

Cities in Transition

Global Exchange Forum Report
December 2006

About the Partners

The Barrow Cadbury Trust

The Barrow Cadbury Trust was set up in 1920 as the Barrow & Geraldine S. Cadbury Trust. We then merged with the Paul S. Cadbury Trust in 1994. We aim to encourage a fair, equal, peaceful and democratic society. We use the income generated from our endowment left by Barrow Cadbury and his wife Geraldine Southall to make grants to support groups (usually registered charities) that are working to achieve our objectives. We aim to make grants that enable groups to act as catalysts of social change.

We endeavour to work in partnership with groups we fund to build bridges between policy makers and grassroots activity; find ways of identifying best practice from projects to help social change; and encourage new solutions to old problems. Through collaborations with international foundations and other bodies that share the Trust's focus on youth, migrants, reconciliation in conflict societies and women's empowerment, our aim is to facilitate combined efforts to address key policy issues at an international level.

The Global Exchange Forum is an annual event which brings together practitioners from the UK and abroad and aims to promote the transfer of policy and practice from around the world, supporting Barrow Cadbury priorities in the UK.

The Young Foundation

The Young Foundation is a centre for social innovation based in London – combining practical projects, the creation of new enterprises, research and publishing. The Foundation was launched in 2005, but builds on a long history. Our predecessor organisations under Michael Young were responsible for far-reaching innovations ranging from the creation of the Open University and Which? to the School for Social Entrepreneurs, as well as pioneering research on changing patterns of community and family life through the Institute of Community Studies.

Since 2005 a new team has been brought together from NGOs, government, business and academia. Our main goal is to speed up society's ability to respond to changing needs through innovating and replicating new methods and models. We work to achieve this goal through three main strands: research, practical actions and local projects. The Young Foundation has a long tradition of research into communities and social change. Last year we published a major study of life in London's east end ('The New East End'), as well as smaller studies on globalisation in north-east London and the impact of the Olympics.

To strengthen our international links we hosted a major conference on social innovation in October 2006 in Beijing (and another conference in Chongqing), in partnership with the China Centre for Comparative Politics and Economics (which runs China's main annual award for local innovations) and the British Council.

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) is a nonpartisan American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to promoting greater cooperation and understanding between the United States and Europe. GMF was founded in 1972 through a gift from Germany as a permanent memorial to Marshall Plan assistance. From the very beginning, it was envisioned as an institution that would work throughout the European continent. In addition to its headquarters in Washington, DC, GMF has six offices in Europe.

GMF contributes to a vibrant transatlantic discourse by supporting individuals and institutions working on transatlantic issues, by convening leaders to discuss the most pressing transatlantic themes, and by examining ways in which transatlantic cooperation can address a variety of global policy challenges. GMF also supports a number of initiatives to strengthen democracies in wider Europe. Among GMF's flagship programs are the Marshall Memorial Fellows program and the Comparative Domestic Policy program. Both strive to further dialogue between European and American cities by introducing a new generation of leaders to the transatlantic relationship, building city-to-city networks across the Atlantic.

GMF has extensive experience with international survey methodology and carries out annually two large-scale, multinational public opinion surveys: Transatlantic Trends and Perspectives on Trade and Poverty Reduction. GMF uses both surveys' findings to reach out to the policymakers, media, think tank representatives, and academics who have an impact on foreign policy decisions within their respective countries. The survey results contribute to the ongoing debate on how Americans and Europeans look at each other, the world, and their respective roles in the world.

Contents

- 2 Foreword
Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs and Geoff Mulgan
- 3 Introduction
- 4 Why Cities in Transition?
- 8 Challenges of Cities in Transition
- 10 Study Tour
- 12 Social and Cultural Diversity
- 16 Political Integration
- 20 Economic Integration
- 23 Conclusion
- 24 The Agenda
- 25 The Speakers

Foreword



The question of how we live together under conditions of rapid demographic change and economic and social transformation is at the very heart of thinking about cities today. We believe that only by waking up to the true potential of cities in transition can we find practical starting points for making the most of our urban future.

Cities in transition are globally connected cities where the population has rapidly changed its colour, age and origins in the last 30 years to the point where minority communities – ethnic, faith and/or cultural – are becoming the majority. These emerging ‘plural’ cities are at the forefront of negotiating the challenges of globalisation and encapsulate key questions about migration, integration, equality and identity that are pertinent to many cities around the world.

The Global Exchange Forum 2006 was a unique opportunity to bring together leading thinkers and practitioners from four of the most diverse cities in the world to discuss how diversity is playing out on the ground. Birmingham, Los Angeles, Marseilles and Toronto provide illuminating backdrops to understanding the common challenges diversity is bringing to urban life. At the same time, their different populations paint four very complex pictures of both the potential threats and opportunities that plural cities face. We believe that only a deeper awareness of the particular issues of both newcomers and settled populations can lead to cities realising the major benefits that diversity can bring.

**Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs, Chief Executive, Barrow Cadbury Trust
and Geoff Mulgan, Director, The Young Foundation**

Introduction

In recent years, the question of how societies should deal with diversity, migration and integration has moved to the top of the political agenda in many countries. Traumatic events ranging from 9/11 in New York and 7/7 in London, to the assassination of Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands, the Danish cartoons controversy and the Paris riots of 2005 have amplified concerns that past policies are no longer working well. At the same time a growing body of commentary has suggested that new social and political fault lines are appearing around cultural identities, and around the tensions between secular and religious world views.

The precise shape of these arguments has varied in different countries but there have been common concerns about how to strike the right balance between religious and cultural autonomy on the one hand and the need to safeguard Western liberal secular traditions that (to varying degrees) separate out religion from the state. In the UK, the Netherlands and Scandinavia, debates have focused particularly on what are seen as the limitations of multiculturalism, the tensions between solidarity and diversity, and fears of a growing polarisation between different ethnic groups. In the US, debates have been very different and have often focused on the rights or lack of rights of migrants including irregular migrants. In Canada the main concern has been how to sustain a relatively successful track record into an era of greater tension between communities. In France the big issue has been how to cope with the tensions between faith and secularism, and how to address the socioeconomic roots of urban tensions and unrest.

Why Cities in Transition?

Many of the issues of diversity can be best understood at a city level. It is in cities that the creative energies and talents of diverse communities are most evident and increasingly cities highlight their diversity as a means of securing their standing in the world. London's 2012 Olympic bid for example showcased London's ethnic diversity as its greatest asset – symbolising it as a modern, inclusive, open society. In the case of Toronto, diversity is promoted as a positive feature. The city's motto is "Diversity is our Strength" and integration is seen as a two way process with active efforts by agencies (such as settlement policies) to help support the integration of newcomers into Canadian society.

