A HANDBOOK FOR
GOVERNING HYPER-DIVERSE CITIES

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DIVERCITIES
governing urban diversity

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C O N T E N T S

PREFACE

This Handbook is a result of a joint study conducted by more than 60 international researchers. On behalf of the entire team, we would like to thank all the respondents, policy-makers, social workers, NGOs and other organizations, residents, and entrepreneurs from the 14 case-study cities who spared some of their precious time to contribute to our research. They enhanced our understanding of the opportunities created by immigration, the increasing diversity associated with migration, and the range of lifestyles within and spanning the many groups in the city. We are also grateful for the generous support given by our Policy Advisory Board and Policy Platform, whose members were based in 14 countries.

The DIVERCITIES project was granted EU funding in 2013, acknowledging its longer history of operationalizing the original idea of hyper-diversity. We would like to express our gratitude to Prof. Dr. Jan Vranken for his endless support and inspiration for this project. We would also like to thank Prof. Dr. David Hulchanski, who joined forces with Jan Vranken to serve as our team of External Experts and make sure our outputs were in line with our promises.

As members of the Scientific Steering Committee, it has been a pleasure for us to work with a (hyper-)diverse mix of experienced researchers and young talent from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds. This Handbook is mainly based on the reports that were written for each of our 14 research cities on governance arrangements and initiatives. The names of the authors of these reports are listed in the appendix.

While the text of this Handbook reflects the efforts of many individuals, the design and lay-out are the work of just one: David Wills, our Communication Adviser. The authors have tried to make it interesting to read and he has made it attractive.

This Handbook is dedicated to the loving memory of Prof. Dr. Ronald van Kempen, the leader of the DIVERCITIES project. Unfortunately he was not able to see the project through to the end. His ideas, work ethic, sense of humour, energy, and personality will inspire us forever.

Gideon Bolt
Mike Raco
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1. INTRODUCTION

Today, cities in Europe are more diverse than ever. Immigration, socio-economic inequality, and spatial segregation, coupled with a diversity of identities, activities, mobilities, and lifestyles all contribute to a condition we call hyper-diversity. The accumulation of these factors in urban settings poses significant challenges to policy-makers and institutions. On the one hand, there are positive discourses on urban diversity. The European Union sees diversity as a driver of growth and social progress. Many city authorities are inspired by Richard Florida's work and see diversity as an asset that can attract the creative class. On the other hand, increasing diversity engenders fear among substantial parts of the population. The election of Trump, the impending Brexit, and the rise of populist movements across Europe are all related to anxiety about immigration. Many national governments have reacted by enforcing stricter immigration policies and adopting an assimilation agenda.

The central proposition of the DIVERCITIES project is that urban diversity is an asset. The principal aim of the project was, therefore, to provide evidence for the range of positive socio-economic outcomes that emerge from greater urban diversity and to document the significant role that urban policy and local governance can play in stimulating those positive outcomes. In line with this aim, the purpose of this Handbook is to describe, document, and critically analyse policies, initiatives, and arrangements that explicitly or implicitly seek to profit from urban diversity. Based on research that has been running for the last four years in 13 European cities and Toronto, we highlight the key factors of the success (or failure) of policy initiatives that were intended to increase social cohesion, economic performance, and social mobility among individuals and groups. We also identify the barriers to and opportunities for the implementation of successful urban policy in other cities.

A basic assumption underpinning the DIVERCITIES project is that while diversification is partly an outcome of immigration, it should be understood in a broader sense. Therefore, we prefer to use the term 'hyper-diversity' instead of the increasingly popular 'super-diversity'. The latter term is mainly associated with the variety within and between categories of immigrants. By advancing the concept of hyper-diversity, we offer a critique of the prevailing discourse. This new concept underscores our conviction that diversity should not only be understood in ethnic, demographic, and socio-economic terms. Rather, we should also look into differences with respect to lifestyles, attitudes, and activities. Urban society is growing more diverse every day, not only because the number of new identities is growing but also because identities are becoming more complex and fluid than ever. We need to recognize that people do not have a single identity but belong to diverse categories such as gender, race, class, ability, sexual orientation, and other axes of identity, all of which interact on multiple levels, often simultaneously. Increasing diversity is also seen in the changing patterns of behaviour, lifestyles, and activities over the

life cycle of individuals. Urban society, from the point of view of hyper-diversity, may even be more complex and dynamic than we thought.

It is not possible to address the needs of increasingly complex and diverse urban societies with standardized policies and policy instruments. So doing may only exacerbate social and spatial inequality. Citing the ethnic or cultural background of an individual as a primary reason for failure or success (with a standard expectation of 'integration') may not be realistic today. Instead, considering the complexities and dynamism of urban life, an individual's success or failure may be affected by the possibilities that a particular city (or area) offers to develop new relationships, businesses, lifestyles, activities, etc. (Policy Brief no. 1)1.

This Handbook presents a framework for and examples of innovative policy instruments and governance arrangements that:

a. Recognize urban diversity as a positive aspect of contemporary urban environments;
b. Increase interaction and communication between groups in a diverse urban society;
c. Increase participation to satisfy the needs of the communities.

Collectively, the DIVERCITIES programme has studied 147 initiatives in deprived and diverse neighbourhoods in 14 cities. These study sites represent a range of contexts for which policy initiatives have been designed to create conditions for social cohesion, social mobility, and economic performance. The full list of initiatives, as well detailed information on each one, can be obtained from our website (www.urbandivercities.eu). For inclusion in this Handbook we selected initiatives that support social cohesion and participation, on the one hand, and initiatives that promote social mobility and entrepreneurship, on the other. They are described in more detail in chapter 2. The selection was made on the basis of the 14 published City Reports (for the list, see the Appendix). Chapter 3 draws some general conclusions and makes some policy recommendations on the basis of our research and the cross-evaluation we conducted with policy-makers and civil-society actors.

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1. A list of Policy Briefs can be found in the Appendix.

2. LEARNING FROM THE DIVERCITIES PROJECT'S SELECTED INITIATIVES

2.1. Initiatives that support social cohesion and participation in diverse neighbourhoods

2.1.1 Introduction

Almost 80 years ago Louis Wirth argued in his classical essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" that the heterogeneity of cities weakens the social cohesion of our society. Since cities are even more diverse now than in Wirth's era, there would seem to be little room for optimism about the urban social fabric. Some scholars argue that diversification leads to more social exclusion as individuals increasingly segregate themselves from people who belong to a different class, ethnic group, or lifestyle. This tendency complicates the creation of feelings of belonging and community in a city. As people are inclined to connect to similar others, groups may live side-by-side without socially integrating with each other.

However, there are also scholars who argue that living amidst diversity does not necessarily lead to social withdrawal. Instead, they say that residents in diverse neighbourhoods are often open, or at least civil, towards other cultures. Noble (2009)[2], for example, differentiates between the perception of difference in unproblematic ways in everyday life, a perception which he calls 'unpanicked multiculturalism', and the emphasis on conflicts and tensions between different ethnic groups, which he calls 'panicked multiculturalism', as commonly heard in today's debates on multiculturalism. It should be acknowledged that diversity does not automatically have a positive (or negative) effect on social cohesion. From that point of departure, the DIVERCITIES project was conceived to gain insight into the conditions which stimulate that encounters will lead to building bridges across (ethnic, religious, class, and other) boundaries.

In this part of the Handbook we present the key findings of eight selected case studies on the conditions that policy initiatives have created for social cohesion. We distinguish between three types of initiatives, focusing on offering spaces of encounter (1), offering spaces for joint activities (2), or stimulating participation in the neighbourhood (3).

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2. Noble G. (2009) Everyday cosmopolitanism and the labour of intercultural community. In: Wise A. and Velayutham S. (eds) Everyday Multiculturalism, pp. 46-64. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

2.1.2. Offering spaces of encounter

Governance arrangements targeting social cohesion are often place-based and thus involve the population of a certain area (Policy Brief no. 3). The participants may be very diverse, but they have (at least) one thing in common: they share the same residential area. By describing the results of three case studies we show how spaces of encounter may contribute to social cohesion in an area. The ***Neighbourhood Libraries*** initiative in Warsaw is intended to create a space of encounter where everyone (both long-term and short-term residents) can feel at home. Less broadly targeted, the ***Pelgulinna Neighbourhood Association*** in Tallinn creates meeting opportunities for elderly people. Though restricted in that sense, it is one of the few associations that can attract members of both the Estonian and the Russian-speaking community. In contrast to the other two initiatives in this section, the ***BorgerRio*** festival in Antwerp is focused not on repetitive but on fluid encounters. Even fluid encounters are shown to enhance social cohesion by helping visitors to become more familiar with diversity.

NEIGHBOURHOOD LIBRARIES WARSAW

Mission

The main objective of the Neighbourhood Libraries (Biblioteki Sąsiedzkie/Foundation Zmiana) initiative is to create a place where residents can meet and talk, spending their free time in a safe, pleasant environment. The neighbourhood library should be seen as a space without formal restrictions, where everyone can feel welcome and comfortable, and where users can participate in decisions about the character of the place.

Neighbourhood Libraries is a young initiative. It is located in an area of high unemployment with an overrepresentation of the middle-aged and elderly population. The initiative has no stable source of funding. The library was established on the ground floor of a building in premises that had been appropriated for a flat. Meanwhile, the property has been adapted to serve the needs of the library. The organizers of the project are volunteers, and all the infrastructure and equipment come exclusively from donations. Thus, the main resource of the initiative is the social and cultural capital of the participants.

The library is filled with books, and there are chairs and couches to sit on, which creates an informal, homelike atmosphere. Users can simply come in and borrow a book - the library does not keep a register of books or participants. The initiative stimulates social cohesion at the local level by creating spaces of encounter for people from different social backgrounds. Many of the visitors are unlikely to visit any other cultural facilities. Some are even not even interested in literature but are attracted by the sociable atmosphere.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative is situated in an area known in Warsaw for its social diversity and the accumulation of social problems. A considerable share of the district's housing stock consists of old, decrepit tenements, often inhabited by the lower social strata. On the other hand, the amount of investment in private housing is increasing, which attracts a growing number of relatively affluent inhabitants who have different needs and behaviours. According to the founder, the project is envisioned to attract both the old and the new inhabitants. However, its activities are mainly directed toward "the old" Praga inhabitants, who are mostly from disadvantaged social groups. The library is used primarily by men, who constitute almost 80% of the visitors.
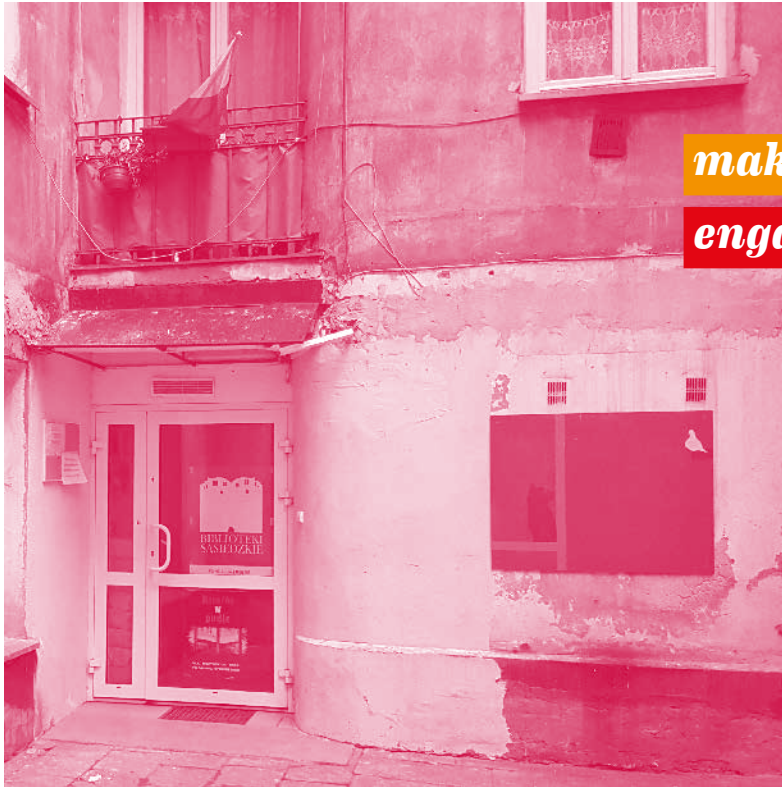
make everyone feel welcome

engage the local community

Success and failure factors

The main success factor is that the project engages the local community in many respects. Not only do people from the community pay regular visits to the library but they also donate money, furniture, and books and they help out with repairs. Their engagement is predominately due to the commitment of the organizers and to their interpersonal communication skills, qualities which allow them to create an atmosphere of cooperation and friendly interaction among the visitors. Another success factor is the informal character of the venue. The library is homelike and the visitors have some control over the type of interactions and activities in which they take part.

