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# **INTEGRATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE CITIES OF THE REGENERA NETWORK**

Final report

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## PRELIMINARIES

### 1. Ethnic minorities: what do we mean?<sup>1</sup>

Without having the same meaning everywhere, the expression *ethnic minorities* is used more and more frequently in Europe (only France and to a lesser extent Germany criticise this term).

- In the United Kingdom "**black and minority ethnic (BME) people**" is used to denote all the ethnic minorities who emigrated from the "New Commonwealth" or who are descended from immigrants installed in the United Kingdom. Travellers are also included in "BME people",
- France is a country in which there is, officially, no minority and the expressions "immigrants", "nationals" or "citizens" are preferred. On occasion, to avoid using the term ethnic minority, **population deriving from immigration**, is used, even if this goes back 4 or 5 generations.
- The approach in terms of ethnic minorities is not part of German tradition. Germany has made it clear that it recognises the title "**national minority**" for Danes and Sorabians alone, and attributes the title "**ethnic group**" to the communities traditionally established in Germany, the Frisians and the Sinti/Roms, with German nationality. But Germany does not extend this recognition to communities deriving from immigration, who are supposed to be in Germany on a temporary basis,
- In the Netherlands the notion of ethnic minority made its appearance in the early eighties. Today **the Netherlands officially recognises several minorities** (Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans, etc.), each one with its own institutions.  
A commonly-accepted definition states the following: "**Ethnic minorities is a term denoting populations who belong to one of the ethnic groups and who are structurally in an underrated position from the social and economic standpoints within Dutch society**". The consequence of this definition is that Groups can move in and out of this category according to changes in their social and economic level. So immigrants from southern Europe have no longer been considered as belonging to ethnic minorities since the end of the nineties,
- In Italy, the term "**minoranza etniche**" is used either for the historic minorities of the country (Germans from the South Tyrol or Occitans, etc.), or for more recent foreign immigrants. For the latter, common parlance prefers the term "community" ("**comunità**"), or "Muslims" or "Africans" depending on the groups that are being designated,
- In Hungary, the Hungarian constitution of December 31st 1990 recognises national, religious and ethnic minorities. The right to national or ethnic identity is "an elementary right which is due to individuals and communities alike",

These semantic clarifications having been made, we will, for simplicity's sake, use the term ethnic minorities in this document.

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<sup>1</sup> Source : Stéphane Bienvenue, Cédric Polère in « les modèles d'intégration à l'épreuve des faits dans les villes européennes ». Cahiers Millénaire3 – Grand Lyon – November 2003  
Rapport final – REGENERA – Minorités ethniques – Stéphane Bienvenue

## 2. The national frameworks

The national framework must also be made clear in these preliminaries, as we are not always talking about the same thing in Germany or in Spain as far as what might be called the integration policies for foreigners and ethnic minorities are concerned.

Integration is defined here as equal opportunity, accompanied by awareness or recognition of cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. And we should even add the feeling of belonging to the society which accommodates us, or that in which we were born, and of being able to contribute to the building of a common destiny.

- In Italy, national law imposes a general framework for integrating immigrants, but entrusts the management of integration actions to local authorities, national funding being amply transferred to the regions who then distribute them to the provinces and the towns (who in turn finance associations). The main failing of these transfers can sometimes be that they are spread too thinly, while the need for a coherent approach from associations who often do the same work for the same public can often be felt.
- In the United Kingdom, Commonwealth citizens have the same voting rights and the same right to be employed in the civil service as nationals. The law provides the same protection for ethnic minorities as it does for all individuals in civil and penal matters, by means of the decree on interracial relations, which has made discrimination illegal since 1976. In addition, there has been a legal obligation since 2002 to promote equality between races. Cities and other authorities are under obligation to design and develop projects for racial equality. This legal obligation has meant that a number of local authorities have developed their own equal opportunity schemes.
- In the Netherlands, the ethnic minority policy has a three-fold basis:
  - a. a restrictive immigration policy, but the naturalisation procedure is facilitated.
  - b. government and local authorities are showing determination to improve immigrant integration into Dutch society by reinforcing their legal status and fighting against their social "backwardness".
  - c. a policy which aims to enhance (through awareness and recognition) the cultural identity of ethnic minorities so as to make it easier for them to integrate.

One of the first recurrent observations made by the REGENERA network cities is this ability, or even right, to experiment demonstrated by Dutch cities. This is due to a decentralisation policy enforced since the seventies by the government who was quick to realise that, as they were the ones who were directly confronted by the problems, the municipalities were in a better position to grasp and even to anticipate the problems relating to ethnic minorities, particularly in the social sector. What could be translated as the "well-being" law was, in 1987, the legislative outcome of a succession of political discussions on decentralisation.

This law made municipalities more responsible for implementing the policy with an equal sharing of responsibilities. Municipalities were free to formulate special regulations within the framework of the said law and to implement the social policy.

- The little experience that Spain has had as a country accommodating immigrants in conjunction with a sudden wave of immigration on a large scale explains a certain amount of confusion as to the integration model to be applied. The strategy has mostly involved leaving the responsibility for integration to the immigrants themselves and to meet with their basic needs from a social standpoint. Civil society has played an important role in putting the problem on the political agenda, as have certain local authorities who have had to deal with the problems posed by this new situation. In 2001, the government set up a Forum for immigrant social integration.

- In France, integration is a woolly concept with multiple meanings. France still has a hard time considering that there exist problems of an ethnic nature standing in the way of minority integration. The difficulties that the minorities encounter are said to be the result of social problems that they have in common with French people of the same social rank. This approach has until very recently tended to obscure racial and ethnic discrimination. The integration policy is essentially defined by the State, but a great many departments and organisations are involved too. It is implemented via the *Politique de la Ville* (City Policy - a public social-urban development procedure aimed at re-qualifying the areas in greatest difficulty) and, more recently, the *Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations* (Authority for Fighting against Discrimination).
- Germany has never considered itself as an immigration country. The notion of "guest workers" did not imply the future problem of integration, since it was believed that once their contract came to an end the immigrant workers would return to their own country. German policies were implemented in response to social questions, such as schooling for children from minority backgrounds or the difficult situation of the job market, but these did not create the concept of integration. This changed in 2003, when the law on immigration was applied. Provision was made for each new immigrant to have 600 hours of German lessons and 30 hours of training to integrate into German society. In Germany, integration is implemented at the most local level, decentralised from the Länder and made more effective via work and housing, whilst gaining command of the language is sometimes a cause for concern. A debate exists in the country around the concepts of assimilation and integration. With the ambiguous position of the authorities who proclaim that foreigners should integrate (by learning German, for example), but without becoming assimilated (cultural practices are respected and valued), the practical limits of such a discourse are soon reached, particularly when cultural values come into conflict with individual freedom (particularly that of women)

## 1. DIAGNOSIS

Overall, it is essential to recognise that local situations impose a political pragmatism that often overrides national models, while in many of the areas visited in the network integration is progressing, despite unemployment and discrimination.

First of all, the cities showed us projects in specific areas that are undergoing in-depth urban renewal programmes and in which underprivileged populations, ethnic minorities and conflicts between communities are concentrated in greater numbers than elsewhere. A number of criteria have been used to justify making over these areas and highlighting the observations set out below:

**THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF SANTA COLOMA DE GRAMENET:** Certain areas have seen a significant deterioration in public facilities as a result of lack of investment over the years: few sports or cultural facilities, deterioration of private housing (there is no public housing). This deterioration led to the original population being replaced by a poorer population, often not from the European Union. With 7% in the eighties, the population of these areas today totals 50% of foreigners. The housing itself has deteriorated as it was mass-produced from inferior quality materials to meet with the massive influx of people from other regions of Spain starting in the fifties. It is for this very reason that the price of housing has always been below average for the town, encouraging the concentration of the immigrant population. The authorities attempted to reduce the departure of locals by means of incentive policies for young people (low-cost housing), with little result for the moment.

**THE SOUTH EAST DISTRICTS OF SAINT ETIENNE:** These areas were chosen for the urban problems (much housing vacant) and social problems (much of the resident population is destitute) that affected them. A diagnosis cross-referencing housing obsolescence and social indicators was drawn up during the year 2000 based on housing blocks in the city. The four areas selected are those which accumulated the worst housing problems and the highest concentrations of socially fragile people (this last was assessed using four social indicators: schooling, the number of potential workers with no declared activity, the number of people with basic welfare benefits and the number of people from immigrant families).