At the same time, it is in cities that the most challenging aspects of diversity manifest themselves – including low level frictions as well as occasional riots. When riots spread across France, for example, they put into sharp focus the relationship between local police forces and the city's isolated banlieux, and the very nature of French Republicanism. In the UK the 2001 disturbances in the north of England in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham set in motion a much broader debate about multiculturalism and integration. The 1992 riots of LA seriously undermined the notion of America as the land of opportunity for all, as had the Watts riots in the 1960s and the New York riots in the 1970s.

Marseilles, France

Marseilles is a port town with a population of around one million, 34% of which are visible ethnic minority (including 25% foreign born). Like other diverse French cities, the largest minority groups herald from former French colonies in North Africa. Other groups include Europe's third largest Jewish community, Italians, Turks, Vietnamese and Chinese.

Religion remains an important identity marker for French-born Muslims of North African descent. This was brought into sharp focus in December 2003, when the French Government prohibited the wearing of religious symbols in schools on the grounds that it breached the principle of the separation between church and state. This highlighted some of the difficulties associated with the integration of minority groups with their own distinct culture and religious beliefs into a different system with pre-established norms.

Many groups are also beginning to embrace a different identity which is more broadly defined by their 'immigrant' experience. To some extent this can be seen as the result of France's policy towards second generation ethnic minorities who are born in France. They are not immediately given French citizenship but remain defined as an immigrant by the Government until they are able to request French nationality at the age of 18. This can lead to young people feeling like 'outsiders' within France and arguably has fuelled persistent discrimination.

Marseilles' immigrant population has disproportionately high levels of unemployment with some neighbourhoods with high concentrations of people from ethnic minorities having up to 30% unemployed.

Los Angeles, USA

The US is home to a number of minority-majority cities such as Miami, New York and Los Angeles. However, it also has some cities where minority groups already hold a large majority. The 'black' cities of the south, including Atlanta and the post-industrial cities of the north, primarily Detroit, are particularly prominent illustrations of this phenomenon where people of African American descent dominate the population. While in the south this is part of the legacy of the slave trade, in Detroit the key factor is white flight.

Los Angeles itself contains people from more than 140 countries, who speak at least 224 different languages and has the second largest percentage of foreign-born citizens of any major U.S. city after Miami. 47% of the population is of Latino origin, 12% Asian and 8.8% African American.

Ethnic minorities living in LA suffer from disproportionate levels of poverty with 24% of African Americans and Latinos being defined as living in poverty compared to 11% of Asians and 8% of whites. For Latinos poverty is characterised by receiving low incomes. For African Americans poverty is a result of the high levels of unemployment they experience.

Low income levels have a direct impact on one's ability to access healthcare due to the relatively expensive cost of health insurance. For example, 34% of Latinos living in LA are uninsured. Institutional deprivation is also prevalent within the education system. 53% of working age adults in LA cannot read well enough to use a bus schedule or complete a job application. Furthermore, only 26% of Latino high school graduates in 2004 completed the minimum requirements to apply to California State University and the University of California compared with 43% of whites and 53% of Asians.

Tensions in cities are nothing new. Cities have always been divided by class and wealth, by rights to and over property, by occupation, as well as by nationality, race and religion. Today, however, their economies, societies, politics and cultures are being shaped by greater global connectedness more than ever before, raising important questions about how rapid change in diverse cities is managed. These include: how best to deal with rising inequalities, how to handle resentments and conflicts between groups, how to cope with, or reduce ethnic segregation in areas such as housing and education and how to foster greater opportunities for social interaction between different groups.

In the last 40 years the world has seen a dramatic change in its demographic make-up. In 1965, 75 million people lived outside their country of origin, now 180 million people can be found making their homes in foreign countries. For example, 600,000 Britons now live in Spain and there is a growing trend of second home buyers settling in Croatia, South Africa, Bulgaria and other countries. In Canada, population growth is projected to depend solely on immigration by 2030. It is now estimated that roughly 3% of the Earth's land surface is occupied by urban areas and approximately 7% of the world's population resides in the largest cities. More than half of the world's population will be living in urban areas by 2008. By 2030, it is expected that 60% of the world population will live in urban areas.



Craig Kennedy, German Marshall Fund

Toronto, Canada

Toronto has experienced immense change in the demographic make-up of its population within the lifetime of a single generation. Before 1961, 97% of the population were white and 92% of its immigrants had arrived from Europe. Today those of European origin comprise less than 2% of Toronto's recent immigrant population. Toronto's demographic make-up is now incredibly diverse. There are 48 ethnic groups in Toronto who have at least 5,000 members and another 109 ethnic groups with at least 1,000 members.

Yet whilst the multiplicity of Toronto's ethnic diversity is exceptional, other cities in Canada are also witnessing rapid demographic change. A large proportion of recent immigrants can be found residing in the urban centres of Canada's largest cities; 42% in Toronto, 18% in Montreal and 13% in Vancouver. Additionally, in 2001 Statistics Canada reported that one-in-five school children in Toronto and Vancouver was a new immigrant. The same report noted that for almost half of all children in Toronto, and 61 percent in Vancouver, the language spoken most often at home was neither English nor French. It is expected that by 2017 visible minorities will make up 50% of the population in both Toronto and Vancouver.

On arrival the average migrant earns less than the average Canadian, although their performance, relative to the average Canadian, improves rapidly through the initial years. The level of education among migrants is mostly higher than Canadian born citizens although unemployment in some immigrant groups remains significantly higher than average. In 2001, 33% of children in families of recent immigrants were poor compared to 16% for those with Canadian born parents.

Migrants face many difficulties in their attempts to enter the labour market including: language barriers, lack of internationally recognised education, training and experience, insufficient information about employment opportunities and requirements, insufficient targeted training to bridge gaps in qualifications, and difficulties in obtaining Canadian work experience.

These demographic shifts have been evident in the cities of Europe and North America. We define 'cities in transition' as those undergoing significant demographic change so that no single group holds the demographic majority. Demographic projections show that many cities throughout Europe and North America are set to become more ethnically diverse. In the context of globalisation, this is likely to be accelerated by factors such as an ageing population, accession of new countries to the EU, poverty and conflict in developing countries and migration to meet labour shortages.

To understand these dynamics, words like 'minority' and 'majority' are no longer proving very illuminating. They obscure the differences within groups; ignore the dynamic whereby many poorer, low skilled indigenous communities are being left behind economically by highly skilled newcomers; and they risk reinforcing notions of separateness which play down the complex interactions between diverse communities.



