

Cultural diversity in Britain

A toolkit for cross-cultural co-operation

Phil Wood, Charles Landry and Jude Bloomfield

With the current debate about 'multiculturalism', this study sets out a new approach to cultural diversity. It explores ways of unlocking the potential in diversity and identifies strategies to aid greater exchange between different cultural groups.

The authors examine the connections between cultural diversity, innovation and thriving, prosperous urban communities, in relation to the economic, social and cultural mix of Britain's population. They developed tools to harness the potential of diverse communities, and their powers of innovation, for use by policymakers, planners and practitioners. These include a set *of indicators of openness* to check the readiness of a city to take advantage of diversity, and the *intercultural lens* through which professionals can examine the familiar in a new light. The study evaluated six aspects of local activity:

- public consultation and engagement
- urban planning and development
- business and entrepreneurship
- schools
- the arts and creative industries
- sport.

The project went further by helping participating cities to develop specific economic, social, cultural and planning policies and so to become role models for others.

The study draws on local case studies and in-depth interviews with 33 intercultural innovators in seven UK cities, with comparative analysis also conducted in Europe, North America and Australasia. It is aimed at policymakers and practitioners in local and regional government, neighbourhood renewal and community cohesion.



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Preface

Cultures are made of continuities and changes, and the identity of a society can survive through these changes. Societies without change aren't authentic; they're just dead.

(Kwame Anthony Appiah)¹

Cultural Diversity in Britain: A Toolkit for Cross-Cultural Co-operation is the fruit of a 15-month investigation. Drawing on evidence from numerous sources in the UK and internationally, and the expertise of a diverse team from a wide range of disciplines, it seeks to move forward the debate on how we live and work together in the increasingly heterogeneous urban communities of the UK.

The fundamental assertion of the study is that increased interaction between ethnic cultures will produce social and economic innovations that will drive the prosperity and quality of life of our cities. The purpose of the report is to give cities the encouragement and some of the tools to achieve this.

We are aiming this report beyond the 'diversity profession' to politicians, professionals and activists across the breadth of urban issues. For too long, discussions about cultural diversity have been the preserve of a few and locked into a formulaic pattern. One argument we make is that, if more people do not actively engage with the implications of growing diversity, they will be stacking up problems for themselves and their communities in the future. However, we emphatically do not wish to tarnish diversity with a sense of foreboding – rather we wish to do something that has been rarely done in the UK before – to shift our collective mindsets into seeing diversity as an opportunity and as a key to advantage.

Our starting point is that Britain down to its deepest roots is, and always has been, a diverse and heterogeneous nation: the North Africans who patrolled Hadrian's Wall and the interplay of Celtic civilisation with successive waves of mediaeval invaders and settlers; deep-seated communities of Jewish and Huguenot origin; the post-colonial immigrants; African-Caribbeans, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Chinese, but also Europeans from Germans, Italians and Portuguese to Scandinavians, Poles and Russians; Australasians, Arabs, Nigerians, South Africans, Moroccans, Somalians; South and North Americans. When we talk of diversity we are talking of the full spectrum of people who now make up British society. How these peoples live and work together will determine the extent to which Britain prospers.

In terms of policy, we acknowledge the value of ‘multiculturalism’ as the guiding model over many years in the UK, and would not wish to undermine its achievements, but we argue that fresh thinking is now needed. We also welcome the ‘community cohesion’ agenda and hope, through our work, to both contribute to and move forward its analysis and practice.

This is new, original and unusual research, but we intend that it should provide a helpful and usable end product for those who make policy and who put it into practice in British cities. First, we have introduced some new concepts, which we hope will stimulate thinking and creativity. We talk of a *diversity advantage* for cities, which can be achieved through *intercultural exchange and innovation*. To unlock this advantage will require new skills and aptitudes on the part of professionals, such as *cultural literacy and competence*.

We offer practitioners some new tools. A set of *indicators of openness* to enable them to evaluate the preparedness of their own town or city for achieving diversity advantage. Also the *intercultural lens* through which professionals can re-evaluate the familiar and the mundane in a new light.

This is not the final word but hopefully the opening of a new chapter in the way society thinks about and responds to diversity. Our approach has not been to take a hypothesis and subject it to the rigour of empirical research – it is far more open-ended. We ask a lot of new questions in this report and do not have the answers to all of them. Rather, we invite other researchers and professionals to follow the track that we have begun to mark out and to explore more widely. In particular our report focuses only on *cultural* diversity and yet there could be much fruitful study of the application of our principles to other diversities that now routinely characterise our cities.

Within its remit the report seeks to provide a new twist and interpretive key through which insight might be gained and discussion refreshed. We seek to spur thinking, shift the debate and invite the reader’s critical engagement. The creative challenge is to move from the multicultural city of fragmented differences to the co-created intercultural city that makes the most of diversity.

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1 Introduction

The growth of interest in cultural diversity

The world is moving and changing at a pace that is both alarming and invigorating. Old and familiar certainties are being lost and new questions and challenges are arising constantly. The impulse to indulge our curiosity and embrace the new is tempered by our fear of losing touch with the reassuringly familiar, and the vain desire to 'stop the world, I want to get off' must arise in all of us from time to time.

There are a number of factors that are both a driver and a symptom of change. One of the most apparent and topical of these is ethnic and cultural diversity. There are now few parts of the world that are entirely homogeneous, while an increasing number of urban communities now routinely comprise dozens of different groups in visible numbers. Major cities are now 'world cities', in as much as they are becoming microcosms of the world in all its teeming diversity.

This is never more so apparent than in Britain. London is now more diverse than any city that has ever existed. Altogether, more than 300 languages are spoken by the people of London, and the city has at least 50 non-indigenous communities with populations of 10,000 or more. Virtually every race, nation, culture and religion in the world can claim at least a handful of Londoners. London's Muslim population of 607,083 people is probably the most diverse anywhere in the world, besides Mecca. Only 59.8 per cent of Londoners consider themselves to be white British, while 3.2 per cent consider themselves to be of mixed race.

And, while London represents a unique kind of diversity, the rest of Britain is now changing. In 1997, a total of 63,000 work-permit holders and their dependants came to Britain. In 2003, it was 119,000. Altogether, between 1991 and 2001, the UK population increased by 2.2 million, some 1.14 million of whom were born abroad. And all this was before EU enlargement in May 2004, which brought 130,000 more people from the new member states in its first year alone.

There are 37,000 Pakistan-born people in Birmingham¹ and 27,500 in Bradford, 25,000 Indians in Leicester, 4,000 Bangladeshis in Oldham and 4,000 West Indians in Nottingham. There are now over 1,000 French people living in Bristol and Brighton, 650 Greeks in Colchester, 600 Portuguese in Bournemouth and Poole, 800 Poles in Bradford, 1,300 Somalis in Sheffield, 770 Zimbabweans in Luton, 370 Iranians in Newcastle and 400 in Stockport, and 240 Malaysians in Southsea. And

these figures represent only those who are foreign born and not the much larger numbers of second-generation and beyond people whose nationality and identity will be hyphenated.

The developing debate

While change on the ground has been relatively speedy, the public discourse around diversity in Britain has moved at a variable pace. Britain had experienced the development of substantial 'visible minority' communities since the 1950s and, while punctuated by legislative interventions of alternately liberal and restrictive intent, and occasional outbursts of insurrection and national soul-searching, it could be said in general that, by the 1990s, a consensus had emerged that accepted the UK as a place largely at ease with, and protective of, its diversity.

Since the turn of the century, however, this scene of passive, even complacent, satisfaction has turned into a bubbling ferment. This is not just a re-emergence of the old questions and arguments but something qualitatively different. It is no longer a question of how many foreigners can Britain accept but rather what does it mean to be British in a very different world. The growth of the powers of the EU, the devolution of powers to the nations and regions, 9/11 and international transferability of conflict and fear, the media scare stories about asylum have all served to undermine the sense of equilibrium. Equally shocking to the complacent sense of tolerance were the findings of the enquiry into the murder of the black London teenager Stephen Lawrence and the spate of civil disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in 2001, which introduced two new concepts into the national lexicon: institutional racism and parallel lives. Britain it seemed was no longer a place so at ease with itself as it had thought and people started looking for scapegoats.

Long-standing poverty and structural economic decline have contributed much to the misery of populations, white and black, in many British cities, though perhaps this has been exacerbated now by the polarising political economy of globalisation – in other words, an economy that seems to offer multiple choices and opportunities to those who already have them while taking them even further out of reach for those who never had them. Another perennial cause of ethnic unrest is racism and discrimination, inflamed by extremist politics and an atmosphere of competition for scarce resources. While both are true and relevant, both past and present, neither even in combination provides a satisfactory response to the situation we now find ourselves in.

Rather, society has placed in the dock a system, the very legislative and values framework that has provided the context and orthodoxy for the best part of the last 40 years. We know it as 'multiculturalism'. Originating from the liberalising ethos of the Wilson/Jenkins era, multiculturalism was a uniquely British approach to creating a more mixed and tolerant society. Concerned less with integration or assimilation it was centred on:

... managing public order and relations between majority and minority populations ... allowing ethnic cultures and practices to mediate the process.²

Minority languages, religions and cultural practices were encouraged, and rights and freedoms were enshrined in legislation. The authors of multiculturalism, however, shied away from any form of economic intervention assuming that, once discrimination had been outlawed, the market would in time integrate and reward equally the minorities. While it was clear, even in the 1990s, that this was not yet the case, there remained a powerful consensus that Britain was not only muddling through towards a model society but also doing it better than just about anywhere else in the world.³

In 2006, though, multiculturalism is being brought into question, not only from its traditional sceptics but from voices on the left and the liberal centre.⁴ There is a virulence to much of the critique too, as if it arises from a sense of betrayal that somehow multiculturalism offered a dream that it has failed to deliver.

Whatever one's stance on whether the British model of multiculturalism remains robust, in need of tweaking, or past its usefulness, there ought to be a general welcoming of the arrival of a new vigour to the discourse around diversity, particularly in national and local government and the public services. There was a sense in the 1990s that diversity was off-limits as a place to think new ideas and do new things.⁵ It had, it is argued, become an 'equalities agenda' presided over by a priesthood, which enforced a strict vocabulary and codes of behaviour, and which would deal ruthlessly with any deviation from the norm. Many, indeed, were happy to leave them to it as attention turned elsewhere to apparently race-neutral issues, such as city centre regeneration or the new economy.

The charge now levelled at multiculturalism is that it created a false sense of harmony by establishing a system for the distribution of power and resources, which worked for a while but which was unable to adapt to change, and which imperceptibly moved from being part of the solution to part of the problem. Particularly at the local level, it is argued that the system encouraged the creation of

culturally and spatially distinct communities, fronted by 'community leaders', and that difference became the very currency by which importance was judged and progress made. In other words, in the distribution of goods, there was apparently little to be gained from integration and everything to be gained from difference and non-mixing. This proved particularly challenging for second- and third-generation members of such communities who found it difficult to find a place that acknowledged or rewarded their new, often hybrid, senses of identity and alienation often ensued.

Another accusation is that, far from being a system that spoke to the whole of British society, multiculturalism spoke only for the minorities. This served to maintain the exoticism and essentialism of minority cultures hindering a two-way conversation with British culture. It is also accused of having devalued and alienated the culture of the white working class (i.e. that multicultural celebrated everybody's culture but theirs), driving them further away from the goal of tolerance and into the arms of extremists.⁶ This first came to public attention in 1989 when a report into the racist murder of pupil Ahmed Ullah at Burnage High School in Manchester concluded that the school's vigorous anti-racist and multicultural teaching methods had exacerbated rather than counteracted racial tension.⁷

Debating whether multiculturalism should remain intact, be modified or replaced by something else could be portrayed as a rather theoretical exercise. This would be unfortunate because, while it is not important which 'ism' we adopt, the current debate does reflect the interplay of enormously important ideas about how we wish society to work and the values that underpin it.

Since the disturbances of 2001 in particular, the emphasis of debate has been around the question of how to solve the problems of a society from which large numbers of people are either excluded or have excluded themselves. 'Community cohesion' has become the official response and work at national and local level has focused on twin aims:

- 1 formulating a common set of British values from which spring a set of civic rights, entitlements and responsibilities
- 2 reforming governance structures and practices at the local level to replace the discredited distortions of 'town hall multiculturalism' with a system based on inter-ethnic co-operation and interaction.⁸

Others have gone further to argue that the future lies not in finding better ways of integrating outsiders into British society but in fundamentally reappraising what we understand British society to be. In other words, that British culture and values

cannot be reduced to a set of unchanging principles, but is rather a constantly evolving and transforming entity that responds to the ongoing process of hybridisation that accelerating change is bringing about.⁹ As such, the thing that will hold Britons together is not the social glue of ‘shared values’ but the social bridge of ‘shared futures’.

Key concepts

The *Cultural Diversity in Britain* report should be located within this dynamic and evolving discourse. The authors acknowledge the different strands of thought and the contribution each is making to the current debate. Our intention is, however, to introduce some new ideas and ways of thinking to what still remains a rather inward and anglocentric frame of reference.

In particular we explore, and have been inspired by, three concepts, all of which have their origin in part abroad and which have not really featured in current debates. They are:

- 1 diversity advantage
- 2 openness
- 3 interculturalism.

Diversity advantage

Our feeling about the discourse of diversity throughout the last 50 years or so is that it has maintained a tone that is apologetic – the sense that the British people are being asked to adapt reluctantly and accommodate to something that they would rather not contemplate but that is unavoidable. It responds both to the innate liberalism of the British that they can accept the idea of people who are different and do things differently from them, but also the conservatism of ‘as long as it doesn’t affect the way I lead my life’. And so the narrative constructed for the British people was that immigration would help keep their public services and factories running but would not change them. For those who were that way inclined, the exoticism of a different, unassimilated culture would be available to experience, but the rest could happily live their lives in the blissful ignorance that anything had changed.

In day-to-day practice, for example in local government, this has translated into an atmosphere in which diversity is regarded as, at best an issue to be managed, at worst a problem to be solved. While ‘saris, steelband and samosas’ brought a little light relief, the sense was that this was just another thing that made life more complex and tiresome – to coin a phrase – the ‘diversity deficit’.

This is not the way diversity is perceived everywhere. In societies in which immigration lies at the heart of national identity, such as the US and Canada, diversity has been far more widely regarded as a source of potential opportunity and advantage. The private sector has led, evolving the idea that there was a ‘business case for diversity’. This drew on a number of strands of thinking: that diverse teams of people brought new skills and aptitudes, which broadened a company’s business offer and which in combination might produce new process and product innovations, which would advance competitiveness.¹⁰ It also drew on ideas that a business more diverse in outlook would have upstream access to new markets both home and abroad and, through an appreciation of ‘supplier diversity’, downstream access to better-priced and more interesting goods.¹¹

This way of thinking has transferred gradually into wider socio-economic thinking, giving the idea that a more heterogeneous nation is better equipped than a homogeneous one to weather the storms of the global economy and adapt to change. Such a charge, for example, has been levelled against Japan and Germany as they have fallen behind the economic performance of more diverse G8 member states.¹² There is also a strand of thinking (associated with Richard Florida), which contends that success at the level of local and regional economics will also be influenced by the extent to which cities can offer an open, tolerant and diverse milieu to attract and hold mobile wealth creators.¹³

Such thinking has made a few inroads into Britain, specifically in the corporate world, but is rarely encountered in the public sector and local government. There may well be valid arguments that North America is another place where they do things differently, but to our knowledge this debate is not even being had at present. Our aim in particular is to encourage the towns and cities of Britain to shift their mindset. To start thinking of their own cultural diversity as an asset not a liability, and to start looking for advantages – not only economic, but also social, cultural, political – that can be derived to help them position themselves in a more advantageous position.

Openness

We start from the standpoint that, the more open a person is to the world around them and the more open a group is to other groups, the better. There may be times when a group needs to defend itself or close itself off from external influences but these will be exceptional circumstances. The good society for which we strive is an open society.

Economic structures and legal systems play a fundamental role in determining the openness of a society. As such, 'openness', in the context of the intercultural city, means the degree to which the differences and diversities between individuals and groups are acknowledged, respected and encouraged in law – for example, whether people are able to move to a country, work there, be allowed to stay and acquire citizenship over time or the degree to which institutions adapt to changing demography, diversifying their governance, management or programming.

However, our particular interest is in the permeability of individuals and groups to different ideas, beliefs and ways of behaviour. At one level this might mean the extent to which people are exposed to a mix of ideas, such as: foreign media; diverse art forms; foreign and minority language teaching, and the appreciation of multilingualism; or exposure to foreign products and services and different forms of service delivery. However, we are also interested in whether cities foster the open interplay of different groups through the design and management of the public realm, through the location and management of different housing types and public facilities such as schools, health centres and libraries.

Openness is also closely connected to curiosity – the desire to know what lies beyond one's spatial, cultural or intellectual horizons, and the capacity to pursue the interest. There are strong trends in modern society that discourage people from being curious, particularly of other people. In its individualistic manifestation, this may derive from a lack of interest in or respect for what other people might have to offer. In a tribal manifestation it may come from a defensive fear that the influence of the other may weaken the integrity of the group. We believe curiosity is the prerequisite of any form of creativity, innovation, enterprise or social change and so is vital in the modern city. Closedness, on the other hand, constrains the generation of ideas and problem solving.

Multiculturalism has been founded on the belief in tolerance between cultures but it is not always the case that multicultural places are open places. Interculturalism on the other hand requires openness as a prerequisite and, while openness in itself is not the guarantee of interculturalism, it provides the setting for interculturalism to develop.

Interculturalism

The term ‘interculturalism’ has largely been absent from the vernacular of the British discourse on diversity. It emerged in the Netherlands and Germany in the educational field concerned primarily with communication between different nationalities in border regions; while across the Atlantic it referred particularly to the work of a group of professionals responding to the growing needs of American government and business to sell their message and their goods overseas.¹⁴ It combined the studies of languages and of different cultural typologies and mores in a way that is now most recognisable in the series of television adverts adopted by HSBC to reinforce its branding as ‘the world’s best local bank’.

