THE INTERCULTURAL CITY

MAKING THE MOST OF DIVERSITY

Phil Wood, Charles Landry and Jude Bloomfield

COMEDIA

May 2006

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

1. 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

The Intercultural City: Making the Most of Diversity 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 which 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 are 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. From the North Africans that 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. Firstly 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 which 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 multi cultural city of fragmented differences to the co-created intercultural city that makes the most of diversity.

2. Introduction

The Growth of Interest in Cultural Diversity

The world is moving and changing at a pace which is both alarming and invigorating. Old and familiar certainties are being lost and new questions and challenges 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 which 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 which are entirely homogeneous, whilst 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 no 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% of Londoners consider themselves to be White British, whilst 3.2% consider themselves to be of mixed race.

And whilst London represents a unique kind of diversity, the rest of Britain too 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 Birmingham[1] 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 1000 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 only represent those who are foreign-born and not the much larger numbers, of second generation and beyond, of people whose nationality and identity will be hyphenated.

The Developing Debate

Whilst 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, whilst 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 which 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 exacerbated now by the polarising political economy of globalisation. In other words an economy which seems to offer multiple choices and opportunities to those who already have them whilst 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. Whilst both are true and relevant, both past and present, neither even in combination provide 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 which has provided the context and orthodoxy for the best part of the last forty 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. Whilst it was clear even in the 1990s that this was not yet the case, there remained a powerful consensus that not only was Britain muddling through towards a model society, but that it was 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 which it has failed to deliver.

Whatever one's stance on whether the British model of multiculturalism remains robust, in need of tweaking, or past is 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 which acknowledged or rewarded their new, often hybrid senses of identity, and alienation often ensued.

Another accusation is that far from being a system which 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 (ie that multicultural celebrate 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 whilst 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 which 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: of formulating a common set of British values from which spring a set of civic rights, entitlements and responsibilities. Secondly 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 re-appraising 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 which responds to the ongoing process of hybridisation that accelerating change is bringing about[9]. As such the thing which will hold Britons together is not the social glue of 'shared values' but the social bridge of 'shared futures'.

Key Concepts

The Intercultural City report should be located within this dynamic and evolving discourse. The authors acknowledge the different strands of thought and the contribution each are 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:

- diversity advantage;

- openness; and,

- interculturalism.

Diversity Advantage

Our feeling about the discourse of diversity throughout the last 50 years or so is that it has maintained a tone which is apologetic. The sense that the British people are being asked to adapt reluctantly and accommodate to something which they would rather not contemplate but which 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. Whilst '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 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 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 artforms; 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 which 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 upon 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 whilst 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; whilst across the Atlantic where 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 which 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 whilst also avoiding those things which 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 a process of mutual learning and joint growth[15]. This then implies a process of acquiring, not only of a set of basic facts and concepts about 'the other', but of particular skills and competences which 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 upon 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 which 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 upon 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. Whilst avoidance or suppression of conflict risks creating a 'pressure cooker' which 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, whilst 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, which forced them into solidarity with the blacks and brought about the essential fusion of musical traditions from whence came jazz at the turn of the 20th 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 clubs in Chicago 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 originally a Pakistani invention associated with cricketers such as Wasim Akram and Waqar Younis and when first practiced 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-fertiliastion as the mother of invention. The very basis of the intellectual traditions of the West has roots in the Islamic world. Muslim scholars made bold inventions in mathematics such as the development of algebra, the invention of the concept of zero, organizing 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 upon three distinct but complementary strands:

- City-based case studies in four UK setting as well as in Australia, New Zealand, Norway, and the United States.

- Thematic studies subjecting twelve areas of public and urban policy to analysis through an *intercultural lens*.

- Studies of 33 individual intercultural innovators in 8 cities.

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

Whilst this report focuses primarily upon 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 revitalize 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.

- To provide a richer analysis of the underlying economic, social and cultural dynamics of Britain's rich mix so helping develop better-informed policy choices.

- To indicate how the innovative potential of minority communities can be better identified, harnessed, and brought to fruition.

- Through action research to assist participating cities to develop economic, social, cultural and planning policies thereby acting as role models for others to follow.

- To 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, strategize and plan;

- provide the opportunity to reflect on good practice and so helping with drawing 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 other 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 6 aspects of urban place making:

- consulting and engaging with cities
- design and masterplanning
- business and entreprenurism
- education
- the arts
- sport

Chapter 4 & 5 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 Six introduces another new concept – the Indicators of Openness – by way of introducing practical methods by which cities can embark upon 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. 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'. Secondly, 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, firstly, White and secondly, Black and Minority Ethnic.

According to the Census, 8% of Bristol's population was classified BME in 2001. That 8% 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; and*

- *the probability that your neighbour is 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, the greater is the isolation. In Bristol, the two probabilities are 18% and 7%. This means that a BME Bristolian is 2.6 times as likely as a White Bristolian to live next door to someone who is BME. The table shows how Bristol compares with a number of other places in England:

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%), 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% and 30%) but quite similar isolation ratios (2.6 and 3.2).*

- *Lewisham and Tower Hamlets have higher overall BME population levels still (34% and 49%) 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 would also investigate factors such as housing tenure, employment and age.

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

3. Findings I: Seeing the world through an intercultural lens

The aim of this first chapter of Findings, and of the two which 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 upon 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 a fresh look at the things they do. Taking six aspects of the living and running of cities and look 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. Whilst the first chapter takes a 'top-down' look at how major themes and disciplines may be reconceived, the second draws upon 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 which 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 policymakers 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 each group or interest has, and the interpretation which they place upon 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 Sandercock[19] in believing there are multiple ways of knowing a place. She identifies six:

- Knowing through dialogue
- Knowing from experience
- Learning from local knowledge
- Learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence
- Learning through contemplative or appreciative knowledge
- Learning by doing, or action-planning

We believe that a city based upon 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 pre-condition 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 **intercultural lens** - a new idea which we propose here for the first time. Finally, we have taken a series of themes which characterise contemporary urban life, and subjected them to a re-evaluation 'through an intercultural lens'. This has produced findings with implications for policy.

