

Global Exchange Forum Background Report

Cities in Transition Conference

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Introduction

In recent years, the question of how societies should cope with issues of 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 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, and to preserve the strengths of universal welfare states. 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,ⁱ 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 migrant and illegal migrant communities. 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 conflict.ⁱⁱ

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 treated as a strength. The city's motto is "Diversity is our Strength" and integration is seen as a two way process with active efforts (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. 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).

Such tensions 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 than ever before, raising important new questions about how rapid change in diverse cities is managed. These include questions around how best to deal with rising inequalities, how to handle resentments and conflicts between groups, and 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.

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 single market and labour market in the case of Europe, poverty and conflict in developing countries and migration to meet labour

shortages. In Canada, population growth is projected to depend solely on immigration by 2030.

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 old communities are being overtaken by newcomers; and they risk reinforcing notions of separateness which play down the complex interactions between diverse communities.

We hope that by looking at diversity and integration in specific places during this year's conference, it will be easier to make sense of the debates around multiculturalism, integration, identity and belonging. We are particularly keen to advance understanding of how and why current policy appears to be creating different outcomes for different groups and share lessons from different cities on what works by looking at examples of promising practice. The conference proceedings and discussions will seek to explore some of the following overarching questions:

- What are the big challenges facing cities in transition?
- What are the necessary conditions for a diverse city to thrive and be successful?
- What makes diverse cities work well? What are the examples of best practice?
- What are the lessons and examples of good practice that cities can draw upon from each other?
- What are the policies and practices that cities can share that shed light on how particular challenges can be met at the local or city level?

The challenges for cities in transition

In preparation for the conference, a series of case studies were identified: Los Angeles, Marseilles, Toronto and Birmingham. We hope to use them as tangible examples of some of the common challenges faced by cities in transition and to explore how these cities have attempted to address them.

These four case studies are in themselves diverse. We chose two cities where the 'minority' populations have reached close to 50% of the population when we include both white and visible minorities (LA and Toronto)ⁱⁱⁱ and two cities (Marseilles and Birmingham) that are due to do so within the next decade. While LA and Toronto are major global cities with populations of 10 million and 5 million respectively, the populations of Marseilles and Birmingham are closer to 1 million. In many neighbourhoods within each case study the population is already made up of more than 50% visible ethnic minorities.

The diversity policies of the four cities have been shaped by a very different set of traditions. While multiculturalism has for example been an important ideology informing policies in Toronto, Birmingham and to a certain extent LA, diversity policies in Marseilles have been informed by French assimilationist traditions. The cities in North America have had a longer tradition of defining themselves as "immigrant societies", whereas this notion is much newer in Europe (even though both Birmingham and Marseilles have been centres of migration for centuries). The dynamics within the cities with single large minority populations (as in the case of Latinos in LA) will inevitably be different to those with large numbers of smaller minority populations (as in the case of Toronto).

However, our aim has not been to identify four statistically comparable cities but to use the case studies to form a transatlantic perspective which can illuminate key debates on three levels: economic, political and socio-cultural. It is estimated that out of a total population of 380 million in the EU, about 20 million are foreigners (i.e. those who are not nationals of their country of residence) which represents around 5% of the total population. The figure is much higher when we include EU nationals who are of ethnic minority backgrounds. Muslims make up an estimated 9-15 million Europeans, roughly 3% of the population and form the third largest religious group in the continent. The migratory behaviour of the different countries is very heterogeneous. Immigration into the EU in recent decades was primarily from the Maghreb (North Africa), Turkey, the Indian Sub-Continent and West Africa. The majority settled in countries such as the Germany, France. The UK and the

Netherlands. More recently, EU accession has meant migration to these countries (especially the UK) is increasingly from Eastern Europe.