Elizabeth McIsaac, The Maytree Foundation & Helen Walsh, Diaspora Dialogues

By looking at diversity and integration in specific places, the purpose has been to facilitate understanding and to make it easier to make sense of the debates around multiculturalism, integration, identity and belonging. We were particularly keen

to advance understanding of the challenges and opportunities facing cities subject to rapid demographic change, explore the conditions for a diverse city to thrive and be successful, and share lessons from different cities on what works by looking at examples of promising practice.

Birmingham & Other UK Cities

The city of Birmingham is the regional centre of the West Midlands. With a population of a million, it is the UK's second largest city. It has a tremendously diverse profile, largely the result of post-war immigration from former British colonies to meet skills shortages mainly in the manufacturing sector. Around 66% of the population is 'White' British and 34% are of visible ethnic minority (of which 16% are foreign born).

In this category, Pakistanis are the largest minority community in Birmingham with about 34% (104,000) people. Indians make up 18% (56,000) of the city's ethnic minority population, Black Caribbeans make up 15% (48,000), Bangladeshis make up 7% (28,000) of the population, and those of mixed backgrounds make up 9% (28,000) of the population.

Birmingham's cultural diversity is reflected in the arts: the city is the centre of the Asian music industry, the UK centre for Garage Music and the base for the UK's first South Asian Music Performance and Dance company, SAMPAD. Birmingham hosts an annual Mela which is one of the biggest in Europe and a showcase of South Asian culture. It was recently recognized as an 'unrecognized' immigrant gateway by the George Washington Center for the Study of Globalization Global Immigrant Gateways project.

London is the epicentre of ethnic diversity in the UK. More than 300 languages are spoken in London and the city has at least 50 non-indigenous communities with populations of 10,000 or more. Whilst London represents a unique kind of diversity in terms of the sheer variety of different peoples, the rest of Britain is also experiencing significant change in its demographic make-up. Leicester is widely predicted, within the next five years, to become the first city in Europe with a majority non-white population. Apart from Indians, White Britons earn substantially more than other ethnic minorities. For example, a White male earns an average of £332 a week compared to the £182 brought home by his Pakistani counterpart.



Lilli Geissendorfer, Young Foundation, Rushanara Ali, Young Foundation, Phoebe Griffith, Barrow Cadbury Trust, Asif Afridi, Birmingham: Race Action Partnership

Challenges of Cities in Transition

The Global Exchange conference agenda focused on three themes that we considered to be particularly important to all four cities and relevant to other cities in transition: economic, social and cultural, and political integration. The day was set up to draw on the common challenges these cities are facing, explore how they are addressing them and share best practice. Two plenary sessions exploring key trends and the dynamics of majority-minority cities provided an in-depth academic introduction to the issues on both sides of the Atlantic. The first plenary session gave the audience of policy makers, academics, foundations, NGOs and other practitioners in local and national government an overview of key trends in the USA (William Frey, Brookings Institute) and Birmingham (Alessio Cangiano, COMPAS, University of Oxford), while Saskia Sassen (London School of Economics & University of Chicago) outlined the ways in which the face of the city was changing as its spaces were being occupied by different groups.

Geoff Mulgan of the Young Foundation and Fiona Mactaggart MP (Former Home Office Minister) shed light on the UK policy perspective. This helped distill the questions to be tackled in an afternoon of workshops and a final panel discussion between Geoff Mulgan (Young Foundation), Justice Williams (Inner City Creative Media Group), Jeremy Crook (Black Training and Enterprise Group) and Mark Kleinman (Department of Communities and Local Government) chaired by Sukhvinder Stubbs (Barrow Cadbury Trust) taking questions from the floor.

William Frey's illuminating presentation highlighted that the USA will become a fully 50/50 country by 2050, when it is predicted that 50% of the population will be white, with Hispanics making up the second largest group. He also highlighted that it is the young who are becoming more diverse fastest, leading to different pressures at different points in society. Most interestingly, the same metropolitan areas which are attracting newcomers are also experiencing the highest out-migration. Part of this trend means that Detroit, New York, Denver, Cleveland and Miami have already become non-white majority cities.

In his report for the Barrow Cadbury Trust, 'Mapping of Race and Poverty in Birmingham'¹, Alessio Cangiano indicates the significant pace of population change in Birmingham in the last four years, with migration being responsible for the considerable changes in the population profile of some ethnic groups such as Black African, Chinese and "Other White". The report also shows that there is a marked polarisation between the wards. Some wards have high levels of deprivation and high minority populations, whereas others have concentrations of low level deprivation, where the majority of inhabitants are white. Whilst Birmingham is not a heavily deprived city when compared to the rest of England, the picture at ward level tells a different story, with a number of wards rated in the ten per cent most deprived in England.



William Frey, Brookings Institute; Saskia Sassen, London School of Economics & University of Chicago; Samira Ahmed, ITN & Alessio Cangiano, COMPAS, University of Oxford



Fiona Mactaggart, MP

Cangiano's research also highlights the challenges facing service providers in meeting social needs in wards facing multiple problems. The report shows that Birmingham's Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities have a high number of young people and so require greater access to education and childcare services. Black Caribbeans are deprived, especially in youth employment and health.

For Cangiano, Cante and a number of speakers at the conference, the issue of how institutions and organisations respond to such rapidly changing populations was all about overcoming the 'information gap'. The changing nature of the population has led to a gap in the amount of information the government can have about a particular community at any one time. This poses questions about how public services can respond to such rapid change, particularly with regards to healthcare and schooling if residents are not registered. Furthermore, if residents are not on the electoral roll, this brings into question the place they hold in democracy and hence how they relate to the state in terms of their rights and their citizenship.

The Dynamics of 'Majority-Minority' Cities were discussed by Ted Cante (Institute for Community Cohesion), Tim Winter (University of Cambridge) and Michael Sudarskis (International New Towns Association). Asif Afridi (Birmingham: Research Action Partnership) gave an insight into the study tour organised by B:RAP for the eight international delegates. Michael Sudarskis's presentation emphasised the similarities between European countries experiencing high immigration and countered some of the misconceptions about race and faith that were damaging relations in France in the aftermath of the November 2005 urban disturbances.

Cante's assessment of the demographic changes under way across the UK highlighted white flight as a growing phenomenon. The figures of in and out migration into the UK's biggest cities speak for themselves:

In and Out Migration in UK's cities

Birmingham	-90,000;	+58,000
Manchester	-43,000;	+15,000
Bristol	-17,000;	+8,000
Liverpool	-37,000;	+4,000
Leicester	-19,000;	+19,000
London	-340,000;	+600,000

¹ Mapping of Race and Poverty in Birmingham, Centre for Migration Policy and Society of the University of Oxford for Barrow Cadbury Trust: 6 December 2006.