A significant barrier to further development is the shortage of money. The City owns the premises in which the library is located, and the rent and electricity bills have to be paid. The organizers have not been able to obtain funding from external sources, perhaps reflecting a lack of cooperation with public institutions and the fact that the project is weakly institutionalized. There is no register of activity and thus no measure of efficiency in the accomplishments, which makes it difficult to satisfy the requirements of social projects' funders. Another hindrance is the image of the library; its interior is extremely informal and quite disorderly. While this may appeal to the visitors, in order to comply with most legal regulations the premises would have to undergo some reorganization and a thorough 'face-lift'.

— This text is based on Korcelli-Olejniczak, E., A. Bierzyński and G. Węcławowicz (2014).

Mission

Pelgulinna Neighbourhood Association (PNhA) facilitates local-level social cohesion by helping resolve everyday problems, envisioning the future of the neighbourhood, assisting the local government in dealing with problems regarding the neighbourhood, providing social support for the elderly and disabled, promoting safety, and enriching the range of cultural activities available to the residents. Today the target audience consists mainly of the elderly. This reflects the socio-cultural direction the association has gradually taken and the interests of the members themselves. Thus, the activity of PNhA fosters social cohesion by recognizing the needs of a specific interest group, the active elderly, in the neighbourhood as well as by creating places of encounter for this group and others interested in the aims of the association.

PNhA was founded in 1992, making it the oldest neighbourhood association in the district of Northern Tallinn. It is hard to say how many members there are, since participants do not necessarily join the association. Socio-demographically, the members form a fair representation of the inhabitants of Pelgulinna. While Russian-speakers are not usually involved in the activities of neighbourhood associations, the PNhA is different in this respect, since it has Russian-speaking members as well. The older generation of Estonians, who were already adults during the Soviet period, have had more contact with Russian-speaking immigrants, which probably explains the presence of the latter group.

PNhA activities promote social cohesion in the neighbourhood by providing possibilities for certain social groups to gather, especially the elderly. It should be noted that in areas undergoing rapid gentrification, the elderly often represent the more sedentary part of the population and have consequently experienced its transition. By providing opportunities to gather and interact with each other, the organizers aim to promote a sense of community. Furthermore, they seek collaboration with other neighbourhood associations or NGOs to arrange a division of labour between them.

A successful project with a long tradition that has been carried out by the PNhA is called 'Lady Companions'. Under this initiative some relatively active local women visit women who are less mobile, whether because of their health or disability or a lack of social contacts or other reasons. They spend time with them and provide help when needed. Monetary resources for these activities have traditionally come from project applications, membership fees (3€ annually), and donations. During its earlier years various sponsorships were made available.

PELGULINNA
NEIGHBOURHOOD
ASSOCIATION
TALLINN

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

No concrete standpoint is expressed by the association on how diversity should be understood locally. In fact, no activities that specifically target diversification are undertaken; the initiative merely aims to draw elderly people together. The members of the PNhA are the most active individuals among the elderly residents of Pelgulinna. They are able to articulate the concerns of the elderly to the decision-makers and are recognized by the City Government as an interest group within the local community.

The PNhA representative emphasizes the need to take steps to build closer relations with the Russian-speaking minority, both within the neighbourhood and elsewhere in the city. In that sense, the association may be said to pursue the aim of strengthening social cohesion across different population groups. In general, the biggest obstacle to bringing Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking populations together is the language barrier. However, elderly Estonians are more prepared to communicate in the Russian language than the younger generations are. They can thus be seen as forming a bridge between the two main linguistic communities in the city. One concrete way for the association to extend its activities across ethnic lines might be to draw the Russian-speaking community into the Lady Companions project

Success and failure factors

The innovative nature of the PNhA is demonstrated by its record of engaging older people. As the city's population is quickly aging, this is a very important achievement. The association's biggest success story is the Lady Companions project. It has received a very positive response from the elderly and the local government. In fact, it has been a mainstay of the PNhA ever since the project was initiated in 2006. The main factors of success are the strong commitment of the volunteers and their special areas of expertise. This is the only bottom-up initiative voluntarily providing such 'services'. Besides being appreciated locally, Northern Tallinn has always been very supportive of the association. The main obstacle to a more efficient operation of the association's activities is funding. The projects are based on voluntary work; the association motivates the volunteers with seminars and training sessions and organizes short trips to facilitate contact and communication. The positive outcomes are mainly related to the successful networking of the elderly. The second obstacle is the age of the members. While it is hoped that the younger generation will come to participate in the neighbourhood association, the more active younger people are often involved in associations that promote interests aligned with their lifestyle.

— This text is based on Leetmaa, K., T. Tammaru, J. Holvandus, I. Pastak, K. Kamenik and A. Kährik (2014).

promote safety
provide social support

BORGERRIO
ANTWERP

Mission

BorgerRio is a multicultural street festival. Every year it is held in Antwerp on the Turnhoutsebaan, a busy traffic artery in the ethnically diverse Borgerhout district. During the event, motorized traffic is halted for one day to create space for a street market, stages for musicians, and areas for sports and many other activities. The highlight of the festival is the spectacular parade in the afternoon when hundreds of colourful performers of diverse nationalities | samba dancers, street bands, stilt walkers | march through the street. In recent years, this free-admission festival has attracted around 35,000 visitors in one day.

The primary goal of BorgerRio is to give the neighbourhood a positive image. It is presumed to benefit local entrepreneurs by attracting more visitors to the shops. Moreover, the festival is intended to improve social cohesion by bringing the diverse groups in the neighbourhood together once a year. BorgerRio is the result of a collaboration between various actors who want to improve the image of their neighbourhood.

The City District of Borgerhout played an important role in pulling different actors together around a common objective. In particular, the Cultural Antenna of the Borgerhout District sought to unify the divergent initiatives and fill empty spots in the festival. Having provided project subsidies, the District organized cultural events and provided stages for performing artists to close the spatial gaps in the street festival.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

BorgerRio seeks to mobilize the neighbourhood's ethno-cultural diversity, which is perceived as an asset. The event is expected to counteract the negative image created by news reports that often depict the neighbourhood, with its busy traffic artery and its many immigrant inhabitants, as a dangerous zone marred by crime and riots. The festival promotes a positive image of ethno-cultural diversity through a visually spectacular parade with performers from different ethnic traditions. The conception of diversity promoted by the festival,

however, has been criticized as a form of exoticism. By showcasing stereotypical elements of ethno-cultural traditions, those groups are represented as fixed and separate units. The initiative for the festival came from Flemish organizations that had few migrants among their members. In 2013, the local merchants association was renamed BOHO 2140. With new vigour, it sought to include more migrant entrepreneurs in its activities. At BorgerRio, an 'Arabic oasis' was set up for the Moroccan community. Despite such stereotypical representations, the organizers succeeded in attracting several migrant associations to participate in the festival. Besides bringing together people of diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds, people from all kinds of socio-economic backgrounds are able to join in because the festival has free admission.

mobilize the neighbourhood's ethno-cultural diversity

Success and failure factors

A bottom-up approach and a collaborative attitude among the actors are the major internal success factors. BorgerRio is a joint project that was initiated by a merchants association, an environmentalist organization, and other local groups. Together they were able to recruit many volunteers. An external success factor is the support of the City District of Borgerhout and the Antwerp municipality, which has provided annual project subsidies and coordination. A major internal success factor, according to the public coordinator from the Borgerhout District, is the bottom-up organization; the festival is not organized for the shopkeepers but with them.

At one point, a problem arose: apparently not all inhabitants of the area were in favour of the festival. In 2012, a radical Islamist group called Sharia4Belgium demonstrated against the parade. In their eyes, it was immoral because of the scantily clad dancers. Another problem, namely insufficient funding, may arise at any time, because the future of the initiative depends heavily on continuing subsidies.

Our interviewees feared further budget cuts, noting that the festival is no longer 'new' or 'fashionable' enough for the politicians. It also has been suggested that the organizers should look for private investors.

— This text is based on Saeys, A., Y. Albeda, S. Oosterlynck, G. Verschraegen and D. Dierckx (2014).

2.1.3. Offering spaces for joint activities

Initiatives that offer spaces for joint activities are aimed at bringing together a diversity of people in a common activity such as a choir, a children's circus, or a cooking course (Policy Brief no. 3). In groups organized around a shared interest, participants meet repetitively, which facilitates encounters that are more than convivial. Being united around a shared passion may bridge the differences in ethnic, class, or cultural background. This section describes two initiatives aimed at offering spaces for joint activities. One, the ***MAXIM Theatre*** in Zurich, gathers people from many cultural backgrounds together to act. In contrast to the ***BorgerRio*** festival (described above), the aim of this initiative is to create trans-cultural experiences rather than to present different cultures. The other initiative, the ***Experimental Garden of Feijenoord*** in Rotterdam, is a neighbourhood centre that is run by many different organizations. Some of their programmes focus on specific ethnic groups, others on shared activities (like knitting, cooking, or sports). The fact that many activities share the same space means that even people who attend mono-cultural activities will be able to meet diverse others.

MAXIM
THEATRE
ZURICH

Mission

The MAXIM Theatre was founded in 2006 as a space for communication between residents and immigrants, between professional actors and amateurs, and between spectators and performers. The theatre draws about 150 persons from more than 30 nations, who act together several evenings a week. This initiative offers low-threshold access to the dramatic arts for people who seldom go to the theatre. The main goal is to foster a stronger social cohesion in society – the activities and services are designed to have positive social and societal effects. Participants and spectators are expected to overcome barriers of culture, language, and education. The target audience includes people of every nationality and culture. The theatre is specifically geared to drawing in certain population groups. It recognizes the existence of structural and individual obstacles that keep some persons and groups from gaining easy access to the dramatic arts. The inspiration for this initiative came from England, where this kind of social, multicultural theatre has existed for quite some time now.

The MAXIM Theatre provides five different activities or services:

1. the core project consists of two or three constant drama groups. Each rehearses and performs a play once or twice a year.
2. an action group develops scenes and approaches people directly – not in the theatre, but in the streets.
3. the theatre provides a protected environment for groups and supports them for readings, presentations, or performances.
4. the institution organizes German language courses with a focus on the dramatic arts ('learning German by acting'). This is a response to discovering that several of the actors were afraid to be on stage without sufficient knowledge of the German language.
5. the theatre provides a platform where people can work on their art projects, meet potential participants, exchange ideas, and get assistance with production and dramaturgy.