The basis of this approach is in creating the opportunity for two different entities to know a little more about how to reassure and interest the other while also avoiding those things that might insult or alarm them, thus minimising the potential obstacles to the transaction, which is the most important element. Our take on interculturalism moves on from this, however. We see it not as a tool for communication but as a process of mutual learning and joint growth.¹⁵ This then implies a process of acquiring, not only a set of basic facts and concepts about ‘the other’, but also particular skills and competences that will enable one to interact functionally with anyone different from oneself regardless of their origins. This implies a different way of reading situations, signs, symbols, and of communicating, which we would describe as *intercultural literacy*. This then implies the acquisition of an intercultural competence, which in a diverse society becomes as important a competency as basic numeracy and literacy. No child should leave school without it and no public official with responsibility for deciding on local policy and resources should be without it either.¹⁶

We move even further than this with the sense that those who have developed such a competency will be able to re-envision their world or their profession *through an intercultural lens*. ‘The intercultural city’ is one in which the way things are done has been informed by the new perspectives revealed under the lens.

We also explore the common notion that cities are increasingly driven by the need to innovate – economically, socially, culturally – to solve the problems that they as cities create.¹⁷ Such innovations may be found in the laboratory or the think tank but we believe the city needs to solve many of its problems at a much more mundane level, on the streets. The very point at which different cultures have to engage to resolve an issue is a space in which we may find *intercultural innovation*. The successful cities will be those that can recognise and nurture these spaces and interactions.

Cities will need help with this and will need to turn to those who instinctively understand these processes – indeed who are usually the catalyst for them. We identify in this report a new social group of *intercultural innovators*, and describe the conditions and circumstances in which they operate and how cities can give them encouragement.

Finally, by proposing a new ‘ism’, it may appear we are offering interculturalism as the new model of diversity policy to replace the once adequate but now outmoded model of multiculturalism. We are not. There is much within multiculturalism, particularly as it is being reformed through ‘community cohesion’ and other critiques, which still speaks to our nations. It would be wrong to throw out the baby with the bathwater, or to give any succour to the implacable enemies of cultural diversity.

It is, nevertheless, important to note there are some significant differences between the ‘community cohesion’ model and interculturalism. Foremost of these is the attitude towards harmony and disagreement. It seems to us that the aim of ‘community cohesion’ may be harmony at all costs and the avoidance of disagreement or dispute, even though this may require the imposition of a blanket set of communal values and viewpoints on an increasingly diverse and hybridising community. Our view is that disagreement and dispute, far from being avoided, is a vital component of a healthy and vibrant democratic community. While avoidance or suppression of conflict risks creating a ‘pressure cooker’ that will inevitably blow, interculturalism requires the confronting, negotiating and active resolution of difference.

By way of a concise definition of interculturalism, we have argued in the past that:

The intercultural approach goes beyond equal opportunities and respect for existing cultural differences to the pluralist transformation of public space, institutions and civic culture. It does not recognise cultural boundaries as fixed but in a state of flux and remaking. An intercultural approach aims to facilitate dialogue, exchange and reciprocal understanding between people of different backgrounds.¹⁸

And we retain this. We would wish interculturalism to be adopted, not as a monolithic creed, but as a process and as an interactive process.

A historical interlude: the irrepressible urge for cross-pollination

We are more intercultural than we think and in many fields it is so ubiquitous we take it for granted. Cultural influence and mixture has etched itself into the fabric of British life for centuries, as it has to the cultures of the peoples who have come here. Before we launch into the weightier economic and social effects of, and arguments within, diversity a reminder of some of these influences and borrowings is called for.

We need look no further than the quintessential icon of British food – fish and chips. Fried fish was brought over from Eastern Europe by the Jews and chips by the Huguenots from France; the British put them together as an innovation fish n' chips. Ketchup comes to us via the Cantonese as *Kher-Chap*, while chutney feels British but is Indian in origin, as are important ingredients in Worcestershire sauce or Branston pickle. The haggis form of sausage reached Scotland from its origins in Greece via France, transmuting along the way. The vegetables we think of British come from elsewhere – the potato from America, the Brussels sprout from Iran and Afghanistan. Some cuisines are indeed defined by fusion. Australian food culture received a blast of life from the new immigrants, so liberating it from the lamb, mash and peas stereotype.

Think too of music where cultural mixes create distinct new forms and innovations. The classic example is jazz – a combination of African music transmuted through Mississippi delta blues and the gospel churches of the Alabama cotton fields, combined with Caribbean and especially Cuban rhythms responding themselves to their African background, native American influences, as well as a western classical music element, which came in via the ragtime piano. Interestingly, all of these musical styles co-existed side by side in New Orleans and might have continued to do so. It took the repressive imposition of racist 'Jim Crow' laws, and particularly the redesignation of the relatively privileged mixed-race Creole people as second-class citizens, to force them into solidarity with the blacks and to bring about the essential fusion of musical traditions from whence came jazz at the turn of the twentieth century.

More recently we have seen 'house' dominate the musical world. The common element of most house music is a 4/4 beat generated by a drum machine together with a solid (usually also electronically generated) bassline. Upon this foundation, electronically generated sounds and samples of music such as jazz, blues and synth pop are added. What is significant there is that DJs in Chicago

Continued

and Detroit clubs created it through the incongruous juxtaposition of two entirely unrelated musical styles and cultural worlds – US black disco and German electronic music such as *Kraftwerk*.

This conversation across cultures holds equally for sports, such as cricket. England regained the Ashes in 2005 because of their mastery of the bowling technique of ‘reverse swing’. This technique was originally a Pakistani invention associated with cricketers such as Wasim Akram and Waqar Younis and, when first practised against England, was seen at best as a dubious and ‘wily oriental trick’, if not outright cheating. Later they taught it to the English players such as Andrew Flintoff and, from there, it is making its way through the system to players like Simon Jones of Glamorgan. It is now England’s ‘secret’ weapon.

Turning to language, English itself is a mix of two great language groups within the Indo-European language family – the Germanic and the Romance. Equally, one could look at styles of fashion, architecture or garden design and find numerous examples of cultural cross-fertilisation as the mother of invention. The very basis of the intellectual traditions of the West has roots in the Islamic world. The bold inventions made by Muslim scholars in mathematics, such as the development of algebra, the invention of the concept of zero and organising the number system into decimals, as well as the principle of the pendulum, which was used to measure time, were all vital in the Scientific Revolution. They not only passed on Greek classical works but also introduced new scientific theories, without which the European Renaissance could not have occurred.

The weft and weave of interchange strengthens cultures and takes place as a normal occurrence.

About the study

The research project was structured on three distinct but complementary strands:

- 1 city-based case studies in four UK settings, as well as in Australia, New Zealand, Norway and the United States
- 2 thematic studies subjecting 12 areas of public and urban policy to analysis through an *intercultural lens*
- 3 studies of 33 individual intercultural innovators in eight cities.

Appendix 1 contains the full list of research commissioned for the report.

While this report focuses primarily on the UK, further studies with a wider international perspective are to be published by Comedia in due course.

Aims of the research

This project has set out to make the case that there is a positive connection between cultural diversity, innovation and thriving communities, and that diversity can be employed as a catalyst to revitalise British towns and cities. It has tried to gauge the impact of diversity on British towns and cities, looking at different forms of urban innovation and entrepreneurship, and has sought to explore the extent to which these can be said to arise from intercultural dialogue, exchange and activity.

More specifically our aim has been to:

- shift debate towards the potential of cultural pluralism and interculturalism to enrich our quality of life and foster thriving communities
- provide a richer analysis of the underlying economic, social and cultural dynamics of Britain's rich mix, so helping develop better-informed policy choices
- indicate how the innovative potential of minority communities can be better identified, harnessed and brought to fruition
- assist participating cities, through action research, to develop economic, social, cultural and planning policies, thereby acting as role models for others to follow
- provide much needed practical tools for policy makers, planners and practitioners.

The expected outcomes of the project were that it would:

- generate a momentum of debate between central and local government, public agencies and people from the business and community sectors; and give participating towns and cities the opportunity to stand back, reflect, strategise and plan
- provide the opportunity to reflect on good practice, so helping to draw up policy guidelines for local authorities

- generate greater co-operation and support between cities with diversity in the UK and greater understanding of work in similar international cities
- produce profiles of successful intercultural actors and map their networks.

Structure of the report

The remaining chapters are organised in a specific sequence. The next chapter explores further and illustrates how an intercultural approach can work taking six aspects of urban place making:

- 1 consulting and engaging with cities
- 2 design and masterplanning
- 3 business and entrepreneurialism
- 4 education
- 5 the arts
- 6 sport.

Chapters 3 and 4 set out the main findings, drawing on the city and thematic studies and then the interviews with intercultural actors who are sources of innovation.

Chapter 5 introduces another new concept – the ‘indicators of openness’ – by way of exploring practical methods that can help cities to embark on an ‘intercultural city strategy’. We conclude with specific ideas for policy and action.

A statistical interlude: what data is already available about interculturalism?

There is currently no data being routinely collected in the UK with the explicit purpose of describing levels or degrees of interculturalism. We must therefore look to what is available and assess what possible conclusions might be drawn from this. In practical statistical terms, the identification of distinct groups of peoples, or people with distinct outlooks/ways of life, usually boils down to distinctions based on ethnicity, with some potential for support from religion.

Continued overleaf

Such data is now routinely collected by all the major household surveys conducted by Government. The four sources with the greatest potential for the analysis of intercultural cities are:

- the Census
- the Labour Force Survey
- the biennial Citizenship Survey
- annual administrative educational data.

There are two main shortcomings with this data. The first is that the standard 18-class ethnic categorisation used in the UK is essentially a Commonwealth classification, which distinguishes black African, black Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese but treats all non-British whites as one and anybody else as 'other'. Second, data is usually not available at a low enough level to produce reliable statistics for individual cities. In the above list, only the Census and the schools data go below the level of the region. So the standard data only tells us the degree to which a place is ethnically diverse or multicultural, but cannot take us much further.

However, because our need is to know how intercultural a city is, as opposed merely to how multicultural, we have to measure the degree to which different groups mix together at sub-city level. In the following exercise, we have taken Bristol as an example and, to keep things simple, we divide the population into just two groups: first, white and, second, black and minority ethnic (BME).

According to the Census, 8 per cent of Bristol's population was classified BME in 2001. That 8 per cent could be taken as a measure of the city's multiculturalism. On its own, however, it says nothing about how the different groups are spread out across the city. To do that, we use a formula that creates a single measure out of the BME percentages for each of Bristol's 1,300 or so 'neighbourhoods'. The formula produces a statistic that can be interpreted as the ratio of two probabilities. They are the probability that your neighbour is:

- BME if you are BME yourself
- BME if you are white.

This ratio is then a measure of how isolated the two groups are from one another. The higher the ratio is, the greater the isolation. In Bristol, the two probabilities are 18 per cent and 7 per cent. This means that a BME Bristolian is 2.6 times more likely than a white Bristolian to live next door to someone who is BME. Table 1 shows how Bristol compares with a number of other places in England.

Continued

Table 1 Bristol's BME population compared with other places in Britain

City or area	(1) BME % for white residents	(2) Overall BME %	(3) BME % for BME residents	Isolation ratio (1):(3)
Birmingham	18	30	58	3.2
Burnley	5	8	44	8.7
Bristol	7	8	18	2.6
Lewisham (London Borough)	31	34	40	1.3
Tower Hamlets (London Borough)	39	49	59	1.5

- The overall level of the BME population in Bristol is the same as that of Burnley (8 per cent), but the BME and white populations are far more isolated from one another in Burnley (where the isolation ratio is 8.7) than they are in Bristol (2.6).
- Bristol and Birmingham have very different overall BME population levels (8 per cent and 30 per cent) but quite similar isolation ratios (2.6 and 3.2).
- Lewisham and Tower Hamlets have higher overall BME population levels still (34 per cent and 49 per cent) but much lower isolation ratios (1.3 and 1.5).

These statistics show the physical proximity of residents from different ethnic backgrounds and this is no more than a start in exploring interculturalism.

Appendix 4 details an extension of this methodology across the 78 boroughs and districts in the UK with the highest BME populations. It should be stressed that this is a preliminary analysis only and that a full analysis would, not only work with a more detailed ethnic breakdown than 'BME', but also investigate factors such as housing tenure, employment and age.

For this reason, our preliminary analysis has nothing to say about change over time and therefore sheds no light on the question of whether particular groups are becoming more or less 'ghettoised'. Nevertheless, it begins the process of thinking about places from an intercultural perspective.

2 Findings I: seeing the world through an intercultural lens

The aim of this first chapter of findings, and of the two that follow, is to demonstrate that, for cities to become socially and economically dynamic, they need to be creative in making the most of what they have. For cities to unlock the benefits of cultural diversity – to realise the diversity advantage or dividend – they need to become more intercultural. They need to become stages on which the free interplay of different skills, insights and cultural resources may take its course; but they also need to be seedbeds in which the new social, economic and technological ideas that ensue can be nurtured and grown.

This chapter explains how cities can make themselves more intercultural by taking six aspects of the living and running of cities and looking at them again ‘through an intercultural lens’. We ask the question: if the primary intention of policy was to achieve innovation, advantage and happiness through greater intercultural activity, how would things be done differently? We explain the skills needed to do this and then report on the efforts of our research team and of others to put them into practice. While the first chapter takes a ‘top-down’ look at how major themes and disciplines may be reconceived, the second draws on primary research into how ‘intercultural innovation’ takes place at the cutting edge, in the hands of the people who make it happen. These are the ‘intercultural innovators’ who, through work that is both visionary and mundane, are changing the face of British cities. The third chapter of findings sets out to explain how cities can create the conditions in which such diversity advantage may thrive or languish. These are the first steps to creating a toolkit whereby city policy makers can better understand their external influences and local conditions and, through ‘indicators of openness and interculturalism’, begin a process of change management.

‘Findings I’ is concerned with how we can know a city and the people within it. We take as our starting point the belief that cities are, in part, formed and reformed by the interplay of different groups, interests and economic forces – politicians and policy makers, practitioners and professionals, and residents who all act in their own way as *place makers*. As such, the knowledge that each group or interest has, and the interpretation that they place on it, can become extremely influential on the way in which the city develops. Of equal importance are those things of which there is little or no knowledge, or even wilful ignorance.

We follow Leonie Sandercock¹ in believing there are multiple ways of knowing a place. She identifies six:

- 1 knowing through dialogue
- 2 knowing from experience
- 3 learning from local knowledge
- 4 learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence
- 5 learning through contemplative or appreciative knowledge
- 6 learning by doing, or action-planning.

We believe that a city based on intercultural principles will require its place-making groups and interests to have access to as many of these forms of knowledge as possible and the capacity to apply them. Having established in the previous chapter the requirement for openness as a precondition, we now look at what would be the specific competences and tools for the creation of an intercultural city. *Cultural literacy* is the capacity to acquire, interpret and apply knowledge about cultures. This creates the possibility to take an apparently familiar issue or discipline and to look at it afresh through an *intercultural lens* – an idea that we propose here for the first time. Finally, we have taken a series of themes that characterise contemporary urban life and subjected them to a re-evaluation ‘through an intercultural lens’. This has produced findings with implications for policy.

Cultural literacy²

People behave in the way that they behave because of the culture they have assimilated. It may be an ethnic culture, though it could equally be an organisational or professional culture that influences their reading of and responses to the world. Without an understanding of this, urban place makers are lost. Our question would be not so much how can the place-making professions do their job while taking culture into account, but more how have they possibly been able to do their job for so long without taking culture into account?

Only through being culturally literate can we understand and read both the surface of any situation and its deeper meanings and wider context. We take as our starting point an anthropological definition of culture as a way of life with five core components.

- 1 *Customary ways of behaving*: of making a living; eating; expressing affection; getting married; raising children; responding to illness and death; getting ahead in society; and dealing with the supernatural.
- 2 *Codes or assumptions*: expectations and emotions underlying those customary behaviours.
- 3 *Artefacts*: things that members of the population group make or have made that have meaning for them.
- 4 *Institutions*: economic, political, religious and social, so as to follow through things in a fairly predictable manner.
- 5 *Social structure*: the patterned ways in which people relate to one another.³

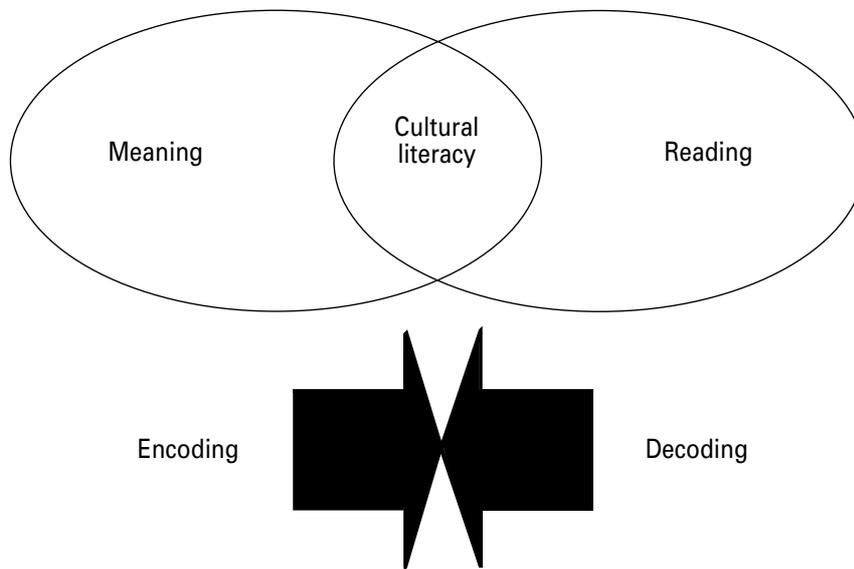
In the context of the contemporary city with its highly diverse cultural mix, it is clearly impossible for individual urban professionals to accumulate an in-depth cultural knowledge of every group represented in their city. Therefore we need to encourage intercultural dialogue to ensure that knowledge about and between cultures occurs more seamlessly on a day-to-day basis. The task is to bear in mind a series of questions such as:

- 'are our expectations different?'
- 'are my assumptions valid in this different context?'
- 'are people interpreting what I say differently than I think?'