Cultural Literacy[20]

People behave in the way that they behave because of the culture they have assimulated. 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 whilst taking culture into account. The real question is how have they possibly been able to do their job for so long without taking culture into account?

Only through being culturally literate we can understand and read both the surface of any situation but also 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:

- *Customary ways of behaving*: of making a living; eating; expressing affection; getting married; raising children; responding to illness and to death; getting ahead in society; and dealing with the supernatural;

- *Codes or assumptions;* expectations and emotions underlying those customary behaviours;

- *Artefacts;* things that members of the population group make or have made that have meaning for them;

- *Institutions; economic, political, religious and social so as follow through things in a fairly predictable manner; and*

- *Social structure; the patterned ways that people relate to one another"[21]*

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 knowledge about and between cultures occurs more seamlessly on a day-to-day basis. The task is to bear a series of questions in mind 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. Firstly the communicant is inscribing their message with meaning derived from their own cultural preconceptions (ie the are *encoding* it). Secondly, the addressee is receiving the information and reading it according to their own cultural preconceptions (ie they are *decoding* it)

meaning cultural literacy reading

encoding decoding
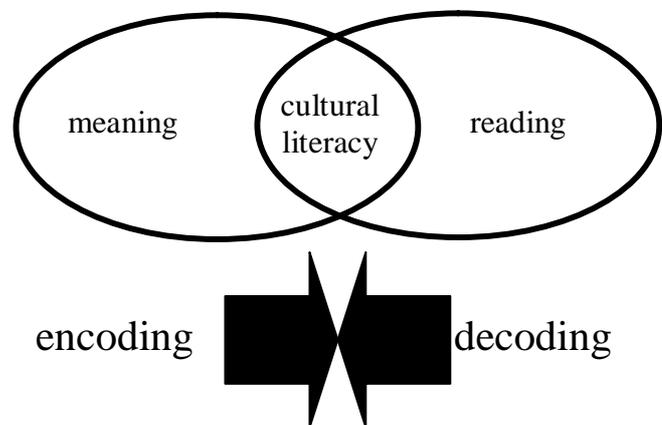
In the case of urban planning and development this entails engagement by the professional with a community exploring its history, cultural institutions current cultural values, through its forms of artistic expression, skills, crafts, media of communication, oral history and memory. The value of such processes 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 economic environments which 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*"[22].

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. The diagram below 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, ie:

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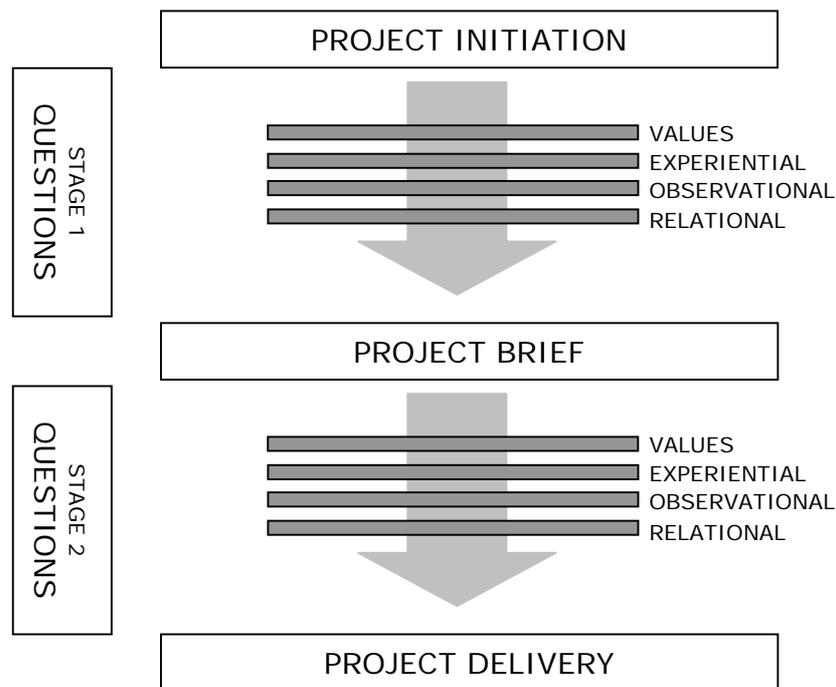
Following these steps may initially seem cumbersome. However as with issues such as the environment or gender, the habit of asking the questions makes cultural literacy into common sense.

Cultural literacy is then the ability to read, understand and find the significance of diverse cultures and as a consequence to be able 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 which enables us to act sensitively and effectively in a world of differences. It is as crucial for survival as is 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, policymakers, 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 theme, germane to urban place-making, and subject 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 argued[23] that modern cities should be seen less as places of distinct communities marked by clear and fixed boundaries, but rather as local public spheres with multi-dimensional connections, which overlap and conflict. As such, citizens cannot easily be ascribed to one, homogeneous group, but may be part of several. How then can policymakers 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 standardized exercise but a continuous process of informal discussion and engagement.