Asif Aridi, Birmingham: Race Action Partnership

Study Tour, 4 – 5 December, 2006

A two day study tour organised by Birmingham: Race Action Partnership took place prior to the conference, for delegates from Toronto, Los Angeles and Marseilles.

Discussion and debate after a showing of a documentary on Lozells and recent community tensions was deemed the highlight of a study tour that took delegates around Birmingham city centre and suburbs to see first hand the challenges facing Birmingham as it deals with rapid demographic change. Delegates gained insight into community led initiatives to improve economic and lifestyle opportunities for minorities in the city during visits to local enterprise development project Jericho, and the Saheli women's group 'Adventure Hub'.

A trip to Community Integration Partnership focused on new migration and changing demography of the city, while a working lunch at Northfield Constituency Strategic Partnership looked at issues relating to disadvantaged, largely white council estates and the rise of far right activity in these areas and the responses to this by the constituency.

Differences between the government approaches to diversity in the delegates' cities were brought to the fore during an hour with Birmingham City Council Equalities Division and a visit to the Government Office for the West Midlands.

Ted Cattle highlighted concerns about the shifting nature of inter-ethnic tensions. He argued that whilst in the past tensions arising from immigration were constructed around white majority vs. new immigrants, today, it is longer standing immigrants groups such as Indians, Pakistanis and Afro-Caribbean communities, who object particularly strongly to the new generation of immigrants such as those arriving from Eastern Europe.

Tim Winter (Cambridge University) focused on the return of religion as a category of identity, as being one of the biggest challenges facing cities in transition. For most of the twentieth century, officialdom largely ignored religious criteria, and favoured racial or ethnic categories instead. However, as he pointed out, it is also to be cautiously welcomed:

“With religion, we know that we are talking about a more substantive and profound, not to say stubborn, cause of diversity. It seems more civilised to categorise and hopefully affirm people on the basis of their worldview than on the basis of the colour of their skin, or of their increasingly dim memory of ancestral homelands. But media panic, police overreaction and an inquisitorial public culture, are driving the Muslim community in the direction of introspection.”

Tim Winter, University of Cambridge

Using Birmingham as an example, Tim Winter argued that all the signs showed that religious identities were thriving, while ethnic ones were increasingly problematised by changing circumstances, not least, for example, by the fact that 9 percent of schoolchildren are now of ethnically mixed parentage. In Britain as a whole, Hindus, whose UK diaspora is drawn from relatively educated classes, outperform almost all other communities while a worryingly high number of Muslim children (36%) leave school with no qualifications at all.

In the plenary focusing on the UK perspective, former Home Office Minister Fiona Mactaggart MP gave a heartfelt account of the challenges her constituency had faced. The 'information gap' meant that the council had even taken to counting waste disposal levels as a proxy for the number of people living in Slough. Geoff Mulgan of the Young Foundation offered a wider overview of other UK cities such as Leicester, Glasgow and London. He also highlighted the fact that in the UK as a whole, fears of spatial segregation were intensifying, although the trends are complex. He also spoke of the growing concerns around people whose presence is not recorded in official registers, such as undocumented migrants and seasonal economic migrants, and the implication of that for settled groups experiencing high levels of worklessness. There is also growing concern that public housing and education policy, combined with the settlement patterns of minority groups, an element of white flight, and the flight of some middle class parents, is leading to rapid changes in the ethnic profile of some cities and local areas.

Rushanara Ali and Lilli Geissendorfer (Young Foundation) gave an overview of the four case study cities they had looked at in the background report. Los Angeles, Toronto, Marseilles and Birmingham may have very different histories, but all four cities face the continuing challenges of tackling deepening inequalities and disadvantage which disproportionately affect minority groups. To varying degrees, in all four cities there are many common challenges such as poverty and social exclusion, unemployment and differential education attainment levels. Other challenges include gun crime and gang violence which can often be inter-ethnic, for example, there are approximately 600 Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles County with a growing Asian gang population numbering approximately 20,000 members.



Erica Cadbury, Barrow Cadbury Trust

Social and Cultural Diversity

Social-cultural challenges around identity, belonging and habits of solidarity, were discussed by a group led by Ash Amin, (University of Durham), Ratna Omidvar, (Maytree Foundation), and Helen Walsh, (Diaspora Dialogues).

The social and cultural expressions and interactions of ethnic minorities in a city are often most visibly and positively manifested in areas such as the arts, cultural and creative industries, cuisine, and music. However, it is often this sphere which highlights the tensions that may occur between minority groups and the wider society as they negotiate between diverse practices and values. For example, community tensions erupted when the Birmingham Rep. Theatre put on a play called *Behzti* which depicted a rape taking place in a Sikh Gurdwara. The play was written by a young Sikh woman. Following a protest by members of the Sikh community which descended into violence, the Theatre made the decision to suspend the play due to concerns about staff safety as well as public order. This resulted in considerable national media attention on the question of how to strike an appropriate balance between freedom of speech and accommodating the demands made by minority groups for sensitive treatment of their faiths.

Similar debates are taking place in the US, as demonstrated by the furore which ensued after the publication of Samuel Huntington's book *Who We Are? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (2004). Huntington argued that the persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures and two languages. He claims that unlike past immigrant groups, Mexicans and other Latinos have not assimilated into mainstream US culture, forming instead their own political and linguistic enclaves from Los Angeles to Miami and rejecting the Anglo-Protestant values that built the American dream.

Growing diversity also brings with it significant practical challenges, particularly for those in charge of providing public services. In Toronto, 60% of people do not have English as first language, while fears of Spanish becoming the de-facto second language of the US are widespread. In Birmingham, new family members from the Mirpur districts are very rarely proficient in English.

Segregation at neighbourhood level appears also to be intensifying, except in Marseilles. Birmingham has areas that are up to 82% Pakistani, Toronto has very high concentrations of Jews and Chinese, while LA's African American neighbourhoods are increasingly becoming occupied by Hispanics and other minorities in a new kind of 'minorities only' melting pot. But segregation in education, service provision and the jobs market is equally problematic. In Toronto, sector staff in services such as cleaning and security are deeply embedded in different communities, limiting social mobility but also the possibility of the workplace being an 'integrating institution'.

The experience of migrant and minority communities has changed radically in the last twenty years. Whereas in the past the capacity to maintain close ties with one's homeland was fairly limited, new technologies in communication such as the internet and digital telecommunications, as well as accessibility to cheap transport, allow people to interact across the world, maintaining familial and cultural ties. Furthermore, access to global media, the rise of trans-national corporations and global branding have made the world a smaller place where national cultures are more diluted and there is a sustained transference of cultural and intellectual information.