**THE GORBALS DISTRICT OF GLASGOW:** In the early eighties, this area was not in equilibrium, with resident protests and rent strikes, and the overall condition of housing stock led to its demolition leaving a 40 acre gap-site (1981). It was recognised that only a partnership approach would work provided the necessary commitment of resources was made. The failure of the post-war comprehensive development area required a more sensitive approach and an appropriate master-planning model for housing-led regeneration

**MAGDOLNA IN BUDAPEST:** The Magdolna quarter is one of the neighbourhood-quarters of Jozefvaros. This was always the poorest part of the city, due to the railway station at which poor people, coming for work to Budapest, arrived from the Great Plain. There was also a Jewish character. Roma musician families have lived here since WWI. Today the Roma population is multi-layered, with middle class musicians. The proportion of people with a university degree is only 6%. Unemployment is at 12%, with 42% of the population living in public rental flats. The Roma population accounts for 30%. The Chinese population was also increasing due to the Chinese market nearby. The physical structure is run down: 55% of flats have only one room. Most of the buildings (built 100-120 years ago) have never been comprehensively renovated – neither as private rental housing, nor after nationalisation. Some 50% of the buildings were turned into condominiums after 1990 but the most owners are poor and have no opportunity to renovate. Public spaces are in bad shape: many empty infills are abandoned, the streets need repair and are dirty. Schools of the wider area have a 35-40 % gipsy population.

**SAN SALVARIO IN TORINO:** An area of 12.000 inhabitants close to the main railway station, with predominantly private buildings, gradually deteriorating buildings and an increase in the population of foreigners. The inhabitants are protesting against the ever-worsening conditions from the physical, urban,

social and economic standpoints. In 1996, the NGO Cicsene carried out a "feasibility study on proposals for re-qualifying the San Salvario area", which brought to light the difficulties of the area: there emerges a picture of deteriorated housing, economic recession, increased social and cultural marginalisation and increased conflicts affecting the ever-increasing number of foreign citizens.

These are the general observations that can be made in the areas visited, which require local authorities to implement urban renewal and social development policies.

## **1. POPULATING AND HOUSING**

Housing is the "*first mixing level*", where the sociability of the neighbourhood can be measured. In a significant number of European cities, housing is one of the main areas which give expression to segregation – the transposition onto the urban scene of social inequality- and also ethnic discrimination, both in the public and in the private housing sector.

As a general rule, ethnic minorities are less well housed than the average, and they tend to concentrate in certain areas of cities, leading to withdrawal and segregation phenomena (whether these areas are in the city centre of Torino or the outskirts of Lyon).

These withdrawal phenomena (known as "aggregation" in more well-off populations who also group together in specific areas) sometimes lead to "ghettoisation" and "communitisation", made worse by inadequate and complicated mobility and difficulties of access.

## **2. EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Underprivileged areas in which ethnic minorities are concentrated also suffer from economic development which does not take advantage of the competitiveness of the city centres, plunging these areas into deeper unemployment (more so among the ethnic minorities).

Occupational integration and employment are essential for integration (the United Kingdom bases its integration on professional success). A large number of ethnic minorities are confronted with discrimination at the hiring stage and with insecure and poorly-paid jobs. The rate of unemployment for them is higher than for the rest of the population, while lack of mobility makes it hard for them to move to other employment catchment areas and the negative image of the areas where they live fails to tempt investors.

## **3. LOCAL DEMOCRACY**

Over and above common instances of local democracy (from information to shared decision-making), ethnic minorities' participation in local policy traditionally takes two forms: action as part of an association and exerting their right to vote.

Globally, in all European cities, advisory systems for ethnic minorities have the role of representing their community with the local authorities. In a number of cities, these organisations have been criticised for their lack of influence and their failure to truly represent these minorities. To this must be added the fact that they do not participate fully in the various elections and tend to rest on the sidelines as far as institutions are concerned. Finally, between managing the representation of foreigners on a community basis (Netherlands, England, etc.) and a common-law social policy (Germany and France) there are a number of drawbacks and each European city involved attempts to find a happy medium between these two trends.

Associative action is based on the traditional structure of the host country, whereas more and more communities tend to delegate the management of special activities for immigrants to associations and to encourage these population groups to self-organise. The issue is then one of the degree of withdrawal from the community and how these associations fit into the social fabric.

#### **4. EDUCATION**

School failure is much higher in ethnic minorities, particularly for women; this results from leaving the school system at an early age, a poor command of the language of the host country, major cultural differences and difficulty in obtaining training throughout their life.

All the cities come to the conclusion that inequalities in education between the different social groups persist: the level of the most underprivileged pupils, and particularly those from ethnic minority families, has progressed less - or not at all - in comparison with the others, and achievement at school remains the lowest in those categories.

The cities also have to cope with the emergence of a category of pupils that have become "excluded from the inside" (truants, dropouts).

The links between a district and its principle institution (the school) crumble away as pauperisation and wholesale adoption of avoidance behaviour progresses.

The cities observe the development of "school segregation" via a process of physical, social and symbolic separation of populations of pupils according to characteristics involving either the populations themselves or local contexts: it has been shown that a minority of schools, and particularly those for 12-15 year-olds, are concentrating an ever-increasing proportion of pupils in difficulty.

#### **5. SOCIAL WELFARE, SOCIAL QUALITY AND HEALTH**

*Definition: Social quality means equal access for all to all vital areas of society (housing, taking part in economic activities, culture, social welfare, being accepted, etc.), a good quality of life on a daily basis and a good life expectancy.*

Access to health care is very uneven, and lower in underprivileged districts, particularly for ethnic minorities; this leads to more serious health problems and a rate of recovery from certain pathologies that is lower than elsewhere.

In many districts in the REGENERA network cities, major socially related health inequalities persist or are even becoming worse, especially amongst ethnic minorities. One of the main explanations might be the existence of cultural barriers which, over and above financial barriers, explain that the poorest populations tend less to have recourse to health care, or at least do so later, because they are less aware of how the healthcare system works, or because they have a different relationship with the body and with sickness. Other obstacles may originate in the effective availability of services for the patient and in decisions made by those in the healthcare professions.

In this way, all the REGENERA cities have explained that sickness insurance companies, doctors and health services tend to withdraw from these districts, with dramatic consequences for the inhabitants. The cities have also laid stress on discrimination phenomena, extending even to healthcare, such as differences in treatment (refusal to treat or delay in treating, dissuasive procedures, offensive or even racist comments, discriminating or culturally-based systems, etc.).

#### **6. THE NEGATIVE IMAGE**

The reality and the image of the districts in the REGENERA cities provoke a great many reactions in the areas involved (from the inhabitants or those present in such areas), but also on the outside, in other parts of the city. These reactions take the following forms: certain difficulties in choosing the right terms (underprivileged area, ghetto, sensitive zone, socially underprivileged population, population in difficulty, immigrants, ethnic minorities, etc.), articles, comments or analyses ranging from racist and degrading stigmatisation to a totally positive and non-critical qualification, with all possible gradations between these two extremes. The impact of these positive or negative images obviously influences the way these areas are perceived for the inhabitants, neighbours and also people who are less directly involved in the rest of the urban area. These negative images also impact the way the inhabitants see themselves, leading to withdrawal, loss of confidence, disparagement, and stifling any hope of self-fulfilment.

## 7. SECURITY AND PEACE OF MIND

Insecurity has become one of the major preoccupation of many European cities which are confronted with increased violence, delinquency – particularly juvenile – and both petty and serious crime. This situation is due to a number of factors: financial uncertainty, unemployment, withdrawal of the welfare state, loss of interest in school and culture, changes in the family unit, social exclusion, constant pressure from consumerism, or town planning strategies that are ill-suited to harmonious integration of populations of immigrant families. Here are some of the observations made by the cities:

- **Danger of segregation of populations and areas.** These types of segregation sometimes lead to a refusal, or fear of, others, particularly of differences related to race, skin colour or religion. Rudeness and crimes having to do with refusing to accept differences seem to be a constant feature in the cities in the network. Even though this type of criminality is not major in terms of frequency, it does send out an extremely serious message to our societies.

- **Difficulty for certain young people to find their place in society.** The age groups concerned show that it is generally young people who are more involved in deviant behaviour, both as victims and perpetrators. Insecurity is digging a ditch between the generations.

- **Crises and economic decline.** All the cities agree that risks arising from worsening social and economic conditions are on the increase. But poverty in itself is not a factor influencing incivilities or crime. There is, however, a significant participation in criminal activities by people from underprivileged environments.

- **Organised crime and local connections.** All the cities draw attention to the fact that a criminal economy involving drugs and dealing, etc., and based on local and international criminal organisations acts as a backcloth to ordinary, day-to-day criminality.

- **The many causes of delinquency.** A young person leaving the education system, rubbing shoulders with deviants, living in a complicated family environment, and failing to understand the ins and outs of the services that could help him has more chance of succumbing to forms of delinquency.

All the cities in the network, have shown, by their experience, that "simply" reducing the question of security to that of "urban violence", which is merely one of the consequences, if also one of the causes - doubtless one of the most visible – of insecurity in our cities, should be avoided. The cities have thus relocated this topic of insecurity within the broader one of protection. Civil protection guarantees fundamental freedom, security and safety within the framework of a constitutional state. Finally, all the cities, whatever their competency for dealing with security-related questions, reiterate the major role of the State in protecting its citizens.