The MAXIM Theatre is organized as a support association with two permanent employees, both part-time. They manage the engagement of the stage directors, the German teachers, and the technicians. For those positions, the association relies strongly on volunteers. One problem is that financing is not guaranteed on a sustainable basis. For the foundation of the initiative in 2006, the association received an initial grant from the Social Services Department of the City of Zurich and a private foundation. In 2011, the MAXIM Theatre obtained another substantial financial contribution from the Federal Commission for Migration. Besides these grants, the MAXIM Theatre sporadically receives contributions from departments of the City of Zurich.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is emphasized in the creative work of the association. The actors are encouraged to bring their own manner of expression to the stage. However, the objective is not to present different cultures or perform specific folk dances but rather to create a trans-cultural experience.

Various forms of diversity are observed among the actors and spectators. The initiative unites Swiss and foreign residents, young and old, as well as the underprivileged and well-off. According to the executive director, collaboration with people from all over the world constitutes an incredible enrichment and helps reduce prejudice and overcome barriers.

A relatively new development is the high participation rate of German and Swiss people. It may be attributed partly to the 'new immigration' of highly qualified Europeans – mainly from Germany -- which was triggered by the 'Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons' between the European Union and Switzerland in 2002.

Success and failure factors

The MAXIM Theatre is a low-threshold initiative giving underprivileged people access to the dramatic arts and fostering social cohesion in the city by bringing together persons from different cultures and age groups. Over the years, it has developed into a comparatively large project – it now has a high profile and provides numerous services and activities.

Its success is affirmed by the regular media coverage of its activities, which is largely positive. The main factor behind the success is the high commitment of the volunteers and the strong engagement of everyone working at the theatre. Certainly, the initial grants and the various financial contributions by the public administration were crucial to ensure its viability. Compared to smaller, self-sustained projects, the public funds have clearly added to the impact, scale, and success of this initiative. Over the years, the project has also been confronted with challenges that it has not been able to overcome. One enduring issue is the location: the association was not able to find an appropriate, permanent site for the MAXIM Theatre. The project is therefore operated in different temporary venues, but this is not a satisfactory solution. Another challenge is the fluctuating, rather small financial contribution of the city administration. Several officials perceive the initiative as valuable and worth supporting. Nonetheless, lasting and consistent funding by a single unit of the administration has failed to materialize, apparently because of the difficulty of designating budgetary responsibility to a particular agency. For instance, the artistic quality of the plays does not meet the Theatre Commission's standards of eligibility for financial support from the Office for Culture of the City of Zurich. Likewise, the project as a whole does not completely match the conditions and criteria for public subsidies in the area of integration policy or socio-cultural and community work.

— This text is based on Plüss, L., W. Schenkel and P. Abegg (2014).

foster a stronger social

cohesion in society

overcome barriers

THE EXPERIMENTAL GARDEN OF FEIJENOORD ROTTERDAM

Mission

In response to municipal budget cuts that reduced subsidies in Rotterdam, 16 local initiatives in Feijenoord joined forces in the summer of 2013. The original initiatives represented fields ranging from business to culture, education, healthcare, and sports. Together, they settled in a vacant part of a building owned by the district government and started a community centre, which they named the Experimental Garden of Feijenoord [De Proeftuin Feijenoord]. The other half of the building is a sports hall that is rented by local sports clubs and managed by civil servants. By 2014, the Experimental Garden comprised 69 initiatives. It is run by volunteers, including the leaders and participants of the initiatives and other visitors to the centre. So far, the City had supported the project by providing a grant of € 450,000 per year, which pays for the full-time employment of a coordinator and curator and for building maintenance, and by leasing the building at low cost for the first year. But starting in the fall of 2014, the City has gradually decreased its financial support. Eventually, they want the initiative to become self-sufficient.

The main goals of the Experimental Garden are to increase social cohesion and social mobility. According to the interviewed project leaders, the City considers the latter goal to be more important. Yet the directors and participants give equal importance to both. The project aspires to increase social cohesion by facilitating positive encounters across local initiatives and among different audiences. Encounters are enabled through weekly meals for the participants and leaders of initiatives, monthly roundtable meetings with the leaders, thematic working groups (e.g. on building maintenance) with participants of different initiatives, and by letting initiatives share resources (e.g. cookware) and activity spaces (e.g. a knitting club and a youth organization meet in the same room at the same time). Through the range of activities offered at the Experimental Garden, local residents can become acquainted with unfamiliar activities and people. The coordinator and initiative leaders ensure that the activities are accessible to diverse groups, encourage participants to join (new) activities, recruit new participants, and encourage participants to treat one another with respect. The coordinator also facilitates the contact between participants and organizers and ensures that groups collaborate on an equal basis. Regulations are collectively decided upon with project leaders and volunteers.

Every month, the centre is visited by a thousand or so persons. Participants and leaders of organizations are responsible for the programme.

learning through interaction
connect with diverse people
accessible activities

Volunteers and trainees support the project as hostesses, homework supervisors, course leaders, or handy¬men. A management board supports the volunteers and trainees. That board consists of a coordinator, a trainee (a university graduate), and a sports 'programmer'. A supervisory board, comprised of volunteers from outside Feijenoord, advises the management.

Perceptions and use of the concept of diversity
The diversity of projects and visitors that now exists under the umbrella of the centre originated when a number of local initiatives decided to collaborate out of financial necessity. After the foundation of the Experimental Garden, diversity came to be understood as the project's main quality, according to the interviewed project's leaders and the central coordinator. The project builds

upon diversity to achieve its main objectives. By doing things together in a diverse environment, participants learn to live, work, and profit from their differences. According to the interviewees, this helps them to better understand, tolerate, appreciate, and connect with diverse people outside the Experimental Garden.

The 69 initiatives target different resident groups. Altogether, the activities held in the Experimental Garden are intended to attract people who represent the population of Feijenoord. Among them, the project also aims to attract the most vulnerable groups: (informal) caregivers, the elderly, the lonely, Muslim and other women who do not often leave their homes, and the youth. The project attracts a diverse group of participants: diverse in terms of age, ethnicity, culture and religion, education and occupation,

increase social cohesion by facilitating positive encounters

household type, interests and needs, and knowledge and skills. Like the majority of residents in Feijenoord, most of the participants have low incomes. Most live in Feijenoord, some in other parts of Rotterdam South, and a few outside Rotterdam South.

Success and failure factors
Several factors contribute to the project's success. First, learning through interaction as well as sharing the building and materials allow the project to achieve its goals in an inexpensive way. Second, the objective of sustaining the initiatives and the Experimental Garden encourages cooperation between the participants and the project leaders. Third, as the project is carried out by the community, it can respond to local needs. For instance, the leader of one initiative is currently setting up a programme for, about, and with people with dementia

after he identified local demand for this kind of activity. Fourth, by building upon the qualities of the community and offering activities that are in demand, the project is visited by a wide range of local residents. Fifth, because the visitors are diverse, most local residents can identify with one or more social groups who use the centre, which makes the Experimental Garden a safe place for many local groups, including the vulnerable ones.

The project faces three main difficulties. First, the City is currently cutting back on its subsidies and reducing the salaries of the coordinator and the curator. Second, the Experimental Garden faces a shortage of local volunteers who are able to perform responsible and complex (managerial) tasks. As Feijenoord has few high-skilled residents, those with the necessary skills who do volunteer at

the Experimental Garden have to bear heavy workloads, as the interviewees explained. Finally, the Experimental Garden is currently in conflict with the district government about access to the municipal sports hall in the building. Participants want to make more use of it and eventually run the sports centre on a voluntary basis. But the City refuses to give such tasks to volunteers, although they have promised to do so in accordance with their stated priority of encouraging citizen participation.

— *This text is based on Tersteeg, A., G. Bolt and R. van Kempen (2014).*

2.1.4. Increasing participation in the neighbourhood

The previous sections described projects aimed at stimulating meetings and interactions between residents from diverse backgrounds. But efforts to stimulate participation go a step further. Participation requires people to work together to improve their neighbourhood or the city. The following profiles describe three initiatives that are intended to stimulate participation in different ways. ***About Niguarda*** in Milan is aimed at improving the social cohesion of the area by stimulating community participation. The main goal of ***Reactivate Athens / 101 Ideas*** is to promote the economic performance of the city centre of Athens by coming up with innovative ideas for its regeneration. By means of participatory planning, the project aims to promote social participation as well. That method gives residents a say in how the positive asset of diversity should be maintained in central Athens. Finally, the ***Godparent Programme for Asylum Seekers*** in Leipzig stimulates participation as well as commitment. Not only does the programme require its participants to work together but it also expects durable involvement in an aid relation with an asylum seeker.

ABOUT
NIGUARDA
MILAN

Mission

About Niguarda (AN) is an area-based project of community development and animation. Funded through a competitive call issued by Cariplo Foundation aimed at 'building and strengthening bonds in local communities', the project ran between May 2013 and April 2016.

The organizers are seven NGOs (mainly social cooperatives and associations active in community animation, youth policy, intercultural mediation and education, and consultancy on immigration issues), partnered by local authorities. Also the Ecomuseum Milan North (which encourages appreciation of the social, cultural, and environmental heritage of the area, in collaboration with the local community) is a member of the partnership behind AN.

The overarching principle of the project is to enhance social cohesion by changing the public image of the neighbourhood via self-help and community participation, and by engaging the local community, especially the youth. The main goal is to increase cooperation with and support for an inclusive identity that acknowledges diversity in the neighbourhood. That goal is pursued through an active use of public spaces, starting with the opening of a community centre.

The seven partners, with the support of volunteers and other institutions and NGOs, have been managing 12 activities, coordinated by four thematic roundtables (neighbourhood and housing; welcoming diversity; youth; and networking). The main thrust of each of these activities is summarized as follows:

1. **Read, do, play** is aimed at using public places for cultural and social activities (e.g. BookCrossing and gaming).
2. The **Social day**, targeting pupils of secondary schools, is geared to supporting volunteering and social causes.
3. **Close parents** is dedicated to creating self-help groups among parents that may experience difficulties (families with new-borns; with disabled children; immigrants dealing with family reunification).
4. **Supportive women** is intended to empower immigrant women through art.
5. **Colourful Niguarda** brings the youth and the elderly together to map the social and cultural heritage of the neighbourhood.
6. **Tell about yourself** is an intercultural lab on diversity and identity for teens.
7. **Training and information** offers a set of refresher courses for professionals and volunteers who are working with immigrant participants.
8. **Becoming mediators** is a training activity for youngsters interested in tutoring immigrant newcomer peers.
9. **Stitching and stitching up** seeks to engage intercultural (women's) groups in mutual learning using needlecraft as a common ground.
10. **Neighbourhood compilation** is aimed at acknowledging and appraising local amateur musicians.
11. **Xenophilia** promotes international cooperation and volunteering among upper secondary school students.
12. **Neighbour's grass... is mine, too!** organizes community parties in public spaces. These twelve activities have been integrated with other small events that arise up as opportunities for participation and spontaneous activism.

build & strengthen bonds

in local communities

engage youth

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity forms the very core of the project. Different kinds of diversities are taken into account: age, gender, origin, and background. At the same time, these diversities are considered in their interaction (with activities aimed at drawing together the youth and elderly, natives and migrants) as well as in their intersection (focusing, for example, on the condition of immigrant women and 'second generation' youth). Considerable attention is given to lifestyles (e.g. cultural production through music; the use of public spaces; different ways of building social relations according to different group characteristics; promoting solidarity at the local and international level). The discourse on diversity is based on the idea that diversity may be positive as long as there are conditions for interaction, reciprocity, and solidarity.