While cross-cultural contact and interaction is a reality in cities in transition, be it on public transport, walking down the street, in places of work or where people buy food, communities remain divided by fissures of race, culture and ethnicity. The experience of spatial proximity does not automatically translate into what Ash Amin referred to as "meaningful relationships" between different cultures and groups.

A key question for the workshop was how to create a sense of belonging, common identity and solidarity. Intercultural dialogue is particularly difficult in modern cities where mobility, choice and flexibility are the norms. To generate shared experiences, necessary for fostering solidarity and mutual obligation, there is the need for stability, continuity and certainty. These are, however, in short supply in cities in transition, where the place people live in is seemingly detached from their cultural identity, as no one culture dominates the landscape. As a result of globalisation processes governments and citizens alike have little control upon, there is the tendency for people to look inwards to build and reinforce a sense of identity and culture. At worse, in the face of growing uncertainty about their livelihoods, such identities are built on exclusionary grounds, suspicion of other groups, prejudice against them and even violence.

What the workshop identified as a key issue was the notion of interculturalism. Often the symbols of one's ethnic culture are seen as the signs of the differences that exist between groups. The most obvious symbols are the sensory, tangible ones; the colour of someone's skin, the clothes people wear, the foods they eat, the languages we hear each other speak.

Policies promoting multiculturalism have aimed to teach people to recognise and accommodate others, celebrate differences and to support the development of a society with a vibrant cultural texture, a society where tolerance of diversity and rights and freedoms are paramount. In recent years, it has been argued however that multiculturalism has encouraged the creation of divided communities living "parallel lives". Tolerance as enforced by the rule of law has not necessarily cultivated real engagement with the 'stranger next door'. Indeed, tolerance can easily become a byword for ignorance and a breeding ground for mistrust and prejudice.

Interculturalism is about encouraging people to understand the ostensible differences that exist between diverse groups whilst also emphasising the values that people share. It is about genuinely engaging with the cultural differences of the 'other' whilst also finding the commonalities and common sense of purpose that turns the 'other' into 'us'.

The notion of ethnic minorities adopting the value sets of the indigenous majority is outdated in an increasingly globalized world of multiple traditions and styles of life and cultural pluralism. Any attempt to impose sets of values from above runs the risk of a reactionary response; people are fiercely proud of their identities and will go to great lengths to defend them. What is important is not to try to deprive people of their cultural and ethnic identities in an effort to 'domesticate diversity' but to open up new avenues. This will enable people to make choices about how difference is expressed and give them the opportunity to recognise what they share with others as members of the same community.

Centre Sociale la Castellane (CSC), Marseilles

CSC's work focuses on improving the quality of life of residents in la Castellane and raising its profile in a positive way. It aims to promote the integration of young people and adults into the city. The organisation provides a hub for an internet-based network and access point to local services. CSC advises and signposts local residents on options and routes to employment and further education. It also funds and hosts artistic projects engaging young people from

different backgrounds, a monthly newspaper written and edited by local young people with over 500 contributions and workshops and resources to devise film shorts on a subject of choice. It is used by a large number of local residents with services and facilities targeting all age groups. Other activities include an annual district fete which has in the past brought over 4,000 people in celebration of the wealth and diversity of musical and cultural talents in the area.



Alessio Cangiano, COMPAS, University of Oxford & **Ted Cantle**, IDEa

Research on contact theory by academics such as Miles Hewstone has shown that there is a positive correlation between prolonged exposure to different groups and strong community relationships. The process of intercultural dialogue begins with the contact people have in the spaces in which they live, the public spaces of the city – the streets, parks, shops, markets and playgrounds. The more meaningful contact people have, the greater the opportunity there is for them to break down stereotypes and prejudices and build up empathy and understanding.

Public spaces need to be managed so that they are not divided along lines of ethnicity, as has often been the case with funding for ethno-centric community centres. Furthermore, managing public life to encourage intercultural contact should include the provision of spaces in which community projects can thrive. Projects such as the twinning of different faith schools, intercultural sports and arts programmes, inter-faith networks, inter-ethnic youth and elderly clubs can all help to bring people together and promote intercultural empathy.

By creating projects in which people are brought together by their similarities we encourage them to recognise what they have in common. This facilitates the realisation of identities which are common regardless of ethnicity; as an elderly member of the community, as an artist, as a young person, as a father, as a mother, as a resident and so on.

The appreciation of these likenesses aids people to perceive what they can gain when they work together rather than compete. It is important therefore that we try to establish a common policy agenda which brings ethnic groups together and discourages identity politics where people of different backgrounds vie for resources and status.



Maggie Beirne, Committee on the Administration of Justice & **Tufyal Choudhury**, Durham University

“Ethnicity is a construct, individuals use the construct where and when they need it.”

Gerry Salole, European Foundation Centre

Suggestions for the way forward:

“We launched an arts project to act as an intercultural bridge in the community. People came together as artists first, and race/ethnicity second.”

Helen Walsh, *Diaspora Dialogues*

- Better management of public spaces to encourage diverse groups to interact through common projects and community activities.
- More programmes twinning different groups through institutions such as work, school, community programmes.
- Greater encouragement to different groups to work together towards common community goals e.g. better schools, cleaner streets, fair living wages.
- Promotion of interculturalism rather than multiculturalism encouraging people to identify what brings them together, rather than what sets them apart.

Political Integration

The workshop dealing with the challenges of political integration looked at identity politics, representation and youth empowerment, with the session led by Tufyal Choudhury (University of Durham), Milly Hawk Daniel (PolicyLink) and Richard Verches (LA County Council).

By political integration, we refer to the extent to which ethnic minority groups participate in the political process, ranging from voting to participating in decision making fora to formal elected representation. In all four cities, minorities are under-represented in the formal political sphere and hold disproportionately few leadership positions, though under-representation in the formal sphere often hides greater levels of informal activism.

Tufyal Choudhury introduced the session by asking how much a lack of political participation among ethnic minority communities was part of a wider lack of political engagement, a question that goes right to the heart of our democracy. It was commonly agreed that we need to ensure our political structures including formal and informal power networks are more representative. But the processes by which such change should take place were hotly disputed. Key to the discussion in the workshop was how change happens and the mechanisms for making it happen. Different kinds of change require different tools. Whatever tools of change are pursued, the issue of time and resources were seen as real barriers.

Two key routes were identified by which change happens:

Macro level - through legislation, policy development and litigation

Micro level – at the level of the every day behaviours and attitudes.

One of the key factors holding back groups from engaging politically is the failure of mainstream politics to reflect and address issues that concern them, especially among the young. While change does take time, it is the absence of tangible results even at micro level that dissuades people, especially young people, from participating. Ethnic minority engagement in public sector consultation processes was seen as increasingly tokenistic and it was argued that people have become disillusioned with such processes because of the lack of follow through and visible consequences or benefits. In particular, public consultations were seen as tokenistic by young people interested in results rather than rhetoric.