The orthodox, multiculturalist, approach to public consultation requires that communities are defined by their ethnicity and consulted in isolation (i.e. 'the African Caribbean community'; 'the Asian community' etc.) as if ethnicity is the only factor influencing the way in which people will 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 which often characterise (either singly or in combination) consultation processes. They are often:

- based upon 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 recognizes 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 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 which other cities might employ in future intercultural consultative exercises[24]. The main points of good practice include:

- Conducting more consultation in 'intercultural spaces' rather than ones which 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 which 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 bring 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 micro actions, engagement with macro issues 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 (that 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 it 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 together so that they are consulted across boundaries of ethnicity, faith, gender and generation. Thus make sure they are not mono-ethnic or of the same age or gender, and keep mixing groups as workshops continue.

- Re-framing 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, promote in 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 which is shared and experienced across ethnicities it becomes possible to conceive of solutions which are predicated upon a shared approach.

2. City making through an intercultural lens[25]

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 can flow, or what uses should be brought together – are shaped by value judgements. The look, feel and structure of the places planners encourage, help design and promote reflects their assumptions about what they think is right and appropriate. This is etched into codes, rules and guidelines. It sets the physical stage upon 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, set backs, pavement widths, turning circles, the amount 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 used different when produced interculturally? such as the vivid colours of housing in Latin America or the use of water in Moorish culture. 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 who 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:

- 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 better 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 re-assessed. 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 under-performing 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 upon 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 Amin calls) 'micro publics' come together, where (according to Leonie Sandercock) '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'.

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 Lens[26]

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 10 Smiths to every Patel. Despite the myths about asylum-seekers – that they are "health tourists" and "welfare scroungers" – 30% of them have professional jobs compared to 25% 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 business-people 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 ethnic minority backgrounds who are owners of large or global businesses which originated in the UK (mostly from 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 context in which such enterprises operate (i.e. sector, locality, access to labour markets) are key factors instead.

The second hypothesis here is that those ethnic minority 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-Ioannou, the founder of the low cost airline easy-Jet, 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[27].

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 that are successful (and innovative) in the 'small and local' 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 depend 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 that 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."

The Hussein Brothers say "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," says Andy Hussein. 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-betweeness' 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*[28]

School and formal education is, of course, only one aspect of a child's moral, intellectual and cultural upbringing but is a vital one, and can have a profound effect upon 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 practiced in the 1970s, '80s and 90s 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, whilst 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 inter-communal tension, as well as the increasing need for youngsters to able to communicate with people of all varieties in their future careers, there is an even greater need for schools to prepare pupils to be outward facing, but what would an intercultural educational system look like? Firstly, 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 upon 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 upon the city of Leicester. Although one of Britain's most diverse city the education service had done little to positively address it and this, alongside other factors, contributed to its failing of 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 fifteen 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 imaging 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:

- *Cultural competence*: the ability to reflect upon one's own culture and the culture of others;

- *Emotional and spiritual competence*: the ability to be self-reflective, handle one's own emotions, empathise with others;

- *Linguistic and communicative competence*

- *Civic competence*: the ability to understand and act upon rights and responsibilities and be socially and morally responsible,

- *Creative competence*

- *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 re-defined 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 re-think 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 a simple information-giving to make it a reality. The intention to involve children and young people in a much more pro-active 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[29]

By their very nature the arts are pre-disposed 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 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 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 artform. 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'. 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.'[30]

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 'Alladdin' did go to major theatres in Britain, it did not find an audience, compared with its singular success in North America. Audiences were not being encouraged, he felt, to go beyond race lines, and venues were encouraged 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."[31]

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 business and the attendant processes of regeneration. It hopes this can be done in a way which 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 which 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 twenty 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 T.V. like Sanjeev Bhaskar who became a comic actor and co-author of the BBC hit comedy series *Goodness Gracious Me* and *The Kumars of Number 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 protegé, Ayub Khan Din wrote the play and subsequent film script, commissioned by Channel 4, of *East is East*.

Film has been a place for experimenting with potentially controversial social trends, but has spawned a small industry of successful cultural business ventures. In the 90s, 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 said once, 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.'[32]

6. *Sport through an Intercultural Lens*[33]

Sport, especially team sports, 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; and
- sociological factors such as fostering community identity, a feeling of coherence or integration[34].

One major piece of research[35] 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 maximized.

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);
- for the promotion of separatism between (religious, national and ethnic) communities;
- 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 characterize the British sports policy approach as focusing on the notion of cultural diversity, and cultural heterogeneity of ethnic minorities communities, but not necessarily building bridges.

Increased efforts are now being made to eradicate barriers such as racism, in the various sports forms, from which a platform for intercultural sports exchange can be made. Given these problems the priority has been on getting ethnic groups to participate in the first place as distinct from participating across cultures[36].

It is recognized that the clubs 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 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 sensitization 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 amongst 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 the 'Foxes against Racism' founded by Leicester football club or 'Football Unites, Racism Divides' campaign 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 & Sport Project' in Leicester, whose goals are to promote cultural awareness among providers through 'race equality workshops', to get more BME groups involved in sports and to become more involved in decision-making and provide more job opportunities through sports. The LRE&SP have 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. The group has been particularly successful in competitive sport, winning or doing well in a number of local football competitions. It was recognised that if 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 being seen as a 'problem' of integration to be dealt with by the club.

Amongst 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 where 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 unless sporting situations are 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 with male participation predominantly, 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 sills), 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, both individual competences, and also social capital in terms of community networks, a sense of local identity, and a sense of solidarity can be produced, thus promoting 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.*[37]

4. Findings II: Cities of Intercultural Innovation

This Chapter firstly 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, 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[38].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 specialization and clustering (after Michael Porter) are more effective in generating innovation[39]. Economists have also taken a specific look at diversity in its cultural and ethnic form and concluded that it can be both a cost upon and a benefit to the urban economy[40].

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[41]. 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[42].