Since the millennium, there have been two important shifts in European immigration and integration policy, one which brings Europe closer to North America and one which pulls it further away. First, since 2000 Britain, Germany, and Spain have expanded opportunities for skilled and unskilled migration. The UK and Germany have explicitly copied the Canadian points system, which assigns points based on age, education, experience, and grants entry to those with enough points. Policymakers in these countries increasingly view themselves as competitors with the classic settler countries over skilled migrants. Second, this new openness to immigration has been matched by a new emphasis on integration, with hostility towards multiculturalism, particularly (but not only) in the Netherlands and Denmark.

Four cities in transition

The four cities we are looking at face the continuing challenges of tackling deepening inequalities and disadvantage which disproportionately affect minority groups. A host of barriers are experienced by certain groups living within these cities. 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.

Marseilles

Marseille is a port town with a population of around one million people. Approximately 34% of the population are visible ethnic minority (including 25% foreign born). The largest

category of minorities is from Algeria and Tunisia. Other groups include Europe's third largest Jewish community, Italians, Turks, Vietnamese and Chinese.

Marseille was recently nominated by Newsweek alongside Austin, Texas, Tijuana, Mexico Newcastle-Gateshead, Cape Town, Antwerp and Kabul as one of the world's top eight creative cities and is starting to reach a compromise between its industrial past and a post-industrial future. Government investment and regeneration leading up to the 1998 World Cup put Marseilles on the tourist map. The key role played in the success of the French national team by French footballers of diverse ethnic origins like Zidane, Henry, Vieira and Djorkaeff since 1998 has been instrumental in stimulating discussions around a pluralistic redefinition of the nation.

While religion remains a powerful identity marker for French-born Muslims of North African and African descent, many groups are choosing to embrace a different identity: one more broadly defined by their "immigrant" experience. The tensions surrounding expressions of multiple identities were brought into sharp focus over debates around the right to wear the hijab. In December 2003, the French Government outlawed the wearing of visible religious symbols in schools on the grounds that it breached the principle of the separation between church and state. France refers to the children and grandchildren of immigrants born on French national territory, citizen by birth, as immigrant because of their "origin", although they remain statistically invisible. Since 1992, second generation immigrants have to request French nationality at adulthood (aged 18) despite being born in France, which has fuelled persistent social discrimination that means many visible ethnic minorities in France can feel like outsiders in society.

Recently, the spread of riots from the housing estates of Paris to provincial towns right across France exposed the disaffection of France's most poor and multi-ethnic areas. Positive role models are also in short supply. Unemployment poses a major challenge. For the past decade, it has hovered around 10%, with a staggering 25% youth unemployment. In the ethnic enclaves of Marseilles, unemployment can be as high as 30% and disproportionately impacts on Maghrebian youth.

Examples of projects in Marseilles

Marseilles Esperance (Hope)

Marseilles Esperance (Hope) was set up as an initiative of the mayor of the time, Robert-Paul Vigouroux, following the desecration of the Carpentras Jewish cemetery in 1990. It is an informal body provided with logistical support by the city council that brings together representatives of the city's principal religious communities in order to promote dialogue and mutual tolerance between different cultures. Activities include: the publication of information to prevent misunderstanding and division at critical times (such as the Gulf War, the 9/11 attacks, or the murder of teenagers in the suburbs); the organisation of public debates; educational activities in schools - public and faith-based - in which representatives of several religions come together to debate with pupils. The project has the support and legitimacy across the faith communities, within the council and some considerable public support – for example, over 350,000 Marseilles (over a third of inhabitants) have written their name at the foot of the "Tree of Hope" fountain.

Centre Sociale la Castellane (CSC)

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.

Unité de Prévention Urbaine (Preventative Policing)

The purpose of this project is to develop and foster a climate of confidence and support in relations between police officers and the local population, to improve communication and the dissemination of information to young people as a preventative method of lowering violence and criminal activity. The project places a strong emphasis on preventive work which has created a far better relationship between the public and the police. To build strong relationships with young people, Marseille Police have summer camps where 8,000-9,000 children from the age of 9 to 15 each year take part in sports activities such as sailing and diving. The activities are usually led by police officers.