Change processes are often triggered by public demands. Participants stressed the necessity of ensuring that all voices, including those of invisible or marginalised groups, are heard in the public domain. However, though there is a correlation between getting voices heard and change happening, this is not a direct causal relationship.

The real issue is that not all voices are heard equally – a major challenge for modern democracies. Therefore, policies to prevent discrimination and ensure that all voices are heard equally were seen as tangible ways forward in fostering strong democratic societies. There was particular concern that voices of groups such as irregular migrants and asylum seekers were not being heard. Those at the margins of legality will be justifiably afraid about voicing their concerns given that this might bring them to the attention of authorities. Yet without accurate data on numbers and needs, service provision will continue to fail to meet the needs of all the people it is intended to serve most.

Latino voters throughout the U.S and now has offices in San Antonio, Texas; Los Angeles, California; and Miami, Florida. The Youth Campaign is a million dollar voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaign that aimed to register and mobilize 100,000 new young Latino voters.

Southwest Voter Registration Project (SVREP), Los Angeles

SVREP is a project committed to educating Latino communities about the democratic process, the importance of voter registration, and voter participation. Since its inception, SVREP has registered over 2.3 million



Jeremy Crook, Black Training & Enterprise Group; Geraldine Blake, Community Links, Rushanara Ali, Young Foundation

Overall, little changes were championed over big changes as the key to shifting the political behaviour of black and ethnic minority groups in the UK. To better link voting and everyday life, for example, it was suggested voter registration packs should be distributed in the same places as citizenship offices, so that when people are granted citizenship, they could also register to vote. Changes in language and official terminology were also seen as a key tool for affecting change. France's insistence on describing even third generation French people as 'immigrants' was seen as being a particularly strong barrier to successful political integration.

It was argued that legislative and policy change at statutory level is necessary in order to start positive new cycles, for example using affirmative action methods or quotas. The US experience since the Civil Rights movement has included affirmative action programmes, while all women shortlists were introduced into the UK electoral processes to help address inbuilt historic disadvantages. Northern Ireland has also led the way through legal changes at the macro level, implementing a very strong legal framework to promote equality across the board. Experience from Los Angeles shows that there must be an artificially created 'break through' to initially help ethnic minority candidates gain a foothold at the decision making table. Once minorities are given the opportunity to prove themselves, upward cycles of promotion ensure that equal opportunity becomes embedded in the structures. Inclusion has to be built up in stages. For example, the first few ethnic minority recruits to be hired might be just representative, but if they are talented, they will be given jobs on merit, and so will the next generation.

It was also pointed out that simply creating a more representative local, regional or national government will not in fact change the lived experience of minorities on the ground. One of the major lessons learnt in Los Angeles is that elected politicians' priorities stay the same, whatever background they are from. Minority leaders often act, make decisions and do politics in just the same way as majority leaders have done before them. In the process of transition to power, minority politicians become exactly the same as the majority, largely because of institutional and party structures and codes of practice that determine how politics takes place. The language of inclusion might change, but the actions and consequences do not.

The question of what political representation means on the ground was discussed at length. Opinions differed between those that believed true representation demanded a person from every different ethnic group to be part of the decision making process to make the system truly 'representative', to those that believed in colour blind representation where representation is not based on colour or ethnic 'reflection'.

The power structures within organisations were highlighted as an example of how ethnic representation can seem to exist on paper, but in practice many ethnic minority employees are 'outreach workers' while the senior management remains white. Monitoring companies 'ethnic profile' was argued to be only a very crude measure for whether society and the economy in particular was inclusive and representative. More research was suggested as a way to find better tools for measuring 'diversity' and finding out why certain ethnic groups are over or underrepresented in certain occupational categories and employment sectors.



Raymond Douglas, (Learning Curve) speaking at a workshop session

“Young people have shared interests to make their world a better place, but without money and power they resort to drawing ethnic boundaries between themselves.”

Justice Williams, Inner City Creative Media Group

The definition of what constitutes political engagement was also addressed. In the wider sense of involvement in community groups, third sector organisations and lobbying, ethnic minorities were seen to have high levels of political participation. However, there were considerable concerns about their relative low levels of participation in formal politics in the form of voting, particularly among the young, or standing for election.

With regard to increasing the political power of ethnic minorities, partnership working through coalition building was given prominence through examples from Los Angeles, where common goals acted as catalysts for cross-cultural coalitions built up to lobby for change. Effective partnership working depended on identifying common goals and agendas that transcended specific community or group concerns or interests. This works particularly well with regard to issues of education, training, labour rights and health services.

Whilst community leadership is an important point of contact for government, there must be an awareness that this can also foster identity politics where leaders of different ethnic groups compete with each other on the basis of their ethnicity and what is good for ‘them’ or the groups they purportedly represent rather than the wider community as a whole. Funding local community organisations on ethno-specific grounds can reinforce divisions and incite feelings of injustice between different groups, particularly if the majority feels overlooked at the expense of a minority. Funding needs to be provided that goes towards identifying and achieving common community goals and fostering cooperation between groups. Focus also needs to be directed towards settled disadvantaged communities as to undermine notions of favouritism and include them in discussions and action on integration.

Local tensions between ethnic groups were argued to be based on issues of access to money and power, not on ethnic differences. People naturally come together when they can see opportunities for practical change benefiting their community. Tensions arise when these changes are seen to impact groups differently. In Birmingham, it was argued that tensions among the young in particular were more about senses of powerlessness than ethnic identity.

It was argued that there is a need for practical measures to inspire young people to believe that they can make a difference through participation in politics. Key to this is ensuring that dissatisfaction with the performance of the government or political parties does not become disillusionment with democracy itself. Regardless of any deficits, young people’s belief in the value of the democratic process must be fostered and their active participation encouraged.

Centralisation was also considered as a hurdle to political participation for all. The distance between local people and national decision making processes is leading to political alienation, and at local level, political institutions lack the power and the resources to effect change.

As more and more funding for community-level activities comes through local government, community organisations are much less able to adopt an independent stance and challenge public policy or practice. Here, it was seen as important to ensure that community organisations have access to independent money, so they can maintain an independent stance. Steps need to be taken to prevent a situation in which only ‘acceptable’ voices to the government get funding or that the third sector is co-opted by the state. The future success of third sector organisations at making change happen depends in part at least on greater accountability and transparency about funding relations with the government.