## 8. CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The problems of "living together" that sometimes arise in the so-called problem areas of our cities are often related to the difficulty that the authorities encounter in understanding cultural differences arising from the diversity of the communities who live together there. By communities, we here mean populations and the groups to which they may refer (this can extend from the local community in an area of the city to the ethnic or religious community, obviously not forgetting the indigenous or majority communities, since the ethnic community does not refer only to the foreign community or the community with its origins abroad, whereas the religious community concerns all religions). Although an improvement in their situation and employment perspectives have a direct impact on their integration, developing equal opportunities and harmonious relations between different ethnic groups in the workplace also plays a key role. All the cities in the REGENERA network expressed fears of community withdrawal (as a result of ignorance of the other or through lack of awareness or recognition), the risk of either stereotyping the individual on the basis of his community identity, or, at the other extreme, assimilating him into a system that is indifferent to difference, and the role of religions and religious authorities, both on the question of relations between communities and "living together", and on their own influence with regard to local authorities .

## **2. STRATEGIES AND OBJECTIVES**

From the mid-seventies (and since more recently for Italy or Spain), European countries have been moving from the difficulties related to immigration to questioning about the integration of ethnic minorities. Over and above the different historical and political legacies and the various instruments used, the objective has been more or less the same in our European cities: a better quality of "living together" for the resident populations.

These shared legacies and objectives are helping to shape integration policies that are to a greater or lesser extent different from one another, but which have in common a large dose of pragmatism. So there is no one assimilation oriented or one community oriented "model", such is the influence of history (both colonial and economic), the conceptions of social cohesion, the populations involved and the vividness of local situations on the particular form of social cohesion. European cities are therefore the most complex, but at the same time the most real framework for the ambiguity of integration policies that can be caricatured by looking through two seemingly ideologically-opposed lenses, which, however, can be seen to interpenetrate in all the actions carried out by the cities: giving priority to collective identities, at the risk of arriving at *de facto* segregation, or giving priority to individual integration at the risk of leading to ignorance of the discrimination that people have undergone and failure to recognise inherited identities.

It is therefore between these two stumbling blocks that local integration policies are defined and directed in European cities.

On the whole, European cities are attempting to drive an integrated policy to provide a coherent answer to the problems relating to ethnic minority integration. The regeneration policies presented during networking exchanges are all extremely area-based, and feature integrated and transverse operations which act simultaneously on all the necessary fronts (urban, social, economic and cultural). The main aim is to connect these life spaces and their inhabitants to broader areas, by attempting to open them up to new activities and new inhabitants while at the same time enabling collective and individual successes for the existing inhabitants.

The main topics involving the integration of ethnic minorities that the cities in the network are attempting, through various projects, to deal with are as follows:

- **Populating and housing:** Fighting both deterioration and excessive concentrations of ethnic minorities or underprivileged populations in these areas are two major objectives, the scope and scale of which varies from one European city to another. Politicians in the REGENERA network cities have therefore taken two directions (driven by a national policy which often provides an unavoidable reference and legal framework): attempting to mix populations and renovating the most deprived areas. In European cities three more or less clearly stated policies are being developed to attain these ends: imposing social mix quotas (even though other expressions are used in certain countries), allocating council housing and intervening on the housing markets. The ultimate aim is to standardise these areas.
- **Employment and economic development:** In all European cities of the REGENERA network, policies for assisting integration by means of the development of special training, and policies to combat discrimination when hiring are the two major trends, even if these are not as well developed everywhere (in France, for example, discrimination has only really been recognised since 1998). Although an improvement in their situation and the employment perspectives of these populations has a direct impact on their integration, establishing equal opportunities and economic development in difficult areas also play a key role.
- **Local democracy:** The development of participating democracy (with different scales of involvement from city to city) and a general trend for all cities in the network to work towards enabling the "have-nots" (no papers, no vote, no job, etc.), amongst whom ethnic minorities are over-represented, to acquire a role in the area, and even to attain citizenship (with the right to vote in local elections in certain cities or have a seat on an advisory board). For the authorities, the challenge is to involve the inhabitants as much as possible in programmes and projects which have an impact on their daily life

and on their area. Those involved locally are today questioning the stakes and the mechanisms by which the inhabitants can be led to participate as citizens, especially the most underprivileged. An integrated strategy needs to be adopted to promote the participation of people in situations of poverty and social exclusion, for excluded communities' lack of involvement also dangerously weakens policy implementation and leads to withdrawal.

- **Education:** The cities in the network think of education as a set of directions taken by children – or that they are made to take – until they reach adulthood, but their objective is to allow for lifelong education by means of in-service training strategies. The cities also look at education from an area-based standpoint, as a factor enabling socialisation, played out on many other scenes than the classroom, at other times and with other people. Education is thus an issue which is tackled by means of joint action by all those involved in a given area. A run-down school can have serious repercussions on everything that goes to make up a local district and its future; similarly, the deterioration of a district profoundly influences the school and its education policies. The cities also aim to give more say to parents and families, by taking into account specific cultural features. Finally, their ambition is for education to help towards more openness by fostering mobility and encounters with others, and waging war against segregation.
- **Health:** The aim for the cities is often to organise themselves as well as they can to intervene in social welfare work, even though this is an area which depends on a national framework and competences, while nevertheless requiring local intervention, especially in those areas where the populations are more at risk than elsewhere (this is where the integrated approach comes into its own). All the cities made clear their desire to associate healthcare with urban renewal, together with the relationship between social deficiency and sanitary conditions. The importance of developing awareness that health services exist and how to gain access to them via broader social integration is a clearly identified strategy in the city areas of the REGENERA network. Taking cultural differences into account in professional work, training and the necessary skills are all aspects that, at the very least, give the cities food for thought in their political approach. Municipalities generally coordinate the different healthcare actions carried out in their districts. A certain number of cities feel that it is essential to link up the action of medical services to that of other sectors such as social assistance. It is important that the medical treatment *stricto sensu* of an illness should take the patient's mental and psychological difficulties into account.
- **Image:** The objective is to break free from general condemnations and make it understood that daily life is more diverse and more complex than that. This involves making people aware of the positive experiences and the potential of these areas, by bringing social and urban successes to light. It is essential that people feel that they belong equitably and with dignity to the same city or to the same conurbation as any other citizen. The creation of a shared memory and an identity founded on positive and constructive emotions also contributes to changing the perception of the life space. This modifies not only our self-perception, but also the way in which a society as a whole sees itself.
- **Security:** The cities have written their fight against insecurity into their urban rehabilitation and social development programmes so as to respond to the causes and effects of insecurity. The first step towards finding a long-term solution to security-related questions is to reduce inequality and develop emancipating social policies. However, as things stand today, with a number of deviant or even criminal situations, some repression is inevitable. So preventing criminality, collectively occupying public space, developing new jobs in the field of security and prevention, while interfacing with all those involved are the main strategies in the fight against insecurity. A satisfactory answer to these challenges can result only from concerted action by all involved – schools, lay people, justice, national and local authorities – who will ensure that local action is integrated with global initiatives aiming to rebuild the economic and social fabric. Finally, intervention in the field of security policies implies focusing on the relations between institutions and on the contradiction between collective and individual interests. While security is a collective commodity, the perception of security or insecurity is, in contrast, often formulated in individual terms. The request for security is far from

being an abstract one and in no way corresponds to the sector-based logic of the administration and the authorities.

In **Glasgow a 2000-2005 strategic plan** was created for the town, one of the 5 major topics of which was "making Glasgow a safer place"; this is perfectly integrated with the other topics. The city of Glasgow has in fact restructured its services to make them more operational and transversal.

14 forums were created throughout the city, through which inhabitants, associations, municipal services and all departments involved in this topic can meet and prepare action plans which are then presented to the safety department. This relationship with the inhabitant has also been highlighted by creating a review which provides information on work in progress and projects.

The main programmes implemented by the public institutions are as follows:

A programme to combat vandalism against public places and facilities.

A home-safety programme (40% of fatal accidents are caused in the home), including provision of safety equipment (electrical installation, heating, etc.).

Services for young people to educate them in safety-conscious behaviour (a safety training centre has been set up).

Active and passive facilities for dissuading delinquency feature largely in the management of public places: safety patrols throughout the city and 500 surveillance cameras are in permanent operation.

- **Cultural diversity:** All the cities feel that they are being tribalised and fragmented by social, ethnic, economic and religious groups. A prime objective on the way to improving "living together" is to enhance cultural diversity by improved awareness and recognition (which obviously means different things in different countries) of cultures. This involves a clearer interpretation of cultural diversity in public places (places of worship, cultural centres, associations, etc.), support for community or inter-community associations and increasing the number of social and cultural activities that allow people to meet and exchange views. Clearly, and just as strongly, the cities are attempting to avoid exacerbated forms of community withdrawal (to varying degrees from city to city). Where certain strategies diverge is obviously in the amount of community independence, responsibility and representativeness.

Certain cities, such as **Santa Coloma de Gramenet** or **Birmingham**, are attempting to boost an overall strategy on the question of ethnic minorities:

The objective of the project is to standardise this part of the area in relation to the rest of the city. It is held that the cohesion of the whole requires the cohesion of a part (the areas in question). The **Santa Coloma de Gramenet** "Pla de Convivència" (Cohabitation plan) is the participative, transverse, local tool which allows the municipality to manage diversity and the repercussions of the great concentration of foreigners who arrived in the space of a few years and in huge numbers in certain areas of the city.

