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A post-multicultural era? Diversification, cities and the politics of diversity

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Structure of talk

1. Cities becoming increasingly diverse & introduction of new policies

2. Main arguments

3. Methodological approach

4. Policy declarations vs, concrete activities

5. The role of the local level & the character of local policies

6. Conclusion

Cities are becoming more diverse

- Ongoing processes of diversification
  - http://media.mmg.mpg.de/
  - Variables to study 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007):
    - country of origin, migration channel, legal status, migrant's human capital, access to employment, locality, response by local authorities, service providers and local residents
- Research at the MPI MMG:
  - Global Divercities project, African cities, European cities

The introduction of diversity policies

Leeds   Antwerp   Amsterdam

Equality and diversity policy (2006)

Stedelijk Diversiteitsbeleid (2002)

Diversiteitsbeleid (1999)

Three main axes of enquiry

- ## Policy-making and implementation of policies
  - Puzzle: gap between what is being said and what is being done
  - ➤ *Schiller, M. (forthcoming) The implementation trap: the local level and diversity policies. (Special Issue: Theorizing the 'local turn') International Review of Administrative Sciences. 38 (2)*

- ## The role of the local level
  - Pragmatic combination of different paradigms
  - ➤ *Schiller, M. (2015) Paradigmatic pragmatism and the politics of diversity. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 38(7)*

- ## Reshaping the public official
  - Demands of authenticity & entrepreneurialism
  - ➤ *Schiller, M. (in preparation) Reshaping the public official: responses to the demand for authenticity and managerialism (Special Issue: How organisations respond to diversity: investigations at the local level) Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Within municipal organizations:

- **Ethnography of** local bureaucracies: 'Research traineeships'
- **Participant observation** of diversity departments: team meetings, canteen lunches, field visits, training & consultancy activities, team outings
- **Shadowing & interviews:** 'diversity officers', top managers, local politicians, local associations
- **Digital Archives & Shared folders** of diversity departments: Tracing of development of policies & institutional structures
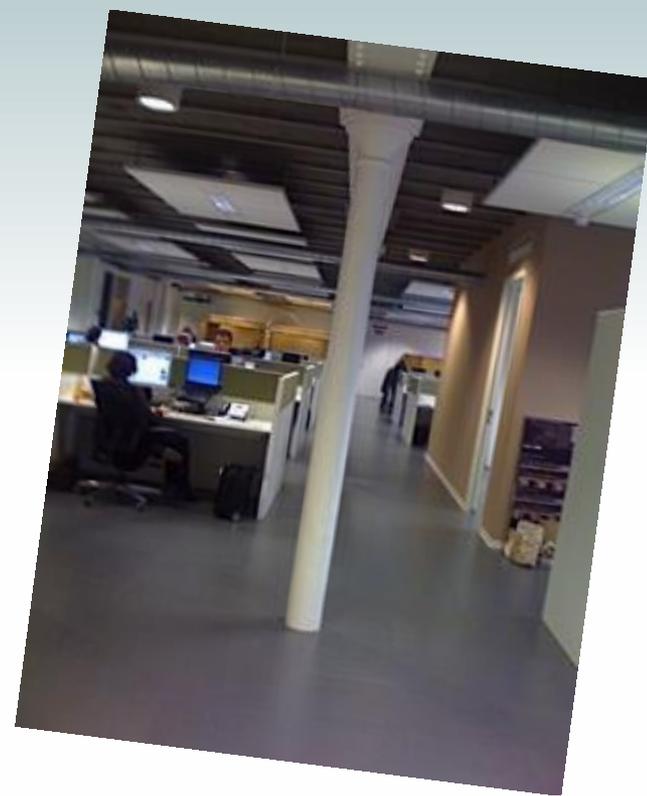
Similar definitions of diversity in policies

»Diversity as a characteristic of the local population

»Diversity as positive and profitable

»Diversity as focusing on the individual, integrating different categories (ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, dis-ability, etc.)

