Introduction

In human rights struggles, culture and the arts have often been instrumental in challenging attitudes, resisting oppression, mobilizing activists and inspiring change. Culture is central to a person’s identity: by tying individuals together through the assertion of shared histories, norms and attitudes, it can be a force for unity. Furthermore, artistic expression such as drama, poetry and song can provide minorities and indigenous peoples with a means to resist threats to their existence. For example, Aboriginal art in Australia has long played a central role in countering colonization and the erasure of Aboriginal culture.

But culture can also be divisive. Where two cultures meet, the dominant culture can engulf or threaten the existence of the other. The symbolic power of the arts has also been recognized by those who seek to oppress minorities and indigenous peoples, who may actively target cultural heritage to demoralize communities or exploit the power of the arts in propaganda to incite hatred against a particular group. Like any other source of power, art can harm as well as heal. For a human rights organization working, like Minority Rights Group International (MRG), to support marginalized communities through culture, this is a sobering realization – alongside positive messages of tolerance, there will almost always be opposing voices seeking to fill the same space with a very different music.

This chapter aims to explore these issues by sharing some of the experiences and learning that MRG has gained so far in its work on cultural rights and the use of various art forms to secure greater respect, equality and emancipation for minorities and indigenous peoples. To do so, the chapter also discusses the complex and dynamic inter-relationships between minority and majority cultures, as well as the ways that cultural perceptions can drive or challenge human rights abuses. It also touches upon policy-making, the development, shaping and attrition of cultures, and some aspects of how and why minority and indigenous communities prioritize cultural preservation and development as essential for their survival.

Challenging discrimination through street theatre: MRG’s first cultural project

While MRG has been campaigning for almost 50 years for minority and indigenous communities worldwide, its work in the cultural and creative sectors began relatively recently when the organization saw opportunities to extend its work into these areas as a way of reaching out to new audiences. MRG is proud of its track record in litigating for minority and indigenous peoples’ rights, but it also understands the limitations of legal statutes. And this is not just the usual argument about non-implementation (which is, indeed, a common and serious problem). As MRG has seen first-hand, even when laws are implemented and followed to the letter, discriminatory attitudes can persist – and with them unequal outcomes between minority and majority populations. For example, all too often laws outlawing discrimination in job hiring have not resulted, at least in the short and medium term, in more equitable employment rates between groups as employers have found different reasons for selecting the same candidates. In short, people with discriminatory mindsets will find a way to continue discriminating in spite of new laws: in India, despite the caste system’s formal abolition in 1950, deep-seated prejudice towards the Dalit population persists to this day.

This led MRG to consider a new approach to its work – how to draw on the arts to change the attitudes of those who discriminate. Borrowing from successful practice in the health sector, particularly in addressing the stigmatization of those with HIV or AIDS, MRG began to explore the idea of a project that would use street theatre to challenge stereotypes and misrepresentations of minorities and indigenous peoples. Having approached its network of partners to see who might be interested in this new approach, four countries were selected: Botswana, Dominican Republic, Kenya and Rwanda. MRG and its partners were fortunate that the European Union
Delivering minority and indigenous rights in practice

State of the World’s Minorities and Indigenous Peoples 2016

(EU) agreed to fund the project. In each country the project team recruited and brought together artistic directors, actors and minority activists. Questions immediately arose: would both majority and minority actors come forward to take part in a politically sensitive project? Would the groups get permission to perform? Would audiences attend? Would they understand the message? How would they react? Street theatre was not common in any of the project countries and the partners had limited resources to call on in developing their productions.

Despite these reservations, the project delivered a great number of successes. Both professional and untrained minority actors came forward in sufficient numbers, while partners were largely able to overcome the reluctance of authorities to allow this experimental medium – though certain techniques, involving audience participation and actor improvisation, at times had to be abandoned because the unpredictability was too much for some governments to accept. The casts and project team crafted scripts that used sympathetic characters to pull audiences into the story and then used humour to challenge widely accepted stereotypes of minority or indigenous groups. Large crowds flocked to town squares and other venues to watch the performances. Audiences were often moved to tears and laughter, but not – as the project team may have feared – to anger expressed through violence. Audience members interviewed after the performances confessed to having discriminated against or viewed minorities and indigenous peoples negatively, but said that the show had made them rethink these attitudes.