**The criteria and characteristics involved in managing diversity in Santa Coloma are as follows:**

- take the population as a whole as the target public; do not develop nor maintain positive discrimination actions.
- attempt to avoid and/or fight social tensions caused, indirectly or otherwise by cultural and/or religious differences.
- avoid and/or fight against problems in the city relating, directly or otherwise to the immigration issue.
- be focused on the concept and application of citizenship and the principle that all have the same rights and duties.
- attempt to keep the "economic and social" cost of diversity as low as possible. This is why the extension of specialised services and facilities must be kept to the minimum necessary. The new citizen should be directed towards the usual services, according to the competences of each system (health, education, social services, etc.)
- face up to the relationships inherent in the interactions between native and foreigner, foreigner and foreigner (problems of cohabitation), and foreigner and urban environment (using the environment properly, awareness of the rules of living together, involvement in the upkeep of the city, etc.)

### **3. THE PROJECTS**

The projects presented attempt to illustrate in exemplary fashion the observations made by the cities and the objectives they have set themselves to put right issues relating to ethnic minorities. They also illustrate the cities' determination to find an integrated approach to the issues.

- **EDUCATION:** The integrated projects "Magic carpet" and "School for mums" from the San Salvario area of Torino illustrate the cities' determination to allow children from ethnic minorities to find the most **favourable school environment** for **optimum development** and to allow **parents** (especially mothers) to be involved, and also to **learn about and join social networks**.

**"Magic carpet" project.** A project approached by the "Bay" infant school and spread to all the schools of the neighbourhood thanks to a Local Pact stipulated between the Education Department, the Educational System Town Councillor, the schools involved and a Bank Foundation. The schools and the local agencies have developed a network with associations, churches and the Local Development Agency of San Salvatio. The project, since the beginning, was aimed at building courses focused on facilitating cohabitation. It was characterised by the building of a local **integrated training system**. The project provides:

- active school involvement in planning the educational activities (in and out of school);
- after-school activities, homework and help with studies, (post-school network), managed by neighbourhood associations (religious and otherwise), (primary and first period secondary schools);
- group activities for the mothers;
- meetings and exchanges of information between volunteers and teachers;
- Involvement of the high school students for post-school activities.

**"School for mums" project.** A project proposed and realised by the "Accomazzi" Social Cooperative, with financial backing from the Province of Torino and the Educational Services Division of the city council. Since 2002 it has provided Italian language (L2) courses in collaboration with the "Bay" infant school. These courses were aimed at migrant women, for whom they represented some opportunities of enrichment.

The project consolidates the "Magic carpet" project, to:

- consolidate the mother network;
- provide opportunities for meeting and acquaintance between Italian and foreign families;
- support workshop activities in an informal and recreational setting;
- provide thematic meetings to explore health, child education and womanhood.

The challenge for both "the "Magic carpet" and the "school for mums" projects was to build an "excellence" training system to raise the quality of life of people emerging from the ghettos.

This is a sort of research and practical workshop that starts from the daily practice of teaching and learning, sharing common places and times dealing with culture and growth.

- **HEALTH:** Two projects in the Schilderswijk area illustrate two essential issues for tackling the topic of health and ethnic minorities: health and specific cultural features, and the relationship between professional practice and cultural differences.

In Schilderswijk, where 90% of the inhabitants are of ethnic minority origins, the Central Hospital of the Hague is making use of a concept called "**Islamic spiritual health care**" to attempt to take patients' spiritual dimension into account in its health care offer. A team of mediators made up of a Christian, a Muslim and a Hindu and also including a "humanist" listens to the questions of a hundred or so patients about their religious practices and how compatible these are with the treatment provided in the hospital. The aim of this is to offer the best possible service, taking into consideration the cultural and physical aspects of the patients. These professionals (intercultural mediators of a sort) spend a great deal of their time listening to the patients and training the medical team to understand cultural diversity.

Islamic Spiritual Health appears to pose two essential issues: the awareness and recognition of cultural differences in medical and health institutions, and the development of social citizenship centred around the body and around illness.

The talk given by the representative of Islamic Spiritual Health Care reiterated these issues, although some aspects that were not dwelt on need to be expressed: firstly, acquiring intercultural awareness turns out to be extremely complicated because the professional is confronted with many different cultures simultaneously and also because these cultures evolve and cross-breeding transforms them.

The "**diabetes among Asians**" project is piloted by The Hague and specifically tackles the problem of diabetes amongst south Asian populations (particularly Indians who emigrated to the Netherlands via Surinam, and also a few Pakistanis). This ethnic group is 40 times more likely to be subject to diabetes than the national average! And this is even worse in the most underprivileged areas.

The city of The Hague therefore decided to set up a special, very dynamic and original policy aimed at this community with whom it works in close collaboration. A community radio service, Hindu festivals and community shows are used to inform and warn these populations and make them aware of the potential risks of diabetes, and also to provide better care for those suffering from the condition. The cultural habits of this community are not always well suited to proper treatment of this disease.

The project is also working on more fundamental research to attempt to provide better understanding of the causes of diabetes and to propose a healthier diet suitable for this community. But the project has had to cope with serious financial problems since it was launched, for although it is tackling in a relevant way a problem that has a major impact on a community, it does not necessarily enter into problems of financing: specifically ethnic approaches are difficult to finance within the Dutch system. It should also be noted that no assessment has yet been made of the impact of these different projects on the health of Asian diabetics.

The arrival on the scene of highly-qualified and cultivated professionals of immigrant origin makes this intercultural mediation possible, for they avoid falling into the trap of either putting everything down to culture or, conversely, of insisting that the patient is a sick person just like any other. Although a so-called "original" culture, with enough common codes for a set of individuals to be included in it, can, out of principle, be conceived as a reality, it must not be forgotten that each person in a community also stands out through a particular system of thoughts and values which may vary; it is a too ethnically-oriented vision of a patient that can free the professional from any criticism of the way he or his institution operates in managing or even producing the difference.

The The Hague and Berlin examples have shown how the health problems confronting ethnic minorities are many and varied: sometimes they are similar to those of the inhabitants as a whole; sometimes they are specific to the minorities.

In The Hague, the health of immigrants and ethnic minorities is an issue which involves many other aspects than purely technical ones. Just how does the person who arrives in our cities from abroad stand?

The projects presented in The Hague also give pause for thought about this cultural approach to health care. Isn't a too culturally oriented approach likely to efface certain material or legal components inherent in each individual, in favour of the cultural viewpoint alone? The fact of undergoing discrimination or trying to find food to feed one's family every day are also issues which may explain how people behave with regard to health care. In the end, putting everything down to cultural difference may also be a way of exempting oneself from one's own problems, whether these be medical, social or legal.

As the representatives of Pescara and San Adria de Besos observe, it seems necessary to have quality practitioners of different origins, as well as relay people within the communities.

Although it cannot be denied that training should be given in cultural diversity, certain fundamental observations need looking into. For example, training a medical team in cultural diversity requires that trainers be trained (in this case, the mediators). On what basis have they been trained? What is the role of the authorities in this training, as far as its content and how it is implemented are concerned?

From the presentations made by the cities it transpires that public health depends to a great extent on national frameworks which define standardised criteria (rates, thresholds, etc.), determining what should be considered as "normal" and what "pathological" How are these defined and - above all - applied? What staffing and what skills are needed. In what cases are there special needs and in what cases conventional needs?

Nevertheless, what the approaches of many of the network cities have in common is their determination to take a transversal approach to the health question, by hooking it up to urban policies or to other social and economic ones.

This integrated approach to health was demonstrated over and over again in the presentations and this sector seems to be one of those in which this approach is best taken into account (in comparison with other REGENERA network meetings on other topics).

As an illustration of this, in St Etienne work on eradicating slum housing has been taken into account in programming national health and city workshops.

Belfast, in its partnership within the "Health Action Zone for North and West Belfast (HAZ)" is aiming to reduce inequalities in access to health care.

HAZ is made up of representatives of hospitals, universities, local government housing or urban development officials, the education system, inhabitants and the communities involved. This committee also deals with other topics, but in this way helps to make it possible to take into consideration different facets of a problem which would perhaps be less well perceived were it not for this integrated approach.

On the subject of health in particular, HAZ deals pragmatically with problems, moving from community-based targeting (e.g. "travellers"), or social and economic targeting (the unemployed) to topics that are unrelated to boundaries of group or generation (mental health).

Although HAZ is not itself a directly operational entity it helps both hospitals and the city to move into action more efficiently.

**LOCAL DEMOCRACY:** Aston Pride in Birmingham is an illustration of the integration of ethnic minorities into *the consultation process* and makes it possible to get down to the problems related to making people responsible within the community, the representation and the integration on a national scale of the impact of the communities in the development of the areas.

Aston Pride is a considerably overpopulated area, bounded and even cut off by a number of motorways which it is often impossible to cross. Over 50% of the population is made up of immigrants or children of immigrants (particularly Asians) and the rate of unemployment is higher there than the average for the city. Although this area is not made up of an extremely underprivileged population, the local sense of identity is very strong (driven negatively by the isolated nature of the area and positively by the Aston Villa football club).