A new idea or innovation is of little value unless it is recognized and adopted. This process is known as diffusion and it comprises several

important and well-documented stages[43]. 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 Gladwell[44] 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 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 usually 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 nano-technology; 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'). 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, and
- 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 upon 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 in our view 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 which 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 be often 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 'gate-keeper', 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 a 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, ie 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 Statistics[45] in 2001 revealed the number of mixed race people grew by more than 75% during the 1990s to around 677,000, 15% of the total ethnic minority population in the UK. This made mixed-race the fastest growing ethnic group during the 1990s and made 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[46]. Furthermore, research in 2004 for the Commission for Racial Equality into the level of inter-ethnic friendships in Britain found that, for example, 94% of the white population have no or few friends from a different ethnic group. 39% of all citizens under the age of 30 reported that most of their friends were of the same race[47].

The Strategic Role of Intercultural Innovators

For all these reasons, it would be naïve and complacent to assume that intercultural innovation will taken place naturally. This report is intended as a clarion call, particularly to city policy-makers, to recognise firstly the importance of intercultural innovation as part of the lifeblood of the city and, secondly, 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 sea-

faring 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. Whilst Britain as a whole reaped the fruits of Brunel's innovations, to back their ideas, it was undoubtedly the city of Bristol which 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 upon science and technology at all. Nevertheless, we have sought to discover individuals who draw upon more than one cultural strand and who have had insights and made things happen which have enriched their communities. They are in the main social innovators but whilst the bridges and links they have built are more metaphorical than physical, their impact have 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 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 [48]. 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 ethnic minority and mainstream cultural, social, economic and civic/political networks[49]. 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 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 6 cities: London, Birmingham, Leicester, Newcastle, Huddersfield and Bradford, fell into three broad types: artists and animateurs, those involved in community development including local politicians and entrepreneurs.

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 primarily 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 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 value-driven, such intercultural entrepreneurs are 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, or Elaine Apelbee the director of Bradford Vision. This attracts or creates people with a capacity to communicate across boundaries, who are first of all good listeners, 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 reveal 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*"; and at Cumbria School of Art and Technology she faced racism on the street where she was called '*a nigger, a black Pakistani*' and 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 both a high propensity to sacrifice, find a way round obstacles and to turn it 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 have developed broad transnational networks based on diasporic trading links such as Tim Haq, a businessman, journalist and urban regeneration worker in Leicester of Pakistani and English origin, He developed his own model of business as serving the community '*by finding the common denominator*' using his business knowledge as an advisor 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 common 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 whilst growing up and a number explicitly recognised that things had changed.

Whilst 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 who 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 of 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

Firstly cities need to value the growth of mixed ethnicity and second generation Black British and British Asian population, and draw on their multilingual, intercultural capacities and qualities to nurture them as community-based interpreters, race equality trainers[50], communicators and mediators in planning and community disputes[51] as cultural animateurs, youth and community workers of the boundary-crossing kinds 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 that covers narratives and reminiscence, family welfare, therapy, communication, education and conflict resolution[52]. 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 commitment[53] 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, staffing and equipping them 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[54]. 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[55], 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 about locating these facilities strategically between communities which live apart to blur the borders and create mixed spaces of overlap[56].

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 become aware of institutional racism and 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 support from various churches in Huddersfield. For her fellow refugee in Newcastle, Said, it was the Refugee Council that slipped him money for expenses which is 'a good friend who always support me.' and friends he made at the university who also helped him learn English.

Bridging and Linking

There is widespread discussion of different forms of social capital[57] - 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 for the media to recognise 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 which want to meet up with a group different from themselves, whether between different ethnicities, localities, faiths and also 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 Birmingham[58] 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 require 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. Whilst the government regulation of asylum seekers has forced many of them into destitution and criminalised them, cities can make a difference. They can find ways of welcoming those fleeing persecution and make them feel at home in the city of refuge[59].

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 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 calls 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 embed innovation symbolically is to support the creation and dissemination of intercultural narratives of the city which 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 which lives in South Shields today. It traces 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, what stories are told in school textbooks and histories of the city, in guidebooks and museums[60]. This is just the kind of project to challenge the image of the region as isolated, peripheral and monocultural.

5. 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 which 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:

- How easily or frequently do different ethnicities mix?

- How open is the city, ie how easy is it 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 anwered, at least in ways which would enable the comparison of findings over different periods of time or between different places. This chapter sets out a new way of thinking about these and related questions and suggests practical steps which policymakers and practitioners might take to systematically answer them. We propose a new toolkit for better understanding and planning of cities: the indicators of openness.

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 to both 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 which 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 peoples' 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 (set out in Appendix 5) outline the possible indicators which 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 which 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:

- The institutional framework

- The business environment

- Civil society

- Public space.

We outline below the kinds of questions which 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; or 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 or 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 school kids 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 to 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, addresses 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;

- the ownership of local businesses of various sizes;

- the recruitment of employees from the outside, the diversity of the retail offer;

- the 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', that is people who help 'translate' across cultures. Alternatively one could ask how many ethnic minority firms are winning tenders from the city; and what is the density of links and trade of ethnic minority 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:

- 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, education boards or 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 school children 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, say.

Looking at a city's internal and external place marketing one could assess how it has decided to project itself to the outside world. Research might ask whether it actively engages in twinning networks and other international arrangements, or whether the city actively searches out best practice from abroad or has 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 which 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 housing allocation policies 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 organizations/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 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 which embody cultural cross-over or fusion,

- the presence of intercultural literacy programmes in public administration,

- training in and remuneration of bi- and multi-lingualism in the business environment; or,

- the presence of buildings or public art in the city centre that draws on culturally diverse histories and traditions.