MRG’s partners subsequently made a film about the project in each country and screened it to reach an even wider audience. These four films were combined into a global film, Say My Name, that showcased the process, techniques and some of the striking audience reactions. In the end, the programme managed to reach more than 60,000 people – far in excess of the original target – but, more importantly, the project also engaged viewers in new and unexpected ways. In the words of the external evaluator, audiences were ‘struck by the power of seeing discrimination and conflict demonstrated rather than only being talked about’ – an approach that distinguished it from other anti-discrimination campaigns.

In addition, there were three unintended positive consequences of the project. The first was its impact on decision-makers. The project team had not had any specific policy change goals. Nonetheless, our engagement with policy-makers suggests that the performances had raised their consciousness of the issues and uncovered an openness to act, with numerous officials and leaders pledging support following performances: the vice-president of Botswana praised the way the performances championed diversity; a councillor promised to discuss the issue of discrimination in council; a chief in Rapostswe, Botswana, said he would encourage village chiefs to consider the issue; and a pastor pledged to dedicate a day in church to discuss it. While there were insufficient resources for significant follow-up, the feedback points to the considerable potential that a sustained effort may have in transforming attitudes.

Second, although the project’s main aim had been to reach and challenge the attitudes of majority groups who discriminate, there were clear effects on the members of the minority and indigenous communities who participated in the dramas. Their self-esteem and sense of belonging was strengthened by the fact that someone had made a play that paid attention to their experiences and took their problems seriously. The subsequent evaluation suggested that the project was actually most effective in building the confidence of minority and indigenous participants to articulate their situation and even challenge racism. Furthermore, media coverage helped highlight key community issues, as well as opening up opportunities for minority and indigenous activists themselves to speak publicly about their situations. For example, in Rwanda, a journalist interviewed a Batwa woman, as part of a TV article. The woman mentioned the community’s need to access clay to pursue their traditional livelihoods and the journalist followed this up the next day in an interview with the Mayor of Ruhango, asking him to respond to this demand.

Third, the project also had a deep impact on many of the actors belonging to majority groups. Each project involved a community visit whereby, after casting had taken place, the actors went to visit a minority or indigenous community. Where possible, they slept in the houses of minority or indigenous people, shared their food, worked together with them in the fields or to build a house. In all cases, the actors were visibly shocked by the poverty and inequality they encountered. This experience stripped away a level of comfort and made them ready to fundamentally rethink their attitudes. They re-examined values that they had been raised with since birth, language they used every day, jokes they told, decisions they had made and practices they had condoned. Several actors spoke very honestly and movingly about this difficult process and others have stated that they now actively challenge racism.

But attempts to build cohesion within the groups were not entirely unproblematic. Some drama groups grappled with the attitudes of minority and majority group members towards each other – a difficult and time-consuming task. For example, in Botswana, minority and majority drama group members did not want to share a room when they were touring, despite their cooperation on stage. Nevertheless, the mixed minority and majority casts ultimately formed cohesive and solid teams that proved essential to withstanding the challenges from audience members during participatory theatre and after-show discussions on these sensitive issues.

Of course, there were difficulties along the way. For instance, in Kenya, some actors faced death threats and had to move home temporarily for safety. This was due to the minority/majority issue being intimately connected with the politics of Mombasa and the coastal region, where the project took place, and the highly charged pre-election context. But, while acknowledging the seriousness of such issues, MRG felt that overall the pilot project was successful in challenging some of the deep-seated prejudices that have had continuing detrimental effects on the lives of minorities and indigenous peoples. As such, the team started to design projects that would replicate elements of the project or adapt it to new contexts.

The external evaluator also challenged the project team to think beyond its initial objectives. Due to MRG’s limited experience in street theatre, the project team had been fairly conservative in the results it sought and the indicators to assess them. However, the evaluator encouraged MRG to think about the potential for long-term and sustained impact. Although the
shows could reasonably make people rethink their attitudes, was there any guarantee that this would not be forgotten the following day, after a good night’s sleep, or perhaps after seeing a negative media article about a minority or indigenous community? This is a real problem for street theatre in terms of data capture. Audiences are transient; in insecure contexts, people hesitate to share contact details. In big cities, the chances of happening on and interviewing the same people upon visiting a city square after three or six months are very small. Fortunately, in the Kenya project, where the shows had been performed in large villages, the evaluator was able to revisit those villages approximately six months later. She selected interviewees at random during transect walks and interviewed a number who had attended performances. Pleasingly, she found that people were able to remember the main messages of the drama, while some respondents also reported acting or reacting differently as a result. This was a limited exercise, but it does suggest that the effects of street theatre can be sustained over time. Building on these lessons, MRG is now working to find new ways of retaining contact with audience members in big city performances.