One of the main renewal programmes in Birmingham, Aston Pride is controlled by an NGO. The board is made up of local residents who hold the majority, official representatives and businessmen. Financial decisions are taken by the residents, who participate on committees created to direct Aston Pride work.

There are a number of NGO's in the Aston area, which play a key role in implementing the renewal programme. This programme invests heavily in the NGOs to help them to offer the best services (such as work with young people, education, training and improvements to the environment and housing) and to implement appropriate solutions to the specific problems that public agencies cannot themselves easily solve. The NGOs benefit from grants for sports, cultural and artistic projects, and financing to help them take part in a great many meetings with government agencies, the aim of which is to improve the services provided in the area.

- **IMAGE:** San Adria de Besos is a good illustration of the reasons for the poor self-image of these areas with a high proportion of underprivileged populations and ethnic minorities: an area on the outskirts of the city, poorly served by the public transport system, few services, industrial wasteland, etc. All this causes and multiplies the physical and symbolic obstacles that isolate and distance the inhabitants of these areas from inhabitants who have not chosen to be here

La Mina, in St Adria de Besos, contains many unemployed, geographically and socially isolated people, and a number of immigrants and people from immigrant backgrounds. Low incomes, vandalised public facilities and blocks of flats, lack of structures and dealers of all kinds are also to be observed. But La Mina is a special case. This area is a rallying point for underprivileged populations from the Barcelona conurbation (shanty towns, insalubrious bars ordinarily spread throughout the town). Gypsy populations contribute still further to make this a condemned area. Although some had considered modifying the name, in the end it is a feeling of pride in belonging to and living in this area which predominates in thoughts on improving the local image. One of the first tasks for the authorities was to recapture public space by increasing safety with the setting up of a police station and by reinvesting in public areas in the interest of all the residents. At the same time, they wanted to change the image of the local inhabitants, and particularly that of the gypsy populations, by taking culturally oriented steps to foster better awareness of gypsy culture and by establishing contacts between the different groups which make up the area. (Children were particularly targeted. Women's groups are extremely active in organising these contacts and in business in the area generally). La Mina has also greatly benefited from the universal culture Forum in making people more aware of it and highlighting the many positive aspects of its inhabitants. Finally, re-establishing links with the rest of Barcelona via an improved public transport network is unquestionably playing an important part in making over the area (the tram now goes there, its location near the sea is being enhanced, and the Avenida Diagonal, the main thoroughfare of the Catalan capital starts there).

- **EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.** The presentation of the Urban Free Zone (ZFU -Zone Franche Urbaine) in St Etienne illustrates the cities' determination to **boost economic activities** in underprivileged areas, with the goal of allowing local populations to take advantage of this and of linking them with broader economic dynamics in the framework of a transversal partnership. Although it is obviously not stated that the ZFUs are addressing areas with a high density of populations from an immigrant background, it is clear that the ZFU's do aim to reach these populations in their determination to de find a job or to create their own company.

The ZFU system was created in 1996 to make lasting improvements in living conditions in the area and for their inhabitants, by making these more economically attractive by maintaining, creating and developing activities and jobs and reserving a portion of the jobs created for the local inhabitants. To do this, a special system of tax and social security exemption for companies with a maximum of 50 employees was granted. According to size, companies benefit from five exemptions, starting from the date when they set up in the area.

In St Etienne, the ZFU set up in 1997 in the Montreynaud area, has to date allowed 167 new companies to set up, including 107 new ones, which has led to 900 new jobs in the area, of which 343 are job creations.

Several significant operations that create jobs are also to be noted: an infant and primary school transformed into an activity centre (32 companies and 159 staff), a chocolate factory converted by a textile company (130 jobs) and two office blocks built to house 30 companies, or around 200 people.

In addition to this, the ZFU has also given small companies the chance to start up by changing the use to which ground floors or the existing building are put.

#### Perspectives

Although these results seem significant, it is clear today that more needs to be done to really make a mark on the area. The ZFU needs to boost the urban makeover of the site by extending and developing its work into the economic field

This complementary approach is particularly awaited in the following areas:

changing the area's image,

speeding up the process of mixing activities,

pursuing transformations to allow the rooms at the foot of apartment blocks to be used for other purposes,

using space freed up by demolition

clearly designating a central commercial area within upper Montreynaud

St Etienne is determined for the future development of the ZFU to come within the framework of the general urban makeover operation in the area.

To achieve this, a study will be started to help define what products/services are suited to the needs of companies, in keeping with housing re-qualification and the urban renovation plan.

With this end in view, it will be possible to identify several operations that can be carried out quickly with different contractors, involving the conversion of public facilities (disused schools or sports halls), or ground made available as a result of demolition work.

## CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Although **cultural diversity** is expressed through the coexistence and exchanges of cultural practices, it implies the need to be attentive to difference which exist between culture groups **and** within each one of them.

In Berlin, for example, in the Soldiner Strasse area, more than 40% of the population is not of German origin (20% are Turkish and 20% are shared between North Africans, Poles and Yugoslavs). Certain schools in the area have more than 80% who are not native speakers of German. As a large proportion of these foreigners are not allowed to vote, their participation in political life or as citizens is complicated, and occasions for debate with Germans on questions related to living in these areas are too few and far between. The determination to make these communities easier to understand and give them the means to take part in local life is the spearhead of the integration policy in this area. Local authorities are therefore attempting to bring together the people involved. And two projects are tending in this direction:

### **1. Debates between primary schools (6 to 12 year-olds) and mosques**

- 70% of the children have Muslim parents and half follow religious instruction in the mosque during the afternoons and at the weekends.

- The children are sometimes faced with totally different ways of thinking between the school and the mosque. Social workers and the district council try to manager these culture conflicts by allowing teachers, parents and the imams to exchange views. The idea is to find the best solutions when the oppositions are too tense (during Ramadan for example, or the issue of wearing the veil at school).

These attempts to reconcile and to debate can be found at Soldiner Strasse between cultural associations and the law for drug dealing or delinquency.

### **2. Consultative council**

In March 2005 a consultative council was elected of 24 people to advise the administration on funding of projects in the neighbourhood. Out of 8 seats to represent institutions and interests such as schools, entrepreneurs and house owners, two seats were reserved for immigrant associations. One was taken by the president of the association of Arab parents and the other by a member of a Turkish mosque.

Out of 16 seats for inhabitants three seats were taken by immigrants. So immigrants are still not represented according to the percentage of people in the neighbourhood but a step has been taken to organise a process involving both Germans and immigrants.

- **SECURITY:** Fortunately, not all the European cities have a specific policy towards ethnic minorities for questions of security. Obviously, it is in areas where social and economic crises are strongest that the question of security comes into its own. And all the inhabitants are involved.

**Santa Coloma de Gramenet** (121 580 inhabitants as of March 15 2005) is made up of a hundred or so nationalities and 15% of inhabitants of foreign origin (as many as 50% in certain areas in the south). The Moroccan (4 159), and Chinese (3 799) communities are the largest, while the Pakistani community saw an increase of 58% in 9 months. From 7% of foreigners in the eighties, the southern districts (*Raval-Santa Rosa and Fondo*) have moved to over 50% today. In these districts, a special feature of the theme of security is the participation and sharing of responsibility between local authorities and inhabitants on the district councils concerned. Inhabitants are full members both of decision-making committees and monitoring committees, so town councillors and their departments are in direct debate with local or supra-local inhabitants and institutions in action in the region. An assessment commission, within the framework of URBAN, analyses the facilities set up. It is original in that its assessment criteria come as much from indicators proper to the departments involved as from surveys and objective statistical data, and more subjective data - but no less important – in order to fine-tune the way the notion of security is represented.

#### - POPULATING AND HOUSING:

##### "The Gate" in Porta Palazzo (Torino)

Porta Palazzo, with its 8000 inhabitants, is frequented by 40 000 people each day. In this popular district close to the historic centre of Torino, the Piazza della Repubblica plays host to one of the biggest markets in Europe, with over 1000 stallholders selling an extremely wide range of produce every day. The rate of unemployment in the area is around 12.8% and 19% of the population is foreign, with close on 45 different nationalities (4% for Torino as a whole). In addition, illegal employment in Porta Palazzo is extremely prevalent. Deterioration both in social cohesion and urban quality were the consequences of this tense situation.