From this comes the awareness that, in all forms of human communication, the information is making a journey through several filters (see Figure 1). First, the communicant is inscribing their message with meaning derived from their own cultural preconceptions (i.e. they are *encoding* it). Second, the addressee is receiving the information and reading it according to their own cultural preconceptions (i.e. they are *decoding* it).

In the case of urban planning and development, this entails engagement by the professional with a community exploring its history, cultural institutions and current cultural values through its forms of artistic expression, skills, crafts, media of communication, oral history and memory. The value of such a process is that it uncovers multiple stories, values, origins and often contradictory aspirations. It can therefore be as much an experience of community bonding as a research tool. Once these layers have been uncovered, it becomes possible to design physical, social or

Figure 1 The communication process



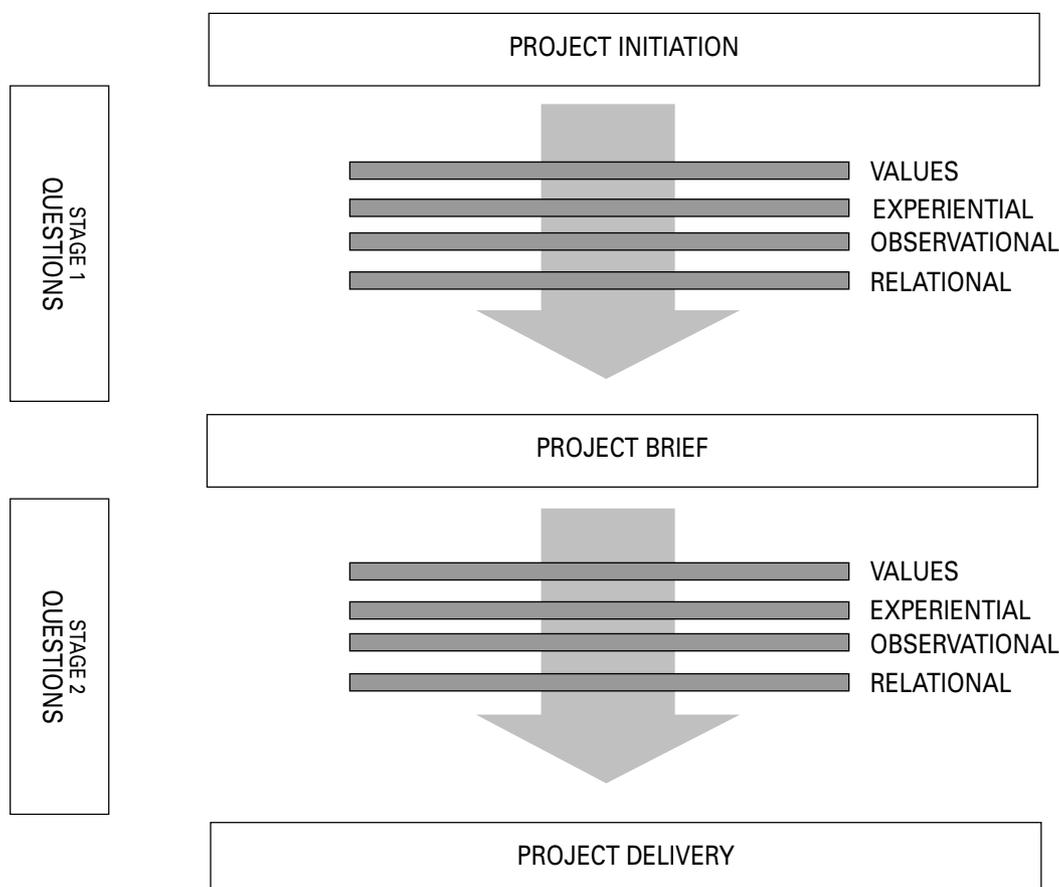
economic environments that are attuned to these deeper cultural meanings. As Hall in *The Hidden Dimension* reminds us:

... people from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, *inhabit different sensory worlds*.⁴

To understand these layers of complexity requires a process of analysis through a series of cultural filters, which can be applied to planning, community development, urban regeneration and the physical aspects of local economic development. Figure 2 explains how this might translate into a process of engagement between city planners, a developer and the community in a culturally diverse neighbourhood. The four proposed filters are: values, experiential quality, visual quality and relational qualities.

- The first filter asks 'what values should inform the project?'
- The second teases out the nature of the experiences the project aims to create. With a building project, one could ask 'Does the building provoke a feeling of welcome or inspire awe?'
- The third filter concerns the visual impact of the project: what visual signals will it convey?
- Finally, the filter of relations asks what linkages a project will enable or prevent.

Figure 2 Model for a process of engagement between city planners, a developer and the community in a culturally diverse neighbourhood



Following these steps may initially seem cumbersome. However, as with issues such as the environment or gender, the habit of asking the questions makes cultural literacy common sense.

Cultural literacy is, then, the ability to read, understand and find the significance of diverse cultures and, as a consequence, to be able to evaluate, compare and decode the varied cultures that are interwoven in a place. It allows one to attribute meaning and significance to anything seen and produced. It is a form of cultural capital that enables us to act sensitively and effectively in a world of differences. It is as crucial for survival as the ability to read, write, or count and fostering this culture of sharing knowledge across perceived boundaries is going to be a major challenge to the education system and professional practice in the years to come.

Seeing the world through an intercultural lens

‘The intercultural city’ will be one in which cultural literacy is widespread so people can understand and empathise with another’s view of the world. This may be an ideal concept, but the road towards it begins with the agents and the processes that make our cities. If city institutions, policy makers, planners and professional practitioners could begin to reconceive their role ‘through an intercultural lens’, the ideal could become reality.

In the following extended section, we conduct an exercise by taking a series of themes germane to urban place making and subjecting them to a rethink on intercultural lines:

- public consultation and engagement
- urban planning and development
- business and entrepreneurship
- education
- the arts
- sport.

Readers from other disciplines might wish to subject their own professional principles and practices to a similar exercise.

1 *A capacity to listen and consult*

It is argued⁵ that modern cities should be seen, less as places of distinct communities marked by clear and fixed boundaries, but more as local public spheres with multidimensional connections that overlap and conflict. As such, citizens cannot easily be ascribed to one, homogeneous group, but may be part of several. How, then, can policy makers and planners try and understand what a community of this kind really thinks and wants? To be intercultural means being able to listen to and understand other cultural perspectives, and, in the process of place-making therefore, consultation cannot simply be a one-off and standardised exercise but rather a continuous process of informal discussion and engagement.

The orthodox, multiculturalist approach to public consultation requires that communities were defined by their ethnicity and consulted in isolation (i.e. ‘the African Caribbean community’; ‘the Asian community’, etc.), as if ethnicity were the only factor influencing the way in which people would lead their lives in the city. Such an approach is increasingly flawed. Our research in numerous culturally diverse settings has identified a set of problems that often characterise (either singly or in combination) consultation processes. They are often:

- based on a crude understanding of ethnic difference, with small numbers of ‘community leaders’ accepted as the voice of specific ethnic communities, overlooking the internal diversity of such communities
- limited by a perspective that recognises the views of the white population as the cultural norm and the views of ethnic minorities (or in some places ethnic majorities) as inevitably different or aberrant – while hybrid identities and complex intercultural views are not anticipated, and therefore not sought
- undermined by weak and overly prescriptive consultation and participation strategies that are disconnected from complex intercultural relations between people
- damaged by an approach that prioritises speed and efficiency over quality and respect
- standardised to elicit views on a ‘community by community’ basis rather than exploring overlap between communities and, more significantly, the combinations of perspectives of intercultural communities where ethnicity and race are not the determining factor.

In this sense, the pursuit of consultation solely with neatly identified ‘ethnic minorities’ is misguided. Markers of identity are proliferating and reconfigure sense of community and place in the contemporary city. Notions of the ‘Bangladeshi’ (or any other) community can clumsily ascribe individuals to a notional ‘community’ without appreciating that individuals have affiliations with a number of communities simultaneously and that ethnicity or ‘race’ might not be the primary basis of those ties.

The process of intercultural consultation and engagement was explored in a case study of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The Council is acknowledged as a leader in this field (having been designated with Beacon status by Government for community engagement). The policy implications of our findings relate to techniques that other cities might employ in future intercultural consultative exercises.⁶ The main points of good practice include the following.

- Conducting more consultation in ‘intercultural spaces’ rather than in ones that are mono-ethnic. These spaces might be found by using intermediaries such as health professionals, refugee organisations, civic associations and by exploiting internet networks. Such processes – in the comfort zones of and at convenient times for diverse residents and stakeholders – aim to build interaction and lead towards trust.
- Framing intercultural questions that require the respondent to think beyond the needs of their co-ethnics in formulating answers.
- Building strong networks of continuous community engagement at a local level so that future consultation does not feel ‘parachuted in’; ensure those networks are not defined by ethnicity.
- Providing interpretation, if required, to diverse communities rather than bringing communities to interpreters.
- Highlighting multiple benefits, such as the way in which participation in consultation can also strengthen community and civic responsibility – with the intercultural nature of the community a key theme.
- Identifying short-term interventions that can be made to show that the Council is listening and responding because, without microactions, engagement with macroissues will be unfulfilling and undermined by a lack of trust.
- Consulting creatively through a wider range of media, techniques such as *Planning for Real*, using artists and community workers as facilitators in a collaborative process, which hands over ownership of the process to the intercultural grouping itself.
- Introducing a range of innovative methods to encourage dialogue through an intercultural lens – combining ethnicities and generations to engage with a physical proposal.
- Being more radical, for example by problematising existing norms (which may have been protected over many generations by the white majority) that relate to notions of, say, ‘aesthetically pleasing’, ‘safe’, ‘dynamic’.
- Consulting in more ‘random’ contexts – such as on the street; in bars; at health centres; in schools, libraries, swimming pools and parks – i.e. in intercultural spaces and places.

- Promoting the consultation process as part of a longer-term, iterative process of gathering opinion, asking direct questions and evaluating responses. Decision-making and implementation processes should be seen as part of a flow of engagement where the engagement itself is as important as the practical translation into policy action.
- Holding networks as ongoing ‘listening circles’ where intercultural participants talk about their locality and community. This is not formal consultation but is essential for building trust and for advancing local knowledge so that planners know how to frame questions in future consultation rounds.
- Connecting different groups so they are consulted across boundaries of ethnicity, faith, gender and generation, thus making sure they are not mono-ethnic or of the same age or gender. Keep mixing groups as workshops continue.
- Reframing questions in the way that local people – as intercultural agents – are asking, because statutory consultation processes usually frame questions in terms of what planners want to find out from consultees.
- Experimenting with the use of different writing styles that promote a much wider range of responses.
- Finally, it is vital that officials work cross-departmentally prior to statutory consultation processes so that they can build their knowledge of the intercultural reality of the location they are seeking to plan for.

Once an issue or a problem has been reframed as something that is shared and experienced across ethnicities, it becomes possible to conceive of solutions that are predicated on a shared approach.

2 *City making through an intercultural lens*⁷

The built city is the most complicated cultural artefact humankind has invented. Cultural preferences and priorities are etched into the mindscape of the professional urban experts who determine what the physical fabric of our cities looks like. The engineers, surveyors, masterplanners, architects, urban designers, cost accountants, project managers, developers do not make decisions that are value free and neutral. What, at first sight, looks like merely technique and technical processes of whether a building will stand up, of whether traffic will flow, or of what uses should be brought together – are shaped by value judgements. The look, feel

and structure of the places that planners encourage, help design and promote reflect their assumptions about what they think is right and appropriate. This is etched into codes, rules and guidelines. It sets the physical stage on which social and economic life plays itself out.

What happens, then, when different cultures meet and co-exist in the same space? There have always been borrowings and graftings – they have been there so long we cannot see them. For centuries, building styles and fashions criss-crossed Europe – English baroque just as there is French, or German and English gothic. Exceptions apart, the architectures of Arabia, India and China are not visible in exterior design, they have influenced much more the interior. One only sees the mosque, the gurdwara and Chinese gateway arches in Chinatowns. Should we learn from the great traditions of Arab and Indian architecture and their aesthetics?

Are the basic building blocks of the city the same when looked at through intercultural eyes? Think of street frontages, building heights, setbacks, pavement widths, turning circles, the number of windows and their size, how architects and planners deal with enclosure, privacy or sight lines. Think too of the materials used, colour, light and water. Are streets or the colour palette, such as the vivid colours of housing in Latin America or the incorporation of water in Moorish culture, used differently when produced interculturally? Should architects and planners structure space to reflect different cultures as they might see and use spaces in varied ways? Or should open-ended spaces be created that others can adapt, such as the Kurds do when they gather around the steps of Birmingham's Chamberlain Square?

Masterplanning interculturally

The question of how city planners can balance the seemingly contradictory cultural priorities of differing communities and how different cultural values should be reflected in space was the challenge explored in our case study of the London Borough of Lewisham on 'masterplanning through an intercultural lens'. In surveying the built environment professionals and their national professional associations, it became clear there was great sympathy and desire to understand how different communities work. Yet the day-to-day procedures of the professional life of, say, the engineer or planner did not predispose them to understand the details of how diverse communities think about their space. Our questions included the following.

- Do extended families share or wish to share houses?
- How well do existing houses meet the needs of community members in terms of family size, community gatherings and room layouts?

- What are the cultural, gender or generational sensitivities associated with public life that need to be understood by council planners?
- Are young people respected and catered for in the planning and design of public space?

Addressing these was generally regarded as a task best dealt with by someone else whose job gave them a deeper understanding of the texture of their communities.

A new skillset

The implication of the response of the professionals to these questions is that professional practice needs to be reassessed. This is timely given the recent Egan Review of New Skills for Sustainable Communities, which led to the setting up of an Academy for Sustainable Communities. This has been helpful in shifting the debate and setting out what new skills are going to be required in making modern cities work. These centre very much on understanding communities from a 360-degree angle and applying a set of generic skills, behaviours and ways of thinking that are requirements for moving forward, such as inclusive visioning, team working, leadership and process and change management.

Consultation means a continuous process of informal discussion and engagement with people as opposed to formal, discrete, public participation required by regulation. Clearly, the highly diverse cultural mix makes it impossible for individual urban professionals to accumulate an in-depth cultural knowledge of every group represented in their city; therefore we need to evolve new forms of intercultural dialogue.

Diversity in its many forms is the primary element of a vibrant place – diversity of business, diversity of activities and a diversity of built form creating visual stimulation. Taking street markets as an example, they often exist in unremarkable settings and their vibrancy comes through the interaction between the people and products. The most successful markets are those where there is a wide diversity of product and supplier. Sadly, cities seem often to overlook these factors, being far more concerned with the physical form of public places. They put the responsibility on the urban designer to transform a place through cosmetic factors such as new paving, elegant street furniture and improved lighting, when the reality is that many places are unattractive or underperforming for other reasons such as failing business, traffic domination, or anti-social behaviour. These can seem merely cosmetic.

The intercultural city depends on more than a design challenge, it derives from a central notion that people are developing a shared future, whereby each individual feels they have something to contribute in shaping, making and co-creating a joint endeavour. A thousand tiny transformations will create an atmosphere in public space that feels open and where all feel safe and valued.

It also relies on a deeper and richer knowledge on behalf of the city-making professions of the communities in which they work. In Appendix 3 we have designed an exercise that could be conducted to begin a process of intercultural masterplanning, which we term ‘the knowledge questions’. The findings from these questions, as indeed the whole process of the inquiry, will gradually change the relationship between the professionals and the communities. Ultimately, there may even be the need to establish local ‘observatories’ to manage this process.

Making intercultural spaces

In our survey of residents in Lewisham and Bristol to identify popular intercultural spaces, the places mentioned with most frequency were not the highly designed or engineered public and corporate spaces but rather the spaces of day-to-day exchange that people highlight, such as libraries, schools, colleges, youth centres, sports clubs, specific cinemas, the hair salon, the hospital, markets, community centres. These are the ‘spaces of interdependence and habitual engagement’ where (what Ash Amin⁸ calls) ‘micro publics’ come together, where (according to Leonie Sandercock)⁹ ‘dialogue and prosaic negotiations are compulsory’. In these places, ‘people from different backgrounds are thrown together in new settings which disrupt familiar patterns and create the possibility of initiating new attachments’.¹⁰

Where are the British cultural institutions or public spaces that achieve this kind of synthesis? The city-making professions of the UK face an enormous challenge to fashion a built environment that reflects the country’s growing diversity.

3 Business and entrepreneurship through an intercultural lens¹¹

In Britain, the tradition of creativity and enterprise among minorities is deeply rooted. By 2000, you were seven times more likely to be a millionaire if your name was Patel than if it was Smith – though there are ten Smiths to every Patel. Despite the myths about asylum seekers – that they are ‘health tourists’ and ‘welfare scroungers’ – 30 per cent of them have professional jobs compared to 25 per cent of British natives. The Treasury reckons that migrants contribute more in tax (£31.2 billion) than they get in benefits.

This section charts the positive effects that cultural and ethnic diversity brings to economic growth and innovation. In particular, it seeks to provide first-hand evidence of the transformative power of the ‘diverse’ backgrounds of newcomers on entrepreneurial and business activity.

The main focus is on a category of minority ethnic businesspeople operating small enterprises with predominantly local or regional markets. However, in order to place our understanding of them in perspective, we compare them with a group of second-generation immigrants from both white European and minority ethnic backgrounds who are owners of large or global businesses that originated in the UK (mostly in London).

The analysis of these two types of entrepreneurs – the ‘global’ and the ‘local’ – is dictated in the first instance by the need to provide evidence of what happens when people from different cultures interact and how this leads to new business ideas.

The first hypothesis here is that ‘global’ entrepreneurs tend to operate from capital (or large) cities, use elements of their cultural background and apply it successfully to the development of new business ideas. These entrepreneurs, in addition, tend to gravitate to places that provide the right mix of big-business contacts along with like-minded business partners and operators, seeking a cultural environment in which innovative ideas from outsiders can easily be integrated into mainstream business. In this case, ethnicity is not the sole factor of success (if anything, it is underplayed), and the economic and institutional contexts in which such enterprises operate (i.e. sector, locality, access to labour markets) are key factors instead.

The second hypothesis here is that those minority ethnic enterprises that are successful (and innovative) in the ‘small and local’ sector are so because it is here that they find the *niche* markets that can accommodate them. Here, too, elements from individual original cultures are mobilised and combined with the local culture, with the result of generating interesting business hybrids.