Suggestions for the way forward:

- Support more formalised ways of sharing ‘promising practice’ in dealing with the challenges of political integration and letting go of the ‘tyranny of best practice’ when imposed from above and without sensitivity to the local context.
- Reform party structures and systems so that local councillors can put local voices above party politics.
- Safeguard the independence of the voluntary and community sectors and debate the implications on the independence of third sector organisations of funding by local councils.
- Celebrate successes at community level through the media, while learning from failures. Too often, the media focus on negative occurrences reinforcing prejudice and problems. Communicating more sympathetic and positive news was felt to be key to improving neighbourhood relations on the ground.
- Encourage coalition building around shared practical/community interests rather identity politics.
- Promote Youth Ambassador Schemes that support young people to be able to take part in official policy discussions.
- Promote Olympics related campaigns such as TELCO living wage campaign for site workers.
- Make time and financial resources available to support the development of innovative and motivating programmes to engage young people in formal and informal political processes.

Economic Integration

The workshop on the challenges of economic integration (labour markets, exclusion and migration) was led by Shamit Saggar (University of Sussex) and Elizabeth McIssac (Maytree Foundation).

During this session, the goal was to explore what the key drivers are to inequality in the four cities in the areas of employment and skills, education and housing. Across all four cities, the overall employment rate is lower and unemployment rate is higher for visible minorities than for other groups. Participation in education and educational attainment remains lower for many ethnic minority groups. However, the picture is not uniform. Indian and Chinese children in Birmingham and Iranians and Koreans in LA outperform all other groups (including white children) in education.

In the context of high levels of disadvantage and competition for resources - especially in housing, education and regeneration funding - the arrival of new groups to a city can fuel resentment. In some places, highly mobile new migrants can under-cut those more established groups. Furthermore, city and local governments can face added pressure because in the initial period, newcomers can require greater support in terms of acquiring language skills, new housing or more intensive education for their children.

Small changes in human resources and recruitment policies were highlighted as key to changing the employment patterns among black and minority ethnic (BME) communities. Employers need to make appropriate adjustments to ensure that BME people are not unfairly disadvantaged in recruitment procedures. This can only be achieved through the adoption of recruitment criteria that are specific, relevant to the job and non-discriminatory. But more importantly, it can be achieved through adopting alternative recruitment qualifying tests that assess competence rather than formal educational qualifications.

For example, the Fair City pilot project in Birmingham has demonstrated that 5 A*-C grades at GCSE may be the minimum formal qualification for many employers, but in fact GCSE's say nothing about the specific skills set needed to perform a job well. By reforming job specification criteria towards skill and task based abilities, employers open opportunities up to a whole section of the population currently excluded through lack of formal qualifications. Such changes would also help to shift employers' notion of what a 'successful candidate' looks like and help remove the vestiges of discrimination in the current system.

While achieving equal representation of ethnic minorities across the public and private sectors was seen as vital, tokenism was strongly warned against. We need to go beyond colour and stop selecting people for their ethnic minority background and/or gender. There appears to be increasing stereotypes in some sectors. For example, women's organisations are full of women, and ethnic minorities are often in outreach or race and diversity roles, and rarely at senior level.

It was also suggested that local authorities should be more proactive than in the past. They need to paint a strong vision for the future and tell people: 'I will employ you, you may not be qualified today but I will invest in you and you will be qualified tomorrow'. Symbolic messages can be incredibly powerful in changing attitudes and aspirations, but they need to be followed up with real action, building and investing in people for the long term - 'the pipeline of talent'.

The Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC)

TRIEC was established in September 2003 with the mandate to improve access to the labour market for skilled immigrants in the Toronto region. The TRIEC Mentoring Program links established working professionals in Canada with immigrants looking to work in the same field. The mentee is then exposed to the realities of the labour market, as well as receiving advice and introductions to professional networks that will help them adapt to a new culture and increase their social capital. In the first year 1000 people were paired together. The project achieved a 60% employment rate over a four month period

and an average starting salary of \$55,000 (compared to \$20,000 for those who are not mentored).

The Career Bridge project seeks to break the unproductive cycle of "no Canadian experience means no job; no job means no Canadian experience" by providing internationally qualified professionals with their first Canadian work experience in their fields of expertise. Partners include Deloitte, TD Bank and the Royal Bank of Canada. Since 2004, 315 internships have been created and a total of 86% of these have resulted in full time permanent jobs, with 55% of the jobs being with the internship employer. It has also helped shift the attitudes of employers towards immigrants.



Economic Challenges for Birmingham (based on Study Tour Roundtable 5 December 2006)

Two key themes emerged during a roundtable discussion on the economic future of Birmingham - the underemployment of highly skilled people on the one hand and entrenched inter-generational cultures of 'worklessness' on the other.

Demographic changes have led to increasingly rapid turnover and movement of people between jobs and locations. The workforce is reportedly in constant flux while insecurity is high, particularly on the bottom rung of the employment ladder where competition for low paid jobs is fierce.

Underemployment was seen as particularly prevalent among new migrants with high levels of qualifications and was reflected in the low levels of black and ethnic minority employment in the 'professional services' sector. Plugging people into this sector was seen as key to changing long term employment prospects of ethnic minorities in Birmingham.

Many of the most deprived inner city wards in Birmingham identified in Cangiano's report have received much regeneration funding over the past 10 years, leaving some of the other wards behind and creating a plethora of new initiatives. A lack of joined-up strategic planning has meant vast amounts of money have only had limited impact. Bringing local knowledge on board when drawing up 'Local Area Agreements' to avoid duplications and/or overlap between regeneration initiatives was seen as one possible solution.

Currently Birmingham is experiencing a bottleneck of brokers at the education/employment interface. A large number of different organisations have been set up over the past few years with new regeneration money, but without bringing all the players together from all sectors, their efforts remain stunted by a lack of convergence. In particular, it was felt that public sector agencies need to work together better and develop joined up strategies.

The participants also felt that there were too many brokers involved in getting ethnic minorities into employment - all in competition with each other rather than working together towards a common goal. It was felt that it was a classic case of 'too many cooks spoil the broth' - too many brokers have led to competition when in fact collaboration is the key to solving the employment and education challenges facing Birmingham's ethnic minority newcomers and settled communities. Furthermore, while directors and those on the frontline tended to be really passionate about BME employment and issues of equal opportunities, middle management was seen to have little, if any, desire to change.

Suggestions for the way forward:

- Make mentoring a requirement for promotion in public sector and private companies by including it in formal promotion guidelines and HR practice.
- Work experience scheme for skilled new migrants in the professions they were previously established in, for example, to prevent doctors becoming cab drivers, which will help in the fight against underemployment.
- Change human resources and recruitment policies towards competence based job specification rather than formal qualifications.
- Develop a standing forum at city level with private employers and all layers of local government stakeholders dealing with employment, to identify policy and programme gaps and overlaps between departments at local, regional and national level, and develop strategies for joined up horizontal and vertical collaboration.
- Develop a system of better monitoring the success and shortcomings of employment brokerage scheme in order to identify what works and what does not work in providing long term, sustainable careers support to people from black and ethnic minority backgrounds.
- Mainstream the application of a 'diversity lens' across all areas of the economy, not just human resources.
- Market people from black and ethnic minority backgrounds not just as potential employees but also as users, clients or customers with purchasing power.