KEY PRINCIPLES	ANTWERP	AMSTERDAM	LEEDS
Diversity as characteristic of the local population	*The policy of the city targets all residents. They are nearly half a million of people that live together in the city, that have a lot in common, and that can also be quite different from each other.* (City of Antwerp 2008 Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008-12, p12)	*The last decennia the composition of the city has undergone a metamorphosis. Mainly the influx of people with a different ethnic background has resulted in visible changes in the streets.* ('The strength of a diverse city. Policy document 1999 p5)	*is a cosmopolitan city. It is a city of many cultures, languages, races, religions and lifestyles. It is a welcoming mix of very different neighbourhoods* (City of Leeds 2006 Equality and Diversity Strategy 2006-08, p.8)
Diversity as positive and profitable	*Difference has quite some advantages. People who are different look differently at problems and tackle them in their way. Thereby an offer becomes richer and more creative.* (City of Antwerp 2008 Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008-12, p14)	*The diversity in backgrounds, orientations and talents of Amsterdam's residents forms the human capital of the city. And this capital can, much better than now, be made use of.* (The strength of a diverse city, Policy document 1999 p.7, see also p. 18)	*We want to make sure that we take equality and diversity into account, in a positive way, at every stage of our work* (City of Leeds 2006 Equality and Diversity Strategy 2006-08, p.48) *skills and productivity… the need to recruit, retain and motivate the talent necessary to business growth.'* (City of Leeds 2006 Equality and Diversity Strategy 2006-08, p.12)
Diversity as focusing on the individual, integrating a number of categories	*Everyone is man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, queer or straight, believing or not, disabled or not…* (City of Antwerp 2008 Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008-12, p11)	*Amsterdam's population is not a sum of groups and categories but of individual citizens. Citizens who, each in their own way, are of particular meaning for the city. (…) It makes no longer sense to develop policy for THE homo, THE woman, THE ethnic minority member, THE person with a handicap, THE elderly. Experiences, chances and opportunities in society are not determined through one single difference, but through a mix of factors.* (City of Amsterdam, De kracht van een diverse stad)	*Diversity recognizes that people do not exist in neat and clearly definable groups and most people identify with more than one equality strand at a time.* (City of Leeds, Equality and Diversity Strategy 2006-08)

Diversity as characteristic of the local population

The last decennia the composition of the city has undergone a metamorphosis. Mainly the influx of people with a different ethnic background has resulted in visible changes in the streets.

(City of Amsterdam 1999 'The strength of a diverse city' p5)

Diversity as positive and profitable

Difference has quite some advantages. People who are different look differently at problems and tackle them in their way. Thereby an offer becomes richer and more creative.

(City of Antwerp 2008 Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008-12, p14)

Diversity as focusing on the individual, integrating a number of categories

Diversity recognizes that people do not exist in neat and clearly definable groups and most people identify with more than one equality strand at a time.

(City of Leeds 2006 Equality and Diversity Strategy 2006-08)

Activities of diversity departments

1. Advising other departments of the local administration
2. Carrying out thematic projects
3. Running consultative bodies (migrant councils, assemblies, etc.)
4. Funding civil society initiatives/associations
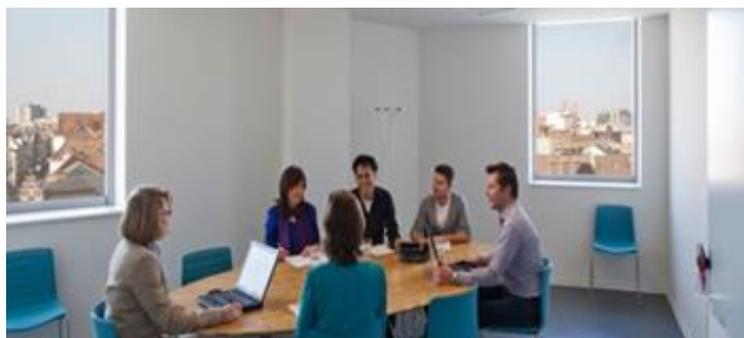
Activities of diversity departments

1. Advising other departments of the local administration
   - ➤ Successful with some departments, but not with others
2. Carrying out thematic projects
   - ➤ Often one category/problem group singled out
3. Running consultative bodies (migrant councils, assemblies, etc.)
   - ➤ Having a voice required deciding on the basis of what category or being selected as representative of a 'hard to reach-group'
4. Funding civil society initiatives/associations

An implementation gap?

Diversity as a fact	• Picked up by some departments of the city administration, not in others
Diversity as positive and productive	• Problem groups defined in external projects • Problem groups targeted in consultative bodies
Diversity as taking into account a variety of categories	• Often one category singled out – e.g. disability • Having a voice required to decide on the basis of which category

The 'local turn'

- The role of cities in multi-level governance of immigrant incorporation (Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero 2014, Jorgensen 2012)

- An increasing importance of cities in formulating their own responses to diversification (Borkert & Caponio 2010, Alexander 2007)

- Pragmatic character of local vs. paradigmatic character of national policies (Poppelaars & Scholten 2008, Scholten 2013)

The doctrine that an idea can be understood in terms of its practical consequences…

The theory that social and political problems should be dealt with primarily by practical methods adapted to the existing circumstances, rather than by methods which have been conformed to some ideology.