"The Gate" project is devoted to fighting against discrimination, particularly that which is directed towards immigrants and ethnic minorities, but also aims to improve the sanitary conditions of the most underprivileged populations. The question of "living together" is also to be found in housing conditions and in accepting differences in the apartment blocks. It is all these reasons which have incited "The Gate" to become more familiar with the living conditions of the inhabitants of Porta Palazzo through the "Abitare Porta Palazzo" programme. In Porta Palazzo, there are close on 5000 private dwellings, a large percentage of which is in poor condition, or even unfit for habitation. Slum landlords are legion and sell the worst housing at high prices to legal or undocumented immigrants. Thanks to painstaking work over more than 6 years, taking in restoring facades, reducing or removing taxes from certain properties, better control of energy, acquiring detailed knowledge of the situation (through an extremely precise social survey in partnership with all those involved in the district) and collaboration with the inhabitants, the situation has singularly improved. The ambition is now to bring a new population to Porta Palazzo, so as to develop the social mix, without forcing the least well-off populations to leave. "Abitare Porta Palazzo" has helped to come to the aid of owners and tenants alike, to mobilise private and public resources and to restrict gentrification. These urban developments were combined with social management, particularly intercultural and/or neighbourhood mediation

All the projects presented that deal with the topic of ethnic minorities raised questions which, even if they are not answered here, may lead to future debate, either for the final conference or for a future URBACT programme. Here they are in random order:

### **ON ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS**

- What are the links between community associations and the other inhabitants and the other associations? What are the links with the other associations of the same community?
- Does the fact of activities taking place solely between individuals in the same group involve a kind of community withdrawal, or is it just a voluntary action which expresses and meets with needs within the community?
- How far can one go in respecting the cultural values of a group or of a specific individual and at what point should one assert the more universal values that are those of society as a whole, such as human rights?
- What are the risks of enclosing populations throughout their lifetime within a community way of operating that is not very open to outside influences?

### **ON SPATIAL SEGREGATION:**

- How can we bring new, different populations into the district (do the inhabitants who live there want this?); how can we adapt services so that they can attract new populations with different needs so as to create a certain social mix (if a mix is indeed what we want to create)?
- This question leads to other, more general ones: who should the operators of institutions (or services for the public) be?
- How can we transfer the self-organisational behaviour of inhabitants into more directive countries, without running the risk of segregation or aggregation?
- What cohesion and coherence is there between the urban and social development of a community district with a wider region?

### **ON CULTURAL DIFFERENCE**

- Does treating illness by taking the ethnic angle into account from the start of treatment make the results any better? If the treatment did not take cultural specifics into account, or took them into account to a lesser extent, would the results be any worse?
- How can we take acculturation between the original culture and the host country into consideration and monitor the changes in mentality inherent in changes in society?
- Faced with such a wide range of cultures within an identified group (Muslims, Christians, Bangladeshis, etc.), how can we even remotely begin to theorise about training for professionals?
- How can we avoid the risk for the professional of having ready-made "cultural practices" available, with the attendant risk of falling into simplistic categorisation and forgetting that every individual is unique and singular?

All these questions touch also on questions of governance dealt with during the last seminar in Belfast. And although these seminars have made it possible to understand how ethnic, cultural or religious features are taken into account in the cities' governance policies, it would be of interest to go a little further and question the cities on several points:

- How, where and with whom is the line between respecting differences and the general interest negotiated (the position of this line can, in the most extreme cases, create autonomy for certain groups or deny their specific cultural features)?
- How can we avoid a kind of "community clientele relationship" which would be risky for social cohesion?
- How do local and national authorities, which stand surety for human rights, negotiate specific cultural features which sometimes run counter to these rights (particularly for girls)?

## 4. VERTICAL PARTNERSHIPS

The idea here is to make clear what the partnerships are between the different rungs of the decision-making ladder (Europe, state, state departments, region / province, cities, semi-public services). This section can be examined from the ethnic minority angle, by showing how the authorities (national and local) take into account (or fail to do so) the question of minorities: area-based policies having an impact on a whole population living in a specific area (without taking specific ethnic features into consideration, individual policies (taking, or not taking cultural differences into account), community policies (based on the claims of groups, including ethnic minorities), etc.

Implementing urban renewal programmes, including the ethnic minority question, can range from the creation of coordination facilities (***see the example of the La Duchère project in Lyon, where a national framework dictates the main trends to ensure a certain degree of area-based coherence, sometimes to the detriment of local experimentation and collective responsibility***) ...

The La Duchère area (12 000 inhabitants) is located in the 9th *arrondissement* (45 000 inhabitants) of the city of Lyon (445 000 inhabitants). Lyon belongs to the Communauté Urbaine de Lyon (Greater Lyon) which numbers over 1 200 000 inhabitants). This area was built between 1958 and 1963 in the context of a serious housing shortage, which town-planners met by developing huge apartment blocks. After being hailed as a symbol of post-war Americanism, La Duchère gradually went downhill in the eighties: the buildings deteriorated, the population was socially and economically undermined, and acts of vandalism led to a feeling of insecurity which wore away at the district's image and contributed to isolating it. This was why it was decided to give it a complete makeover.

Over a hundred people were involved in the project one way or another, not including those who lived there, each with their own logic and scopes for decision-making and action that were not the same, and that often had no priorities defined at the level of La Duchère itself. Each level (district, city, conurbation, *département*, region, State) corresponded to specific stakes and priorities (health, economy, housing, etc.). To make a success of the Lyon la Duchère project, it was necessary to set in motion and manage these partners at the different levels. To achieve this, the strategy was as far as possible to escape from the vertical approach and attempt to "flatten out" the partnership model to bring the partners into closer contact. A Lyon la Duchère GPV (Grand Projet de Ville) Mission was set up, reporting to the Greater Lyon and City general management. The aim of this was to reduce the further vertical organisation existing between each authority. Staff involved in the Mission continued to report to each of the departments according to their topic, the idea being (as perceived by outside partners) for each member of staff to act as project manager, with his "feet in the district project" and his "head in the conurbation project" A steering committee and management committee including local politicians and partners met regularly to validate decisions.

... to the management of coordination by a private limited company (**see the East Belfast Partnership**)...

**The “East Belfast Partnership”** was formed in 1995 with a number of working parties giving thought to the makeover of the district. In 1996, the partnership was structured into a limited responsibility company. In 2002, the **“East Belfast Partnership”** moved into premises that were practically provided by the State. Its missions:

- To draw up a master plan for the development of East Belfast
- To develop collaboration and coordination of the organisations working to improve East Belfast
- To provide suitable programmes by setting up facilities for completing the urban renewal of these areas
- To attract new resources to ensure that all the projects will be implemented
- To coordinate methods for assessing the projects
- To enable local communities to become involved in their own development

Within this company there exist a number of sub-structures including an executive committee and working parties on topics such as employment or health.

The executive committee has delegate powers and counts 8 members (councillors, representing the communities in the district and observers from the Belfast urban development department). The **“East Belfast Partnership”** provides a frame for the general strategy and the basic values on which the working parties focus. Each working party is then relatively free to choose its actions, which it presents within the context of a yearly programme validated by the **“East Belfast Partnership”**. Since 2004, partnerships have also developed with the inhabitants of the east districts.

The **“East Belfast Partnership”** has a subsidiary: the East Belfast Social Economy (EBSEC) which consists of two companies:

- "Avec Solutions", a commercial company which provides advice in the area of management for associations, whether private or benevolent.
- "Landmark East", a development agency which acquires run-down sites (housing, apartment blocks, shops, spare ground, etc.), restores them and sells them.

The "East Belfast Partnership" is supported by local and central government.

The partnerships related to the implementation of these projects, directly related to ethnic minorities, come under

- regional arrangements that are both transverse and general because of the fact that the politics do not operate in such a way as to voluntarily target ethnic minorities (**GPV example**),
- or a special take on social development projects (**the Berlin example of the healthcare network for ethnic minorities**),
- or in clearly targeted community logics (**the Birmingham example of the Sikh temple in Handsworth**) with the aim of meeting with a community need.

The **la Duchère** area in **Lyon** shows that authorities work in conjunction with Muslim associations, for example, to build a mosque. The members of these associations are not officially recognised as representing a Muslim community which does not exist for the French Republic. So what is at stake for urban and social development policies is rather to detach the ethnic community from the region so as to open it up towards other regions and other communities.

Conversely, it is sometimes the associations and communities who move into the public arena and become partners of the local authorities. In Birmingham, the Gurdwara Sikh Temple religious community is driving urban and social development projects for its community.

### **The Gurdwara Sikh Temple (GST) in Birmingham**

Speeches made by the representatives of the Temple have made it possible to explain the reasoning behind the community development work and the services provided by the temple:

Overall renewal implies spiritual, economic and community renewal, and the temple conceives activity centres around these topics. Founded in the seventies, the GST was created to provide a place of worship for the Sikh community of north-west Birmingham.

Since then, the GST has grown and has become a major centre both for Birmingham and the neighbouring towns of Sandwell, Dudley and Wolverhampton, supported by several hundred visitors each week.

The GST offers a range of social services within the framework of its "spiritual regeneration" work amongst the faithful. There is also a building company which plays an active part in job creation for the Sikh community.

The GST is also in the process of creating a temporary accommodation home and a centre of excellence for civil revival (NCA) providing educational structures and meeting places.

The GST is fully independent of any public financing. It relies solely on donations from the congregation which allow it to maintain and develop the structures and services on offer.

The only project which benefits from public funding is the NCA, financed by European and government renewal programmes.