Los Angeles

Los Angeles, along with Miami, is among the first minority-majority major city in the US. L.A. can truly be described as a "world city" (Alpha World City) — that is, it has one of the largest and most diverse populations of any municipality anywhere. It has the second largest percentage of foreign-born citizens of any major U.S. city after Miami. Los Angeles is home to people from more than 140 countries, who speak at least 224 different languages. 47% of the population is of Latino origin, 12.9% Asian and 8.8% African American.

African Americans and Latinos suffer from similar poverty rates (24%), compared to Asians (11%) and Whites (8%). Child poverty among African Americans and Latinos is 33% and 30% respectively. Poverty among Latinos is characterised by income poverty (38% are in low waged, blue collar jobs), while it is characterised by high unemployment among African Americans. Latinos and African Americans also have poor access to healthcare due to low

levels of health insurance. 34% of Latinos are uninsured in LA. In relation to education, 53% (3.4million) of working age adults in LA cannot read well enough to use a bus schedule, follow instructions on a medicine bottle or complete a job application. Participation in education is considerably lower than among Whites and Asians. 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 57% Asians. Other challenges facing LA include inter-ethnic conflict - especially between African Americans and Latinos - spatial segregation, housing overcrowding (50% of Latinos live in overcrowded housing),

Examples of projects in Los Angeles

Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice Young Leaders Project (CLUE)

CLUE is an interfaith association of over 600 religious leaders from around Los Angeles County. It was established in 1996 for the purpose of organizing the religious community to respond to the crisis of working poverty, support low-wage workers in their attempts to gain a living wage and health benefits, and provide a voice in the corporate and political decisions which affect them. The project provides leadership training programmes for young adults from local high schools, colleges, seminaries and rabbinical schools interested in being leaders for economic justice. CLUE is engaged in a variety of activities including internships, community gatherings, public education, creative actions, and fellowships. The project brings together people across racial, cultural and class lines as peers.

Project GRAD LA (Graduation Really Achieves Dreams)

Project GRAD LA is a non-profit organization dedicated to helping students in the Northeast San Fernando Valley attend and succeed in college. Currently, only 70% of all students in public high schools graduate and this number drops to just 53% of students from low income families. It partners 13 Los Angeles Unified School District Schools as well

as parents, teachers, administrators, community volunteers, and business sponsors and mentors to implement its programs. Thus far, the project has reached 20,000 students. GRADA also engages in extensive outreach activity and in the 2005 7th Annual Walk for Success, over 1000 volunteers visited 3,158 homes to share college and scholarship information with local residents. A total of 1,659 6th grade compacts were signed and 878 9th grade scholarship agreements signed.

Southwest Voter Registration Project (SVREP)

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 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.

Toronto

Canada has the highest immigration rate of any G8 country, welcoming close to 200,000 new immigrants and refugees annually over the 1990s. Canada's immigrant and refugee population is largely urban: 62% of immigrants live in the three major metropolitan areas. The immigrant population accounts for 44% of Toronto, 38% of Vancouver and 18% of Montreal.¹ Before 1961, 97% of Toronto's population was white and virtually all of Toronto's immigrants (92 percent) came from Europe, including Britain.

Today those of European origin comprise less than 2 percent of Toronto's recent immigrant population. Toronto became one of the most diverse cities in the world in a single generation. Toronto's residents now come from close to 200 countries of origin and speak more than 100 languages. There are 48 ethnic groups in Toronto with at least 5,000

members and 109 ethnic groups with a least 1,000 members. Over half of recent immigrants to Canada come from just 10 (mainly Asian) countries. According to the 2001 Census, the top four visible minority groups in Toronto were Chinese (10.6%), South Asian (10.3%), Black (8.3%) and Filipino (3%). Other groups include Iranians, Afghans, Lebanese and Egyptians, Iraqis, Turks and Palestinians. In recent years, economic migrants have made up 50 percent of landings, with refugees and family class immigrants accounting for the other half. On arrival, the average immigrant earns less than the average Canadian, although their performance, relative to the average Canadian, improves rapidly through the initial years. The level of education of immigrants is mostly higher than Canadian-born citizens. 45.6 % of 2004 immigrants (over age 15) had at least one university degrees. There are virtually no differences in the income of economic principal immigrants and those born in Canada.