The three subjects in the first category are Stelios Haji-loannou (the founder of the low-cost airline easyJet), Alan Yau (the creator of the noodle bar chain Wagamama) and Chai Patel (the mind behind the mental health and neuro-rehabilitation centres The Priory). These global entrepreneurs have chosen London as the starting point for their careers and, in different ways and to different degrees, have used elements of their cultural background and applied it to the development of new business ideas. In addition, the case studies show how the commercial success of these newcomers is often accompanied by both a personal ambition to succeed and a marked propensity to seek a business environment in which innovative ideas from outsiders

can easily be integrated into the mainstream. These are, in a sense, 'natural' intercultural business models with a global appeal, which are deeply embedded in the chosen economic and institutional contexts and are influenced by a range of factors such as sector, locality, labour markets and institutional support.¹²

The three subjects of the second category are the Hussein brothers, owners of Bar dos Hermanos and restaurant Barceloneta in Leicester; Rudi Page, the London-based director of Statecraft Consulting; and Parvin Ali, founder of the Leicester-based FATIMA Women's Network. The reason for selecting examples from a second set of entrepreneurs embedded in the 'local' is linked to the need to look more specifically into the conditions needed to make intercultural exchange more productive in terms of business growth and city development.

The case studies show that those entrepreneurs who are successful (and innovative) in the 'small and local' sector are so because it is there that they identify niche and alternative markets where they can flourish. The particular forms that these enterprises take are dictated by a need to move away from saturated 'traditional ethnic business' sectors (i.e. food, retail, or the provision of services to minorities) in order to create distinctive 'transcultural' products, or more cross-cultural, bespoke services to diverse communities. Here, too, elements from individual original cultures are mobilised and combined with the local culture, with the result of generating interesting new hybrids. The case studies also show that the success of 'local' and niche businesses depends greatly on the ability of each entrepreneur to transcend both their original culture and local stereotypes and institutional constraints.

But locating a niche market is more important than entering a sector already crowded with newcomers. In Leicester, there is a lot of competition for the same market – Indian restaurants. To innovate, the Husseins had to create a new niche. Their Barceloneta restaurant and Dos Hermanos bar, for example, fill a gap in the market by drawing on other ethnicities – Spanish, Mexican and Cuban – rather than their own.

Page's success, like that of the others, comes from targeting niche markets, but it is an intercultural perspective that is a vital key. He says:

It is not about your race, or your culture. I have travelled widely, mixed with different people and because of that delivered tangible services because of having that broad perspective. This gives you the confidence to continue with your entrepreneurial activity.

Andy Hussein says:

It is difficult for officials to understand that what we do is not for the mass market and that we don't fit into the picture of the typical Asian business.

It is as if they are saying we love going to Europe and it is the romance of the Continent (or the Mediterranean) but we actually don't trust these (Pakistani) people to create a Spanish restaurant here.

Conclusions

The state of individual 'in-betweenness' leads these entrepreneurs to innovate while staying true to the values of their original cultures. The 'intercultural' becomes a productive force for the society (or the city) that 'receives' such entrepreneurs.

Each builds on the social, economic and cultural strengths of their original community, but then departs from it and creates something that at times is alien, or in conflict with their community. However, it is precisely this tension and this need to break with tradition that gives them strength and the impetus to expand into new ventures.

The experience of the smaller and the 'local' entrepreneurs shows that, even in a non-capital city, it is possible for new business ventures to flourish. This is where the 'niche' argument appears to be more relevant. Perhaps the niche product offered by the Hussein brothers was too 'intercultural' to be understood by the local planners and by extension the city at large. The question is not trivial if we look at it from the perspective of a hypothetical intercultural city. How should a city that intends to adopt a more open policy towards entrepreneurs in general act? Should it, for example, offer a 'talent-scouting' initiative whereby the city willingly sets out to systematically assess new entrepreneurial ideas coming from the ground?

Page and Ali's work shows that there is a holistic way of dealing with intercultural entrepreneurs, but such mechanisms are rare and not yet mainstream. The question here is could the 'intercultural city' be also the city where such mechanisms are pioneered at different levels of the local economy and society? Could such mechanisms also extend to the creation of an 'intercultural entrepreneurs' fund'? The 'intercultural city' will also be the city that has in place mechanisms aimed at rewarding entrepreneurial ideas and ventures, be it through special prizes or social celebrations across diverse communities. This suggests that the intercultural city can have small beginnings and be formed through micro-projects at first. Could it be that medium-sized cities have an advantage over larger cities?

4 *Education through an intercultural lens*¹³

School and formal education is, of course, only one aspect of a child's moral, intellectual and cultural upbringing, but it is a vital one and can have a profound effect on an individual's as well as a group's capacity to be intercultural. It is also significant to us as an area in which cities themselves have the discretion to intervene.

Educational multiculturalism as practised in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s has been subjected to recent criticism for being beneficial to some at the expense of others. Multiculturalism, it is said, celebrated an acceptable face of difference but excluded many, particularly young men. The white working class were often left to feel that multiculturalism was actually a celebration of the culture of everyone but themselves, while the notable underachievement of Afro-Caribbean and Pakistani young men has also been blamed on any number of things from lack of a clear disciplinary framework to racism.

Now, in a climate of increased intercommunal tension, as well as the increasing need for youngsters to be able to communicate with people of all varieties in their future careers, there is an even greater necessity for schools to prepare pupils to be outward facing, but what would an intercultural educational system look like? First, it would be predicated simply on the belief that the dynamic cultures of the various groups that make up the UK are a fundamental part of their identity and that the education service needs to know, understand and build on the spiritual, moral, social and cultural backgrounds of its pupils. All ethnic groups, including the majority 'white' groups, *of whatever social class*, would be encouraged to feel that their background, history and narrative are valued in the school context. It would also ensure that all groups are aware of the backgrounds of groups other than their own. This would need to be undertaken, however, in a framework of shared values, so that all pupils had a sense of belonging.

Our research was based on the city of Leicester. Although it is one of Britain's most diverse cities, the education service had done little to positively address it and this, alongside other factors, contributed to its failing an Ofsted inspection in 1999. This created the motivation for innovations in policy and practices, not least in coming to terms with the new 'community cohesion' agenda. This was acknowledged in 2002 when Leicester was identified as a Beacon Council for its work on community relations, a designation that brought with it some extra funding. A decision was made to focus the Beacon Pathfinder funding (a special fund awarded by the Government to 15 local authorities to take forward their work on community cohesion) on work with children and young people, the chosen themes being drama, sport, media and conflict resolution.

The drama strand is particularly notable. It comprised the twinning of schools from across the city (and over various ethnic divides) to work together with a resident South African arts group, the Mighty Zulu Nation, to produce performance pieces. The pieces raised deep issues of difference, separation, oppression and the transition to adulthood. It had a profound effect on many who took part.

The conclusion of the Beacon Pathfinder was the finding that creativity lies at the heart of building intercultural understanding in schools. The arts and creativity were seen as central to the work of developing interculturalism and improving community cohesion because they dealt with the deep issues of both personal and communal identity. At their best, they helped young people to see the world from another person's point of view, to stand in their shoes, as well as to work together with others to achieve a common purpose. It was found that the intensity of young people's experience was such that, even during the course of a single day, they could establish valuable connections with those from different communities, which, in many cases, then developed into more long-lasting relationships.

From these experiences it became possible to imagine what a more intercultural form of education might be like. In Leicester it was suggested that the basis of an intercultural education agenda should be a commitment to instil the following key set of six competences in young people.

- 1 *Cultural competence*: the ability to reflect on one's own culture and the culture of others.
- 2 *Emotional and spiritual competence*: the ability to be self-reflective, handle one's own emotions, empathise with others.
- 3 *Linguistic and communicative competence*.
- 4 *Civic competence*: the ability to understand and act on rights and responsibilities, and be socially and morally responsible.
- 5 *Creative competence*.
- 6 *Sporting competence*.

These intercultural competences would require schools and local authorities to develop structures and processes that would enable them to translate, adopt and adapt their existing practices to take account of the changing realities of their communities.

What then is the way forward? Experience suggests that the following are the key issues that need to be addressed with some urgency if the practice of community cohesion is to make the intercultural city a reality.

- Social vision should drive educational practice. The essential premise of all educational thinking is the articulation of the kind of society that we wish to see in the future.
- The whole school curriculum needs to be reviewed through an intercultural lens. This is not proposing fundamental changes to the National Curriculum in terms of removing elements from what already exists and replacing them with new ones; but much could be progressed through looking at what exists from a different perspective – the migrant experience, for example.
- Multiculturalism needs to be redefined as being applicable to all communities, including the indigenous population. ‘Multiculturalism’ in practice should mean what it says, i.e. apply inclusively to all communities. The narratives of indigenous white communities have been largely ignored in multicultural work, which, again, has served only to erect more obstacles to community cohesion rather than helping to develop the intercultural city.
- The place of faith schools within the educational framework needs a fresh appraisal.
- The practice of interculturalism needs to be integral to the work of key monitoring agents.
- A fundamental rethink is needed as to how best to develop citizenship in children and young people. Citizenship is developed through its lived practice in democratic processes, so it requires far more than simple information giving to make it a reality. The intention to involve children and young people in a much more proactive way, as signalled in the 2004 Children’s Act, is an encouraging pointer as to how we might go forward.

5 *The arts and creative industries through an intercultural lens*¹⁴

By their very nature the arts are predisposed to being intercultural. Being interested in what lies beyond the horizon or across a boundary is often what inspires people to make a career in the arts. Being awkward, rule-questioning, transgressive even, are common characteristics that emerge from the lives of artists, and this inevitably leads

to the curiosity to want to explore cultures other than their own. It might be added that the seeking out of conflict, the fusing of opposites and resolving incompatibility are all techniques reported by some artists as triggers in their search for a creative breakthrough.

Often working on a project-by-project basis, artists are constantly thrust into new situations with unfamiliar teams and surroundings, thrown back on their technique to survive. Indeed, many artistic ventures are born through improvisation within these ad hoc but diverse teams. Also artists, as individuals and as a group, are often naturally impelled to seek to communicate a message and to reach out beyond their immediate community.

However, artists often walk a fine line between tradition and innovation – the challenge of being ‘out there’ and ‘in here’ at one and the same time. This has particularly been the case for artists of colour working within the UK for the last three decades – a period in which arts policy has been closely associated with the movement, post-colonialism, to firstly celebrate and reinforce cultural distinctiveness, the growth of cultural fusion and hybridity and the current questioning of multiculturalism. Artists, particularly if they are associated with the culture of a minority community, may be expected by that community to reflect, uphold or even defend the integrity or purity of an art form. The ‘cultural mainstream’ meanwhile may seek to portray these artists as exotic but of limited general appeal.

What, then, can be learnt through observing the arts through an intercultural lens? Evidence suggests that the key to integration lies in identifying that area that UNESCO called ‘the shared space’ in its major 1995 report, *Our Creative Diversity*.¹⁵ Where hope resides uniquely, wrote playwright David Edgar, it is in culture. The secret is to:

... create third spaces, unfamiliar to both [*sides*], in which different groups can share a similar experience of discovery. Sometimes such spaces allow people to detach aspects of their own identity (cultural, vocational, sexual) from what they have hitherto regarded as its essential and dominating character. It is in such spaces – youth groups, drama workshops, sports teams – that some of the most imaginative and successful forms of community healing have taken place.¹⁶

How does ‘a shared space’ emerge? This addresses issues of central representation and the location of power, and is particularly marked in the spaces that are deemed to have iconic status – the national cultural institutions, city centres, public spaces and even the official view of history that is offered in major museums. Not being in them is significant, for it is like being rubbed out of history.

Someone who wrestles with these ideas almost daily is Keith Khan. Brought up in the rich cultural masala of Trinidad, he came to Britain to direct theatre and dance projects. He found the only way multicultural Britain could deal with him was to put him in the box marked 'minority arts':

If I'd stayed being 'Asian' ... I could see a future of touring on a circuit of venues that are the 'Asian touring circuit', while I myself was trying to move the work into being more international ... I can't imagine why I'd want to do that!

So when his international production of *Aladdin* did go to major theatres in Britain, it did not find an audience, compared with its singular success in North America. Audiences were being encouraged, he felt, not to go beyond race lines and venues but to comply with silo thinking.

Khan is now the artistic director of Rich Mix, a pioneering £20-million-plus project in Spitalfields, which sets out to redefine what a cultural institution should be, not as a place to consume artefacts or experiences, but as an interchange for ideas, people and cultures. He describes how it will engage with its surroundings:

You've got the heart of the British fashion industry, in Brick Lane, as well as major leather manufacturers. It's also the heart of all the creative industries, web graphics, and a huge nightclub circuit. It also has the Bangladeshi community. But at present, there isn't much of an interchange between those audiences anyway. Rich Mix may become the place that people end up sharing a space in, although I'm not yet sure that just by sharing a building together you begin to make those connections or whether or not you have to force them.

There's no common culture [*though*]. But that's not what we're trying to do. We're actually trying to reflect the complexity of what's around rather than trying to say there is a common culture.¹⁷

The Borough of Tower Hamlets certainly hopes that this intercultural innovation will become the 'creative engine room' and bring with it diversity advantage in the form of new creative industries, jobs and businesses, and the attendant processes of regeneration. It hopes this can be done in a way that goes beyond the shallow 'consumerist multiculturalism' that portrays urban diversity as a mere exotic spectacle, and also that it can be challenging without upsetting too much the sensibilities of its neighbours, the City financial district and the local mosque-based communities. This truly is the archetype of an intercultural city project.

Other 'shared spaces' do not necessarily have to be located in buildings. Carnivals in Britain have become perhaps the most visible intercultural events of all, for example through the introduction of sound systems and floats on big lorries, which are specific British Jamaican innovations on the Trinidadian tradition that originally formed carnival in Britain. To this is now added Brazilian and other Latin American themes, plus new forms of music, such as garage and drum and bass, which are unique British hybrids. However, the intercultural character of British carnival is not perceived or communicated as such. On the contrary, the marketing of it often emphasises its 'ethnically exotic' character, thus freezing it in time and taking it back to its country of origin.

Meanwhile, the career of one company, Tara Arts, over 20 years has spawned many of the new British Asian artists and art forms. Tara actors have gone on to success in mainstream theatre and especially on TV – for example, Sanjeev Bhaskar who became a comic actor and co-author of the BBC hit comedy series *Goodness Gracious Me* and *The Kumars at No. 42*. One Tara actress, Sudha Bhuchar, wrote the BBC radio series *Girlies*, and went on to establish Tamasha theatre company, which has had a string of hits with its intercultural mix of contemporary eastern music and dance-based plays about young British Asians – such as *East is East*, *Balti Kings* and *Fourteen Songs, Two Weddings and a Funeral*, which won the Barclays New Musical Award in 1998 and the BBC Asia Award for Achievement in the Arts in 1999. Tara protégé Ayub Khan Din wrote the play and subsequent film script, which was commissioned by Channel 4, of *East is East*.

Film has been a place for experimenting with potentially controversial social trends, but it has spawned a small industry of successful cultural business ventures. In the 1990s, British Asian commercial films took off and captured mainstream audiences by comically subverting stereotypes of race, class and 'the North' in *East is East* (1999), Gurinder Chadha's first feature *Bhaji on The Beach* (1994) and Udayan Prasad's *Brothers in Trouble* (1996), which portrayed the troubled existence of illegal Pakistani immigrants in the early 1960s' mill towns. Romance across the cultural and racial divide was a common narrative theme in *Bhaji*, *Brothers in Trouble* and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*. As British Asian film has become fashionable, the musicians who wrote the film scores, like Nitin Sawhney and Talvin Singh, have become established in the British music charts.

It is clear that interculturalism is a route now being taken by artists in many fields. For these artists, tradition has been the tap root, even though their later relationship with it has raised questions. Integration does matter – but it matters as equality of opportunity rather than uniformity of style. And, like any outsider, intercultural art has the knack of reflecting society back to itself in a way that shows the warts as well as

the beauties. It reports discrimination, outdated and restrictive stereotypes, a fear of change, a hierarchy of value and a focus on commodity at the expense of creativity. The outsider, Jules Verne once said, sees more of the field. But the outsider's view has unique value as a stimulus to reinvention. As American critic Kwame Anthony Appiah put it cogently:

Cultures are made of continuities and changes, and the identity of a society can survive through these changes. Societies without changes aren't authentic; they're just dead.¹⁸

6 Sport through an intercultural lens¹⁹

Sport, especially team sport, holds strong promise for understanding within cultures and across cultures.

How participation in sport can play a role in social inclusion and bring people together can be summarised as:

- physical fitness and health
- mental and psychological well-being
- personality development and (importantly for our context)
- socio-psychological empathy and tolerance
- co-operation and social skills
- team work
- sociological factors, such as fostering community identity, a feeling of coherence or integration.²⁰

One major piece of research²¹ stresses that participation in sport on its own will not necessarily lead to mutual understanding. It is necessary to consider the broader picture and the various features of the sport, such as whether it is individually focused, team based, competitive or recreational, as well as the goals and aims of provision, such as individual physical and psychological well-being, community development or social goals. Only when programmes are connected are possibilities maximised.

Sport and Multiculturalism is the most comprehensive research in the role of sport in fostering cultural exchange. In reviewing policies and initiatives in the 25 EU States it makes the useful distinction whether the sport initiative is being used:

- for the purposes of multiculturalism (experiencing diversity); or
- for the promotion of separatism between (religious, national and ethnic) communities; or
- as a means of assimilating ethnic groups into the host community and existing national sports cultures; or
- as a vehicle for experiencing a sense of togetherness (interculturalism with the goal of promoting shared cultural experiences that privilege neither the host nor the 'minority' population).

The authors characterise the British sports policy approach as focusing on the notion of cultural diversity and cultural heterogeneity of minority ethnic communities, but not necessarily building bridges.

Increased efforts are now being made to eradicate barriers such as racism in the various sports forms and thus create a platform for intercultural sports exchange. Given these problems, the priority has been on getting ethnic groups to participate in the first place, as distinct from participating across cultures.²²

It is recognised that the club structures of cricket, rugby, football, tennis and golf focus on more middle-class groupings to which people from different backgrounds feel excluded. As an instance, despite cricket being a key sport for the Asian and Caribbean population in terms of participation, still insufficient members are coming through into county teams or the national team.