Success and failure factors

The main uncertainty about projects like AN is whether they are sustainable in the long term. Some activities may continue spontaneously, such as when the project is a kick-off for self-help, when it promotes social relations among peers, or establishes intergroup contacts. On the other hand, structural dimensions of a project (e.g. the management of the community centre, the role of community animators) may require longer-term support, which is difficult to foresee.

Potential factors of success may lie in the network that draws upon experts and volunteers, and in the sound division of labour and collaboration among actors. Another success factor may be that the network is open and sensitive to changes; in practice, that means that different activities have been fine-tuned with the involvement of other local players. The fact that the targets are different and mixed may have shielded this project from politicization and its negative repercussions.

As a broad project for community development and animation that has diversity at its very core, AN has demonstrated a capacity to enhance social cohesion and creative spaces of encounter. It has done so even in complex environments where a negative mood toward diversity might have developed. The use of a wide-ranging, skilled, and motivated network that is sensitive to the district's social conditions and diversity is a prerequisite for structuring a large but consistent set of actions targeting different populations and their interaction. This is a potentially innovative capacity that may turn a weakness in Italian policy-making (with its preference for short-term, small-scale projects) into a strength, e.g. by coordinating small and fragmented initiatives under a common vision.

— *This text is based on Angelucci, A., E. Barberis and Y. Kazepov (2014).*

REACTIVATE ATHENS/ 101 IDEAS ATHENS

Mission

Reactivate Athens / 101 Ideas is a research project directed by RA Lab, a joint collaboration of the Zurich-based ETH Professors of Architecture Alfredo Brillembourg and Hubert Klumper with Greek experts from social geography, architecture, and other fields. The project was funded by a private charity, the Onassis Foundation, and was carried out under the auspices of the Municipality of Athens. The project took place between October 2013 and March 2014. Its aim was to produce innovative ideas for the regeneration of a large part of the historical centre of Athens. The results of the project comprise a 'toolkit' of urban planning and architectural ideas which will be delivered to the Municipality of Athens. Ultimately, the goal is to promote economic performance in the most underdeveloped part of the city centre by providing incentives to existing local businesses and thereby attracting new businesses and new residents to the area. The 'reactivation' of this part of the city is envisioned to boost inner-city life in both economic and residential terms.

The project relies mainly on three resources. The first is the Onassis Foundation, a prestigious private charity with strong visibility, which is accepted as an interlocutor in Athens' urban issues by the central and local political authorities. The Foundation provided funding in 2012-2013 for a European Architectural Competition (called Rethink Athens) to design a large-scale intervention in the city centre, mainly around the major axis of Panepistimiou Street. The competition was held under the auspices of and in collaboration with the Greek central government, the Attiko Metro S.A., the Region of Attica, and the Municipality of Athens. Public reactions have stressed that Rethink Athens did not give sufficient thought to the social impact of the intervention. Reactivate Athens was meant to fill this gap. However, it rapidly evolved into an autonomous project, as the experts running it opted to separate it from the contested Rethink Athens project. The second resource is the expertise of Professors Brillembourg and Klumper, who have extensive experience with urban planning in developing countries, especially in Latin America. Although it is questionable whether Athens is a comparable setting, their experience led Brillembourg and Klumper to avoid 'starchitect'-type propositions and top-down planning procedures.

This preference ties in with the third resource of the project, which is the use of participatory methods in urban planning. The project is based on fieldwork, which included a survey and interviews aiming at bringing together ideas from across the whole spectrum of Athenian society (communities, experts, politicians). By introducing a bottom-up and top-down approach in formulating new ideas for the potential of the city centre, the initiative has launched a participatory method of promoting social participation in the amelioration of the built environment and the economic activity of the city.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The project takes a positive stance on the social and cultural diversity of central Athens. According to one of the lead researchers, participatory planning in a highly socio-culturally differentiated area may reveal that diversity can be a valuable source of innovative planning ideas. Diversity may prove to be an urban asset, and as such it should be maintained. This is why one of the goals of the project is to prevent gentrification in the intervention areas.

diversity as a valuable source
of innovate planning ideas
involve people

Success and failure factors

Several criteria could be applied when assessing the success of Reactivate Athens. The first may be the acceptance and use of the results of the project by its official recipients, namely the central state and the Municipality of Athens. The second may be the efficacy of the proposed interventions in regard to their goals. Indeed, efficacy may be considered a factor of success, given that the project aspires to bring together architectural, social, and economic sustainability.

The innovative elements of Reactivate Athens consist of its institutional background and its research method. In a country where urban policies are characterized by centralism, the participation of a private charity in urban planning procedures is novel. The use of a participatory planning method can fuel the discussion on urban regeneration in the centre of Athens by injecting it with innovative ideas. In a wider socio-political context characterized by xenophobic elements, the explicit reference to diversity as an asset in urban planning is, without a doubt, a positive input in the public debate on the city centre.

Two drawbacks of the project are its short duration and the relatively limited amount of committed resources, both of which reduce its scope. Another is that the Onassis Foundation is an unofficial 'partner' of the central and local state in Athenian urban planning. Thus in comparison with an official planning procedure, which would have a binding character, the informal procedure followed for Reactivate Athens could mean that the results of the project would be ignored. Finally, there is some ambivalence about the adoption of a participatory planning method by a private agency. While the citizens are the source of the '101 ideas' of the project, as collected through the survey, the ownership of the results belongs to RA Lab. This private involvement could impede wider acceptance of the project's proposition, as the participatory planning process is not underwritten by an agency which would represent the community.

— *This text is based on Maloutas, T., N. Souliotis, G. Alexandri, G. Kandylis and M. Petrou (2014).*

GODPARENT PROGRAMME FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS
LEIPZIG

Mission

The Godparent Programme for Asylum Seekers (Patenschaftsprogramm für Asylsuchende) Arriving in Leipzig was started on 14 February 2014 in cooperation with the administration and the Refugees Council (RC), a civic association. The primary goal is to establish a new culture of welcoming refugees in Leipzig that would offer them support in their daily lives and help them make sense of the bureaucracy and other formal procedures. This initiative is expected to produce added value for both the refugees and the godparents. Other aims include improving living conditions for asylum seekers and breaking their isolation. In this way, the programme supports social cohesion through opportunities for contact and encounter between the refugees and the local society. The local society is supposed to get to know the refugees and in the process overcome and eradicate prejudice through direct contact. The debate on the decentralized accommodation of asylum seekers in Leipzig was quite polarized, running from demonization to idealization of the refugees. The Refugee Council seeks to shift the issue of asylum seekers toward the middle range of the political spectrum, away from the extreme right and left that mainly want to exploit it.

The main actors involved are the Refugee Council and the administration. The municipality asked the Refugee Council to develop and manage the Godparent initiative. The legal basis is the law regulating the provision of accommodation and subsistence for asylum seekers (Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz). Responsibility at the local level lies with the municipality. Since some refugees have to wait up to 17 years until their case is decided, support in getting on with daily life in Germany is very important. Volunteers stem mainly from the middle and upper classes, with the majority having a university degree, among them many doctors and psychologists. These volunteers want to bring their competences to bear in helping the asylum seekers. Their ages range from 18 to 83 years; a third of the volunteers have a migration background themselves.

The Godparent programme receives money from the municipality; additional support is received from the Department for Migration and Integration which co-finances the room rent. Apart from that, the association relies on sponsoring (in terms of both financial and material contributions). The municipality provides €45,000 per year, which pays for the employment of two part-time equivalents (for one year). One employee takes care of the organization of the programme, the

other works on the day-to-day affairs of the Refugee Council. Apart from that, the Refugee Council organizes a number of events to inform the public about migration issues and asylum seekers in the city, drawing in external contributors for these events.

The target group of the initiative consists of refugees. The contact between refugees and godparents starts with individual talks or evening get-togethers where the people can meet one another. Another chance to meet is at events that inform the public about refugee topics such as legal and asylum procedures. Families with children are expected to benefit from the Godparent programme.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The concept of diversity is clearly applicable to refugees, although the term itself is not used in the everyday activities of the project. Yet the coordinator emphasizes that the refugees' situation has to be dealt with by taking their differences into account. The initiative takes a problem-oriented approach (helping refugees, lobbying for their wants and needs). Moreover, the Refugee Council deals with another aspect of diversity, namely the racist opinions that circulate in the wider environment. On the assumption that these attitudes often stem from a lack of knowledge, the Council tries to develop more tolerance towards refugees and their problems. Even in the absence of public advertising, the initiative received more than 240 applications from prospective volunteers in a short time, which can be seen as evidence that the local society is not generally racist.

Success and failure factors

The primary factor for the potential success of the programme is the high number (400) of volunteers who have announced their willingness to become godparents. Another factor is probably the structure of the initiative: the programme receives financial backing from the municipality and provides support for voluntary engagement. Cooperation with the municipal Migrants' Advisory Board is said to be both to the point and solution-oriented. In addition, the Refugee Council has an established "pool of competences" and volunteers. Moreover, the association is well-established in Leipzig and has built up a wide network of contacts and sympathizers. A further factor of success is surely the number of migrants or people with a migration background among those who have declared their willingness to support the initiative. It is they who know best which problems -- bureaucracy, language, feeling at home -- the newly arrived refugees might have. Some godparents get involved in the solution of other issues; for example, doctors and psychotherapists have taken steps to set up a nationwide trauma therapy network.

The programme has run into two problems regarding the volunteers: one is the high demand for their time; the other is the limited financial resources for the coordination of volunteers. Furthermore, the association struggles with the bureaucracy to obtain even a small amount of money from the municipality. The Godparent programme is planned to be a long-run project. But the people running the association are paid a year at a time, so each year the association has to apply for an extension. Each year an application has to be submitted (for formal reasons) for a new project, although everyone involved knows that it amounts to the prolongation of existing work.

— This text is based on Grossmann, K., A. Haase, K. Kullmann, C. Hedtke and M. Einert (2014).

6

RECOMMENDATIONS TO STIMULATE SOCIAL COHESION

1.

Mixing policies versus 'soft' actions

Most of our case-study cities place strong emphasis on mixed housing policies (Policy Brief no. 2). These policies are intended to attract middle-class residents and entrepreneurs to settle (or remain) in deprived areas. However, we should not expect the middle-class households to have much interaction with the poorer households, as the former have most of their activities and social contacts elsewhere. While middle-class neighbourhoods of creative people are constantly held up as the ideal, the role of people with other lifestyles and opportunities is underestimated. It is a discourse that negates the diversity of city life. If policy-makers want to encourage social cohesion, they need to invest in programmes that bring together the diverse groups of the neighbourhood. 'Soft' actions, which foster encounters and interactions between people with diverse backgrounds, can be used to positive effect. Examples of 'soft' actions are organizing festivities, helping residents start up activities and manage and run community halls, and getting residents to participate in social programmes.

2.

Design requirements

The ways in which people do or do not interact in different places are related to four conditions which facilitate encounters: multifunctionality, connectedness, comfort, and sociability. By integrating different activities, places can successfully stimulate the intermingling of diverse audiences by allowing them to participate in shared activities which stimulate interaction and collaboration. Obviously, such places must be embedded in and connected to the local infrastructure. In addition, the spaces must have a good image, be clean, and feel safe; these conditions will ensure that diverse groups would like to spend time there and feel relaxed enough to interact with others. Last, successful spaces of encounter encourage planned as well as spontaneous meetings by integrating the routes and routines of different groups.