Developing a Tool kit

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 which were more or less usable and explanatory.

We interviewed 20 people under the age of 40 and 20 over 40s 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 organizations, up and coming entrepreneurs, council departments such as planning or leisure and successful artists, of whom most 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; and,
- 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 under-explored 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 ethnic minority 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 2nd and 3rd 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 whilst 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. Not only is this perpetuating a state of mutual ignorance which might easily be tipped into suspicion and antagonism by some unforeseen crisis, but it is an un-productive and wasteful situation ensuring the city misses out on untold opportunities for achieving 'diversity advantage' that 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.

6. 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 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 which demands a permanent state of innovation, intercultural exchange presents a largely unexplored source of new thinking. Cities which 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
Whilst 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 whilst 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 which inevitably exacerbate. Much greater emphasis should therefore be placed upon 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 developing intercultural competence is to acquire cultural literacy. The ability to see and appreciate the different factors which 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 the many different forms of knowledge that reveal the true picture.

The Intercultural Lens

Tangible changes in our cities will only begin when the professional mindsets which 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 through 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 which encourage the flow of ideas, knowledge, resources and people beyond professional, institutional and cultural silos are clearly distinguishable from those which 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 upon 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 which 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 which 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. Whilst the Treasury and DTI may express themselves interested in attracting foreign talent to enrich UK plc, and the Home Office is stream-lining 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 which 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 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 which 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 project designed to encourage intercultural innovation, particularly:

> o Funding schemes which bridge communities;
>
> o Creation of intercultural spaces and places;
>
> o 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, town planners - TCPA, chartered surveyors – RICS, the civil engineers, 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 has already considered a number of issues related to rethinking planning as well as encouraging an increased intake of professionals from ethnic minority backgrounds. This stream of research should continue.

Education

- The whole school curriculum needs to be reviewed through an intercultural lens

- Multiculturalism needs to be re-defined, 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 re-think 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 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

organizations 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 organizations to consider broadening their view to assess the advantages of cultural mixing and cross- fertilization.

Business and Economic Development Agencies
- There needs to more widespread appreciation of the role which 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alibhai-Brown (2001) *Who do we think we are? Imagining the new Britain.* London. Penguin

Amin. A (2002) *Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: living with diversity*. Report for the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions and the ESRC Cities Initiative

Antal, Ariane Berthoin & Friedman, Victor (2003) *Negotiating Reality as an Approach to Intercultural Competence*. Discussion Paper SP III 2003-101, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung

Bloomfield Jude & Franco Bianchini (2004) *Planning for the Intercultural City*. Bournes Green. Comedia

Borjas G. (1995) *The economic benefits of immigration*. Journal of Economic Perspectives, 9, 3-22.

Borjas G. (1999) *Heaven's Door*. Princeton, Princeton University Press).

Brecknock, Richard (2006) *More Than Just a Bridge: Planning and Designing Culturally.* Bournes Green. Comedia

Burayidi, M. ed. (2000*) Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society*. Westport, CT. Praeger.

Cantle, T (2001) *Community Cohesion: a report of the Independent Review Team*. London. Home Office

Cantle, T (2005) *Community Cohesion: a new framework for race and diversity.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Cox, T. Jr. (1994). *Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research and practice.* San Francisco. Berrett-Koelher.

Cox, T.H. & Blake, S. (1991). Managing Cultural Diversity: Implications for Organisational Competitiveness. Academy of Management Executive, Vol. 5, No. 3, 45-56.

Duranton G., Puga D. (2001), *Nursery Cities: Urban Diversity, Process Innovation, and the Life Cycle of Products*, American Economic Review, 91(5), pp. 1454-1477.

Everett M Rogers and Thomas M Steinfatt (1999) *Intercultural Communication*. Prospect Heights. Waveland.

Favell, A (1998) *Philosophies of Integration: immigration and the idea of citizenship in France and Britain*. London. Macmillan.

Favell, a (2001) *Multi-ethnic Britain: an exception in Europe? Patterns of Prejudice*, vol 35, no 1. January.

Feldman M.P., Audretsch D.B., (1999), *Innovation in Cities: Science Based Diversity, Specialization and Localized Competition*, European Economic Review, 43, pp. 409-429.

Florida, Richard & Tinagli, Irene(2004) *Europe in the Creative Age*. Demos at http://www.creativeclass.org/acrobat/Europe_in_the_Creative_Age_2004.pdf

Florida, Richard (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class: and how it's transforming work, leisure and everyday life*. New York. Basic Books.

Florida, Richard (2003) *Boho Britain*. Demos at http://www.demos.co.uk/media/_page266.aspx

Gladwell, Malcolm (2000) *Tipping Point: how little things can make a big difference.* London. Abacus.

Goodhart, David (2004) *Too Diverse?* Prospect, February.

Hall, E.T. (1990) *The Hidden Dimension*, Anchor Books, New York

Hall, P and Landry, C (1997) *Innovative and Sustainable Cities*. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Hall, Peter (1998) *Cities in Civilisation*. London. Weidenfield & Nicholson.

Hannerz, U. (1987) *'The world in creolisation,'* Africa 57: 546-59

Hannerz, U. (1996) *Transnational Connections. Culture, People, Places*. London. Routledge.

Home Office (2001) *Building Cohesive Communities*, London. HMSO.

Hussain, Asaf, Haq, Tim & Law, Bill (2003) *The Integrated Cities Report*: Studies in the History of Religious and Cultural Diversity 2, University of Leicester

Illis, P. & Hayers, P.K. (1997). *Managing diversity in transnational project teams: a tentative model and case study*. Journal of Managerial Psychology. 12, 2, 95-117.