Activities against racism are perhaps more strongly developed in football than in rugby, cricket and the other sports – for instance, the European network Football Against Racism in Europe, whose initiative in Austria was 'Fair play. Different colours. One game' and one of whose programmes in Vienna was the intercultural sensitisation of referees; or the Belgian federation and FIFA project 'Show racism the red card' (now also in the UK), 'The united colours of football' or 'Go for girls' initiatives. These worked on two themes curtailing racism among football fans and discrimination in the clubs. The King Boudewijn Foundation also funded the Coloured Sport Clubs initiative, whereby 24 sports clubs were selected to receive financial support to implement a sports and participation policy for foreign youth.

Similarly, in Britain in 1993, the 'Let's kick out racism in football' initiative was launched and supported by the governing bodies; as well as, at the club level, projects like 'Foxes against racism' founded by Leicester football club or 'Football unites, racism divides' by Sheffield United. In addition, stars such as Thierry Henry have highlighted the nature of racism experienced by refugees and asylum seekers.

Few cities have focused on sport and immigrant communities, although some headway has been made with the 'Racial equality and sport project' (LRE&SP) in Leicester, whose goals are to promote cultural awareness among providers through 'race equality workshops', to get more BME groups involved in sports and in decision making, and to provide more job opportunities through sports. The LRE&SP has also been integral in promoting a 'Racial equality standard' for professional football. This charter has been signed by all of Leicester's professional clubs.

In addition, there is the Voluntary Action Leicester: Asylum Seekers and Refugee Sports Development Project. The organisation focuses on sport as its primary vehicle for working with refugees and asylum seekers, and uses sport as a means of drawing them into social networks. The group has focused predominantly on football but has also used netball as a vehicle for reaching female refugees. It has been particularly successful in competitive sport, winning or doing well in a number of local football competitions. It was recognised that, when considering introducing refugees to a local club, it was best to identify clubs struggling for players, so that new players were seen from the start as a contribution to a solution to a club's problem, rather than as a 'problem' of integration to be dealt with by the club.

Among the conclusions to be drawn from organisations providing sport for refugees and asylum seekers are the following.

- There is a demand from refugees and asylum seekers themselves for access to sporting opportunities, though probably not in the early days following arrival when other preoccupations such as health, housing and security dominate.
- Sporting activity is recognised as able to provide benefits at the individual level of health and psycho-social well-being.
- Sport can play a role in increasing the levels of interaction between refugees and local host communities, and thus in decreasing tensions and misunderstandings, but there is also room for the increase of tensions if sporting situations are not managed appropriately.
- Team sports provide the greatest potential for increased interaction with host communities.

- While funding may be available from various sources, the bureaucracy associated with making an application discourages applications from even the more permanent, let alone the more transient, refugee and asylum-seeker groups.
- The dominant sporting practices will tend to be associated predominantly with male participation, thus care may be required to ensue gender equity.
- Sports leadership training can be useful as a source of training volunteers, but also as a means of enhancing other competences (e.g. language and communication skills), improving self-esteem and enhancing employability.

The overall concern of the examples highlighted in relation to sports and social inclusion has been to identify the conditions under which, and the nature of the sports through which, individual competences – as well as social capital in terms of community networks, a sense of local identity and a sense of solidarity – can be produced. This promotes the kinds of norms of trust, reciprocity and support required to foster a positive cultural climate for ethnic minorities to cross boundaries.

Finally, perhaps, one should not underestimate the potential for an iconic sporting event, team or individual to capture the imagination of the public and to create a new common space or understanding. In this respect, the emergence of the young boxer from Bolton, Amir Khan, has aroused interest, far beyond the world of the ring, in sport as an intercultural bridge:

He has provided a public space for all those British youth for whom Pakistan is both a foreign country, far removed from their own experience, and a strong emotional presence... And he offers us something no other sporting champion has ever offered: new insight into multiple identities and what it means to be simultaneously British, Muslim and Pakistani.²³

3 Findings II: cities of intercultural innovation

This chapter first reviews explanations that have been given for the relationship between innovation and city development, and how this in turn is influenced by different forms of diversity. We then consider briefly how innovations and new ideas are diffused through and adopted by society, and the roles that specific social actors may play in this.

This is a prelude to introducing one of the cornerstones of the project, which is the identification of a new social actor, 'the intercultural innovator', and the findings of our research into what these actors do, why they do it, why it is important and what cities should and should not be doing to encourage it.

Innovation

If we are to test the idea that diversity is a source of innovation, we need first to understand what innovation is, how and why it happens, and why it is important for cities. We then need to look at how new ideas spread from the originator to become part of the fabric of our society. Economists over the last few decades have shown how innovation cycles of creation, obsolescence, destruction and recreation have become a familiar path followed by successful economies and companies. 'Home-grown' economic development activity has come to be seen as influential as external macro-economic trends and thus cities have started to gain awareness that they can have some measure of influence on their destiny.¹ This has created a debate around economic diversity-raising questions of whether cities should encourage the widest selection of economic activity (after Jane Jacobs) or whether specialisation and clustering (after Michael Porter) are more effective in generating innovation.² Economists have also taken a specific look at diversity in its cultural and ethnic form, and concluded that it can be both a cost on and a benefit to the urban economy.³

There is a problem for us in this innovation debate concerning the definition of an innovation and, therefore, how to measure levels of innovativeness. To some it is quite simple – an innovation is a new technology or concept leading to new products and processes, and this can be measured by such things as investment in research and development and the registration of patents.⁴ But how does one patent a cultural or social innovation that may have emerged from no one knows where, deep within an urban community? In response to this, Peter Hall and Charles Landry have

proposed a new means of classifying and benchmarking a much wider range of innovations in the economic and technological but also social, environmental and cultural innovations.⁵

A new idea or innovation is of little value unless it is recognised and adopted. This process is known as diffusion and it comprises several important and well-documented stages.⁶ From this we also start to appreciate the roles of different kinds of social actors, such as the innovators themselves and the intermediary brokers, agents of change or opinion formers who disperse ideas and connect people.

This has been taken up by others, notably Malcolm Gladwell⁷ who is interested in 'how little things can make a big difference'. He identifies typologies of individuals who play crucial roles in the dissemination of knowledge and ideas – connectors, mavens (a North American term for experts or connoisseurs) and salesmen. This presages our own interest in the role of individuals who move across the physical, cultural and institutional landscape of the city, acting as positive agents of connection, understanding and change.

Innovation and the urban dynamic

Innovation is crucial for all British cities in order to survive and prosper. This is almost a commonplace of current economic thinking, but the way in which innovation is generally conceived is far too narrow and constricting. 'Innovation' inspires a vision of gleaming glass and titanium boxes in out-of-town sites filled with advanced technologists making stunning breakthroughs in a new branch of genetics or nanotechnology; or perhaps a team of chilled creative software designers in a downtown loft conversion – and so it often is. But there is so much more to the process. Innovation, to paraphrase Peter Hall, is the process by which cities solve the problems they have created for themselves.

So how might innovation be sparked in the urban context? First, it requires a set of conditions within which it is possible to think, plan and act with imagination and creativity ('the innovative milieu') and, second, a mechanism or vehicle through which resulting innovations can be practically applied.

If we think in these terms, the scope of innovations is broad, cutting across all domains of social, economic, scientific, environmental and cultural life. It may include the capacity to:

- invent new products

- create shelter (housing)
- move about (transport)
- manage ourselves (governance)
- earn our keep (economics)
- communicate with each other
- motivate youth
- tackle social stress by creative use of conflict.

Then, within any of these topics, we can classify the innovativeness of aspects of the project according to:

- its end product or result
- the technology used
- technique and procedure applied
- the process undertaken
- the implementation mechanism adopted
- how the problem is defined or redefined
- its target audience
- its behavioural impact
- the professional context within which the innovation occurs.

Thus, for instance, it would be innovative for a local economic development officer to try and develop trade links through the international diaspora networks of one of their communities; or for area planners to adopt participative approaches based on the story-telling traditions of local ethnic groups alongside more traditional means. From our studies and practical experience of generating creativity and innovation in communities under stress, it requires a set of conditions and human qualities, by far

the most important of which is openness and tolerance to new ideas wherever they might originate.

Innovators

The contribution of individuals to urban innovation

A study of innovation through history points to the recurring role of enterprising traders, inventors and outsiders in the process, particularly where ideas have crossed national or cultural boundaries. We need therefore to gain a deeper understanding of the role of the individual in the process of building diverse communities.

All too often we find that groups that hold different sets of cultural values, ethnic characteristics, shared desires, historic memories and future aspirations find it difficult to empathise with each other. They may even find it easier to develop discourses of opposition in which the other group or groups become the perceived source of their troubles or misfortunes. Groups may elect politicians or throw up informal community leaders to represent their interests and delegate them the responsibility to conduct that business with other groups, which has to be done. Such individuals will often be chosen for certain qualities – their strong adherence to the values of the group, their primary concern with defending the interests of the group or even for their antipathy towards the ‘other’. Such community leaders will often fulfil the role of ‘gatekeeper’, happy in the role of a regulator in the flow of communications between the group and the outside world. Traditionally, such characters have naturally become politicians, faith leaders or people of a bureaucratic or authoritarian temperament.

As traditional societies have evolved and as social changes have eroded group mentality and adherence, it is obvious that the role of group leaders has diminished in many parts of our society, although it might be argued that, in times of rapid change or of perceived danger such as terrorism, environmental crisis or economic restructuring, we are seeing a reinforcement or re-emergence of such figures. What is apparent, it seems to us, is that such figures are likely to be more interested in maintenance of order and the status quo and less concerned with the possibility of new opportunities or innovations that might arise from contact with people of another group. Given that groups as a whole do not spontaneously decide to engage with one another, we can therefore see how the opportunities for one culture to get to know another, still less to work together, are constrained.

So far we have talked of the group as if it is the only building block of society, and clearly it is not. People operate as individuals and, in most cases, do not follow a lifestyle dictated to them by a group or a leader. They may be part of two or several groups or of various civic or secular institutions or, indeed, of none at all. They may consider themselves free to engage with, or to avoid, whosoever they please according to their own set of values. In this case, the opportunities for social interaction between people of vastly different backgrounds might be seen to be multifarious, albeit on an atomised basis, i.e. through one-to-one friendships or acquaintances growing from encounters in the workplace, the neighbourhood or in leisure.

We know this to be the case, but research evidence is inconclusive or conflicting on the degree to which individuals form friendships and relationships with others of a different ethnicity. For example, the 2001 census figures published by the Office for National Statistics⁸ revealed the number of mixed-race people grew by more than 75 per cent during the 1990s to around 677,000, 15 per cent of the total minority ethnic population in the UK. This made mixed race the fastest growing ethnic group during the 1990s and Britain one of the leading nations internationally for inter-ethnic relationships.

On the other hand, research for the BBC suggested that only one-third of Britons actually approved of inter-ethnic relationships.⁹ Furthermore, research in 2004 for the Commission for Racial Equality into the level of inter-ethnic friendships in Britain found that, for example, 94 per cent of the white population had no or few friends from a different ethnic group. Thirty-nine per cent of all citizens under the age of 30 reported that most of their friends were of the same race.¹⁰

The strategic role of intercultural innovators

For all these reasons, it would be naive and complacent to assume that intercultural innovation will take place naturally. This report is intended as a clarion call – particularly to city policy makers – to recognise, first, the importance of intercultural innovation as part of the lifeblood of the city and, second, the need to understand how and by whom it happens.

Perhaps the best example of an ‘intercultural innovator’ bringing benefit directly to a city is the case of Isambard Brunel in Bristol. Brunel was the child of an English mother and a French father. Recognising his talent for engineering, his father insisted on him having a French technical education, which was considered to be more rigorous than anything available in Britain. This provided an excellent

grounding for Brunel, but France was not ready to accept the radical new ideas he had about seafaring and rail transport, and he struggled to find advocates and investors. He had to return to Britain where a less risk-averse culture enabled untried inventors to find willing capital. While Britain as a whole reaped the fruits of Brunel's innovations, to back their ideas, it was undoubtedly the city of Bristol that benefited the most by providing him with the opportunity to turn his models into reality, with the Great Western Railway link from Paddington to Temple Meads; the soaring Clifton Suspension Bridge; the innovative, transatlantic, ironclad *SS Great Britain*; and the unique 'floating harbour'.

It has not been the aim of this project to find the Brunels of our generation – indeed our research has not focused on science and technology at all. Nevertheless, we have sought to discover individuals who draw on more than one cultural strand and who have had insights and have made things happen that have enriched their communities. They are in the main social innovators, but, while the bridges and links they have built are more metaphorical than physical, their impact has nevertheless been profound.

Defining intercultural innovators

This section is based on a study of 33 individuals who were identified as innovators in different fields. The study started out from the premise that these people had crossed cultural boundaries drawing on elements from different cultures. The consequence was that they were adept at seeing their own culture as either relative or composite, and at valuing the different ways of seeing and doing things in the other cultures. This openness to different cultures gives them a heightened propensity to select and absorb elements into their own cultural make-up, and produce new ways of thinking, seeing, imagining and creating.¹¹ Our hypothesis was that intercultural people would be innovators in whatever field of endeavour.

The intercultural actors were defined as people who, for whatever reason, cross over boundaries between minority ethnic and mainstream cultural, social, economic and civic/political networks.¹² The reasons for this were not defined *a priori* and could, and did, vary from mixed parentage, bilingualism, postcolonial migration, having travelled or lived abroad and been exposed to other cultures for a prolonged period of time, or through the nature of their work. As the criterion was focused on practice, on what people *do*, rather than on an ascribed ethnicity, people in mainstream institutions who acted across cultural boundaries could be included as well as ethnic minorities. Such a criterion could also encompass different generations, whether first- or second-generation immigrants or others born here.

We found our intercultural innovators through their reputation, which made them stand out in some way to our city researchers, or to innovators we interviewed who suggested others. The means of selection of the sample of innovators may, of course, be biased towards the research team's areas of specialist knowledge and contacts, and is not a scientific cross-section. The hypothesis could be further tested by research, which specifically selects intercultural people in the sciences, professional, managerial and technical occupations to see whether it holds true there too. Such targeted research was, however, beyond our scope.

What they do

The sample of 33 people interviewed in seven cities – London, Birmingham, Leicester, Newcastle, Oldham, Huddersfield and Bradford – fell into three broad types:

- 1 entrepreneurs
- 2 artists and animateurs
- 3 those involved in community development, including local politicians.

Entrepreneurs

The first category of innovators in our group comprised entrepreneurs, such as Parvin Ali who set up and runs the FATIMA network of businesses in Leicester. FATIMA network works for the economic empowerment of women, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Its distinctive feature is that it provides education, training and employment across communities to make women financially independent. To raise funds, FATIMA undertakes research work on gender and diversity for the national and regional governments in Britain, and provides training for the Learning and Skills Council. Many are active in pubs, clubs, food, drink and catering, such as Geetie Singh, founder of London's first ecological gastro-pub, or Tom Caulker who runs Newcastle's leading independent intercultural bar and night club. Characteristic of many is that they have moved out of a traditional career path associated with their family or ethnicity to create something new. Often they are active in parts of cities where there is little tradition or encouragement for enterprise, or where economic conditions are discouraging, for example the Iranian refugee who had started several new businesses in deprived parts of Tyneside. Their intercultural background appears to be a source of innovation. Even for Muslims, where family networks play a stronger role in learning the business, the entrepreneurs are distinctively innovative.

A second feature of intercultural innovation is the development of 'value-led business' where the commitment to the enterprise is driven by a consciously articulated ethos, to which profit is the means rather than the goal. This is not quite the same as social enterprise or 'more than profit', it is profit to realise intercultural, social or environmental objectives. As well as being driven by values, such intercultural entrepreneurs are also motivated to create intercultural spaces where they themselves feel at home, but which also prove attractive to many others.

Artists and animateurs

A high proportion of the innovators are involved in the arts, for example Yve Ngoo a BBC radio presenter, Tina Gharavi a film-maker and Adam Strickson who writes bi- and tri-lingual theatre pieces. Artistic innovation and breakthrough depends on different ways of seeing and doing. Their projects with different groups, schools and neighbourhoods serve as a great resource for cities in connecting the process of urban regeneration with people and the social transformation they are experiencing. The intercultural artists deliberately set out to cross over boundaries between people and cultures. They are strikingly versatile and interdisciplinary as well as intercultural, often engaging in multiple occupations and blurring distinctions between different fields. Their work is sometimes provocative and controversial, perhaps expressing views and insights that might not easily be aired elsewhere.

Community development

The final field where intercultural innovators predominated is community development and local politics – for example, Rita Patel who set up the Peepul Centre for culture and community enterprise in Leicester; Huwaran Hussein, the first Bangladeshi woman councillor for the Green Party in Bradford; and Elaine Apelbee, the director of Bradford Vision. This attracts or creates people with a capacity to communicate across boundaries, who are primarily good listeners and who can find commonalities across cultural barriers and work with people to improvise solutions and ways of improving things. Intercultural community development intersects also with gender, in that those most open to collaboration are often the women.

Their characteristics

Analysis of the backgrounds of the innovators reveals several commonly recurring factors.

Struggle

In particular, the respondents of mixed-ethnic background reported difficult childhoods characterised by racism and rejection, and this often drove them into areas of creativity or enterprise as an escape. Most of the innovators had unorthodox and in some cases difficult educational careers – for example, Cheryl Creaghan Roberts found that, when she applied to art school, ‘My dad was furious, my mum was furious’. At Cumbria School of Art and Technology, she faced racism on the street, where she was called ‘a nigger, a black Pakistani’. In her digs, people spray-painted ‘nigger’ on her door and threatened to burn the house down. This experience has in many cases led to a heightened motivation to succeed or a sense of destiny. Finally, the reaction to failure seems to be a high propensity to sacrifice, find a way round obstacles and turn them to their advantage. They are a remarkably resilient and persistent group of people.