Unemployment among some groups is considerably higher than average, for example the unemployment rate among Ghanaians is 45%. In 2001, 33% of children in families of recent immigrants were poor compared to 16% for those with Canadian born parents. Some groups also continue to face language barriers. Other barriers to entry into the labour market include the 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.

Examples of projects in Toronto

Regent Park: Pathways to Education

Since 2001, Pathways to Education has had a dramatic effect on the Regents Park estate, giving moral, financial and intellectual support to 95% of Regent Park's youth. Students receive academic support in the form of tutoring for four nights a week. They also receive financial support in the form of bus tickets which are earned through school attendance. In

addition, \$1000 is held in trust for post secondary support for each year completed. Other support includes bi-weekly group mentoring and advocacy in the form of Student-Parent Support Workers (SPSWs) who help to build bridges between young people, parents and school staff.

So far, the organization has worked with 775 young people, 275 volunteers and 34 staff in Regents Park. Over 90% of the first group of Pathways students are still in school. The program cut absenteeism by 65% across all four cohorts. The percentage of academically at-risk students has been reduced from 40% to 16%. As a result, the participants are earning 30% more core credits in English, Science and Math. The high school drop out rate was 56%, twice the City average before Pathways. It is estimated that if 45 young people per year graduate from Pathways/high school, they will, over the course of their working lifetimes, contribute \$10 million tax dollars.

Diaspora Dialogues

Diaspora Dialogues is a charitable organisation that supports the creation and presentation of new fiction, poetry and drama which reflects the complexity of the city back to Torontonians through the eyes of its richly diverse communities. Launched to critical acclaim in 2005, it is widely heralded as putting the vitality back into the Toronto arts scene. The project takes the most talented with a track record of writing in their first language to be mentored and supported to continue their careers in Canada. It runs 12-15 multidisciplinary performance events that bring together writers, poets, play writes, spoken word artists, theatre professionals and occasional dancers and musicians in a series of events embedded in a particular neighbourhood.

So far, 25 writers were found through open submissions to find promising new voices and placed in a mentoring program to help develop voice and craft. One writer, originally from Nigeria is now in residence at Carlton University, another, originally from Iran has a book deal with Penguin, and a third writer has taken up a prestigious position as 'writer in

residence' at the Toronto Public Library. Diaspora Dialogues also publishes annual anthology that brings writers to a wide audience.

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 4 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 attitudes of employers towards immigrants.

Birmingham

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. Birmingham is part of a Larger Urban Zone (LUZ) that accounts for over 2.3 million inhabitants. 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% visible ethnic minority (of which 16% are foreign born).

In this category, Pakistani's 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), Bangladeshi's make up 7% (28,000) of the population, and those of mixed backgrounds make up 9% (28,000) of the population. The majority of Pakistanis in Birmingham have come from the district of Mirpur in Kashmir and are mainly Muslim. 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 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.

Twenty years ago, two days of trouble in Lozells and Handsworth left two people dead, 35 needing hospital treatment and up to 50 buildings damaged. The community and local agencies and local leaders worked hard in the intervening years to transform the area into a multi-cultural centre, although tensions remain in some areas and between particular groups, in some cases between different ethnic minority or faith groups. In November 2005, the Lozells area of the city experienced inter racial clashes in which one man was stabbed to death. Local leaders talk about a lack of mutual respect and need for greater equality of esteem between different communities. In the same month, Muslim grave headstones were desecrated and damaged at Handsworth Cemetery in Birmingham, triggering concerns about fresh race riots.