Jacobs, Jane (1961/2000) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* London. Pimlico.

Jameson, Fredric (1991) *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London. Verso,

Kearns, A & Parkinson, M (2001) *The Significance of Neighbourhood*. Urban Studies, 38/12

Lazear E. (1995) *Culture and language*, NBER, Working Paper n.5249.

Liddle, Rod (2004) *How Islam Killed Multiculturalism*. The Spectator, 1 May.

Lucas R. E., (1988), *On the Mechanisms of Economic Development*, Journal of Monetary Economics, 22:3-42.

Malik, Kenan (2002) *Against Multiculturalism*. New Humanist. Summer.

Massey, D (1991) A global sense of place. Marxism Today

Modood, Tariq (2005) *Remaking multiculturalism after 7/7*. Open Democracy. 29 September

Montes, T. (2000). *The Diversity Challenge*. Ashridge Journal, Summer, 18-21.

Ogbu, J. (1995] *Cultural Problems in Minority Education: Their Interpretations and Consequences*, Urban Review 27

Ottaviano, Gianmarco and Peri, Giovanni (2004) *The economic value of cultural diversity: evidence from US cities*. FEEM, Milan

Ottaviano, Gianmarco and Peri, Giovanni (2005) *Rethinking the Gains from Immigration: Theory and Evidence from the US.* NBER Working Paper, 11672

Parekh, B. (2000) *The Future of Multiethnic Britain.* London. Runnymede Trust.

Phillips, Trevor (2004b) Speech at the Civil Service Race Equality Network Annual Lecture, 26 April.

Phillips, Trevor (2005) *After 7/7: Sleepwalking to segregation* speech given at the Manchester Council for Community Relations. *22 September*

Porter M.E., (1998), *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. London. Macmillan.

Putnam, R. (1993) *Making Democracy Work*. New York. Basic Books.

Qadeer, M. (1997) *Pluralistic planning for multicultural cities*. Journal of the American Planning Association 63 (4): 481-94.

Ram, M. and Smallbone, D. (2001), 'Ethnic Minority Enterprise: Policy in Practice', Leicester, De Montfort University and Small Business Service.

Ram, M, Smallbone, D, and Linneker, B (2002) *Assessing the Potential of Supplier Diversity Initiatives as a means of promoting diversification amongst Ethnic Minority businesses in the UK*. Final Report.

Richard, O.C. (2000). *Racial diversity, business strategy and firm performance: A resource based view*. Academy of Management Journal. 43, 2, 164-177.

Rogers, Everett M & Steinfatt, Thomas M (1999) *Intercultural Communication*. Prospect Heights. Waveland.

Rogers, Everett M (2003) *Diffusion of Innovations* (fifth edition). New York. Free Press.

Romer P. M., (1990), *Endogenous Technological Change*, *Journal of Political Economy*, 98(71-102).

Sandercock L.(1998) *Towards Cosmopolis* , Chichester: John Wiley.

Sandercock, L (2003a) *Integrating Immigrants: the challenge for cities, city governments and the city-building professions.* Vancouver Centre of Excellence RIIM Working Paper 03-20

Sandercock, L (2003b) *Reconsidering Multiculturalism: towards an intercultural project.* In Wood, Phil, The Intercultural City Reader. Comedia

Sandercock, L. (2004). *Cosmopolis 2: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century.* New York. Continuum,

Sassen S. (1994) *Cities in a World Economy.* Thousand Oaks. Pine Forge Press.

Stallybrass, P & White, A (1986) *The Politics of Transgression.* London. Methuen

Wallman Sandra (2003) *The Diversity of Diversity: Implications of the Form and Process of Localised Urban Systems*, Fondazione ENI Enrico Mattei Working Paper series, KNOW 76. 2003, www.feem.it/Feem/Pub/Publications/WPapers/default.html

Wood, Phil (2004) *The Intercultural City Reader.* Bournes Green. Comedia

Zachary, G Pascal (2003) *The Diversity Advantage: multicultural identity in the new world economy.* Boulder, Colorado. Westview Press.

Zukin, Sharon (1995) *The Culture of Cities.* New York. Blackwell.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – Commissioned Studies

APPENDIX 2 – Intercultural Innovation: interviews

APPENDIX 3 – Knowledge Questions

APPENDIX 4 - Measuring ethnic mixing and separation

APPENDIX 5 - Indicators of Openness and Interculturalism

APPENDIX 6 – How Open is Bristol?

APPENDIX 1

Commissioned studies which have contributed to The Intercultural City

THEME	AUTHOR	INSTITUTION	TITLE
ASYLUM SEEKERS AND REFUGEES	Adam Mornement	Freelance writer, London	*Asylum Seekers and Refugees*
BUSINESS	Lia Ghilardi	Noema Consulting, London	*The Contribution of Outsiders to Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Cities: The UK Case*
CITY GROWTH STRATEGIES	G Pascal Zachary	Stanford University, California	*Immigrants as Urban Saviors: when immigrants revive a city and when they don't – lessons from the United States*
CITY GROWTH STRATEGIES	Phil Wood	Comedia in association with University of Newcastle	*The Attraction and Retention of Migrants to the Tyne and Wear City Region*
CITY-WIDE INTERCULTURAL STRATEGY	Richard Brecknock	Brecknock Consulting, Australia	*A Meeting of People, A Well-spring of Ideas: case study of Auckland, New Zealand*
CITY-WIDE INTERCULTURAL STRATEGY	Benedicte Broegger & Petter Wiberg	Work Study Institute and Norconsult, Norway	*Drammen: Etnisk diversitet og nyskaping*
CITY-WIDE INTERCULTURAL STRATEGY	Benedicte Broegger & Petter Wiberg	Work Study Institute and Norconsult, Norway	*Oslo: Den flerkulturelle byen - etnisk mangfold og nyskaping*
COMMUNITY CONSULTATION	Tom Fleming	Comedia	*London Borough of Tower Hamlets: Intercultural Consultation for a Global City District*
CULTURAL LITERACY	Richard Brecknock	Brecknock Consulting, Australia	*Planning and Designing Through Intercultural Eyes*
DATA AND MEASUREMENT	Peter Kenway	New Policy Institute, London	*Measuring Interculturalism in the UK*