(Oxford English Dictionary)

Policy Frame	Policy Paradigm	Policy Principle	Policy Action

'Diversity'

Diversity →
- Positive approach to difference
- Profitability of difference
- Complexity of difference
- Value of individuality

→
- Introducing a more positive representation of difference
- Recruiting a diverse workforce
- Training and counseling staff to accommodate diversity

Multiculturalism →
- Desirability of equality
- Social relevance of culture

→
- Counseling services for specific languages/groups
- Subsidies for community organizations
- Including spokespersons in decision-making

Assimilation →
- Desirability of similarity
- Security and cohesion
- Civic virtues/Active citizenship

→
- Citizenship classes, tests and contracts
- Repression and control of undesired behavior
- Incentives or support for individual citizen initiatives

Equality and diversity sit side by side, because obviously equality is about equality of access and equal opportunity. Diversity is about recognizing that everyone's different.

So people often see them as clashing, but equality is not about giving everyone the same thing, because not everyone wants the same thing, men and women might have different needs in service provision, different communities or residents of different ethnic origin might have different needs. The equality aspect of it is whether they both have an equal chance of getting what they want. (Interview B2 369)

Policy programmes of Amsterdam's diversity policy (2011)	Reflected policy principle	Reflected policy paradigm
Civility	Civic virtues	Assimilation
Women's emancipation	(Gender) equality	Diversity
LGBT emancipation	(LGBT) equality	Diversity
Prevention of radicalization and anti-polarization	Security and cohesion	Assimilation
Anti-discrimination	Equality	Multiculturalism

And actually everything that the city does is targeted at the middle class. … This is where the entire budget is going to. They do want to work on diversity, … but if then ethnic minority people suddenly come, if poor people come, suddenly the atmosphere is changing. And actually they don't want it …. (Interview C6 169)

Conclusion

- Puzzle: what is being said and what is being done
  - ➢ Implications for evaluating policy success and policy backlash

- Pragmatic combination of different paradigms at the local level
  - ➢ Re-assessment of the role of the local level

Institutions matter:
Location of diversity units
in the municipal organization

Leeds

Central and Corporate Functions

Adult Social Services

Children's Services

City development

Environment and Neighbourhoods

Antwerp

District and counter services

Finance

Personnel management

Culture, sport and youth

Living together

Marketing and communication

Cultural heritage maintenance

Governance affairs

City development

City and neighbourhood maintenance

Amsterdam

Government service

Housing, Care and living together

Work and Income

Economic Affairs

Advice and Research

Basic information services

City Development

Societal development

Infrastructure and (Public) Transport

Facility management

Environment and construction control

Spatial organisation

City control

…

Merger of units…

	Units responsible for implementing policies to address societal difference(s) that preceded the establishment of diversity units	Units in 2009/10 responsible for implementing policies to address societal difference(s)
Amsterdam	• Ethnic minorities • Women & LGBT	Unit 'Burgerschap en diversiteit'
Antwerp	• Disability • Newly arrived migrants • Poverty • Women • Ethno-cultural minorities	Unit 'Diversiteitsmanagement'
Leeds	• Race/BME • Disability • Gender	'Equality and diversity' unit

…and reorganising teams

	Total number of officials working in diversity units at the time of my research	Officers directly taken over from preceding units and still working in diversity units at the time of my research
Amsterdam	14 officials	1 official from ethnic minorities unit No officials from women and LGBT unit
Antwerp	14 officials	No officials from disability unit 2 officials from unit for newly arrived migrants 3 officials from unit working on poverty No officials from women's unit No officials from ethno-cultural minorities unit
Leeds	8 officials	No officials from race/BME unit No officials from disability unit No officials from gender unit

You have to choose, for example when it is about the topic of health and diabetes, which groups have more diabetes than the average citizen. And these groups you then have to work on, I find. … Choosing to work on a specific target group is, if you ask me, beneficial for diversity. (Interview C12 249)

You have to work on two tracks. On the one hand, how can you facilitate encounters, how can you create a better understanding of people for each other, how can you emphasize diversity in a positive manner? And at the same time: how can you work on the integration of groups that lag behind? Thus a policy that is addressing deficits is still necessary, and how can you work on the difficult issues. Thus these were all elements that came back in that.
(Interview A6 162)