3.

Diversity policy

Attention should be given to those categories of the population that show the lowest level of participation in local initiatives (see also Policy Brief no. 4). Newly-arrived immigrants in particular tend to participate less in municipal actions and local associations. However, the solution is not to form alliances with (often self-appointed) ethnic community leaders. Doing so may entail a risk of reifying the idea of fixed ethnic categories and may also lead to tensions within and between ethnic groups.

4.

Mainstreaming

A more suitable approach to hyper-diversity is mainstreaming. This implies that diversity policy is not the responsibility of a single department but instead is integrated into the core services of all administrations in the municipality. Mainstreaming is sometimes (mis)used as a euphemism for an assimilationist approach (see Policy Brief no. 3). However, it should be seen as a diversity-sensitive policy that does not treat people solely as members of an ethnic group. Toronto, a city which has adopted 'diversity our strength' as its motto, has a very broad understanding of diversity. The notion includes seniors, youth, women, LGBTQ people, the urban poor, ethnic groups, disabled people, newcomers and immigrants, aboriginal peoples, and the homeless. The merits of mainstreaming are that it does not lead to contradictions between insiders and outsiders and that outsiders are not expected to adapt to a certain norm. Diversity policy should be focused on addressing the specific needs and obstacles of diverse groups.

5.

Towards a new discourse on diversity

In many cases the residents of diverse areas take diversity more or less for granted. This is apparent in places with a longer history of diversity. Young people spend much more time than adults in public spaces such as streets and plazas. There they meet and make friends with neighbourhood children from diverse social backgrounds. More often than adults, young people develop friendships across differences. And they are less likely than adults to perceive ethnicity as the main social divider in the area. Instead, young people distinguish groups based on their school, sub-neighbourhood, or subculture. Even more than adults, they tend to see diversity as an ordinary part of their everyday lived experience. If this reflects a generational effect (and not just an age effect), their general acceptance of diversity is a hopeful sign. If a new generation is more at ease with diversity and has more open and dynamic networks, social divisions may be broken down. Political discourses should adapt to this trend by reconsidering the use of old terms such as multiculturalism and assimilation. The 'ordinariness' of diversity (see Policy Brief no. 4) could be highlighted in the public realm as a positive element of urban life.

6.

Investing in the liveability of an area

Although we have come across many positive experiences of diversity in our research, we have also found people who have had negative experiences with local diversity. These may take various forms: crime associated with disadvantaged youth; residents who do not speak the language of the host society in public and semi-public spaces; and a lack of amenities for specific groups. Negative experiences with diversity in the local area should not be addressed by attempts to reduce diversity there. Our research areas have an important function on the local housing market: the availability of affordable housing is one of the main motivations for low-income households and recent immigrants to settle in such neighbourhoods. Diminishing the number of affordable housing alternatives will diminish the housing possibilities for low-income households. Complaints about the neighbourhood are often not directly related to diversity but rather to liveability issues which are sometimes associated with the population composition of the area. Making the public realm cleaner, safer, and more attractive helps to deal with many of the issues that are raised by residents.

2.2. Initiatives that promote social mobility and economic performance in diverse neighbourhoods

2.2.1. Introduction

Neighbourhoods can provide plenty of opportunities for better conditions of living and working, which in turn can contribute to their economic regeneration. Our research reveals that urban diversity influences certain professional trajectories that can lead to social mobility and entrepreneurship among residents when supported by social and spatial policy initiatives (Policy Brief no. 4). Within this framework, finding a stable job is often a priority for residents in deprived neighbourhoods. Our research also shows the importance of having social networks within the neighbourhood. Indirectly, networks help people find a job by passing on information; directly, they help people by providing jobs within the neighbourhood (Policy Brief no. 4).

In the 14 cities in which DIVERCITIES research was carried out, we studied the neighbourhood conditions that can be generated and supported by social and spatial policy instruments designed to provide the residents with better, fair, and accessible options that are conducive to economic performance and social mobility. Economic performance refers to the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs. Social mobility refers to the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards (or downwards) in society with respect to jobs, income, status, and power (Policy Brief no. 1).

This part of the Handbook presents findings from selected case studies on conditions created by policy initiatives for economic performance and social mobility in the neighbourhood. The findings are described in terms of the space and the activities provided or supported by these bottom-up initiatives. We studied how the policy initiatives perceive diversity in the neighbourhood. We also identified the factors that contribute to the success of those initiatives in achieving their targets, while bringing to light the factors that pose a challenge to them. Our general finding is that these initiatives can help the residents both directly and indirectly by focusing on their capacities and needs, particularly in relation to employment or entrepreneurship. In the following, we first elaborate on the policy initiatives that help create conditions for social mobility. Then we focus on those policies that contribute to the economic performance in deprived neighbourhoods. The overview presents eight initiatives from different case-study cities addressing diverse groups (women, homeless, youth, unemployed, and immigrants).

Our research did not demonstrate a strong link between diversity and social mobility in general (Policy Brief no. 4). Nonetheless, our in-depth case-study analysis did show that policy initiatives can support diverse groups and individuals in the neighbourhood. They do so by offering space and organizing activities to gain access to employment opportunities. These are aimed mainly at underprivileged residents like the youth, immigrants, the homeless, and women. In order to demonstrate how opportunities to access information, training, or the job market can be created by policy initiatives through offering space, we will highlight two case studies. One is ***Project 2020***, which targets unemployed, un-trained, or un-educated youth in London's Haringey neighbourhood. Another is the ***Pastry Hill Integration House (Integrationshuset Kringlebakken),*** an initiative which serves immigrant women and girls in Copenhagen's Bispebjerg neighbourhood. Among the initiatives offering activities for social mobility, two cases — ***LÉLEK***, which serves the homeless in Budapest's 8th District, and ***Women Moving Forward*** in Toronto's Jane-Finch neighbourhood — were selected as illustrations.

encourage youth education, employment & training

promote equality and diversity

PROJECT 2020 LONDON

Mission

Homes for Haringey is an Arms Length Management Organization (ALMO) with the task of managing council housing in this disadvantaged part of London. On the basis of the organization's Single Equality Scheme, an Action Plan was drawn up elaborating how they would address their responsibilities for promoting equality and diversity. The plan calls for collecting data from clients on protected characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation and for conducting equality impact assessments. Within this framework they launched Project 2020 in January 2013. Its objective is to reduce the number of young people in Haringey who are not in education, employment, or training (NEET). Part of this area, the Northumberland Park ward of North Tottenham, was reported in 2010 to

have one of the highest concentrations of unemployed people and NEET youth in the whole of London, and the second highest in the UK. By focusing on 'light touch' community activities (often funded, led, and/or supported by partner organizations), Project 2020 endeavours to build relationships and trust. On that basis, the project can conduct a one-to-one assessment to identify the development needs of the young persons and get them started on their achievement portfolio.

Young people are then matched with professional/trade mentors who offer them support throughout the programme. Training to develop skills is offered to help young people become 'employment-ready'. Partners help them get into work placements, apprenticeships, volunteering, and training. Finally, achievement ceremonies are held to celebrate a cohort's completion of the programme. Each young person is then presented with an achievement portfolio. The project also runs events for 'rewarding residents', coffee morning drop-in sessions for single parents, and visits to local schools, working along with the Metropolitan Police. Its activities are delivered from 'Off Road', which is the site of Project 2020's office and youth hub in Northumberland Park. Previously a disused community space, it now hosts an IT suite and music studio as well as an area for video games and a pool table. Private spaces are available where the young people can confidentially discuss their career plans and ambitions with staff members. The site is championed for providing 'a meeting place offering young people the opportunity to receive expert advice and support on accessing education, training and employment opportunities, as well as relax and make new friends'. Project 2020 is a good example of the positive impact that locally-focused interventions involving effective partnership working across a variety of different bodies can have upon levels of social mobility within areas of multiple deprivation.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is perceived in relation to age, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation in this initiative. The Homes for Haringey Equality and Diversity Strategy states that they will provide services and opportunities in a fair and equitable way to meet the needs of diverse groups. Six diversity objectives are listed: to 'know our residents and their needs; deliver excellent and responsive services accessible to all; involve our residents in everything we do; work in partnership to deliver stronger, safer communities; ensure procurement is transparent and fair; and value diversity in our workforce and be an employer of choice' (Kesten et al. 2014, p. 18).

Success and failure factors

One of the greatest strengths – and reasons for the success – of Project 2020 is the tailored nature of the support. Support takes the form of mentoring programmes designed for the specific background, needs, and experiences of the young people involved. Its tailored nature is made possible by the combination of two vital ingredients. One is the approach to community engagement, which emphasizes positive relationships between the young people and Project 2020 staff. The rapport has eased the conversations to identify the interests, skills, and experience of the young people and to determine what kind of support they needed and which steps should be taken to enable them to reach their goals. The other vital ingredient is the wide range of partnerships which the project has established with organizations and businesses. Those connections can open doors for young people seeking employment via work experience placements, apprenticeships, and paid jobs. Another major success factor is the space it provides for the activities. 'Off-Road Hub', where Project 2020 is based, is situated on the ground floor of one of a series of 16-floor council-owned tower blocks in the heart of Northumberland Park, an area of acute deprivation and high unemployment. The site provides a visible – and conveniently located – base for supporting local residents.

The youth club facilities are undoubtedly a major attraction in an area where community amenities are becoming scarce as a result of austerity measures. By offering people a local space to socialize as well as seek support, advice, and training, the initiative ensures that its services are not only welcoming but also reaching out to those most in need. If the activities were based in Haringey Council offices, a bus ride of over 20 minutes away or a 50-minute walk, the project would certainly be less effective in engaging its target audience.

This text is based on Kesten J., Raco, M. and C. Colomb (2014).

PASTRY HILL
INTEGRATION HOUSE
COPENHAGEN

Mission

Pastry Hill is an association funded primarily by the Copenhagen Municipality but it also receives grants from various funds. The association is situated in a former bakery (hence the name). It was founded in 1999 to break the isolation in which many ethnic minority women were living (and to some degree their small children as well). The goal of the Pastry Hill Integration House (Pastry Hill from now on) is to empower ethnic minority women living in isolation due to their limited Danish language skills, limited social networks, and limited knowledge of Danish society.

Pastry Hill seeks to give these women competences that can strengthen their position in many areas, ranging from private life, social life, and childcare to employment, education, and participation in Danish society. Pastry Hill aims to foster social mobility by empowering these women and girls. It also aims to improve social cohesion by helping them to take part in Danish society and build up their social networks. The activities touch upon all aspects of the women's lives. In order to serve as their springboard, the strategy is to help them acquire the knowledge and competences necessary to navigate in society with regard to work and education, public authorities, and childcare.