EDUCATION	Maurice Coles & Robert Vincent	School Development Support Agency, Leicester	*The Role Of Schools In Intercultural Education: Building A Cohesive Society*
INTERCULTURAL ACTORS	Jude Bloomfield	Comedia	*A Profile of Intercultural Innovators*
MASTERPLANNING	Richard Brecknock & Andy Howell	Comedia	*Knowing Lewisham: case study of the London Borough of Lewisham*
OPENNESS	Margie Caust & Jonathan Hyams	Comedia	*How Open Is Bristol? Case study of the city of Bristol*
PERFORMING ARTS	Naseem Khan	Freelance writer, London	*The Road to Interculturalism: interstate highway or dead alley? A study of the performing arts in the UK.*
POLICY	Jude Bloomfield	Comedia	*An Assessment of UK Government Policy from an Intercultural Perspective*
SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP	Lise Bisballe	University of Roskilde, Denmark	*Social Entrepreneurship as a Space for Intercultural Communication and Innovation*
SPORT	Charles Landry	Comedia in association with Loughborough University	*Sport as a space for interculturalism*
URBAN PLANNING	Richard Brecknock	Brecknock Consulting, Australia	*Interculturalism and the spatial, social and economic dynamics of settlement and population distribution: case study of Logan, Australia*

APPENDIX 2

Intercultural Innovation:
List of Interviewees and Dates of Interview

(all interviews carried out by Jude Bloomfield)

Bradford
Ali Mantle	10.01.06.
David Ford	14.12.05.
Elaine Apelbee	09.01.06.
Huwaran Hussain	09.01.06.
Muhammed Ali,	14.12.05.
Saleema Hafajee	09.01.06

Huddersfield and Oldham
Zenebu Hailu	16.11.05.
Adam Strickson	18.11.05.
Brian Cross	15.11.05
Cheryl Creaghan Roberts	
	17.11.05.
Muzahid Khan	16.11.05.

Newcastle
David Faulkner	18.07.05.
Said Mansoor	19.07.05.
Tina Gharavi	20.02.05.
Tom Caulker	19.07.05
Yve Ngoo	18.07.05.

Leicester
Assaf Hussain	22.11.05.
Franco Bianchini	29.11.05.
Maurice Coles	10.10.05.
Parvin Ali	21.11.05.
Paul Winstone	21.11.05.
Richard Bonney	21.11.05.
Rita Patel	29.11.05.
Stephen White	10.10.05.
Tim Haq	11.10.05.

Birmingham
Nadeem Malik	12.01.06.
Maza Dad	12.01.06.
Pialli Rai	12.01.06.

London
Ann Constantine	22.12.05
Geetie Singh	08.12.05.
Michael Keith	05.12.05
Rumman Ahmed	14.11.05.
Yaschar Ishmaelogu	13.12.05.

APPENDIX 3

Masterplanning and interculturalism: The Knowledge Questions

Indicative discussion with the community might evolve around:

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?

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?

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?

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?

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?

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?

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 quite time away from family or peer groups?

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?

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?

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 of main street as opposed
- to a shopping mall?

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?

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?

Talking about cultural expression
- do you feel that your physical environment expresses the cultural diversity of the local community – i.e. are there artwork, designs, signs and decorations that celebrate cultures?
- are there colours, designs and symbols which 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

The table below lists the 78 local authorities in England, Wales and Scotland – about a fifth of the total – who have an overall BME population level above the national average of 7%. For each, the table shows five pieces of information, namely the three percentages and the isolation ratio, as defined above 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 is the overall BME percentage, the more multicultural is the place; and

* the lower is the isolation ratio, the more intercultural is the place.

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

* 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 is 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 twelve.

* 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%) 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 the 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%, 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% but very different isolation ratios of 1.6 and 8.7.

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

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+
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+

City or area	BME % for White residents	Overall BME %	BME % for BME residents	Isolation Ratio	Region
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
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

City or area	BME % for White residents	Overall BME %	BME % for BME residents	Isolation Ratio	Region
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

APPENDIX 5 *Indicators of Openness and Interculturalism*

THE NATIONAL/FEDERAL LEVEL

	Indicators of openness	Indicators of interculturalism	Means of collection
Institutional Framework			
	easy access to citizenship		naturalisation rate;
	respect for international human rights		recognition of right of family reunion, government funding for language classes, support services on housing, jobs, (re)training healthcare, legal advice
	recognition of Geneva convention on refugees treatment of asylum-seekers integration policies		legal recognition, habeas corpus, no discretionary powers or detention centres, right of appeal
	national. plan for welcome and integration refugees		access to health/social welfare by refugees, recognition special needs health care, language needs, retraining/ requalification, safe housing, individual caseworkers
	race relations and anti-discrimination legislation		
	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 ethnic minority 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	
Business environment			
	business association policies addressing cultural diversity of workforce and human capital		
	growth of ethnic minority self-employment		
		recognition, training and remun-eration of skills of bi and multi-lingualism, intercultural literacy and innovation	intercultural business start-ups new products, services and processes
		Bursaries, competitions mentoring and funding of intercultural innovation	
		measuring and monitoring of intercultural innovation	
Civil Society and Services			
		incidence of mixed-marriages	via census
Public Space			
		national promotion of an intercultural planning model	via census