CENTRAL PRINCIPLES	ANTWERP	AMSTERDAM	LEEDS
Diversity as a fact	'The policy of the city targets all residents. They are nearly half a million of people that live together in the city, that have a lot in common, and that can also be quite different from each other.' (SA 2008, 12)	'Also the last decennia the composition of the city has undergone a metamorphosis. Mainly the influx of people with a different ethnic background has resulted in visible changes in the streets.' ('GA 1999, 5)	'is a cosmopolitan city. It is a city of many cultures, languages, races, religions and lifestyles. It is a welcoming mix of very different neighbourhoods' (LCC 2006, 8)
Diversity as positive	'Difference has quite some advantages. People who are different look differently at problems and tackle them in their way. Thereby an offer becomes richer and more creative.' (SA 2008, 14)	'It is not all about grief and agony, it is not only misery, but it is also a lot about what diversity adds to the city.' (Interview A6 50)	'We want to make sure that we take equality and diversity into account, in a positive way, at every stage of our work' (LCC 2006, 48)
Diversity as profitable	'Dealing with diversity might not always be easy, but diversity for a city as Antwerp can also be an asset' (SA 2008, 14)	'The diversity in backgrounds, orientations and talents of Amsterdam's residents forms the human capital of the city. And this capital can, much better than now, be made use of.' (GA 1999, 18)	'skills and productivity... the need to recruit, retain and motivate the talent necessary to business growth.' (LCC 2006, 12)
Diversity as focusing on the individual, taking into account a number of categories	Everyone is man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, queer or straight, believing or not, disabled or not... (SA 2008, 11)	'Amsterdam's population is not a sum of groups and categories but of individual citizens. Citizens who, each in their own way, are of particular meaning for the city.' (GA 1999, 3) It makes no longer sense to develop policy for THE homo, THE woman, THE ethnic minority member, THE person with a handicap, THE elderly. Experiences, chances and opportunities in society are not determined through one single difference, but through a mix of factors. (GA 1999, 8)	Diversity recognizes that people do not exist in neat and clearly definable groups and most people identify with more than one equality strand at a time. (LCC 2006 5) I think it is really hard to work in silos (...) you know, like I could fit into anything. I could fit into woman, I could fit into BME, disabled, lesbian, everything. You know, I can't say I look at my needs separately. (Interview B5 181)

1. PARADIGMATIC PRAGMATISM

I. INSTITUTIONS MATTER

1. Advising other departments of the local administration

➢ **Successful with some departments, but not with others**

➢ **Position in institutional hierarchy matters**

Amsterdam
Government service
Housing, Care and living together
Work and Income
Economic Affairs
Advice and Research
Basic information services
City Development
Societal development
Infrastructure and (Public) Transport
Facility management
Environment and construction control
Spatial organisation
City control
…

Antwerp
District and counter services
Finance
Personnel management
Culture, sport and youth
Living together
Marketing and communication
Cultural heritage maintenance
Governance affairs
City development
City and neighborhood maintenance

Leeds
Central and Corporate Functions
Adult Social Services
Children's Services
City development
Environment and Neighbourhoods

II. Carrying out thematic projects

➢ Often one category/problem group singled out – e.g. disability

	Preceding units	Diversity units (as in 2010/11)
Amsterdam	• Ethnic minorities • Women & LGBT	Unit 'Burgerschap en diversiteit'
Antwerp	• Disability • Newly arrived migrants • Poverty • Women • Ethno-cultural minorities	Unit 'Diversiteitsmanagement'
Leeds	• Race/BME • Disability • Gender	'Equality and diversity' unit

Introduction

- Ongoing processes of diversification
  - challenging local policy-makers
- Change of discourses and policies
  - National vs. local level
  - 'crisis of multiculturalism' & 'diversity policies'
- Only a buzzword?
  - Similar ideas in different cities. Different concepts and structures in the past. New departments and teams.
- Hypothesis:
  - Similarity of local responses to diversification

And actually everything that the city does is targeted at the middle class. … This is where the entire budget is going to. They do want to work on diversity, … but if then ethnic minority people suddenly come, if poor people come, suddenly the atmosphere is changing. And actually they don't want it [that they come], because the middle class is sensitive to that. Ethnic minority people may come, as long as they belong also to the middle class, workers may come, but they have to fit into our middle class pattern …, everyone may come, but we don't change our concept. because we middle class want that everything stays as it was. And sometimes I would really wish that it [diversity policy] was for everyone. (Interview C6 169)