Currently, Pastry Hill has seven paid employees who manage and organize activities and courses. Language lessons, homework help, childcare, and job counselling are for a large part handled by volunteers. The target audience consists of girls and young women (up to the age of approximately forty). Although the association is primarily people-based, it also offers space for a wide range of activities: Danish lessons; a playgroup for small children; job counselling; communal dinners; swimming lessons; a single-mothers' club; presentations on topics like health, private life, women's rights, and raising children; election meetings; and field trips to the national parliament, educational institutions, libraries, day-care centres for children, and shelters for women. The activities also include an after-school club for girls, where older persons help the girls with homework, job applications, and choice of education; teach them about their rights and Danish democracy; as well as initiate social activities for them.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The aim of Pastry Hill is to promote the concept of diversity as a strength. A deliberate effort is made to have as many nationalities in the house as possible (which entails providing interpreters for the presentations). However, tackling the negative aspects that accompany differences in culture and socio-economic situation is also a focal point. Working with ethno-cultural diversity and diversity in gender is embedded in the very objective of Pastry Hill. Yet many other

promote the concept of diversity as a strength

empower minorities

forms of diversity are included in their work as well: in practice, Pastry Hill embraces diversity across lifestyles and life cycles. For example, childcare is provided for young children so that the women can bring their babies along to language lessons, and single mothers have their own Supermom Club. The attempt to encompass all aspects of the women's lives shows that Pastry Hill recognizes the hyper-diversity of its target audience.

Success and failure factors

A very important external factor in the success of the integration house is the recognition by the public authorities that Pastry Hill is able to engage with some of the highly isolated women that governmental actors cannot reach. This record of engagement ensures the continued existence of the Integration House. Another important external success factor is the cooperation with municipal actors like social workers and health visitors as well as other associations, especially those operating in the local area. One of the key internal success factors of Pastry Hill is that childcare and language courses are offered under one roof. The ideal of initiating the integration of refugee and immigrant women in Denmark as early as possible is hard to achieve when they are isolated, which is common among women with young children. Thanks to the amount of space available, the women can bring their babies and children to Pastry Hill; this option stimulates their attendance. Along these lines, keeping

Pastry Hill a women-only house makes it possible to include women and girls who would not be allowed by their families to come if men were present. A third important success factor is the location. Easy access (by foot or public transportation) is necessary for the women to be able to show up, given that most are unfamiliar with the city and have difficulty finding their way around Copenhagen. Finally, the fact that the association is not a municipal actor works to the advantage of Pastry Hill, as many of the women in the target group distrust public authorities.

The biggest difficulty for Pastry Hill is to ensure sufficient resources. Basic funding is provided by the Copenhagen Municipality for a four-year term. According to the manager, however, fundraising is a demanding and challenging part of running Pastry Hill, and it has become more and more difficult over the years. The most important internal challenge is that the women and girls using the house do not show sufficiently strong commitment. As all participation is voluntary, the continuation of activities depends on the women giving priority to attending, which they would only do if they understood the relevance and importance of showing up. Lack of engagement and participation by the women is thus a barrier to the work at Pastry Hill.

— *This text is based on Andersen, H.T., A. Winther Beckman, V. Blach and R. Skovgaard Nielsen (2014).*

KIRAN s SANG

LÉLEK
BUDAPEST

Mission

LÉLEK* is an innovative communal programme addressing homelessness, and no similar initiatives are known in Hungary. It aims at securing residence, improving living conditions, providing psychological aid, and establishing a livelihood for homeless people. The programme was initiated by the Municipality of Józsefváros (8th District) as a pilot project in order to tackle the problems related to homelessness (e.g. illegal economic activities, sanitary problems, public safety). It was launched in cooperation with the Ministry of Human Resources in November 2011. As a comprehensive and individualized rehabilitation programme, its approach to the socio-economic reintegration of homeless people includes a wide range of personal interventions, for instance offering social, employment, and housing services. The programme provides opportunities for upward mobility and inclusion for the homeless and, as a consequence, helps strengthen social cohesion.

The activities have housing as well as social components. One of the housing components is LÉLEK house. This is a public institution providing temporary shelter – initially from at least six months to a maximum of one year – for homeless people and their families.

That is the first step; afterwards, clients can be accommodated in a 'service apartment' (public housing facility) for a one-year period. At the third level, a public housing unit can be rented for a fixed term. With its comprehensive approach, LÉLEK is significantly different from most of the other services addressing homelessness.

Regarding the social components of the initiative, the LÉLEK programme provides employment opportunities for homeless people in an effort to improve their position on the housing market. Participants receive individually-designed social work (mentoring), health care, and training at the same time that jobs are offered to them. The initiative operates in an interface office called LÉLEK point. The intermediaries make contact with homeless people, collect information about them, and cooperate with other institutions.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Although diversity is not explicitly addressed in the objectives of LÉLEK, some elements of the concept can be identified in the initiative. The 'society' of homeless people is very heterogeneous with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, qualifications, and marital status, and the programme

takes several of these characteristics into consideration. The primary target group of the project consists of homeless people who meet the following criteria: residing at least five years in Józsefváros before losing their own apartment; having no debt to the local municipality; and possessing sufficient physical and mental abilities to work and having a cooperative attitude. Families are a special target group. Participating families might be those who lost their homes, but the parents must be economically independent (i.e. they must have a regular income) and must be able to take care of their children.

Success and failure factors

One of the most important external success factors is the unequivocal support given by local political actors. The ruling party and opposition politicians seem to have reached consensus on the importance of this initiative. The demand for its services in Józsefváros is significant due to the high number of homeless people there, and LÉLEK offers a comprehensive solution to the problem. In addition, it does not put an enormous financial burden on the municipality. Another internal success factor is the versatility and expertise of the participating institutions. In

establish livelihoods for homeless people

socio-economic reintegration

improve living conditions

addition, the personal motivation of the homeless people themselves is also crucial to the success of the interventions made on their behalf.

The growing socio-economic disparities within Hungarian society form one of the most intractable external challenges. The increasing number of poor people puts more pressure on institutions that are taking care of the homeless. In addition, the supply of adequate public housing is insufficient due to previous privatization processes. We can also identify dysfunctions in Budapest's two-tier system of local government, which partly explain the uneven distribution of homeless people (the large number in Józsefváros places a heavy burden on the local services). Limited financial and technical resources can be seen as the most important internal challenge. The unilateral dependency on local political interest can also be considered an internal risk: if the government were to withdraw its financial support in the future, the programme would be terminated.

— This text is based on Fabula, S., D. Horvath, and Z. Kovacs (2014).

*

the word 'lélek' means 'soul'

WOMEN MOVING FORWARD TORONTO

Mission

Women Moving Forward (WMF) is an initiative that operates within the Jane and Finch Community and Family Centre (JFCFC). WMF was established in 2005 primarily to help young sole-support mothers, aged 18-30, in the Jane-Finch area as they make the transition from poverty to self-sufficiency. Building on direct community input, the programme includes activities to educate and support women in setting and achieving personal and professional goals. During the first phase of their involvement the participants get support for life skills, career planning, and citizen participation as well as counselling and literacy help. The next phase has two components, namely planning and pursuing. In the planning part, women choose a minimum of two options, ranging from academic upgrading to a volunteer placement in their field of interest. In the pursuing part, they are helped to make the transition to the next step in their career plan. Upon completion of the programme the women take part in a graduation ceremony; after graduation, they can still turn to WMF for support and assistance.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is a defining feature of the Jane-Finch area and it resonates in the way WMF operates. The women who participate in the programme have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, though the largest group tends to be Afro-Caribbean. The initiative envisions broadening the scope of diversity in terms of ethnicity. The initiative plans to expand in the future to include young men as well. The objectives of WMF refer explicitly to diversities in terms of age, ethnicity, culture, gender, socio- economic status, mental health, and settlement. Moreover, the obstacles faced by the target group such as poverty and racial discrimination (especially against the Afro-Caribbean community) are taken into account in the operation of the programme.

Success and failure factors

WMF is a bottom-up initiative, and it cuts across various fields. The programme adopts an integrated approach that addresses the different characteristics and needs of its participants in helping them achieve self-sufficiency. Although small in size, the initiative has managed to leverage financial, organizational, and physical resources through collaboration with a range of other organizations and programmes. WMF offers opportunities for encounter among its diverse audience. It recognizes the individual needs of the participants with regard to their particular circumstances. And

activities to educate and support women

intergrated approach

it contributes to the redistribution of resources by providing them with access to education and helping them apply for grants. In terms of future developments, the programme aims to grow into an independent organization which targets a broader audience (men, a wider age group, a larger geographic area). The feasibility of this vision, however, depends on the extent to which WMF will be successful in securing funding for the coming years. The integrated approach to dealing with all aspects of women's lives while helping them achieve self-sufficiency was identified by the staff as the main internal factor contributing to the success of the programme. Another internal factor is its bottom-up character; WMF was founded to address real and current needs in the community. Furthermore, through the years, WMF has been undergoing constant evaluation and reshaping in order to make sure that it sufficiently addresses the particular characteristics and needs of its target audience. The fact that all staff members are local women has been highly influential in building trust and empathy in the community. On the other hand, the lack of funding and physical space was identified as the main external factor posing a challenge to the programme. Since the programme takes an integrated approach, cutting across different fields, there is not one particular ministry or municipal department that would accept the responsibility to fully fund the programme. Moreover, given that Jane and Finch is a high-need area, WMF has to compete with other small-scale community programmes for resources. Thus, WMF has struggled with limited resources, forcing it to cut staff hours and move to a smaller space.

— This text is based on Ahmadi, D. and Tasan-Kok, T. (2014).

2.2.3. Initiatives that help create conditions for economic performance by offering space and activities for entrepreneurs

One of the main ambitions of the DIVERCITIES project was to understand the circumstances under which diversity can have beneficial effects on economic performance. Such insights have been gained by describing, analysing, and demonstrating the relationship between entrepreneurship, neighbourhood conditions, and diversity (Policy Brief no. 5). Our research in 14 deprived and hyper-diverse neighbourhoods revealed that an increasing diversity of enterprises tends to attract different types of customers, inhabitants, and new types of services to these areas, which may in turn alter the social and economic conditions of the neighbourhood. In order to create the conditions that would increase the competitive advantage of local entrepreneurs, it is not enough to support small and disadvantaged enterprises. It is also necessary to provide social facilities and an appropriate built environment for different types of entrepreneurship by means of tailor-made policies (Policy Brief no. 5).

This part of the Handbook presents four selected cases that illustrate how policy initiatives can generate better conditions for entrepreneurs by offering space and support. For the spatial component we selected two cases: the **Base Camp** initiative, which provides space for small businesses in Zurich; and the **Selby Trust**, which provides affordable spaces for small businesses in London. For evidence of the effect of support in the form of activities, we also selected two cases. One is **The Neighbourhood Maintenance Corporation** (Régie de Quartier) initiative in Paris, which creates jobs for unemployed people and helps get the inhabitants involved in the maintenance of their neighbourhood. The other is the **Women's Solidarity Foundation** (Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı-KADAV) in Istanbul. Its aim is to help women become independent by engaging them in activities, including vocational courses that would enhance their economic performance.

BASE
CAMP
ZURICH

Mission

The Base Camp is a settlement consisting of stacked containers. It provides space for small-scale factories and companies in the creative industries. This low-threshold infrastructure was established in 2009 to counteract the effect of renewal in industrial areas and industrial real estate, which had led to a gradual disappearance of small-scale enterprises. The Base Camp constitutes an interim use of land. Its objectives are to offer a base for small companies, strengthen creative and artistic diversity in the city of Zurich, and foster economic innovation and performance.