Social and cultural capital

For some, informal cultural capital, know-how acquired outside of formal education or training, became the school of innovation and interculturalism. Certainly, most had unorthodox educations and achieved much of their knowledge and social and cultural capital outside of formal settings. Some, such as Tim Haq in Leicester, a businessman, journalist and urban regeneration worker of Pakistani and English origin, have developed broad transnational networks based on diasporic trading links. He developed his own model of business as serving the community ‘by finding the common denominator’, using his business knowledge as an adviser on urban regeneration.

Political capital

Although many of our subjects insist on their independence and the autonomy that entrepreneurial status allows, some have exercised political skill to get projects started or survive a crisis. Tom Caulker, despite shying away from politics, relied on council backing to prevent the compulsory purchase of his former nightclub, the support of the Cultural Department in finding new premises and their intervention to prevent foreclosure and bankruptcy when the deal to buy the new premises, Curtis Mayfield House, risked falling through.

Insider–outsider dichotomy

Our intercultural innovators have strong narratives of being a rebel, anti-authority, a thorn in the flesh, a maverick and an outsider refusing to be pigeon-holed. There is a fine line between being an outsider and being marginalised or excluded altogether. Yve Ngoo speaks chillingly of being ‘literally on my own’. Many of them waver between being outsiders and insiders even now they have succeeded.

Lessons for cities

Obstacles to intercultural innovators

The innovators face a set of impediments, which to a greater or lesser extent are apparent in all cities.

Racism

Racism figured most prominently in the narratives of those of mixed background or refugees. They generally spoke in the past tense about racism as something they had had to contend with while growing up and a number explicitly recognised that things had changed.

While racism has been progressively outlawed in the public sphere, very few of our innovators are based in mainstream institutions. In other words, they remain strong outsiders. This may be because formal institutions afford little scope for intercultural innovation, but it is also likely to reflect the slow progress of institutions in becoming culturally diverse in the composition of their staff.

Institutions

Specific criticisms of institutions focus on the opposition to, and lack of recognition of, what innovators are trying to do.

Work that crosses over professional boundaries, that is difficult to classify in traditional terms, comes up against entrenched professional practices. As Maza Dad who runs Local Leagues in Birmingham indicates, many services are hidebound and

outdated, like ‘the Youth Service, modelled on the old cadets and scout clubs, modelled around church halls’ built on the assumption ‘that the kids should come to us, rather than us going out to the kids’. In sport, he criticises the governing bodies that continue to monopolise power, with ‘closed doors to outsiders’ and the bias against recognising sporting achievement in poor areas.

Funding structures

The pattern of funding that emerges is patchy, short-term, project-based and often shoestring. Particular concern was expressed about the running down of youth services, general neglect of services for young people and listening to their voices. Both Saleema Hafajee, who runs Bradford Youth Partnership, and Maza Dad have chosen to adopt entrepreneurial models of finance outside the constraints of local government and the Youth Service. Saleema Hafajee points out the downside of total reliance on external funding as the continual treadmill of fundraising, which eats up energy, but, on the upside, the stimulus to creativity it gives her staff.

Competition for resources

However, resourcing remains competitive and narrowly conceived by Government, and often cities reflect this. Although ever more constrained by central government, councils are still lacking in imagination about mobilising other kinds of resources – building grass-roots community assets, as Maza Dad put it, converting and conceding premises to autonomous, voluntary and mixed community groups with conventions and rolling contracts, which can promote mixing and ensure accountability in the provision of services.

How cities can create the right conditions for intercultural innovation

First, cities need to value the growth of mixed-ethnicity and second-generation black British and British Asian populations, and draw on their multilingual, intercultural capacities and qualities to nurture them as community-based interpreters, race equality trainers,¹³ communicators and mediators in planning and community disputes,¹⁴ cultural animateurs, and youth and community workers of the boundary-crossing kind whose voices we have heard here.

Dealing with unorthodoxy

Cities have to accept that people who can think and act innovatively will often be awkward, transgressive and rebellious. Only through working together on difficult-to-resolve issues will it be possible to harmonise the contrasting but complementary qualities that innovators and institutions can bring to a project.

Intercultural places

The Intercultural Centre in Turin, which operates as a cultural centre and think tank, disseminating models of intercultural practice, has produced a training course for intercultural animateurs, which covers narratives and reminiscence, family welfare, therapy, communication, education and conflict resolution.¹⁵ The Peepul Centre in Leicester brings together a nursery, healthcare and community enterprise training services with a theatre, music and dance venue.

In keeping with the Government's commitment¹⁶ to Local Area Agreements to unlock new resources for the voluntary sector and end reliance on short-term, ad hoc funding, such centres should be a priority for investment in intercultural innovation, and should be staffed and equipped to ensure them a secure presence.

Intercultural spaces

As well as permanent places, there is a need for temporary or spontaneous spaces of intercultural engagement, such as is provided by Scottish Carnival Arts.¹⁷ This means animation projects to bring people together in public spaces on an ongoing basis, not just for festivals and special occasions. On a larger scale it could include competitions for intercultural design of parks and public spaces, and iconic architecture mixing cultural forms.

'Mundane spaces of interaction'

Even local meeting places, the mundane spaces of interaction,¹⁸ neighbourhood community centres, parks and swimming pools, FE colleges can be rethought and revised with the collaboration of managers and user groups with animateurs. Planners need to think strategically about locating these facilities between communities that live apart, to blur the borders and create mixed spaces of overlap.¹⁹

Informal supports

Mentors and organisations appear to have played an important role in supporting these intercultural actors. In the case of Councillor David Faulkner, his contact with Chris Mullard (a black Londoner and the first community relations officer appointed in Tyneside in 1976) helped him to become aware of institutional racism and to challenge attitudes in the white establishment. The Church also played an important role in offering support for Cheryl Creaghan Roberts. Likewise for the Ethiopian refugee, Zenebu Hailu, who found help from various churches in Huddersfield. For her fellow refugee in Newcastle, Said, it was the Refugee Council, which is 'a good friend who always support me', that gave him money for expenses and friends he made at the university who helped him learn English.

Bridging and linking

There is widespread discussion of different forms of social capital²⁰ – bonding, bridging and linking – but too little attention is given by institutions to the latter. Intercultural innovators have a high propensity to give back through ongoing voluntary work, as well as educational dissemination and political/strategic contribution to boards and national networks. The deficit is in the receptiveness of institutions and civic organisations to show reciprocity, and in recognition by the media of the openness and generosity of intercultural actors, especially refugees.

Intercultural resourcing mechanisms

Cities can undertake bridging initiatives from funding for cross-communal, intercultural activities, from small to large scale. The Diversity Exchange in Bradford actively seeks groups that want to meet up with a group different from themselves, whether from different ethnicities, localities, faiths or activity groups. It encourages, with special funds, boundary-crossing interactions – for example, Muslim mothers and children from one school meeting with mothers and kids from another school with a different ethnic composition; Sikh, Muslim and Christian groups holding a series of inter-faith meetings in a church; a walking group and an art group.

Funding bodies in Bradford and Birmingham²¹ have shifted thinking on funding to prevent competition for resources between deprived areas by getting them to listen to each area's case and decide collectively between themselves which should take priority, thus using the funding round to build the strategic capacity of local communities to make decisions.

Research and knowledge

To develop the full potential of intercultural innovators, more 'scouting' to identify them is required and then their needs could be explored.

Nurturing

Cities can strengthen their existing base by providing mentoring, linking up innovators who have come through the system and can smooth the path for their younger successors. Cities can play a role in widening networks through linking initiatives, which give innovators access to institutions and national networks.

With regard to entrepreneurship, local economic development departments could be involved with partners in developing the kind of one-stop, comprehensive business services for women and other disadvantaged groups whose economic potential is stifled, and Muslim-compliant forms of finance for communities that Parvin Ali in the East Midlands and others in the West Midlands have been pioneering.

Releasing wasted assets

Our refugees stressed above all the importance that being allowed to work as asylum seekers would have made to their lives and the difference that recognition of their qualifications would have made. Although the government regulation of asylum seekers has forced many of them into destitution and has criminalised them, cities can make a difference. They can find ways of welcoming those fleeing persecution and of making them feel at home in the city of refuge.²²

Critical mass

To embed intercultural innovation and make it an inherent, self-reproducing part of the urban fabric requires creating 'a critical mass'. Intercultural innovators cannot flourish in isolation.

Skills

A further form of embedding that cities need in order to capitalise on the innovative potential of diversity is intercultural literacy training for city policy officers and professions. More generally, cities need to move towards the realisation that the new

kinds of problem solvers in a diverse society are as likely to be *animateurs*, intercultural mediators and communicators from community development and youth arts as lawyers, psychologists, social workers or probation officers.

This calls for a shift in training and mindset when developing projects, and also brings into question the validity and effectiveness of old-style administrative divisions of policy areas. To transfer the creative practices of our innovators to the city calls for transversal, lateral thinking, making interconnections between sectors, such as economic development, health and sport, arts, housing, business training and services, media, public relations and transport.

Intercultural narratives of the city

The way to symbolically embed innovation is to support the creation and dissemination of intercultural narratives of the city that reconnect its diverse cultural make-up to previous phases of its history. Iranian Tina Garavi, for example, traces the Arab presence in the North East of England back to the Roman empire in a film about the Yemeni community who live in South Shields today. It describes the visit of Mohammed Ali to South Shields to have his wedding blessed in the Yemeni mosque and of a young boy in the audience who is now grown up. The region has yet to recognise the value and importance of this kind of intercultural rereading of its past, but it has important ramifications for how the present is seen and presented, and what stories are told in school textbooks and histories of the city in guidebooks and museums.²³ This is just the kind of project to challenge the image of the region as isolated, peripheral and monocultural.

4 Findings III: indicators of openness and interculturalism: a new toolkit

Our aim is to find out more about whether ethnic diversity and intercultural mixing are a source of dynamism for cities. To do so we need to ask questions but, more than that, we need to pose certain questions that are not normally asked of a city because, we suspect, they have proved too difficult to measure or evaluate.

We might ask ‘how ethnically diverse is a city?’ and this (as we have seen earlier) is easily answered with reference to statistical data derived from the Census and other sources. But there is another set of questions including the following.

- How easily or frequently do different ethnicities mix?
- How open is the city, i.e. how easy is it to enter and move between different communities or institutional networks?
- To what extent do people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds actually co-operate and collaborate?

It is no surprise that such questions are rarely asked, as it is very difficult to envisage how they could be answered, at least in ways that would enable a comparison of findings over different periods of time or between different places to be made. This chapter sets out a new way of thinking about these and related questions, and suggests practical steps that policy makers and practitioners might take to systematically answer them. We propose a new toolkit, the indicators of openness, for better understanding and planning of cities.

The need for new indicators

There is a need to move beyond a simple understanding of the degrees of physical proximity of ethnicities to the quantity and quality of interaction of different people. This requires us both to ask different questions of the data already available to us and to gather new forms of data. We then need to establish a set of indicators that are readily comparable across different periods of time and jurisdictions.

Indicators select key variables and provide snapshots of moments in time. Compared over time they give an idea of direction and the scope of change. Inevitably, they

provide an incomplete picture because of the pragmatics of data collection and its limitations, the criteria selected, the vagaries of quantifying things and the social limits of perception of qualitative measures. The indicators may be purely documentary (for example, does a policy or law exist?), quantitative (can it be counted?), or qualitative (concerned with opinions or perceptions). Some indicators, thus, are tangible and measurable, and others intangible and record people's perception of openness, such as 'do you feel the city is open and welcoming?', or 'Do you experience intolerance in your workplace or in public?'. Some data can be established through existing sources, such as the census, other data will need to be garnered through research or interview.

Below we have produced the basis for a methodology. Two grids (shown in Tables A5.1 and A5.2 in Appendix 5) outline the possible indicators that might be adopted to determine the extent to which a national state or a city is moving towards a greater level of understanding of its own diversity. We argue that places need to start measuring more of these 'indicators of openness' because the very process of gathering data in this way, and the findings that ensue, will make a place begin to think differently about itself.

Indicators of openness

To address the question, 'how open is a city?', we have identified four principal spheres of influence:

- 1 the institutional framework
- 2 the business environment
- 3 civil society
- 4 public space.

We outline below the kinds of questions that should be asked and the places one should look in order to determine their degree of openness.

The openness of the institutional framework

This will be determined principally by the regulatory and legislative framework within national or local government.

At a national or federal level, 'easy access to citizenship' is, for example, an indicator and the means of measurement would include: the naturalisation rate; provision of language classes to learn the new language; and access to health and social welfare for refugees. Another would be 'respect for international human rights or law' and the means of measurement would include: the recognition of right of family reunion; the recognition of the Geneva convention on refugees; and the existence of an anti-discrimination law.

Moving into policy areas such as education, the presence of an 'intercultural/multicultural citizenship curriculum' is an indicator, as would be the take-up by students of programmes to study abroad for a year, or the number of schoolchildren going abroad on exchange schemes and the number coming to the UK, or the number of interpreters employed by the health and social services.

At a city level, an indicator and measure would be the existence of an intercultural strategy, the framing of intercultural planning regulations and guidance, or cultural awareness training in public institutions. More complicated, but achievable, would be the drawing up of a 'power map' of the people of real influence in the city and an assessment of their ethnic diversity.

The openness of the business environment

This refers to trade and industry, the job market and training. Indicators might be drawn from the internal policy commitments of businesses on recruitment and training, and on anti-discrimination/racial awareness issues and consequent monitoring and evaluation of outputs. At a national or federal level, this could mean asking whether key business associations, such as the Confederation of British Industry, address the cultural diversity of the workforce and the 'business case for diversity'.

At the city level, one would look for a Chamber of Commerce that addresses these issues of ethnic diversity in employment practices. The means of measuring this at a city level might be the ethnic composition of staff and leadership positions, and cultural awareness training in the major 20 companies and a random sample of 30 smaller companies. Other indicators that might be assessed include the:

- foreign trade of local companies and their diasporic links

- ownership of local businesses of various sizes

- recruitment of employees from the outside
- diversity of the retail offer
- destinations of airport and train traffic.

In terms of employment, one might research and assess the percentage of jobs requiring minority languages, such as call centres, banks and financial services, the import–export trade, interpreters in hospitals, community social workers, therapists and youth and community workers, or ‘intercultural mediators’ (i.e. people who help ‘translate’ across cultures). Alternatively, one could ask how many minority ethnic firms are winning tenders from the city; or what is the density of links and trade of minority ethnic businesses with countries of origin; or the ethnic breakdown of take-up of training under government-supported schemes.

A set of subsidiary questions might also be explored through interview, questionnaire or research. For instance: has the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, or other relevant legislation in participating countries, shifted priorities, especially in private companies? For relocating companies that conduct foreign trade, questions might include the following.

- Why did you come here?
- What keeps you here?
- How do you evaluate your choice?
- What role did the existence of a diverse population have in your choice?
- What three things could influence you to be more committed to the city?

Research might uncover what has put some companies off locating to a place or why others might be considering moving out.

The openness of civil society

The extent to which the social fabric of a place is accessible and permeable can be measured. At the city level, indicators might include the diversity of representation on health, welfare and education boards, or in management and community forums. The ethnic make-up of top management tiers in the 20 top public and private sector organisations could also tell a story.

Cross-cultural economic, social, cultural and civic networks could be measured from observation and interviews to establish whether there are any ethnically and culturally mixed business associations, social clubs, religious groups, political parties and movements. Positive cultural representations or images of the 'other' in the media, the number of minority broadcast channels and minority programmes within mainstream public service broadcasting can also function as indicators of openness. In addition, it is useful to look at projects that involve different ethnic groups.

Much of the openness in public attitudes is seed-bedded in schools and, aside from assessing the overall curriculum, relevant indicators could include: the number of schoolchildren learning foreign languages and going on foreign exchanges, or the percentage of UK-born minority ethnic students in university/ies.

In the social domain, the range of questions to explore might include: incidents of racial assault or crimes against asylum seekers; and, through interview, the public treatment of refugees and the incidence of cross-cultural child adoption.

Looking at a city's internal and external place marketing, one could assess how it had decided to project itself to the outside world. Research might ask whether it actively engaged in twinning networks and other international arrangements, or whether it actively sought out best practice from abroad or had external 'critical friends'.

The openness of public space

This focuses on the extent to which people feel they have the 'freedom of the city', or whether there are spaces or whole neighbourhoods that feel closed or even hostile to one or more groups within the city. The indicators would measure the degree of mixing in housing and neighbourhoods; safety and mobility of ethnic minorities in all areas of the city based on crime statistics; participation in public facilities such as libraries and cultural venues in the city centre; perceptions of cultural inclusiveness in public space; and views on which city institutions are welcoming and which are forbidding. This could be measured by:

- evaluating how mixed public sector and housing association policies on housing allocation are
- audience research on the level of mixed use of city centre libraries, other public cultural venues and sports centres

- evaluating the range of diverse cultural events/festivals in the city's artistic programme and whether they reflect the plurality of cultures in the city
- the number of interfaith organisations/forums and meeting places to assess the level and density of contact between religions.

Much of this could happen by observation and interviews in colleges, swimming pools, parks, libraries, community centres, theatres and concert halls, but should also include conceptual and intangible space, such as the airwaves and cyberspace.

Indicators of interculturalism

Once a place starts to understand itself in terms of degrees of openness and the dynamic relationship between elements of its social, economic, physical and institutional framework, it will then be ready to gather and interpret indicators that will tell the story of its interculturalism. The indicators of interculturalism measure the results of openness, both of organised intervention and of voluntary effort, and so reflect the lived experience of an intercultural lifeworld. Indicators would include:

- intermarriage and other forms of social and cultural mixing
- crossover networks, intercultural businesses, jobs and new professions
- products that embody cultural crossover or fusion
- the presence of intercultural literacy programmes in public administration
- training in and remuneration of bi- and multi-lingualism in the business environment
- the presence in the city centre of public art or buildings that draw on culturally diverse histories and traditions.

Developing a toolkit

To explore openness and interculturalism at an urban level, and test the assumptions of our 'indicators of openness', we undertook a case study in Bristol. We asked many of the questions relating to the indicators above and refined ones that were more or less usable and explanatory.