The challenges facing Birmingham include issues around local political legitimacy, unemployment, a degree of school segregation, gang activity and gun crime, and some inter-ethnic conflict. There is also a prevalence of spatial segregation for example among the Pakistani community. Around 82% of the population in Lozells and East Handsworth come from minority groups. There is a strong Afro-Caribbean presence but Asians make

up the biggest proportion. Birmingham also has some of the poorest wards in the country. 9 Birmingham wards were estimated to have at least 75% of their population falling within the 10% most deprived Super Output Areas in England.

In education, some groups such as Indians are doing extremely well. At age 16 girls in Birmingham attain better results than boys across all ethnic groups. However, for both sexes, African Caribbean's are the least likely to attain five higher grade passes and Indian pupils are the most successful. While Indian and Bangladeshi girls improved by up to 15% 1998-2001.

Examples of projects in Birmingham

Fair Cities Pilot

FCP is an employer led employment and skills initiative. It relies on a very strong board comprising of Birmingham chief executives from the city's top employers, a focused business plan, a dedicated team and effective partnerships. It is designed to increase the number of disadvantaged ethnic minority residents who gain steady work and new careers, through meeting employer demand for job-ready candidates, by encouraging fair and effective recruitment and promotion practices and increasing the responsiveness of the local employment and skills system to business and ethnic minority needs. FCP does considerable outreach work to reach local communities using an outreach bus, getting employers to talk to residents and tapping into local knowledge and networks. Employers also re-write job specifications and requirements to make them accessible. This project is proving to be effective because it has a tangible outcome, and it is realistic about job prospects and availability. It works with employers to make Birmingham's economy resilient for the future, focusing on growth sectors and taking age and demographic profile into account. It is also contributing to making the workforce of the local private companies and public services more diverse and representative of the community.

Balsall Health Forum: Saheli Adventure Hub Balsall Health Women's Project

Saheli was formed in 1998 to change the way local services are delivered in the area and challenge local politicians to do more for women. In 2001, a number of committed women got together to secure Healthy Living Centre (HLC) money for a women's centre to be housed in the old Moseley Road baths. Unfortunately, they did not receive capital funding for this project. However, the group persevered and in 2002 formed a registered charity and received money to provide opportunities for 'girl only' activities. The girls (all from Balsall Heath) learned how to rock climb, ski, bowling and 13 of the girls learnt how to ride a bike for the first time. In 2004 Saheli secured a base at the Cannon Hill Training Centre and set up a gym with £15,000 worth of exercise equipment which can be used by local women. Mixed sessions are provided two days a week. In 2005 the organization gained additional funding through the Cannon Hill Training Centre and Active England, the New Opportunities Fund and Sports England.

Workshops: The dimensions of diversity

The focus of the workshops will be on themes that we believe are particularly important to all four cities and relevant to other cities in transition. By focusing on the themes of economic, social and cultural and political integration, we hope to draw on the common challenges these cities are facing, explore how they are addressing them and share best practice.

Workshop 1: Economic integration

During this session, the aim will be 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. In all four cities, 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, Iranians and Koreans in LA outperform all other groups (including white children) in education.

In the context of high levels of disadvantage competition for resources - especially in housing, education, 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. Some of the questions we hope explore in this session are:

- How can barriers to employment opportunities be removed?
- What practical steps can be taken to narrow gaps in educational attainment?
- What additional steps should be taken to tackle discrimination in the labour market?
- What kinds of actions would help reduce resentment and competition for resources?

Workshop 2: Social and cultural

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 wider society as they negotiate between expressing diverse practise and values and those of wider society. 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 women. 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 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 cultural diversity also brings with it significant practical challenges, particular 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 the neighborhood 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. 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'. In this session some of the questions we hope consider are:

- How do cities create a civic identity greater than the sum of their neighbourhoods?
- How can multiple identities be recognised, whilst maintaining cohesion?
- What is the appropriate balance between cultural or religious autonomy and responsibilities as citizens?