The initiative is a spin-off of the research project 'zone*imaginaire' – a project conducted jointly by public research institutes, private organizations, and several Swiss cities. The idea was to invent a very simple, mobile structure that is suitable for interim use and would meet the needs of possible users. The plan was to develop, with the involvement of the architectural firm NRS-Team GmbH, simple, stackable containers of 25 square meters each. The units would be lockable and would provide heating and access to electricity and the internet. The first container settlement was ready by October 2009. In the summer of 2012, a new building project was undertaken in that area so the Base Camp had to move. It was then set up in district 9 on property owned by the city of Zurich and leased out to the initiative until 2027.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The tenants of the Base Camp are a mixed group in terms of age, origin, and sex. The concept of diversity is evident in several aspects of the initiative. By creating a niche for small-scale factories and companies, the initiators sought to promote creative and artistic diversity in the city of Zurich. The professional composition of the group of tenants changed slightly upon relocating, however, since the monthly rent had increased by around one-third. Some of the tenants whose activities generated lower added value have left the Base Camp. For instance, sculptors or illustrators may need a lot of space but have little added value; some of them could not afford the higher rent. Professionals like designers or photographers are not so dependent on space; they are now represented more strongly.

"good prospects for the future"

strengthen creative and artistic diversity

space for small-scale creative industries

motivaton & commitment

Success and failure factors

The Base Camp provides a niche for the creative industries by offering low-threshold access and low rents. This mobile container settlement constitutes a success story with very good prospects for the future. The realization that open, undefined spaces and wasteland can trigger creativity and innovation is of crucial importance in today's dense and defined cities. Such places make an important contribution to urban diversity as well as to productive and creative entrepreneurship.

The demand for a rental container is continuously high in the Base Camp. The main success factor is the strong commitment of the architectural firm that came up with the original idea and has proactively pursued it. Within the context of the initial research preceding implementation of the idea, the firm managed to find individuals – representatives of the investor – who were similarly enthusiastic about the

project. Under different circumstances, that investor, a large life assurance company, would have never taken the risk of supporting such an initiative. The realization of the project was entirely dependent on the commitment and motivation of enthusiastic individuals.

A significant challenge that impeded implementation of the idea was finding a site. The initiative required a centrally located, sufficiently large, and affordable property in the city. When the Base Camp had to leave the initial site, a long search began to find an appropriate location. Finally, the organizers succeeded in concluding a lease agreement with the city of Zurich.

— This text is based on Plüss, L., W. Schenkel and P. Abegg (2014).

SELBY TRUST/ SELBY CENTRE LONDON

Mission

Selby Trust is a multi-purpose community and social enterprise centre. It has three aims: to increase the capacity and sustainability of historically excluded groups in the diverse communities; to promote and support a range of opportunities to enable all communities to achieve economic, social, and cultural growth; and to facilitate community and economic development through partnership. The Trust was originally set up by local people to create a facility led by the community and third-sector organizations. It consists of a board of trustees, 21 paid staff members, and numerous volunteers. This area-based arrangement sees itself as a platform for creating new forms of social capital. It supports local entrepreneurs by providing spaces for small businesses, thereby contributing to economic development in the area. The Selby Centre consists of offices, meeting rooms, training facilities, sports and events halls, and a large car park. Among the wide range of organizations based at the Centre are social enterprises, training centres, support groups for vulnerable immigrants, and social infrastructure (such as martial arts classes and cooking/gardening projects to support community activities). The Centre hosts numerous sports and religious groups, and it supports the entrepreneurs and communities in the area by offering them space and facilities. It operates its own café and restaurant, which allows people to host a variety of community events of all sizes such as weddings, funerals, and all kinds of cultural ceremonies.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The motto of the Selby Trust is Many Cultures, One Community, a stance which shapes the work it does. The Centre is located in an area of high deprivation and draws in a diverse mix of individuals and organizations. Although it primarily serves Tottenham and the surrounding area, it is available to all people and organizations in Haringey and other parts of North London, as well as further afield. The Centre attracts over 1500 people every day from Haringey's diverse communities and is used by over 100 community groups and local enterprises. The users are primarily from ethnic groups, including Turkish, Somali, Romanian, Mauritian, Kurdish, Indian, Ghanaian, Greek-Cypriot, English, Caribbean and other backgrounds, but refugees and other historically excluded communities also use the Centre.

facilitate community & economic development

Success and failure factors

The Selby Centre, which is locally recognized as a leading and stable venue for community activities, employs over 300 staff. Its highly motivated Chief Executive and Board of Trustees help the organization set the right course to meet the needs of the local community. The key success factor is that with their guidance the Trust can identify and attain its own goals and set strategies for operating as a community asset. Another notable success factor is having access to strong and diverse sources of funding. For instance, the website Spacehive was used to solicit crowdfunding from willing donors. With this new source of revenue, the Centre was able to realize the Global Garden, Global Kitchen.

The most significant barrier facing the organization is also related to funding and the ownership of assets: securing the lease for the Selby Centre itself. At the time of writing the 25-year lease granted by Haringey Council has only eight years remaining and expires in January 2022. Without an extension, the Trust believes it will be unable to attract capital investment for the Centre, which would leave it in a precarious position for the future.

— This text is based on Kesten, J., M. Raco and C. Colomb (2014).

NEIGHBOURHOOD
MAINTENANCE
CORPORATION
PARIS

Mission

The Neighbourhood Maintenance Corporation (Régie de Quartier) was established in 2003 in the 19th district of Paris. Its aim is to create jobs in services like cleaning and gardening in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. While providing jobs for unemployed people, it also gets residents involved in the maintenance of their neighbourhood. This initiative is typical of community involvement in French urban policy. It mixes economic development (by providing jobs and developing services) with social mobility (by offering skill-building programmes and introducing role models) and social cohesion (by creating spaces of encounter). By providing jobs and training programmes, the Régie develops bridging social capital and creates role models. Not only does it contribute to better physical quality but it also helps improve the image of the neighbourhood. Although the target audience consists of the residents of the 19th district, it serves a larger area. The employees, who are mainly women and immigrants, work around 24 to 30 hours per week. They attend training programmes which open up opportunities to obtain a more stable and qualified job in the future. However, the Régie offers only a limited number of permanent jobs.

encourage role models

provide jobs for the unemployed

create spaces of encounter

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The population targeted by this initiative is diverse. Given the low skills required for maintenance jobs, most of the workers are immigrants from North African countries. More women are involved in the cleaning of buildings and more young people are interested in cleaning spaces. These neighbourhood management corporations facilitate social interaction among inhabitants with different lifestyles and cultural backgrounds.

Success and failure factors

One of the main external success factors is the support received from the City and the housing corporation. The City of Paris helped secure public subsidies to create jobs, and the housing corporation provided access to the building and offered jobs. On that basis, the Régie could hire more employees, growing from 11 permanent workers in 2011 to 15 in 2013. That support laid the basis for additional success factors. Meanwhile, other Régies have developed in Paris, leading to the creation, in 2011, of a network of ten management corporations. Every new Régie benefits from the positive outcomes of previous ones and from the national network of management corporations, which was established in 1991. The main internal success factors are the availability of space, the location, and the duration the project. To be inside the neighbourhood, close to schools, social centres, and housing helps the organizers maintain contact with the inhabitants. The fact that the premises have never been vandalized is a sign that the project is

respected in this area. The durability of the project has guaranteed a high level of employment for people who have passed through the Régie. The average proportion of participants who return to employment after passing through the Régie is 57% (25% of those jobs are permanent contracts).

Two limitations were identified as the main challenges to the success of the organization. The first is the weak involvement of immigrants and disadvantaged residents in the social activities such as the Corderie or the shared garden. The second limitation is the difficulty the workers experience in moving onward from a temporary job with the Régie into a less precarious and higher-skilled one outside of the neighbourhood.

— This text is based on Escafré-Dublet, A. and C. Lelévrier (2014).

WOMEN'S SOLIDARITY FOUNDATION
ISTANBUL

MISSION

After the earthquake of August 1999 in Marmara, Turkey, a group of volunteers established the Women's Solidarity Foundation (WSF). The overarching idea was to help build solidarity among the women who had been affected by the disaster. They would start by offering support to those who had lost their families and homes in the earthquake. Initially, the support took the form of psychological and physical health programmes which operated for nine months in the Women's Tents set up by the government in Gölcük and Düzce. Today, the WSF continues its efforts to strengthen the social, economic, and cultural positions of women and thereby to give them more independence. To this end, the Foundation provides

consultation services on judicial issues with the objective of defending the rights of disadvantaged groups. It has also initiated participatory projects aimed at promoting social cohesion and has been running vocational courses to enhance the economic

performance of women. In line with these aims, the WSF coordinates seminars on women's human rights and undertakes other activities in collaboration with local governments and non-profit organizations in Istanbul. It also cooperates with other women's organizations to initiate joint activities and campaigns.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The WSF describes itself as a feminist, socialist, and collective organization serving a target audience that consists mainly of women, though its projects also serve children as well as different ethnic and LGBTQ groups. While diversity is one of its concerns, priority is given to supporting women from the most vulnerable groups in society. The WSF operates under the guiding principle that "no group has the right of domination over any other group", indicating that its perception of diversity is shaped by the notion of equality.

Success and failure factors

The WSF began as a bottom-up initiative. After a short period it took on official status in order to continue its activities in collaboration with different public and semi-public organizations, which gave it access to financial support. Today, the work of the WSF covers many different issues related to the empowerment of women. To this end, it runs various projects, workshops, and courses. Special attention is given to reporting on its activities and making the programmes accessible to all.

Of the various foundations in Turkey that are addressing the numerous problems faced by women, the WSF has been the most successful. One of its greatest success factors is the commitment of the volunteers, who work hard to reach the many women in need of support. Still, the Foundation needs more volunteers to increase its ability to monitor discrimination, violence, etc. and to organize workshops (e.g. for female employees in textile factories, and on eco-feminism), conferences, meetings

(e.g. on women's employment policies), and to raise awareness of women's rights in various fields. In addition, the WSF seeks to introduce new concepts and ideas related to women's solidarity, to develop strategies to influence public policy-making, to support groups which are unable to articulate their problems themselves, to help people who are hesitant or afraid to express their identity, and so on. The WSF faces many problems in achieving its goals, including those related to organization, the labour force, and legal regulations. One problem in particular is that the work of associations and foundations is generally spurned by the state, which believes that these initiatives are trying to turn society against the state. For this reason, the state is reluctant to provide support for such groups. The lack of financial support from local and central government is one of the main factors of failure for parts of this initiative.

— *This text is based on Eraydın, A., Ö. Yersen, N. Güngördü and I. Demirdağ (2014).*

build solidarity strengthen the social, economic, and cultural positions of women

4

RECOMMENDATIONS TO SUPPORT & MOTIVATE SOCIAL MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

2.2.4. Recommendations to support and motivate social mobility and economic performance in deprived neighbourhoods

Before beginning our research, we decided that our efforts to discern the impact of urban diversity on social mobility should not only focus on neighbourhood effects. We decided to also pay attention to personal characteristics like age, gender, and ethnic origin and document how these characteristics manifest themselves in activities, behaviours, and lifestyles (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013)[1]. We argued that by casting a broader net we could capture the link between personal characteristics and action spaces (where people live, work, or have fun). These two dimensions, personal and spatial characteristics, were emphasized in our field research as keys to understanding the economic performance of the residents of these deprived neighbourhoods. The assumption was that policy arrangements can play an important role in stimulating circumstances that are conducive to improved performance.

Recommendations to support and motivate bottom-up policy initiatives are elaborated at length in the policy briefs that are based on the analysis of the research results from 14 case-study cities (see Policy Briefs nos. 4 and 5). Those recommendations have been discussed with policy-makers from several European countries and Canada (see Policy Brief no. 6). As illustrated above by some selected cases, it is not easy to create generic policies for a hyper-diverse urban society. However, some elements of policy initiatives that motivate social mobility and economic performance can be highlighted on the basis of our research results. The following sections present some of the recommendations and expand on the facilitating factors.