We interviewed 20 people under the age of 40 and 20 over the age of 40 who are well known in their fields. They ranged from business to public service, people running the universities, members of the political leadership, major media organisations, up and coming entrepreneurs, council departments such as planning or leisure, and successful artists, most of whom had come from outside the city. We also assessed how 20 historical figures had viewed the openness of the city.

The core questions focused on:

- how welcoming the city was
- the incentives and obstacles to achieve what they wanted in the city
- the kinds of people they mixed with in terms of their age, cultural or socio-economic backgrounds and neighbourhood
- whether they felt Bristol was an intercultural place or whether people mainly kept to their own group
- whether the perception of Bristol was of an open place and what places and spaces in Bristol encouraged intercultural mixing.

The findings are set out in a schedule in Appendix 6.

Conclusions

The Bristol findings confirm experiences observed in other cities and lead us to the following general conclusions.

- There is a need to establish a city vision, backed explicitly by the leadership, which emphasises the welcoming of outsiders and of projecting the city as 'the world in one place'.
- Most larger cities are passively tolerant of outsiders. People live side by side. They are not actively promoting engagement with the 'other' and crossing boundaries.
- Physical infrastructural barriers, such as road patterns, urban design and transport, are an underexplored arena, which can encourage segregation and reduce the possibilities of mixing.

- The problems of poor, white, working-class estates are as significant as those of poor minority ethnic enclaves.
- The places of intercultural mixing are more likely to be mundane and ordinary, like the shopping centre, going to the doctor's surgery or the swimming pool.
- The creative industries and arts sectors are significant arenas where mixing occurs. By their very nature, especially activities at the cutting edge, they involve exploration and engagement with the 'other'.
- For the young, especially second- and third-generation immigrants, segregation makes no sense. Day-to-day involvements from work to play mitigate against separation. For this reason the young express greater confidence in an intercultural future.
- In many cases, social class or income bracket will be a more powerful influence than ethnicity in determining who mixes with whom. There are strong ghettoising pressures of the market, social snobbery and conformism.

Finally, it needs to be emphasised that, while the Bristol case study provided an opportunity to test our assumptions, it represented only a partial and experimental application of the indicators toolkit. We would invite other researchers and practitioners to take forward the ideas we have introduced in this chapter and refine them further into practical models.

Our conclusion is that, even though a city may not outwardly display any signs of ethnic tension or antipathy, a passive state of 'benign indifference' is not a sufficient or desirable state. This is not only perpetuating a state of mutual ignorance, which might easily be tipped into suspicion and antagonism by some unforeseen crisis, but also is an unproductive and wasteful situation, which ensures the city misses out on untold opportunities for achieving 'diversity advantage', which might arise from greater interaction. By employing the indicators toolkit, a city will be able to gauge how near or far it is from becoming intercultural and productively diverse.

5 Conclusions and policy implications

Conclusions

Releasing the diversity advantage

Our review of the literature and the discourse around cultural diversity in the UK (and much of Europe) is that it is generally portrayed as a problem to be solved rather than as an opportunity to be realised. Our first conclusion is that far more research, policy development and practice innovation needs to be devoted to exploring the potential benefits of diversity advantage. A change in the mindset is required so that more businesses start to see a mixed management team and workforce as a source of new skills and innovations; so that local authorities and others begin to see mixed communities as a desirable and achievable outcome; and so that individuals come to regard their lives enriched through contacts with others not of their ilk.

Intercultural exchange

We conclude that, in a modern economy and social framework that demands a permanent state of innovation, intercultural exchange presents a largely unexplored source of new thinking. Cities that create a collective mindset to seek out new ideas, products, methods, markets, resources and alliances through the interaction of people with different cultural backgrounds will prosper.

Creative conflict management

While we find much in the emerging 'community cohesion' agenda that is positive and progressive, we suggest that it maintains a misunderstanding that social and economic advances can be achieved through the 'avoidance of conflict'. We argue that, while conflict is not to be sought gratuitously, it is a potential component of all human endeavour. Too much avoidance of conflict in the past has simply been the complacent 'turning a blind eye' to the build-up of pressures that inevitably exacerbate. Much greater emphasis should therefore be placed on the skills and resources necessary to manage conflict to a productive outcome.

Intercultural competence

There is a skillset appropriate to this process called intercultural competence, but it is the domain of a tiny number of people and is scandalously ignored by Government and the majority of professions and organisations, particularly in the public sector. It is clear that such competences can be incorporated into the general education of all and into the specialist professional toolkit of all those who have an influence on the health and wealth of our cities. It is the ability, not only to understand the 'other' and empathise with the factors that make them who they are, but also to better understand oneself and thereby better to communicate one's own message.

Cultural literacy

The way to develop intercultural competence is to acquire cultural literacy – the ability to see and appreciate the different factors that influence the way an individual or a group will respond to their surroundings. This is the ability to read the different narratives by which groups tell their story and define themselves. Also the ability to gather and process not just one form of knowledge about a situation but also the many different forms of knowledge that reveal the true picture.

The intercultural lens

Tangible changes in our cities will begin only when the professional mindsets that shape them start to engage practically with the concept of diversity advantage. In order to trigger this process we need to develop a new way of thinking – the skill to see and interpret different aspects of our world through an intercultural lens.

Creating the conditions

People from different cultures and communities can come together in a spontaneous and unplanned way but this is unpredictable. It is possible for cities to create the conditions for structured intercultural exchange through intelligent design of space, targeted support of key institutions, incentives for cross-cultural projects and disincentives for divisive activities, strategic location of key facilities, innovations in school curricula and having the capacity to recognise and nurture nascent initiatives.

Indicators of openness

Perhaps the most important precondition for intercultural innovation and diversity advantage in cities is an atmosphere of openness. Cities that encourage the flow of ideas, knowledge, resources and people beyond professional, institutional and cultural silos are clearly distinguishable from those that do not. It is the nature of the modern economy that open societies will inevitably gain advantage over less open ones. Cities can begin to understand and act on this through adoption and usage of the indicators of openness we have developed.

The intercultural innovator

We find in particular that at the genesis of many progressive cross-cultural initiatives in our cities can be found a key figure – an intercultural innovator. These highly motivated and skilled individuals play a vital but generally unrecognised role in crossing boundaries of separation, building bridges of understanding, finding common ground and exchanging complementary knowledge and resources. Once again there are conditions that can encourage or discourage their emergence and a role for cities in influencing this.

Policy implications

Government

There has been a failure in national government to respond to community cohesion in a joined-up way. This has meant that many departments absolve themselves of responsibility for developing coherent policy and may even devise initiatives that inadvertently run counter to community cohesion at the local level. The Home Office thereby accepts a responsibility by default for all community cohesion matters, which, given its regulatory and policing role, tends to set an inevitable tone for the Government's approach. Without even a broad commitment to community cohesion there is even less of an appreciation of the ideas being canvassed in this report. While the Treasury and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) may express themselves interested in attracting foreign talent to enrich UK plc, and the Home Office is streamlining the application for asylum process, there has been little consideration of the implications of this for regional development policy, or for education, housing or social services policy. Government needs to understand and then to own the fact that there is a difference between a policy framework whose

primary focus is concerned with minimising the negative potentialities of diversity and one that seeks the achievement of 'productive diversity'.

Government should:

- take a cross-departmental approach to community cohesion
- incorporate the achievement of intercultural engagement as a key target of its approach
- adopt a strategy for productive diversity
- devolve more powers and responsibilities to enable local government to act authoritatively on these matters.

Regional and local government

- Local government should take very seriously its powers and responsibilities to ensure 'well-being'. This should include but go far beyond a responsibility to guarantee the freedom of citizens from discrimination and harassment. Well-being also implies a responsibility to make the most of the resources and the potential available, and this should include the human and social capital of a diverse community. In particular, local government needs to develop a flexibility of approach and outlook that will enable it to recognise and work with intercultural innovators.
- Advantage should be taken of Local Area Agreements and other discretionary regimes to pilot new projects designed to encourage intercultural innovation, particularly:
 - funding schemes that bridge communities
 - creation of intercultural spaces and places
 - nurturing and mentoring of intercultural innovators.
- More investment needs to be made in better means of gathering and interpreting knowledge to inform local decision making – for example, through formal programmes of research by cities into 'indicators of openness' and the establishment of 'intercultural observatories'.

Professional associations

- Professional development programmes within the built environment professional associations, such as the planners (RTPI), the architects (RIBA), the town planners (TCPA), the chartered surveyors (RICS) and the civil engineers (ICE), should consider their professional practice from within a diversity perspective and adapt training and accreditation accordingly.
- Encourage their respective professions to place issues surrounding the diversity advantage and perspective more strongly on internal agendas.
- CABE (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment) has already considered a number of issues related to rethinking planning as well as encouraging an increased intake of professionals from minority ethnic backgrounds. This stream of research should continue.

Education

- The whole school curriculum needs to be reviewed through an intercultural lens.
- Multiculturalism needs to be redefined, through the school curriculum, as being applicable to all communities, including the indigenous population.
- The practice of interculturalism and community cohesion needs to be integral to the work of key monitoring agents.
- A fundamental rethink is needed as to how best to develop citizenship for children and young people.

Planning and regeneration

- Urban renewal agencies, from English Partnerships, Urban Regeneration Companies, the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, to advocacy bodies such as BURA (British Urban Regeneration Association) have a major responsibility to etch intercultural understanding into their development programmes.

Voluntary and faith sector

- Many of the interesting and innovative intercultural initiatives have come from within the voluntary sector. Recognition of this work by organisations such as the Regional Development Agencies or local authorities is important. Equally, the faith sector is increasingly focusing on intercultural dialogue from within a perspective of human understanding and conflict reduction. It may be useful for faith organisations to consider broadening their view to assess the advantages of cultural mixing and cross-fertilisation.

Business and economic development agencies

- There needs to be more widespread appreciation of the role that intercultural innovators can play in the development of business models and markets. This should include better research on how to locate and nurture new entrepreneurs.
- Agencies should review their practices to ensure they avoid 'ethnic pigeon-holing' entrepreneurs.

Notes

Preface

1 Appiah (2006).

Chapter 1

1 Figures drawn from Kyambi (2005).

2 Favell (1998, p. 4).

3 Favell (2001).

4 See, for example, Alibhai-Brown (2000); Malik (2002); Goodhart (2004); Liddle (2004); Phillips (2004, 2005).

5 Cattle (2005, p. 47).

6 Alibhai-Brown (2000, p. 49)

7 Macdonald (1989).

8 Cattle (2001, 2005).

9 Parekh (2000); Amin (2002).

10 Cox and Blake (1991); Cox (1994); Illis and Hayers (1997); Montes (2000); Richard (2000).

11 Ram *et al.* (2002).

12 Zachary (2003).

13 Florida (2002, 2003); Florida and Tingali (2004); Ottaviano and Peri (2004, 2005).

14 Rogers and Steinfatt (1999).

15 Antal and Friedman (2003).

16 Brecknock (2006).

17 Jacobs (1961); Hall and Landry (1997); Hall (1998).

18 Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004).

Chapter 2

1 Sandercock (1998, 2003a).

2 This section draws on Brecknock (2006).

3 Ogbu (1995).

4 Hall (1990), emphasis added.

5 Massey (1991).

6 Fleming (2006).

7 This section draws on original research for *Cultural Diversity in Britain* conducted by Richard Brecknock and Andy Howell: *Knowing Lewisham*.

8 Amin (2002).

9 Sandercock (1998).

10 Sandercock (1998).

11 This section draws on original research for *Cultural Diversity in Britain* conducted by Lia Ghilardi: *The Contribution of Outsiders to Entrepreneurship in Cities: The UK Case Study*.

12 Ram and Smallbone (2001).

13 This section draws on original research for *Cultural Diversity in Britain* conducted by Maurice Coles and Robert Vincent: *The Role of Schools in Intercultural Education: Building a Cohesive Society*.

- 14 This section draws on research conducted for *Cultural Diversity in Britain* by Naseem Khan: *The Road to Interculturalism: Tracking the Arts in a Changing World*.
- 15 UNESCO (1995).
- 16 Edgar (2005).
- 17 Keith Khan interview with Munira Mirza at <http://www.uel.ac.uk/risingeast/archive02/interviews/index.htm>.
- 18 Appiah (2006).
- 19 Comedia acknowledges the advice of Ian Henry in compiling this section.
- 20 Coalter (2004).
- 21 *Sport and Multiculturalism* (2004) produced by PMP in partnership with the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy, Loughborough University as part of the European Commission's Studies on Education and Sport.
- 22 www.sportengland.org/index/get_resources/vosm/research_categories/social_cohesion.htm.
- 23 Sardar (2006).

Chapter 3

- 1 Lucas (1988); Romer (1990).
- 2 Duranton and Puga (2001).
- 3 Lazear (1995).
- 4 Feldman and Audretsch (1999).
- 5 Hall and Landry (1997).
- 6 Rogers (2003).

- 7 Gladwell (2000).
- 8 <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/focuson/ethnicity/>.
- 9 See http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/changing_face_of_britain.stm.
- 10 http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/YouGov_researchfindings.html.
- 11 Hannerz (1996).
- 12 Wallman (2003).
- 13 Parekh (2000, pp. 287–91).
- 14 Sandercock (2003a, p. 162).
- 15 Ferrero (2000).
- 16 Miliband (2005).
- 17 <http://www.scottishcarnivalarts.co.uk/>.
- 18 Amin (2002).
- 19 Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004, pp. 80–2).
- 20 Putnam (1993, 2000).
- 21 Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004, p. 38).
- 22 Derrida (2001).
- 23 Interview Tina Garavi, 20 July 2005; Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004, pp. 97–101) for other examples.

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Appendix 1: Commissioned studies that have contributed to *Cultural Diversity in Britain*

Table A1.1 Details of commissioned studies

Theme	Author	Institution	Title
Asylum seekers and refugees	Adam Mornement	Freelance writer, London	<i>Asylum Seekers and Refugees</i>
Business	Lia Ghilardi	Noema Consulting, London	<i>The Contribution of Outsiders to Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Cities: The UK Case</i>
City growth strategies	G. Pascal Zachary	Stanford University, California	<i>Immigrants as Urban Saviors: When Immigrants Revive a City and when they don't – Lessons from the United States</i>
City growth strategies	Phil Wood	Comedia in association with University of Newcastle	<i>The Attraction and Retention of Migrants to the Tyne and Wear City Region</i>
City-wide intercultural strategy	Richard Brecknock	Brecknock Consulting, Australia	<i>A Meeting of People, a Well-spring of Ideas: Case Study of Auckland, New Zealand</i>
City-wide intercultural strategy	Benedicte Broegger and Petter Wiberg	Work Study Institute and Norconsult, Norway	<i>Drammen: etnisk diversitet og nyskaping</i>
City-wide intercultural strategy	Benedicte Broegger and Petter Wiberg	Work Study Institute and Norconsult, Norway	<i>Oslo: den flerkulturelle byen – etnisk mangfold og nyskaping</i>
Community consultation	Tom Fleming	Comedia	<i>London Borough of Tower Hamlets: Intercultural Consultation for a Global City District</i>
Cultural literacy	Richard Brecknock	Brecknock Consulting, Australia	<i>Planning and Designing through Intercultural Eyes</i>
Data and measurement	Peter Kenway	New Policy Institute, London	<i>Measuring Interculturalism in the UK</i>
Education	Maurice Coles and Robert Vincent	School Development Support Agency, Leicester	<i>The Role of Schools in Intercultural Education: Building a Cohesive Society</i>
Intercultural actors	Jude Bloomfield	Comedia	<i>A Profile of Intercultural Innovators</i>

Continued

Table A1.1 Details of commissioned studies - *continued*

Theme	Author	Institution	Title
Masterplanning	Richard Brecknock and Andy Howell	Comedia	<i>Knowing Lewisham: Case Study of the London Borough of Lewisham</i>
Openness	Margie Caust and Jonathan Hyams	Comedia	<i>How Open is Bristol? Case Study of the City of Bristol</i>
Performing arts	Naseem Khan	Freelance writer, London	<i>The Road to Interculturalism: Tracking the Arts in a Changing World</i>
Policy	Jude Bloomfield	Comedia	<i>An Assessment of UK Government Policy from an Intercultural Perspective</i>
Social entrepreneurship	Lise Bisballe	University of Roskilde, Denmark	<i>Social Entrepreneurship as a Space for Intercultural Communication and Innovation</i>
Sport	Charles Landry	Comedia in association with Loughborough University	<i>Sport as a Space for Interculturalism</i>
Urban planning	Richard Brecknock	Brecknock Consulting, Australia	<i>Interculturalism and the Spatial, Social and Economic Dynamics of Settlement and Population Distribution: Case Study of Logan, Australia</i>

Many of these stories are available to be downloaded from www.interculturalcity.com

Appendix 2: Intercultural innovation – list of interviewees and dates of interviews

Table A2.1 Details of interviews

Place	Name of interviewee	Date of interview
Bradford	Ali Mantle	10 January 2006
	David Ford	14 December 2005
	Elaine Apelbee	9 January 2006
	Huwaran Hussain	9 January 2006
	Muhammed Ali	14 December 2005
	Saleema Hafajee	9 January 2006
Huddersfield and Oldham	Zenebu Hailu	16 November 2005
	Adam Strickson	18 November 2005
	Brian Cross	15 November 2005
	Cheryl Creaghan Roberts	17 November 2005
	Muzahid Khan	16 November 2005
Newcastle	David Faulkner	18 July 2005
	Said Mansoor	19 July 2005
	Tina Gharavi	20 July 2005
	Tom Caulker	19 July 2005
	Yve Ngoo	18 July 2005
Leicester	Assaf Hussain	22 November 2005
	Franco Bianchini	29 November 2005
	Maurice Coles	10 October 2005
	Parvin Ali	21 November 2005
	Paul Winstone	21 November 2005
	Richard Bonney	21 November 2005
	Rita Patel	29 November 2005
	Stephen White	10 October 2005
	Tim Haq	11 October 2005
Birmingham	Nadeem Malik	12 January 2006
	Maza Dad	12 January 2006
	Pialli Rai	12 January 2006
London	Ann Constantine	22 December 2005
	Geetie Singh	8 December 2005
	Michael Keith	5 December 2005
	Rumman Ahmed	14 November 2005
	Yaschar Ishmaelogu	13 December 2005

All interviews carried out by Jude Bloomfield.

