be implemented in practice, as is generally the case with policy documents. Additional discussion by governmental departments and agencies of cultural democracy and audience development strategies (European Commission Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, 2017; Hadley, 2017; Hadley, 2021) could provide valuable guidance on how these policies can be effectively implemented to achieve increased access to culture for the migrant population in Ireland, and reflect the importance of migrant culture in, and to, Irish society. A national approach that mirrors the Galwegian strategy for migrant integration and the promotion of migrant culture, which is robust and comprehensive, is to be favoured. Galway City's democratic approach to developing the city's cultural agenda through collaboration with civil society organisations and the Galwegian community itself represents sincere efforts by the Council to fulfil the right to culture for everyone under its administration, by giving voice to minority and marginalised populations. The transformative intercultural objectives of the strategy seek to entrench cultural diversity throughout society, from

community attitudes to the economy. This emphasis on cooperation, both horizontally across government agencies and vertically with civil society and the community itself, could benefit the national strategy and ultimately fully reflect, and positively transform, Irish society.

In addition, while "Culture 2025" and the Migrant Integration Strategy overlap, they do not engage with each other in any great depth. The Strategy refers fleetingly to "Culture 2025", but a more consolidated approach across different governmental departments and policies focusing on the issues of culture and migration would better solidify the cultural rights of migrants in Irish society. It is important that policies dealing with culture and migration are not viewed in isolation, but rather that they reinforce each other, and aim to reflect current Irish societal makeup, in seeking to achieve the fulfilment of the right to culture for migrants in Ireland and to positively impact on Irish society.

#### Notes

- 1. The Arts Council was established by the *Arts Act 2003*, which defines "arts" in Art. 2(3) as "any creative or interpretative expression (whether traditional or contemporary) in whatever form, and includes, in particular, visual arts, theatre, literature, music, dance, opera, film, circus and architecture, and includes any medium when used for those purposes."
- 2. In line with Directive 2013/32/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection (recast) OJ L 180, 2013, p. 60–95, asylum seekers are those "third-country national or stateless person who has made an application for international protection in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken individuals awaiting". In other terms, we refer to individuals whose claim for refugee or subsidiary protection is under consideration but yet to be determined by means of administrative processes under Irish law. See Section 2 of the *International Protection Act, 2015*, No. 66 of 2015 (as amended).
- 3. The average length of stay is 2 years however some people have spent up to 12 years in Direct Provision.
- 4. The law on prohibiting asylum seekers from working was changed following the case of High Court (IEHC), N.H.V. and F.T. v. The Minister for Justice and Equality (Respondent) and the Irish Human Rights Commission (Notice Party) [2015] IEHC 246, Judgment of 17 April 2015. For a discussion of the timeline concerning the right to work of asylum seekers in Ireland, see Doras website, "Right to Work", available at: <a href="https://doras.org/right-to-work/#:~:text=The%20Supreme%20Court%20has%20declared,(recast)%20Reception%20Conditions%20Directive>accessed 12 January 2021.">https://doras.org/right-to-work/#:~:text=The%20Supreme%20Court%20has%20declared,(recast)%20Reception%20Conditions%20Directive>accessed 12 January 2021.</a>

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