THE CITY LEVEL

	Indicators of openness	Indicators of interculturalism	Means of Collection
Institutional Framework			
	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		e.g. 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		socially and culturally mixed housing management policies observation/interviews via housing managers
	intercultural planning guidance		
	fostering cultural exchange and foreign language programmes		number of school children going abroad on exchange schemes and number coming services
		intercultural literacy training in public administration and institutions	
Business environment			
	ethnic diversity in managerial and professional positions in local workforce		
		new professions of intercultural mediation, animation, programming	monitoring jobs and job briefs

		throughout public services and cultural institutions	
Civil Society and Services			
	growing overlap between economic, social, cultural and civic networks		look at umbrella, inter- or joint associations, forums, consortia;
	growing ethnic mix in leadership positions public, private, voluntary. minorities and mainstream		holders of senior positions in top public and private sector organisations
		cross-cultural economic, social, cultural and civic networks	from observation and interviews on ethnically and culturally mixed business associations, social clubs, religious groups, political parties and movements
		inter-ethnic and inter-faith forums active role in shaping public services	
Public Space			
	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 ethnic minority 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 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 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 5 or 10 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:

- **The welcome:** Bristol is seen as welcoming and tolerant, as 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 whilst the city centre appears very monocultural.

- **Interaction and segregation:** There are complex network 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 with 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 through 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).

Endnotes

[1] Figures drawn from Beyond Black and White (2005) by Sarah Kyambi. IPPR.
[2] Favell, 1998, 4
[3] Favell, 2001
[4] See for example: Alibhai-Brown, 2000; Malik, 2002; Goodhart, 2004; Liddle, 2004; Phillips, 2004, 2005
[5] Cantle, 2005, 47
[6] Alibhai-Brown, 2000, 49
[7] Macdonald, I (1989) *Murder in the Playground: the Burnage Report*. Longsight Press.
[8] Cantle, 2001, 2005
[9] Parekh, 2000b; Amin, 2002
[10] Cox & Blake, 1991; Cox, 1994; Illis & Hayers, 1997; Montes, 2000; Richard, 2000
[11] Ram et al, 2002
[12] Zachary, 2003
[13] Florida, 2002, 2003, 2004; Ottaviano & Peri, 2004, 2005
[14] Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999
[15] Antal & Friedman, 2003
[16] Brecknock, 2006
[17] Jacobs, 1961; Hall & Landry, 1997; Hall, 2000
[18] *Bloomfield, Jude & Bianchini, Franco (2004)* Planning for the Intercultural City*. Comedia, Stroud.*
[19] Sandercock (1998, 2003)
[20] This section draws upon : *More Than Just a Bridge: Planning and Designing Culturally* (2006, forthcoming)by Richard Brecknock. Comedia, Stroud.
[21] Ogbu, J. [1995] *Cultural Problems in Minority Education: Their Interpretations and Consequences,* Urban Review 27
[22] Hall, E.T. [1990] *The Hidden Dimension*, Anchor Books, New York
[23] Massey (1991)
[24] Tom Fleming. (2006) London Borough of Tower Hamlets: Intercultural Consultation for a Global City District. Comedia
[25] This section draws upon original research for the Intercultural city conducted by Richard Brecknock and Andy Howell: *Knowing Lewisham*
[26] This section draws upon original research for the Intercultural City conducted by Lia Ghilardi: The Contribution of Outsiders to Entrepreneurship in Cities: The UK Case Study.
[27] Ram and Smallbone, 2001
[28] This section draws upon original research for the Intercultural City conducted by Maurice Coles and Robert Vincent
[29] This section draws upon research conducted for the Intercultural City by Naseem Khan: *The Road to Interculturalism: interstate highway or dead alley?*
[30] Edgar, Nick (2005). *Playing with Fire*: afterword', Hern Books
[31] Keith Khan interview with Munira Mirza at http://www.uel.ac.uk/risingeast/archive02/interviews/index.htm
[32] 'The Case for Contamination', K A Appiah, NY Times, 1.1.06.
[33] Comedia acknowledges the advice of Ian Henry in compiling this section
[34] Coalter, F (2004) *Sport and Social Inclusion*. Conference presentation in Sport and Multicultural Dialogue Conference, 2004. Paris: INSEP.

[35] *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

[36] www.sportengland.org/index/get_resources/vosm/ research_categories/social_cohesion.htm

[37] Three Lives – one identity, by Ziauddin Sardar. The Observer Sport Monthly, February 2006.

[38] Lucas, 1988; Romer, 1990

[39] Duranton & Puga, 2001

[40] Lazear, 1995

[41] Feldman & Audretsch, 1999

[42] Hall and Landry, 1997

[43] Rogers, 2003

[44] Gladwell, 2000

[45] http://www.statistics.gov.uk/focuson/ethnicity/

[46] See http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/ uk/2002/race/changing_face_of_britain.stm

[47] http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/YouGov_researchfindings.html

[48] Hannerz, 1996

[49] Wallman, 2003

[50] Parekh, 2000, 287-91

[51] Sandercock, 2003,162

[52] Ferrero, 2000

[53] Miliband, 2005

[54] http://www.scottishcarnivalarts.co.uk/

[55] Amin, 2002

[56] Bloomfield & Bianchini, 2004, 80-82

[57] Putnam, 1993; 2000

[58] Bloomfield & Bianchini, 2004, 38

[59] Derrida, 2001

[60] Interview Tina Garavi, 20.07.05; Bloomfield & Bianchini, 2004 for other examples 97-101