The power of the arts: a force for good? The case study of MRG’s first major street theatre project provides a small window into understanding the potential that the arts have as a tool for the protection, promotion and reinforcement of cultural and other human rights. MRG’s exploration in this field has widened its understanding of how the organization can work collaboratively with people at the grassroots, as well as with decision-makers, to promote the rights of minority and indigenous communities. But to utilize the arts to their greatest effect, it is important to understand how and why it can be such a powerful tool. Given the clear impact that the street theatre had in the project countries, what was it about the art form that engaged so effectively with audience members and pushed them to rethink their attitudes towards minorities and indigenous communities? Much of the theoretical literature on this topic points to the role of art as a moral educator. This is particularly true for art that takes a narrative form. Martha Nussbaum, a professor of law and ethics at the University of Chicago, maintains that ‘as we tell stories about the lives of others, we learn how to imagine what another creature might feel in response to various events. At the same time, we identify with the other creature and learn something about ourselves.’ By presenting to the audiences the plight of minority and indigenous communities through stories about the lived experiences of individuals, the project enabled them to understand these ‘other’ communities as groups of people much like themselves. The audiences were able to empathize with the individual and to gain an understanding of what it would be like to face the struggles of that community. It is this empathetic response that art can generate which fosters attitudinal change.

In much of the world, people hold the power, through their actions and behaviours, to end human rights abuses and collectively help a state achieve respect for human rights in the area it controls. As was mentioned above, the implementation of anti-discriminatory laws is simply not enough to immediately end discrimination. This can only happen through widespread changes in individual attitudes. This is because individual actions, such as the act of hiring only people of a certain group or the refusal to sell property to members of minority groups, are what uphold and maintain systematic processes of exclusion or oppression. The beauty of the arts is that, unlike the worlds of law and politics, it is accessible at least in some form to all people, whether through community projects and activism, popular art and media, or fine arts. Since the arts in all their forms hold such a central role in the shaping of human values, they are of fundamental importance in attempts to effect widespread and meaningful change.

However, art does not simply educate; it can inspire and motivate change. When utilized effectively, art can have a profound impact on struggles for human rights or against injustice. A popular example is the use of freedom songs to mobilize communities in struggles for justice. Such songs were notably used by civil rights activists in North America during the civil rights movement. Songs such as ‘We shall overcome’ and ‘We shall not be moved’ provided a non-violent means of resistance for activists, and were widely used to recruit and to deepen commitment to the movement. Freedom songs, such as Eddy Grant’s ‘Gimme Hope Jo’anna’, were also widely used in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. T.V. Reed, a professor at Washington State University, writes that: ‘Music becomes more deeply ingrained in memory than mere talk, and this quality made it a powerful organizing tool. It is one thing to hear a political speech and remember an idea or two. It is quite another to sing a song and have its politically charged verses become emblazoned on your memory. In singing you take on a deeper level of commitment to an idea than if you only hear it spoken of.’

In struggles for minority and indigenous peoples’ rights, culture is of particular importance because of the symbolic value that it can hold for the communities affected. Culture is central to the formation and maintenance of social groups. Shared culture is a glue that binds groups of people together, generating a sense of belonging to something larger than the individual or family. For those belonging to minority or indigenous communities, culture is very important in defining their groups and creating a sense of solidarity and fellowship within the group. In 1970s Greenland, for example, the revolutionary rock band Sumé produced the first songs to be recorded in the Greenlandic language, in response to a general dissatisfaction with Denmark’s dominance over every aspect of their lives, including education. Use of the Greenlandic language unified indigenous Inuit because it strengthened their collective identity and thus underscored the collective nature of their struggles. The music empowered the youth of the time to launch a successful movement for Greenland to gain more autonomy from Denmark.