- How should government manage competing interests of diverse communities?
- What actions need to be taken to prevent segregation and promote greater interaction and connection between different groups?

Workshop 3: Political integration

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. Birmingham has only a few councillors from a minority background. In Toronto, of the 44 ward councillors that run the city under David Miller, the elected Mayor, only 2 are from visible minorities. In LA, even though voting districts are shaped to facilitate proportional minority representation in government, and the election of a Hispanic mayor, the balance of power in the city is still seen to be with the Caucasians.

Under-representation in the formal sphere is driving greater levels of informal activism. In April 2006 half a million Hispanics came out in Los Angeles to protest against anti-immigration legislation and for their right to stay in the country. Although most of the protesters were new arrivals they carried banners stating "We Are American" and "Today we march; tomorrow we vote". At the same time, political parties are recognizing the importance of the ethnic minority vote as the populations grows. George Bush picked up 45% of the Latino vote in 2004. In Birmingham, as with other places in the UK, historically ethnic minority representation has often taken the form of unelected community leaders acting as spokespersons for the entire group. This has often led to capture, squeezing out the interests of ethnic minority women and younger people.

- How should government and politicians develop a positive vision and narrative of a successful plural city?
- How can we increase the political engagement and participation of ethnic minority and disadvantaged white groups, especially among the young?

- How can we instil leadership skills among a new generation of talented young people from different backgrounds and enable them to participate in politics?
- How can we increase elected representation of traditionally under-represented groups?
- How can we ensure ethnic minority political voices are not just concentrated into identity politics and single issue campaigns?
- How can we ensure the voices of recent arrivals, seasonal migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are reflected in politics?

Conclusion

The Barrow Cadbury Trust Global Exchange Forum aims to be an open forum for discussion. We hope that participants will use this paper as a basis to kick start discussion and draw on their experience of good practice both at a policy level and at the grassroots. The insights and ideas that come out of the conference will be incorporated into a final report, to be published by the Barrow Cadbury Trust in early 2007.

The Barrow Cadbury Trust hopes that this event will be used as a platform for discussions both at a city and national level on policies and programs that are necessary to tackle inequality and make the most of diversity in plural 50/50 cities. With a number of cities in the UK set to become plural 50/50 cities in the coming decade, the Trust considers that there is some urgency that this debate starts soon. The Barrow Cadbury Trust is also interested in exploring options for networking among policy makers and practitioners working to address the challenges and capitalizing on the opportunities presented by cities in transition.

About 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 aim 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 minorities and 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. In addition, Barrow Cadbury Trust aims to ensure that its domestic campaigns can have an impact in key international bodies, particularly the EU.

About 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 (described as the world's most successful social entrepreneur) 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, action research and practical action. The Young Foundation has a long tradition of research into communities and social change. Earlier this 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. Other research projects have been undertaken on changing needs (which will be followed up with a major regular overview of how needs are changing – including the many needs not picked up by official statistics).

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.

Authors

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Annex I: Terminology

UK

In the UK, ethnic minority groups are recognised in official policy documents. The national Census asks people 'to what ethnic group do you consider you belong?'. Ethnic minority does not include Irish, Jewish or Eastern European specifically – just 'other'. The size of the minority ethnic population was 4.6 million in 2001 or 7.9 per cent of the total population of the United Kingdom. (Census 2001: Ethnic Group Statistics, ONS)

Ethnic groups: white 92.1%, Mixed 1.2%, Indian 1.8%, Pakistani 1.3%, Bangladeshi 0.5%, Other Asian 0.4%, Black Caribbean 1%, Black African 0.8%, Black Other 0.2%, Chinese 0.4% (all ethnic minority group 7.9%)

France

The French census tracks "nationality" as a category and distinguishes between those who are born in France, those who have acquired French citizenship, and those who are foreigners. After the 1990 census, based on recommendations by the government's High Council for Integration, the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) also adopted the category of "immigrant," defined in France as "a person born abroad with a foreign nationality."