Conclusion

Current demographic changes will be key to shaping the future of individual countries on both sides of the Atlantic. The urgency remains therefore to explore strategies and means for harnessing the economic, cultural and social energies of cities in transition and promoting social and economic cohesion.

Cities provide the space for testing and expanding notions of citizenship and associated rights and responsibilities. The overarching lesson drawn from the work on "Cities in Transition" by the Young Foundation and Barrow Cadbury Trust is that there are no uniform solutions to the challenges facing cities in transition: there is instead a need to consider each city's singular configurations of historical, cultural, economic and socio-political factors and design local solutions to local problems.

Political will, shared responsibility and shared values are desirable and possible but only within a wider culture fostering equality of opportunities for all. People will continue to resort to identity politics if they are discriminated against or disadvantaged due to their ethnic or religious background. In the same way as trying to 'domesticate diversity' will backfire, trying to encourage people of different ethnicities to share values based upon their common needs will not work unless their needs are indeed similar.

This means constructing a local political agenda where the quality of life is central to discussions; where issues like better public transport, housing, health and education or job security unite residents and give them a common purpose. It also means cultivating a local identity where shared needs and priorities imbue a sense of belonging to place which transcends ethnic boundaries.

"We need to create a politics of place, put quality of life issues upfront and bring people together."

Steve Vertovec, University of Oxford



Richard Verches, Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission & Joy Warmington, Birmingham: Race Action Partnership

Whilst it is essential that we try to involve community leaders so that they can help further these aims we must also be aware that they might have their own vested interest in keeping identity politics alive given that power and responsibility is invested in them through their status as leaders of specific community groups. There is a need for a flexible, innovative and creative approach when making contact with different communities. Community leaders can be a help and a hindrance and thus alternative ways by which people can be reached and mobilised should also be explored.

Whilst there might always be some public goods that transcend inequalities i.e. public transport and safe streets, if there are persistent inequalities in others, such as: access to healthcare, educational attainment, disproportionate police interest, access to housing, employment opportunities etc., then people will be unwilling to put down their ethnic identity and pick up their local one.

The focus needs to be on interventions at the microlevel and on the importance of fostering diversity as a source of strength and creativity as well as a vital cultural value in day to day life.

In line with the three dimensions of diversity used to shape the conference agenda, there is the need for parallel action at three fronts: employment and tackling urban poverty and deprivation, social integration, and effective grassroots democracy. Only through action on all three fronts, can there be hope that a holistic sense of belonging and solidarity can be achieved and that tolerance and social inclusion can be nurtured.

In terms of **employment**, there is the need for strategic partnerships involving the public and private sector as well as civil society. Only joined-up strategies across different levels of government and the economy can hope to make a sustained difference to people's life chances and social mobility.

In terms of **social integration**, empowering local communities to come together and provide them the resources to interact in well managed public spaces and through community organisations and engage in or lead locally based community action.

Grassroots **democracy**: preparing the next generations for active engagement in politics through encouraging a sense of pride and duty in the common democratic heritage and promoting participation in formal or informal political processes.

The Agenda

Plenary Sessions:

Trends and Developments

William H. Frey, Brookings Institution
Alessio Cangiano, COMPAS, University of Oxford
Saskia Sassen, University of Chicago/
London School of Economics
Chair: **Samira Ahmed**, ITN

The UK Perspective and the Dynamics of 'Majority-Minority' Cities

Fiona Mactaggart MP, former Home Office Minister (race equality, community policy and civil renewal)
Geoff Mulgan, Young Foundation
Ted Cante, Institute for Community Cohesion
Tim Winter, University of Cambridge
Michel Sudarskis, International New Towns Association
Chair: **Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs**, Barrow Cadbury Trust

Lunchtime Discussion

Asif Afridi, Birmingham: Research Action Partnership
Rushanara Ali with **Lilli Geissendorfer**, Young Foundation
Chair: **Phoebe Griffith**, Barrow Cadbury Trust

Workshops: the three dimensions of diversity

Social and Cultural Diversity Workshop

The socio-cultural challenges of cities in transition – identity, belonging and habits of solidarity,
Ash Amin, University of Durham and **Ratna Omidvar**, the Maytree Foundation

Economic Integration Workshop

The economic challenges of cities in transition – labour markets, exclusion and migration,
Shamit Saggar, University of Sussex

Political Integration Workshop

The political challenges of cities in transition: identity politics, representation and youth empowerment, with **Tufyal Choudhury**, University of Durham, and **Milly Hawk Daniel**, PolicyLink

Feedback from workshops and closing remarks

Justice Williams, Inner City Creative Media Group
Jeremy Crook, Black Training and Enterprise Group
Mark Kleinman, Department of Communities and Local Government

The Speakers

Asif Afridi

Birmingham: Research Action Partnership

Samira Ahmed

ITN

Rushanara Ali

Young Foundation

Ash Amin

University of Durham

Alessio Cangiano

COMPAS, University of Oxford

Ted Cante

Institute for Community Cohesion

Tufyal Choudhury

University of Durham

Jeremy Crook

Black Training and Enterprise Group

William H. Frey

Brookings Institution

Lilli Geissendorfer

Young Foundation

Phoebe Griffith

Barrow Cadbury Trust

Milly Hawk Daniel

PolicyLink

Mark Kleinman

Department of Communities and Local Government

Fiona Mactaggart MP

Geoff Mulgan

Young Foundation

Ratna Omidvar

Maytree Foundation

Shamit Saggar

University of Sussex

Saskia Sassen

University of Chicago/London School of Economics

Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs

Barrow Cadbury Trust

Michael Sudarskis

International New Towns Association

Justice Williams

Inner City Creative Media Group

Tim Winter

University of Cambridge

Authors

This report was written by Lilli Geissendorfer (Researcher, Young Foundation), Rushanara Ali (Associate Director, Young Foundation) and Areti Sianni (Interim Programme Manager, Barrow Cadbury Trust) with input from Phoebe Griffith (Senior Programme Officer, Barrow Cadbury Trust), and Geoff Mulgan (Director, Young Foundation).

Barrow Cadbury Trust
25–31 Tavistock Place
London WC1H 9SF
www.barrowcadbury.org.uk

Design by R&D&Co
Photography by Jason Wilde