In addition to mobilizing communities, music has been used to bring wider attention to human rights issues and to mobilize global communities. ‘Charity’ or ‘benefit’ rock concerts have often been used to convey highly politicized messages to global audiences. This method was pioneered by Ravi Shankar and George Harrison in August...
The existence of cultural or other boundaries can also be used to exclude others, creating division and alienation. In places, such othering in cultural life has been a precursor or enabler for other rights abuses against minorities and indigenous peoples, including mass killings and genocide. Just as songs and music have been used to motivate activists and protesters in pursuit of human rights, they have also been used to rally warriors, soldiers and armed groups in oppressive regimes. Individuals, including musician Simon Bikindi and the wife of a government minister, Yvonne Basebya,\(^6\) have been convicted of inciting genocide in Rwanda through the use of song, among other crimes. At the same time, many well-known traditional musicians were actively targeted in the genocide.

A more frequent method of ‘othering’ occurs when the state actively attempts to assimilate all of those who differ from a majority ethnicity by devaluing their culture or by socially engineering cultural change. Particularly egregious examples include the taking of indigenous children in both Australia and Canada away from their families and raising them in children’s homes. A further example is China’s use of minorities in state-sponsored media and art. Minority artists are trained in state-sponsored song-and-dance troupes to present their ethnic identities in ways that are acceptable to the Chinese state: at the same time, they are severely restricted from presenting art that might contain political messages of disunity or repression. Integral to almost every effort to deny a minority or indigenous people’s claim to equality have been efforts to limit their access to and use of culture and language. Decisions against state recognition of the Albanian language as an official language of Macedonia were a key grievance for ethnic Albanians pursuing their rights in Macedonia, and in 2001 became a major factor in the emergence of conflict.

At its worst, the symbolic power of culture has been manipulated by parties to conflict in order to reinforce traditional cultural acts such as traditional dance or the telling of folklore, can be instrumental in reconnecting victims to their old lives and in helping them recreate feelings of stability and community. In many instances, old traditions that had been in decline prior to conflict have experienced a revival in its wake. This was particularly true in El Salvador in 1992 where, after 12 years of conflict, the government actively encouraged traditional cultural dances and festivals through the passage of legislation for the protection of cultural heritage. Likewise, cultural projects are commonly used in refugee camps to allow displaced communities to experience familiarity and community in foreign lands and to provide hope.

Using arts as a tool for conflict resolution

But while there is widespread recognition of the devastation that cultural destruction frequently plays in conflict, the opportunities for preventing violence or supporting reconciliation efforts in a post-conflict setting are arguably underdeveloped. This is an area that MRG is now exploring further in its work.

MRG is currently midway through the implementation of a new project, ‘Drama, diversity and development’ (also EU funded),\(^2\) which is supporting 14 ‘street theatre against racism’ projects in the Middle East and North Africa, from Morocco to Lebanon. The project aims to build capacity and establish links between cultural actors in countries and minority communities. It also encompasses cultural rights advocacy projects, a documentary film and investigations into the possibility of litigating to achieve a context more conducive to cultural activity that reaches the most marginalized. The minorities and indigenous peoples involved range from sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco to Black Tunisians, Amazigh in Tunisia and Algeria, Nubians, Christians and Bedouin in Egypt, Palestinian citizens of Israel and Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan. Once again, the tours have been hugely popular, with audiences totalling 14,000 for a show touring Egypt, mayors attending performances in Palestine, and a project overcoming a ban on performing in Morocco after a concerted advocacy campaign. It is hoped that these efforts will help support tolerance and understanding between communities, and, in the process, reduce the likelihood of future division.

MRG has also explored the use of artistic forms to support reconciliation efforts in the aftermath of civil conflict. This particular project used arts to help minority Tamil women affected by conflict in Sri Lanka to explore what reconciliation would mean to them. Artists and a poet ran workshops with Tamil women where they composed poems or drew pictures representing their memories and feelings about the conflict and the country’s future.

Although the project was run in 2014 and
so was affected by the security context at the time, as well as deep distrust between minority communities and the authorities, it was nevertheless a success. Participants reported that the chance to engage in artistic expression – an opportunity not typically available for most – had made for a more meaningful and personal exploration of the complex and sensitive subject of reconciliation than would have been the case through a more traditional discussion format. As one Tamil woman put it:

‘I have participated in several workshops and programmes regarding peace-building and livelihood improvement. They all called and forced [us] sometime to forget the past and walk ahead. It [the MRG project] is the only programme [that] called us to memorize and to accept the past. We had the chance to share the real pain and get free a bit.’