Other projects are supported by the cities for the benefit of ethnic minorities, without targeting one population or another:

The health situation in the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district of Berlin is – in comparison with the city of Berlin as whole – characterised by

- the highest rate of premature mortality
- the lowest middle life expectancy
- increased infant mortality
- an increased rate of morbidity (e.g. lung cancer, cirrhosis of the liver, tuberculosis)
- an increased rate of people who were in an accident

The district has defined the aim – in connection with its membership of the “Healthy-Cities-Network” – to improve the health and psychosocial care of migrants, refugees and re-settlers and to ensure equal opportunities. This will be achieved by setting up of “Intercultural Health Network”.

In late 1996, an interdisciplinary planning group was set up. In this group, representatives of charities, NGO’s, the public health service, outpatient and stationary medical care and scientific institutions work.

The planning group has stated that it is not necessary to establish base health services for migrants but to create a network of existing institutions by improving cooperation between migration projects and by intercultural opening of regular services. The aim was to create an “Intercultural health network”.

The planning group has defined the following main tasks, which have been implemented since that time:

- Berlin-wide information, advice and further arrangements for healthy, psychosocial and therapeutic offers towards migrants
- Implementation of a translation service for medical, psychosocial and therapeutic institutions in Berlin
- Qualification and employment measures for translators and interpreters
- Encourage cooperation and interdisciplinary networking between institutions, projects and individuals in the health and social areas in order to figure out vacancies and deficits in the field of health and psychosocial care and to realise special plans and implement common measures and projects
- Make barriers to accessibility visible and destroy them by intercultural opening
- Initiation and organisation of events, offers for further education and training concerning intercultural skills for staff in the health and social service
- Cooperation with scientific institutions to initiate research projects for specific target groups and for solving problems in the field of migration research
- Encourage self-help potential between migrants

The demand mainly results from:

- Information deficits concerning the offers of health system among migrants
- Communication problems between patient and health personnel (linguistic, cultural, based on different concepts of disease or health)
- False diagnosis and inefficient therapies
- Improvidence and inadequate specific preventive and psychosocial offers and coordination of these
- Lack of health care use.

In Birmingham, the creation of the Bullring, a shopping centre in the heart of the city, was based on getting those involved in insertion to work coherently so as to allow the most underprivileged populations to take advantage of the employment potential:

In **Birmingham**, an in-depth makeover of a area in difficulty was chosen, giving preference to a conurbation-wide project with a regional impact: the creation of the **Bullring**, one of the most significant projects in Europe for the renewal of a shopping centre. Its impact in terms of employment reached a number of underprivileged districts of Birmingham thanks to the Bullring employment platform, which was the means to create over 2600 jobs for populations from the most underprivileged districts (80% went to the unemployed) out of a total of 8000. Something closer to 50% of these jobs went people from ethnic minorities. This platform was created in 2002 and is the result of a partnership with all those involved locally in occupational integration and employment. This partnership made it possible to match supply and demand, train people who were the furthest removed from the world of work and also train potential employers to understand this public in difficulty. The metropolitan dimension of this shopping centre also allows populations to mix, thanks to ease of access and a more clearly-stated recognition of Birmingham's cultural diversity. It would, however, be interesting to see what the impact of the makeover of this shopping centre was on local shops and on those in neighbouring, underprivileged neighbourhoods.

The various cities in the network have shown a broad cross-section of the role of inhabitants, ranging from mere information to joint decision-making and budget management (**the example of Soldiner Strasse in Berlin**), via shared responsibility between inhabitants and local authorities (**Aston Pride in Birmingham**) and a global approach (**the participation charter of Grand Lyon**).

The question of representation is obviously an essential one and while some pass over the ethnic dimension amongst the members of consultation groups, others attempt to find representatives from each community. But all the cities have to cope with the same problem of just how legitimate this representation is (even if in **Berlin** drawing lots is used in the "**neighbourhood jury**" project).

## 5. PARTICIPATION OF THE INHABITANTS

Very often ethnic minorities belong to "the voiceless" (they do not vote, are not allowed to vote, do not master the codes enabling them to sign up for anything involving citizen participation, are removed from places where decisions are discussed or made, etc.). So the cities implement actions to enable these inhabitants to come, or return to the places where they can exchange views on the life space. Certain community associations are getting organised to get the ear of the local or national authorities (**see, for example, the tenant and go-between associations in the south-east areas of St Etienne**)

### **Tenant and go-between associations in the south-east areas of St Etienne**

Their role is to defend and represent the interests of residents and women to the authorities, particularly for questions involving health and housing renovation. They also help to develop networks and circulate information between the different benevolent associations in the south-east district and throughout Saint-Étienne.

There are no financial resources and no salaried staff. All the work is carried out by voluntary workers. These two associations are essentially run by one very active person who started up the association and who directs all its activities. They have no premises or offices and the two people in charge work either from home or in rooms lent by community centres or churches. The local authorities rely heavily on the people in charge of these associations to learn the opinions of the inhabitants and of other associations about rented accommodation renewal projects or changes in the services provided. In exchange, these associations use their networks with the local authorities to influence improvement in the services. They are working to help

get the disused swimming pool restored, improve urban transport services, provide help for local shops, etc. in the name of the inhabitants of the district and the other associations.

The various cities in the network have shown a broad cross-section of the role of inhabitants, ranging from mere information to joint decision-making and budget management (**the example of Soldiner Strasse in Berlin**), via full inhabitant responsibility for their environment (**the example of Castle Vale in Birmingham**) and a global approach (**the Grand Lyon participation charter**).

### **Inhabitants association: Castle Vale**

Castle Vale is a housing estate that has been undergoing urban renewal since 1993, occupied mostly by Whites. Major changes have been made since (2 275 houses demolished, 1 200 new dwelling built and 1 500 other dwellings renovated).

The inhabitants of Castle Vale had become involved in the renewal process thanks to the role played by the *Castle Vale Housing Association* that the inhabitants gave preference to over the City of Birmingham for the management of their housing.

The Castle Vale Community Housing Association is the result of a twelve-year old urban renewal programme financed by the central authorities and aiming to redevelop a controversial estate belonging essentially to the local authorities. The programme began in 1993 with a vote during which the residents decided to transfer their lease to a renewal association which was given the responsibility of renovating the housing. Improvement in sanitary conditions, job opportunities, education, the environment and health was a key aim in renewing the rented housing stock. The renewal association made it possible to set up complementary public services aiming to fight crime, unemployment and weaknesses in the education system and health service.

The organisation running the association is mostly made up of residents who, in partnership with estate agents, control £10 million of rental incomes per year and rental accommodation valued at £200 million. The housing association has also created an endowment used to take on two employees whose sole job is to manage, direct and improve offers of services from the Birmingham, municipal council, the health authorities, the police, education and employment agencies. The residents permanently assess the quality of services and apply pressure when the public service offer does not meet with contractual requirements.

The success of Castle Vale can be formally put down to the real decision-making power granted to the residents. Their active participation has also helped towards implementing a relatively short renewal programme, moving forward with a clear aim and the perspective of a sustainable future, thereby preventing the housing issue from once again becoming critical.

Over and above the question of the role, or the weakness of public services, several questions relating to the topic of "living together" emerged from this visit:

The population of this housing areas is roughly 97% white. Can an offer of services and leisure activities be devised by the association that would attract ethnic minorities and make this area a little more mixed? Castle Vale is almost exclusively a "white" area. So bringing in new populations is very complicated. Services have been adapted to the populations already there, while populations from other cultures hesitate to come into an area where services adapted to their needs are lacking. Nothing is being done either to attract new populations by creating these services. This may make one question the definition of populations' needs and the services that are to satisfy them: should these be the same for everyone or customised for different communities? Similarly, who should initiate these services: the communities themselves or the city? The example witnessed at Castle Vale leads us to ask questions about cohesion

and coherence with the wider region of Birmingham. Could this be a step towards communities separated from each other? How far can we go, or should we go, down the road of self-organisation and a reduction in direct services provided?

How can these so-called segregated areas be given the means to attract new populations, whether rich or poor and whatever their origin or religion? How, too, can the populations be given the means to move around and come to live in the area they want to?

The question of representation is obviously a crucial one, and while some in the consultation groups pass over the ethnic dimension, others attempt to find representatives from each community. But all the cities are having to tackle the same problem of just how legitimate this representation is (even though in **Berlin** the “**neighbourhood jury**” project involves drawing lots).

**Citizen juries in Berlin** are decision-making bodies made up solely of inhabitants who are assisted in their task by the area project manager (17 areas in difficulty have developed these juries). Each jury has been delegated management of a budget of 500 000 euro for a period of two years. This “**area fund**” must be used only for projects which serve the common good, development of the area as a whole or groups of inhabitants who are more at threat than the rest. These areas, which are practically all located in the city centre, represent 7% of the population of Berlin (225 000 inhabitants). Each jury is made up of at least 51% of inhabitants (including foreigners) chosen at random, and a maximum of 49% of representatives of “local players” (associations, communities or active individuals) chosen by the project manager of each quarter. The number of members of the jury must be proportional to the number of inhabitants in the area (between one and several dozen).