Appendix 3: Masterplanning and interculturalism – ‘the knowledge questions’

Indicative discussion with the community might evolve around the following.

1 *Talking about the size and composition of average families*

- Are they intergenerational?
- Do extended families share or wish to share houses?
- What are their physical space requirements?

2 *Talking about rituals and needs associated with food preparation and consumption*

- What are the main rituals and celebrations through the year or rites of passage that involve significant food preparation and sharing?
- What size group will gather to celebrate and where do the celebrations take place?
- What are the special needs associated with such rituals that might relate to the design of private and public places?

3 *Talking about the appropriateness of current housing stock*

- How well do existing houses meet the needs of community members in terms of family size, community gatherings and room layouts?
- How well do existing houses meet needs for internal privacy?
- How well do existing houses contribute to a sense of community – i.e. meet needs for interaction with neighbours and people in the street?
- What are the different family roles and relationships from a cultural, gender or age perspective that impact on the nature of housing design?

4 *Talking about family, religious or community events or celebrations*

- What are the important cultural considerations in planning such events?
- What are the domestic and public space requirements?
- What events are considered appropriate to share with the broader community?

5 *Talking about daily routine outside the home*

- What are the patterns of shopping, working, visiting friends or worship during the week?

- What are the differences between weekday and weekend public life?
- What are the cultural, gender or generational sensitivities associated with public life that need to be understood by council planners?

6 *Talking about young people*

- Are there specific cultural differences between the ways young people use public space?
- Are young people respected and catered for in the planning and design of public space?
- What are the key gathering places for young people to meet and interact?

7 *Talking about how appropriate local parks are in meeting the needs of the community*

- What are the qualities that make you feel safe and comfortable in the local parks?
- Do your local parks provide the right park furniture and facilities to meet your community's needs?
- How do you and your community use the parks for personal or communal activities – i.e. are they gathering places for communal gatherings or for personal quiet time away from family or peer groups?

8 *Talking about how safe or welcoming the streets and public places feel*

- What are the qualities that make you feel comfortable in public spaces and shops?
- How well do the existing public spaces, streets, parks and shopping centres meet your needs?
- What are the issues with being in the streets and public spaces during the day, evening and night?
- Is the public street a place to be seen and enjoy promenading or a place to use only for essential activities such as shopping or going to work?

9 *Talking about the design of public space such as footpaths, plazas, shopping centres and market squares*

- Do you have a preference for large open spaces or for more crowded smaller spaces and busy footpaths?
- Are there activities such as meeting and gathering with friends that are not currently catered for in the public spaces you frequent?
- Would you use public seating in quite public nodes associated with streets and squares?

10 *Talking about retail needs and experience*

- How well do the local retailers cater for culturally appropriate products?
- What are the qualities that make you feel comfortable using local shops?
- Are there cultural preferences associated with shopping in the small shops or the main street as opposed to a shopping mall?

11 *Talking about festivals and markets in public places*

- Do you take part in and enjoy cultural festivals and street markets?
- How important are cultural festivals, etc. in providing your culture with recognition and respect from the broader community?
- Do the existing public squares and streets adequately meet the needs of local events?

12 *Talking about interaction with people from different cultures*

- What factors encourage or make possible interaction?
- What sort of places and or activities are important in bringing people together in a safe and sharing environment?
- How much cross-cultural interaction takes place in shops and at markets?

13 *Talking about cultural expression*

- Do you feel that your physical environment expresses the cultural diversity of the local community – i.e. are there artworks, designs, signs and decorations that celebrate cultures?
- Are there colours, designs and symbols that you would like to use on your homes or businesses that would help to express your culture?
- Are there barriers to cultural expression that you have experienced with regard to your home, business or local public environments?

Appendix 4: Measuring ethnic mixing and separation

Table A4.1 lists the 78 local authorities in England, Wales and Scotland – about a fifth of the total – that have an overall BME population level above the national average of 7 per cent. For each, the table shows five pieces of information, namely the three percentages and the isolation ratio, as defined in Chapter 1 for Bristol, plus a marker denoting the region (London+, which includes the districts that directly abut the London boroughs, South East towns, Midlands towns and cities, towns and cities in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and two others, namely Bristol and Cardiff). The places are ordered according to their isolation ratios, starting with the lowest. By way of a reminder on interpretation:

- the higher the overall BME percentage, the more multicultural the place
- the lower the isolation ratio, the more intercultural the place.

Table A4.1 Ethnic mixing and separation in the 78 local authorities in the UK with the highest BME populations

City or area	BME % for white residents	Overall BME %	BME % for BME residents	Isolation ratio	Region
Hackney	37	41	45	1.2	London+
Brent	49	55	59	1.2	London+
Sutton	11	11	13	1.2	London+
Newham	53	61	66	1.2	London+
Islington	23	25	29	1.3	London+
Cambridge	10	11	13	1.3	SE towns
Lewisham	31	34	40	1.3	London+
Harrow	37	41	48	1.3	London+
Lambeth	34	38	44	1.3	London+
Oxford	12	13	16	1.3	SE towns
Westminster	25	27	33	1.3	London+
Barnet	24	26	32	1.3	London+
Kingston upon Thames	15	16	20	1.4	London+
Camden	24	27	33	1.4	London+
Hertsmere	7	8	10	1.4	London+
Haringey	30	34	42	1.4	London+
Southwark	32	37	45	1.4	London+
Epsom & Ewell	8	9	12	1.4	London+
Richmond upon Thames	9	9	12	1.4	London+
Merton	23	25	32	1.4	London+
Enfield	21	23	30	1.4	London+

Continued

Table A4.1 Ethnic mixing and separation in the 78 local authorities in the UK with the highest BME populations – *Continued*

City or area	BME % for white residents	Overall BME %	BME % for BME residents	Isolation ratio	Region
Hammersmith & Fulham	20	22	29	1.4	London+
Kensington & Chelsea	19	21	28	1.5	London+
Waltham Forest	30	35	45	1.5	London+
Tower Hamlets	39	49	59	1.5	London+
Wandsworth	20	22	30	1.5	London+
Reading	12	13	19	1.5	SE towns
Milton Keynes	9	9	14	1.5	SE towns
Watford	13	14	21	1.6	London+
Northampton	8	8	13	1.6	SE towns
Greenwich	20	23	33	1.7	London+
Slough	29	36	49	1.7	SE towns
Crawley	11	12	18	1.7	SE towns
Croydon	25	30	42	1.7	London+
Ealing	32	41	55	1.7	London+
Nottingham	14	15	24	1.7	Midlands
Hillingdon	18	21	32	1.8	London+
Redbridge	28	36	50	1.8	London+
Bromley	8	8	14	1.8	London+
Barking and Dagenham	13	15	25	1.9	London+
Hounslow	27	35	51	1.9	London+
Bexley	8	9	16	2.0	London+
Windsor & Maidenhead	7	8	14	2.0	SE towns
Luton	22	28	45	2.1	SE towns
City of London	13	15	28	2.1	London+
Wolverhampton	18	22	38	2.1	Midlands
Cardiff	8	8	18	2.3	Other
Oadby & Wigston	13	16	32	2.4	Midlands
Coventry	13	16	32	2.5	Midlands
Bedford	11	13	27	2.5	SE towns
Bristol City	7	8	18	2.5	Other
Manchester	15	19	37	2.5	Yorks & Lancs
Three Rivers	7	8	17	2.5	London+
Sandwell	15	20	40	2.7	Midlands
Wellingborough	8	9	21	2.7	SE towns
Leicester	22	36	61	2.7	Midlands
Southampton	7	8	19	2.9	SE towns
Charnwood	7	8	21	2.9	Midlands
Gravesham	9	10	26	3.0	SE towns
Woking	7	9	24	3.3	SE towns
Birmingham	18	30	58	3.3	Midlands
Preston	11	15	36	3.3	Yorks & Lancs
Wycombe	9	12	32	3.5	SE towns
Walsall	10	14	37	3.8	Midlands

Continued overleaf

Table A4.1 Ethnic mixing and separation in the 78 local authorities in the UK with the highest BME populations – *Continued*

City or area	BME % for white residents	Overall BME %	BME % for BME residents	Isolation ratio	Region
Peterborough	8	10	30	3.8	Midlands
Sheffield	7	9	29	4.3	Yorks & Lancs
Derby	9	13	38	4.3	Midlands
Trafford	7	8	28	4.4	Yorks & Lancs
Leeds	6	8	29	4.6	Yorks & Lancs
Kirklees	9	14	46	5.1	Yorks & Lancs
Bolton	7	11	40	5.5	Yorks & Lancs
Bradford	11	22	61	5.6	Yorks & Lancs
Pendle	9	15	50	5.7	Yorks & Lancs
Blackburn with Darwen	10	22	64	6.2	Yorks & Lancs
Rochdale	7	11	47	7.0	Yorks & Lancs
Hyndburn	5	8	41	7.7	Yorks & Lancs
Oldham	7	14	56	8.0	Yorks & Lancs
Burnley	5	8	44	8.7	Yorks & Lancs

There is a considerable amount to see in the table – above all the geographical pattern of the results.

- The London effect is overwhelming, with London boroughs clustered at the top of the list and therefore all exhibiting low levels of isolation. Although, in general, the inner London boroughs where the overall levels of the BME population are high or very high tend to have lower isolation ratios than the outer London ones, this is not just an inner London effect, with three outer London boroughs (Sutton, Harrow, Barnet) in the top 12.
- The only two exceptions to London dominance at the top of the list are the cities of Oxford and Cambridge. The overall BME percentage here is not particularly high (around 12 per cent) but the very low isolation index indicates that the groups are spread very uniformly across the two cities.
- Other South East towns, usually to the North and West of London (Reading, Milton Keynes, Northampton, Slough) come next in the list. There is more

variation among the South East towns than any other group, with one (Wycombe) having a fairly high isolation ratio.

- The bottom of this list is populated exclusively by towns and cities from Yorkshire and Lancashire, with Manchester with its fairly low level of isolation (in this company) being the only exception.

It must be stressed that this analysis cannot be used to enter into the recent debate about 'ghettos'. For one thing, the grouping together of all BME people as one is simply too crude for these purposes. For another, the 'ghetto' argument as we understand it is about how these patterns change over time and why. This analysis has nothing to say on that issue.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that, even leaving London out of the picture, there are deep differences between different parts of the country. For example, at 14 per cent, Reading has almost exactly the same overall BME level as Oldham but an isolation ratio of about 1.5 compared with Oldham's 8. Likewise Northampton and Burnley share the same overall BME level of 8 per cent but very different isolation ratios of 1.6 and 8.7.

Table A5.1 Indicators of openness and interculturalism: the national/federal level

Indicators of openness	Indicators of interculturalism	Means of collection
<i>Institutional framework</i>		
Easy access to citizenship		
Respect for international human rights		Naturalisation rate
Recognition of Geneva convention on refugees, treatment of asylum seekers, integration policies		Recognition of right of family reunion, government funding for language classes, support services on housing, jobs, (re)training, health care, legal advice
National plan for welcome and integration of refugees		Legal recognition, habeas corpus, no discretionary powers or detention centres, right of appeal
Race relations and anti-discrimination legislation		Access to health/social welfare by refugees, recognition of special needs health care, language needs, retraining/qualification, safe housing, individual caseworkers
Promotion of culturally diverse planning		Policy commitment and guidance
Compulsory citizenship education within a school curriculum embodying cultural diversity		
Foreign language learning and promotion programmes		Take-up by students of programmes to study abroad for a year under Erasmus
Government promotion of minority ethnic training		Ethnic breakdown of take-up of training under government-supported scheme
	National creativity and innovation through diversity strategy Promotion of cultural renewal through intercultural dialogue against integration of migrants into a singular national narrative	

Continued

Table A5.1 Indicators of openness and interculturalism: the national/federal level - *Continued*

Indicators of openness	Indicators of interculturalism	Means of collection
<i>Business environment</i> Business association policies addressing cultural diversity of workforce and human capital	Recognition, training and remuneration of skills of bi- and multi-lingualism, intercultural literacy and innovation	Intercultural business start-ups, new products, services and processes
Growth of minority ethnic self-employment	Bursaries, competitions, mentoring and funding of intercultural innovation	
	Measuring and monitoring of intercultural innovation	
<i>Civil society and services</i>	Incidence of mixed marriages	Via Census
<i>Public space</i>	National promotion of an intercultural planning model	

Table A5.2 Indicators of openness and interculturalism: the city level

Indicators of openness	Indicators of interculturalism	Means of collection
<i>Institutional framework</i> Existence of a cultural diversity/intercultural strategy		
Cultural awareness training in public institutions		Interviews on qualitative assessment training
Public commitment to creating safe haven for asylum seekers and refugees		For example, participation in 'City of Refuge' programme, Council of Europe 'Shared Cities' or 'Intercultural City' programme of training, refugee welcoming or inclusive projects
Anti-discrimination and equal opportunities plans and monitoring of implementation in public institutions		
Culturally and socially mixed housing	Culturally and socially mixed housing management policies	Observation/interviews via housing managers
Intercultural planning guidance		
Fostering cultural exchange and foreign language programmes services		Number of schoolchildren going abroad on exchange schemes and number coming
<i>Business environment</i>		
Ethnic diversity in managerial and professional positions in local workforce	Intercultural literacy training in public administration and institutions	
		Monitoring jobs and job briefs
<i>Civil society and services</i>		
Growing overlap between economic, social, cultural and civic networks	New professions of intercultural mediation, animation, programming throughout public services and cultural institutions	Look at umbrella, inter- or joint associations, forums, consortia

Continued

Table A5.2 Indicators of openness and interculturalism: the city level - *Continued*

Indicators of openness	Indicators of interculturalism	Means of collection
Growing ethnic mix in leadership positions – public, private, voluntary; minorities and mainstream	Cross-cultural economic, social, cultural and civic networks	Holders of senior positions in top public and private sector organisations
<i>Public space</i>	Inter-ethnic and inter-faith forums' active role in shaping public services	From observation and interviews on ethnically and culturally mixed business associations, social clubs, religious groups, political parties and movements
Open-access, mixed usage of city centre institutions		Observation, audience research, favourite place research
Attraction of minorities to city centre cultural institutions		Audience research
Growing mixed attraction to minority ethnic neighbourhood cultural institutions		Observation and interviews
Growth of mixed estates and neighbourhoods		
Open-access public spaces culturally programmed to attract mass public/young people	Mixed population usage of city centre institutions	Observation and interviews in city centre library, museum, swimming pool/leisure centre
	Iconic intercultural public institutions	
	Cultural diversity of built environment, drawing on different cultural traditions	
	Culturally inclusive public celebrations/programming/broadcasting	

Appendix 6: *How Open is Bristol?* The Bristol Case Study

Respondents were asked the following questions.

- 1 What are the adjectives you would use to describe Bristol? In your opinion are those that you use to describe the city's situation any different from what you might have used five or ten years ago?
- 2 What makes Bristol distinctive? Are these more positive or more negative qualities? Do they suggest openness?
- 3 Would you describe yourself as a Bristolian? Why?
- 4 Are there incentives for you in Bristol to do and achieve what you want? Are there particular obstacles? Is this any different from other cities you know?
- 5 What kind of people do you mix with in terms of where they live, their age, their cultural or socio-economic backgrounds? Would you say Bristol is an intercultural city or do people keep to their own groups?
- 6 Are there any particular places and spaces in Bristol that you feel encourage intercultural mixing?
- 7 Can you be world-class in Bristol or do you have to move somewhere else to achieve this?

The main findings of the case study were as follows.

- *The welcome:* Bristol is seen as welcoming and tolerant, laid back, compact, convenient and much easier to live in than London. Many incomers play a dynamic role and tend to stay, and the university has one of the highest retention rates in the country.
- *Multicultural not intercultural:* there is tolerance of the 'other' but little active intermixing. Ethnic groupings cluster strongly in certain areas, such as African Caribbeans in St Paul's or the varieties of Asians in Easton, while the city centre appears very monocultural.

- *Interaction and segregation:* there are complex networks of settlements based on income or ethnicity that have little to do with each other. Thus there are a series of different Bristols.
- *Infrastructure as a barrier:* poor public transport and infrastructure exacerbate the problem of people locked into their communities with little incentive to move around.
- *Generational differences:* young people felt more confident than others about achieving greater openness in Bristol. The 'Bristol Sound', coined to describe the works of Portishead, Tricky, Massive Attack, was cited as evidence of the potential for and the rewards of greater cultural mixing:

... nice guitar-loving white boys and girls from Clifton, Cotham and other middle-class/student districts mixing freely with the black reggae lovers from St Pauls.
- *White working-class estates:* many interviewees of different cultural backgrounds felt the most significant emerging factor of urban deprivation did not concern ethnic minorities and the inner cities, but rather the very large white, working-class population living on the outskirts. The effects of a poor education system, expensive transport and housing (the latter having been driven by the large incomer populations) were a growing driver of alienation.
- *Drivers for intercultural mixing:* in the day-to-day spaces of incidental exchange, such as education, the workplace and sports, Bristol is offering either a largely white environment or a segregated one. Intercultural mixing places were more likely to be events rather than locations or institutions such as the city centre or libraries.
- *Overall openness:* Bristol is certainly open at a superficial level but not necessarily below the surface. At the local level, 'if you make an effort, it is open – you can find a niche no matter where you are from', but bigger ambitions are hard to achieve, as this needs partners across all vested interests. Bristol is seen to work very well 'if you are educated, active, engaged and middle class'. For people who are not connected, confident and middle class, 'it is a conservative, suspicious and mildly racist place'.
- *Leadership and vision:* some described 'A city which is run by invisible forces, not the elected leadership'. This supposed oligarchy was seen as the root of all the city's problems feeding into public and private life.

- *Overcoming a stigma:* Bristol's history in the slave trade is seen as a dark side of the city. It is the hidden 'stain'. There remains an intense debate as to whether this has been dealt with properly and exorcised. 'All attempts to deal with it have been half-hearted.' This negative aspect of Bristol tends to swamp the many positive features such as: its role in fighting for abolition of slavery; its welcome to explorers such as Cabot or inventors such as Brunel. Most places in Britain do not have this particular cross to bear, but in each there may be a stigma worthy of exploring (cf. Liverpool Museum of Slavery).