In addition to the primary outcomes, the drawings and poems made for high-impact advocacy evidence, which MRG was able to craft into a multimedia resource and a documentary film. This was shown at a side event at the United Nations Human Rights Council in November 2015 in Geneva.

Even in contexts where tensions have stopped short of large-scale conflict, cultural exposure and artistic interaction still have a vital role to play in lowering barriers and raising awareness about minority and indigenous communities. MRG recently implemented a small pilot project in Europe, ‘Walk into My Life’, which uses interactive walking tours of cities interspersed with small-cast street performances to explore minorities’ relationships with the areas where they live and their sense of belonging, heritage and ability to truly be in these places. This project, currently run in Budapest (Hungary), London (UK), Stockholm (Sweden) and Oviedo (Spain), is of particular significance at a time when Europe is experiencing increasing division and hostility towards minorities and migrants. Projects like this allow MRG to tackle issues of community cohesion by helping societies to understand and respect minority cultures instead of rejecting them and demanding assimilation.

Conclusion

This overview of some of the ways in which artistic expression and human rights interact demonstrates the social and political power of the arts, as well as their considerable potential for organizations like MRG to communicate messages, mobilize communities and transform social attitudes towards minorities and indigenous peoples. As the organization has found, this is by no means an easy task and the process of attitudinal change can be protracted. Nevertheless, despite some salutary lessons along the way, the results have been very encouraging. MRG is currently exploring other ideas and actively developing projects in new locations. Ultimately, building on what it has learnt over the last few years, MRG is hoping to broaden its repertoire of cultural forms, as well as to use new vehicles such as radio plays and fiction films, to reach new types of audiences.

Based on our experience with the various projects described in this chapter, cultural and artistic mediums can be a hugely valuable resource for minority and human rights activists – one that we ignore at our peril. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society are missing a major opportunity if they fail to engage in this area. As argued here, cultural projects have a special power to generate empathetic responses that touch people at a deeper level and positively change their views.

Furthermore, culture occupies a space that is as political and contested as any other. If organizations like MRG do not occupy that space, intentionally or through a failure to attract a wider audience, then others will fill it in their absence. Producing audience-accessible materials on issues rights should therefore not be regarded as an optional supplement to other work, such as litigation or high-level advocacy, but an essential accompaniment to these processes. Legal or political reforms, while significant, can only achieve so much if social prejudices within a community remain unaddressed – or, indeed, continue to be actively encouraged by a flourishing arts and media scene that promotes not equality but discrimination.

Finally, shared cultural practices and knowledge are extremely important to minorities and indigenous peoples at the most fundamental level. Access to and fulfilment of cultural rights should therefore not be an afterthought but a central priority in the efforts of those working on minority rights issues. Without cultural rights, a community is unable to adequately express its identity or make its voice heard – a situation that only reinforces exclusion and lack of political participation.

Of course, to be able to fully realize the opportunities art and culture offer, states themselves must take every possible step to welcome and protect cultural diversity and the richness that it brings to all societies, particularly in an era of rising extremist and exclusionary nationalism. Majority cultures should be encouraged to avoid rigid and fixed cultural boundaries that create a ‘them and us’ mentality, or which otherwise exclude and marginalize other groups. Minority cultures might feel the need for firmer boundaries as a form of defence against assimilation, a situation that can in some cases result in increased discrimination towards certain groups within their community, such as women. But as and when a minority or indigenous culture can feel more secure and confident, when community members feel equally valued as members of society, creative cultural exchanges across boundaries will hopefully become the norm.

Endnotes

1 The project was funded through the initiative: European Commission Investing in People, Access to local culture, protection and promotion of cultural diversity contract number DRI 1 HUM/2009/007991.
5 Ibid., p. 28.
7 EU-funded regional programme ‘Media and Culture for Development in the Southern Mediterranean Region Programme’, MRG, in partnership with the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development, the Civic Forum Institute Palestine, and Andalusia Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies. Both are available at www.minorityvoices.org.