French statistics on immigration are best understood in three categories:

- French by birth: this includes the offspring of French citizens who were born either in France or abroad.
- French by acquisition: this includes individuals who have acquired French by naturalization after moving to France, by declaration (as with children born in France of immigrant parents), and some others.
- Foreigners: this includes individuals in France who were born abroad as well as children, under the age of 18, who were born in France of immigrant parents. It also includes any individual born in France of foreign parents who chooses not to adopt French nationality at the age of 18.

Ethnic groups: French by birth – 90.4%. French by acquisition 4.0%, Foreigners 5.6%, (Source: INSEE, Census 1999)

USA

The term 'racial and ethnic minorities' is used most commonly. The term 'foreign born' refers to people residing in the United States who were not United States citizens at birth.

Ethnic groups: white 81.7%, black 12.9%, Asian 4.2%, Amerindian and Alaska native 1%, native Hawaiian and other Pacific islander 0.2% (2003 est.) Hispanic is not counted as an ethnic minority: the US Census Bureau considers Hispanic to mean a person of Latin American descent (including persons of Cuban, Mexican, or Puerto Rican origin) living in the US who may be of any race or ethnic group (white, black, Asian, etc.). Black Americans in LA are 94% indigenous but also a visible minority.

Canada

Canada uses the definition 'foreign born' to refer to all people residing in Canada who were not Canadian citizens at birth. Canada also uses the term 'Visible Minority' to refer to whether or not a person, under criteria established by the Employment Equity Act, is non-Caucasian in race or non- White in colour.

Ethnic groups: British Isles origin 28%, French origin 23%, other European 15%, Amerindian 2%, other, mostly Asian, African, Arab 6%, mixed background 26%.

ⁱ The idea that greater diversity means less welfare was argued forcefully at the beginning of this decade by academic Alberto Alesina who showed with detailed equations that more diverse societies are less generous, and have smaller welfare states. Part of his argument was that America's diversity had been a primary reason why it never created a European-style welfare state. He suggested that 'as Europe has become more diverse Europeans have increasingly been susceptible to exactly the same form of racist anti-welfare demagoguery that worked so well in the US.' Alesina's arguments have had a big influence on thinking across Europe, and made many particularly in the northern European welfare societies such as Sweden anxious about whether they are about to lose their egalitarian welfare model. However, his work has been contested by a British academic – Peter Taylor Gooby. When he re-visited Alberto Alesina's figures, he found that something crucial was missing. If you left America out of the equations, in Europe the link between diversity and welfare was much weaker and less significant. A crucial factor which made all the difference was the presence of strong centre left political parties. When these were taken into account, the apparent link between diversity and reduced welfare disappeared. In other words just as political parties could stir up hatreds they could also, and often did, do enough to make even diverse groups feel a sufficiently common sense of belonging that they were prepared to pay for welfare for each other.

ⁱⁱ There are considerable variations on how different countries collect data on ethnic and religious background depending on their histories and traditions (for example in the case of France, there are no official statistics related to religion or ethnicity). In the UK the term black and minority or ethnic minority is often used by government to refer to visible and non-visible minorities (check). In other countries the number of people who are 'foreign born' is often used as a way of measuring how diverse a city or country is. However, this does not capture second or third generations (or longer) whose ethnic origin may lie elsewhere. In Canada and the US, it is common to refer to 'visible' minorities and 'non-visible' in order, among other things, to better understand how racism operates. For the purpose of this paper we are interested in considering cities

where the indigenous population (i.e. those ethnic groups that were traditionally in a majority) is now set to form one of many new minorities and no single group dominates.

ⁱⁱⁱ By 2017, 20% of Canadians will be a visible minority. In Toronto, visible minorities were 37% in 2001 and will be 50% in 2017. This is much higher when white minorities are included.