Sometimes community associations make the link between local authorities and people in the community. They then often become the formal representatives of a community, as is the case for the **Bangladeshi Youth Forum** (a Bangladeshi association which offers various activities to the members of its community) or the **Afro-Caribbean Millenium Center** (a centre where members of the Afro-Caribbean community can rehearse in **Birmingham**). While official recognition of ethnic communities is, in England, essential in the fight against racism and the enhancement of cultural diversity, the risk of community withdrawal or the absence of exchanges going beyond the interest of one's own community is a real one.

While cultural diversity is expressed in the coexistence and exchanges of different cultural practices, it involves the need to be attentive to the differences which exist between the cultural groups and within each of these. Cultural diversity must go beyond the “majority / minority” dichotomy and embrace the complementary nature that exists between the universal and the singular.

Thanks to its race-relations law, England is a forerunner in getting communities heard and represented in the public space, but this official legitimacy may bring with it claims or community withdrawals that serve a broader common interest. In contrast to this, in other countries, the quasi-ideological refusal to officially recognise organised ethnic communities may reduce community pressure but at the same time prevent better awareness of discrimination phenomena (ethnic statistics are, for example, prohibited in France). How far can one go (“we” here being local and national authorities, the inhabitants, community associations, etc) between respecting cultural values and the more universal values that are those of society as a whole (for example, female emancipation or sexual equality)?

## 5. Management

The relevance of this section is based on a formal stance as coordinators with a very broad and multidisciplinary view over an area (**for example the project manager of Gorbals in Glasgow**), but also with the ability to get partners working together who are not used to doing so (**for example “The Gate” Porta Palazzo within the context of upgrading the market**).

### « The Gate » in PORTA PALAZZO (Torino)

An urban development agency, “The Gate” was created to implement these actions. On its board sit representatives of the Torino municipality, the local economy (chamber of commerce, bank foundations) and large associations. This agency also includes a “participation forum”, a permanent structure made up of around fifty people who act as intermediaries in the area. What’s more, this agency is located in a very prominent spot in the heart of the area and is open to its inhabitants for discussion. This “participation forum” and this openness to discussion with the populations also, and above all, included these committees, for it was clear for the agency that they could not be ignored. The agency’s aim was to make this mobilisation a positive feature and to explain to the members of these committees that moving prostitution on a street or two would not solve the problem.

Working with the inhabitants also aimed to rebuild bridges between them and the stallholders, who had neither representatives nor an association to set exchanges in motion. The agency set up mediation meetings in order to restructure the market, taking the problems of all involved into account and allowing these stallholders to be represented. This made it possible to upgrade the market by rethinking the layout of the stalls.

Those in charge of this agency – and this is what struck a number of cities in the network – are able to bring to the negotiating table people in conflict or from different departments. Getting people who are often on the fringe of illegality to exchange views and to bring them together around a common project is one of the strengths of this agency. In addition, this consultation included, for example, the police, undocumented people and others who were engaged in practically illegal dealings. While a solution was found for the market issue, other problems symbolised by the mobilisation of the committees were very pregnant ones, such as, for example, intercultural conflicts and ignorance of the other, which could lead to xenophobic behaviour. So it was that, spurred on by an idea from “The Gate “, one of the hammams in the area became the meeting place for an Italian-Arab association. As soon as its opening was announced, the committees reacted violently and gathered close on 500 signatures demanding that it be shut down. The agency then called a number of public meetings in this place, which was adopted in less than a year by the vast majority of the population.

Urban and social contracting teams (the term being used in a generic sense) also conceal linking positions that are sometimes very different (**see the example of REV8 in Budapest**) in which decision-making, implementation and management powers are extremely varied.

## 6. RELATIONS BETWEEN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND PROJECT AREA

This section deals more with procedures that become transformed as a result of an integrated approach which may shake up ways of working that, in the past, tended to be more vertical and segmented.

It can be observed that when certain cities do not have the right skills to deal with an issue, projects are driven more by European projects and players in the field (*for example URBAN 2 in Pescara and the CELINE project*). The value of this way of working is that it allows for a certain amount of experimentation (the CELINE project allows certain city departments, private companies and regional agencies to work together) it also allows for a certain flexibility. The drawback is that there may be a lack of coherence on a wider scale.

### **The Celine project: Pescara**

The Urban area has 21800 inhabitants and is cut off from the rest of the city by a railway line and the Pescara river. The housing stock is characterised by collective social housing from the 1960ies. The area also features economic activities (small industrial enterprises) and is situated close to the university and the very large newly-built regional court of justice. The population of the area suffers from numerous social and economic difficulties which is especially true for the Gypsy community. Crime and insecurity, notably drug traffic, is a problem in this area. The Urban II projects with a budget of 12,7 million € focus on the topics of infrastructure, public space, social inclusion and employment.

CELINE is an EQUAL financed project aiming at training and assistance in economic development for women of migrant origin. This project runs over a period of 28 months (2005-2007) and has a budget of 632 036€. It features an analysis of the needs of the population of migrant women as a starting point and is based on a wide partnership including employer-associations, training agencies, category associations (SMEs, agriculturists and buildings contractors), Association EXTRA (represents the community of immigrants living in Pescara), university and is led by Pescara City Council. The key-measure of the programme is individual training (design, service management and business start-up) and, in connection with a professional association, it aims at official recognition of these qualification measures. 20 people are concerned. The project provides a “multi-ethnic” centre to host activities; the different partners of CELINE also carry out decentralised activities within their own facilities.

Other examples show a mix between local politicians and private initiatives via contractualisation (**see the example of REV8 in Budapest**).

**REV8 in Josefvaros (a district of Budapest):** Josefvaros has 51.4% of condominiums (2100 dwellings). 29% of the condominiums have been condemned. 1100 dwellings have been demolished and 200 new dwellings are social housing.

REV 8 is a limited company, the majority shareholder of which is the district of Josefvaros and the city of Budapest. It employed 20 people in 2004 (architects, geologists, an economist, social workers, sociologists). It is under contract to the local authority to provide action and services. This company is a service-provider to collective organisations. In this way, REV 8 has several directors to appease political sensitivity. REV8 has a programme over several years, even though budgets have to be renegotiated each year. Long-term operation of this kind can help to stabilise staff and provide a useful prospective vision, even though elections may cause upheaval on account of REV8's high dependence on local politicians.

REV8 also puts itself forward as a place that is open to, and ready to enter into close relations with local inhabitants. Social work to foster transparency for the project has also been developed by REV8.

One of the aims of REV8 is to fight against the gentrification of an area that is more and more attractive, in which the most underprivileged inhabitants (and particularly Tsigane populations) tend to be cordoned off in often unsanitary social housing when they cannot move into the housing offered to them in the area.

For the Tsiganes are the most insecure population in the area, and REV8 is attempting to find the best solution, as there are many of them and they are poor, so the issue of cost-management is a particularly important one. Some of them have often preferred to accept compensation and to buy a flat elsewhere or to rent from public social housing stock.

A high unemployment, rate, cheerless housing, a poor level of education, a high crime rate and a high proportion of Tsiganes are the main features of this area. Although these observations are ominous, both REV8 and local politicians are determined to develop the social fabric of the area by safeguarding its cultural diversity (Chinese live in the 8<sup>th</sup> district)..

Other programmes are much more linked to city services (e.g.: the “Kiezspinne Neighbourhood House” in Berlin). Still others find a framework on a wider scale than that of the city (e.g.: Milan with the Milano Metropoli Development Agency or the PVRU service of the Grand Lyon). Other examples show both the diversity of relations between local administrations and project areas, and the determination to adopt an integrated approach, moulded by the complexity of the projects and the areas.

In SANTA COLOMA, for example, the municipality regularly brings together the civil servants who are working in the field to meet with the project manager. The aim is for all departments to be as aware as possible of the situation in the field and so to come up with the most appropriate answers, and to propose new strategies at political level.

In LYON, a global project management system allows for monitoring on an area-administration basis which brings out area priorities as compared with institution priorities, and optimises the way in which the vertical organisation of the institutions and the “horizontal” stakes of the project mesh together.

In GLASGOW, the manager (funded by secondment / full time post from Scottish Enterprise Glasgow) was responsible for steering the group for managing the project and appointing professional consultants (masterplanners, engineers, transport planners, legal project managers, landscape consultants). This heavy consultant commitment was funded by partners. Direct links exist between the project manager and city council officers, who are all known to each other over a long working relationship which improves free-flowing communication.

In the SAN SALVARIO area of Torino, a civil servant takes part in all the meetings of the Agency Committee. His role is to collaborate in writing up the yearly programme, and facilitating relations with other city departments and the players in the area.

## **7. FINANCIAL RESOURCES.**

While **Pescara** in its URBAN 2 programme has a budget specially allotted to the integration of ethnic minorities included in the social integration envelope of 1 850 000€, the other figures put forward are more related to financing for coordinating the urban development and social development programme as a whole. In the San Salvatio area in Torino, local agency financing has made it possible to implement local partnerships, get the inhabitants working and, above all, prepare the future "Local Development Integrated Programme" which makes provisions for large-scale projects, some of which should be financed with the European Social Fund (2007-2013).