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1. Tasan-Kok, T., van Kempen, R., Raco, M., and Bolt, G. (2013) Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review. Utrecht: Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences.

1.

Provide physical space for small initiatives

Start-ups or small businesses, which constitute the majority of our sample, were often not able to pay for office, production, or retail space. A very important facilitating factor, as seen in the above cases, is the availability of appropriate space within the neighbourhood. The businesses need to carry out their activities in a place that is accessible to residents whose budgets and possibilities are limited. Availability of affordable and available physical space to either accommodate entrepreneurial activities or to provide training and support can increase economic performance and provide the residents with new opportunities for social mobility. One way to respond to the entrepreneurs' needs is by supporting local organizations such as training bureaus, consultancies, and business associations. Of particular importance is making affordable incubator spaces available. These provide conditions in which entrepreneurs can develop their businesses from the start-up phase through to maturity.

Moreover, innovative forms of place-making should be stimulated to overcome the negative stigmatization of deprived neighbourhoods. Furthermore, diverse individuals should be encouraged to start new firms. Meanwhile, inward investment should be attracted and the inward movement of successful businesses should be facilitated. In order to ensure that all these efforts will be fruitful, effective zoning and planning policies are necessary. Measures should be taken to serve the individual and collective needs of entrepreneurs, to foster networking among entrepreneurs, and to promote the dissemination of knowledge.

2.

Provide financial certainty for neighbourhood-scale initiatives

A recurrent facilitating factor is the assurance of financial support from higher levels in the institutional hierarchy. Initiatives thrive on certainty and continuity, and financial guarantees enable the transformation of successful initiatives. Our research shows that local initiatives are more successful when they combine their local base and social networks with national and regional policy programmes and sources of funding. Public institutions, big civil-society organizations, and umbrella organizations have an important role to play in this linkage. Financial support is crucial, but one should not underestimate the importance of non-material support in the form of expertise, enabling legal frameworks, the provision of quality public space, and logistical support. Funded programmes that ensure the right types of training and advice should be made available, especially to disadvantaged groups. Moreover, attention should be given to small and medium-sized businesses in non-priority sectors in disadvantaged urban areas, as well as to traditional businesses serving the needs of less affluent local people.

3.

Communicate and create awareness of policy support and recognize diversity

An effort should be made to communicate policies effectively, as underprivileged residents are not always aware of the possibilities available to them through policies or initiatives. Residents of disadvantaged and diverse neighbourhoods usually do not know about the diversity policies and initiatives that are undertaken in their neighbourhood. Most of them are not active participants in community-based or third-sector initiatives, and there is a general tendency to distrust politicians and public institutions. Policy-makers and civil-society organizations should try to build trust and make a greater effort to communicate what their core aims and objectives for intervention actually consist of. They can also work with intermediaries to reach out to the less educated and poorer people in the neighbourhood. Policy changes, e.g. budget cuts, are not diversity-neutral and often have strong impacts on vulnerable populations with a migrant background. A recognition of diversity should inform all welfare and planning policies (e.g. through an ex ante 'diversity test' of proposed measures) (Policy Brief no. 6). Moreover, it is important to engage in and encourage 'dialogue' between entrepreneurs, business organizations, and other institutions to find practical solutions at multiple layers of governance (international, national, local, neighbourhood scale).

4.

Address the needs of underprivileged groups

The activities should cover a wide range of support, reflecting the hyper-diversity of demands in urban neighbourhoods of differing types. Meeting the demands of marginalized and underprivileged groups requires tailor-made policy tools. Bottom-up initiatives can play a very important role in that regard. They come from within as a result of active engagement of residents, and local initiatives can identify with and connect easily to other needs in the area. Particular attention should be given to those underprivileged groups that show the lowest levels of participation in local policies and initiatives. Policies addressing deprived areas with high levels of diversity should recognize and respond to the fundamental needs in the area, notably affordable housing and employment possibilities, rather than merely 'promoting diversity'.

3. CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS, AND PERSPECTIVES

3.1. Diversity as an asset

Social diversity is the 'new normal' in European cities. It creates new challenges as well as new opportunities for policy-makers at different levels. This societal diversification relates not only to ethnic or socio-economic categories but also to individual lifestyles, attitudes, and activities – a situation that we label hyper-diversity. This Handbook portrays 16 local initiatives and arrangements that understand this dynamic, complex phenomenon in a positive way. Accordingly, they develop comprehensive, innovative, and universal approaches which imply taking measures that are tailored to different personal circumstances. Meanwhile, public authorities and top-down policy programmes tend to focus on traditional ethnic and socio-economic categories and to stress cultural integration and assimilation. In view of the hyper-diversification of European cities, however, the time has come for a multifaceted policy approach. To move in that direction, policy-makers should seek ways to integrate local initiatives with smart forms of welfare intervention. Moreover, they should pursue redistribution and equality as the foundation for future intervention.

To maintain urban diversity as an asset, a stronger political recognition of hyper-diversity is required at all scales. There should be a greater awareness of its presence and a shift away from policies that targets standard social categories. Active governmental support is, furthermore, indispensable to the sustainability of bottom-up initiatives and arrangements. Local initiatives depend strongly on funding as well as on networks and exchange platforms involving all relevant actors in the field. City administrations should take an active role in establishing contacts and communication channels in order to strengthen the synergies and improve the mutual support and coordination of public and private partners.

3.2. Value and benefits of local initiatives

The present compilation of innovative and entrepreneurial projects provides evidence that local initiatives can be very successful in completing existing policy instruments and programmes. Often, traditional government interventions alone are no longer able to fulfil the needs of an increasingly diverse urban society. Local initiatives fill important niches in public service provision, for instance by supporting marginalized groups. Politics and society profit from this voluntary engagement and in many cases the cost-benefit ratio is excellent.

Crucial features of the initiatives' role are their orientation to actual needs of certain population groups and their function as bridge-builders between public authorities and target groups. They often know best what the needs and interests of the target audience are. Moreover, they are able to respond to the shifting needs of the urban population and address newly emerging problems and challenges. These initiatives often proactively take advantage of the positive assets that exist within target groups. Through the involvement of key persons or the direct participation of residents, the effectiveness and credibility of an arrangement may be considerably enhanced.

Further benefits of the initiatives scrutinized in this study involve ample voluntary engagement and high organizational flexibility. Small local initiatives are usually kept up and running by the commitment and engagement of the persons involved. Without these individuals' dedication to a project's goals and their willingness to work, mostly on a voluntary basis, these initiatives could never have been realized. Some of the great potential of the initiatives stems from their bottom-up approach, their flat hierarchies, and their high degree of organizational flexibility. These institutional advantages allow them to adapt quickly to a changing environment and act as forerunners in response to new societal challenges.

new opportunities for policy-makers at different levels

Public policies are more effective under conditions in which there is clear complementarity in policy across multiple scales. The approach of local initiatives tend to differ from the discourse related to public policies. While urban policies often pursue a strategy of integration or assimilation, the analysed arrangements focus instead on interculturality – specifically, on cultural dialogue and spaces for interactions. They take a more pluralist and inclusive approach than city governments are accustomed to. In particular, the arrangements described here sense the need to create spaces of encounter where people can meet on equal footing and learn from each other.

This approach — using intercultural interaction and dialogue to foster social cohesion — seems very promising. Giving precedence to the concept of interculturality over the (often) patronizing approach of integration or assimilation has an impact that is demonstrably positive, which should be acknowledged by local governments. It is important to sustain or even improve upon the advantages of small-scale initiatives and the role they play in local communities. To that end, building and maintaining personal and professional networks are key elements of success. Even small bottom-up initiatives need to be able to enter into partnerships with other professionals and with public authorities in order to have access to financial and political support. Cooperating with other organizations in the neighbourhood, for instance, broadens their scope of opportunities to build on existing talents, to reach different target groups, and to learn by exchange. The preconditions to do so, namely organizational stability and sufficient time, are not always met, however. Furthermore, successful initiatives draw on extra-local networks and resources and tend to spread their progressive ideas to other places and institutions. In order for an initiative to receive public funding and political approval, its organizational structure needs to be flexible enough to enter into partnerships with public institutions where decision-making is based on a hierarchical principle. Local initiatives are not always able to handle such complex networks, however. As they are mainly based on voluntarism and individual enthusiasm, and thereby lack a certain degree of professionalism, they will have difficulty in their efforts to successfully implement their primary goals in the long term.

1.

Diversity-check of urban policies

The emergence of hyper-diversity generates new challenges for the programmes and objectives of urban policy across Europe. Our research has uncovered examples of clashing lifestyles, forms of racial discrimination, open conflicts between ethnic groups, and a growing sense of detachment and disillusion within marginalized communities. These negative effects tend to overshadow the possible advantages of urban diversity, which may be overlooked, not recognized, or insufficiently leveraged. Keeping an open mind about policies and arrangements that view urban diversity as a social and economic asset may lead to new ideas about how to increase social cohesion, social mobility, and economic performance. Businesses, for instance, will be more competitive if they employ and empower workers from a diversity of backgrounds. Diversity awareness should therefore be embedded in the formulation and implementation of all welfare and planning policies. Regulatory requirements could be considered that make it obligatory to check the impact of new policy measures on social diversity before they are introduced. Bringing the concept of hyper-diversity to the foreground could encourage the development of a new culture within public institutions, a culture that takes the diversification of society into account.

3.3.1 MAINSTREAMING DIVERSITY

2.

Participatory processes and spatial factors

Regarding local planning and development policies, there is a trend toward collaborative policy-making through participatory democracy, which comes down to including as many interest groups as possible. Participatory planning adds a dimension to the otherwise top-down planning process and can lead to novel solutions. Within the planning and development processes, governmental strategies should link sectoral policies, for instance in the fields of education, culture, spatial development, employment, and social services. In order to maintain urban diversity, effective zoning and planning policy should also take the business community into account and respond to the individual and collective needs of local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, new events and activities could be undertaken to attract people from all over the city to the neighbourhoods, thereby creating a better image of the area. Innovative forms of place marketing, particularly in relation to an area's diversity and creativity, may encourage diverse individuals to start a business, which in itself may attract both inward investment and the inward movement of already successful businesses. However, the impacts of such regeneration policies on underprivileged inhabitants and small businesses should be carefully considered.

3.3.1 MAINSTREAMING DIVERSITY

3.

Enhance the visibility of local policies

As our research has shown, residents are often insufficiently informed about local policies, whether these concern urban development or diversity issues. Similarly, ethnic entrepreneurs often lack information on potential public support schemes or supporting organizations. Public authorities should therefore communicate more effectively about the support programmes and initiatives they offer to local initiatives, inhabitants, and entrepreneurs. Furthermore, both active participation and feedback from citizens are crucial to any efforts to improve such support schemes. To this end, local authorities should foster closer cooperation with members of local associations who may act as intermediaries between the public administration and the residents.

3.3.1 MAINSTREAMING DIVERSITY

1.

Policy-makers should show their appreciation of local initiatives

The local initiatives presented here fill niches in public service provision and enhance social cohesion in the neighbourhood while transmitting a positive image of social diversity. Local policy-makers should therefore consider these initiatives as valuable inputs and provide appropriate support. That would give the projects legitimacy and broaden their social impact. Since politics and society can profit from this voluntary engagement, policy agendas should be receptive to new bottom-up topics. Governments should support initiatives by acknowledging their importance for the community, by recognizing the significance of collaborating with the people who initiate and lead local initiatives, and by giving those initiatives more responsibilities.

3.3.2. SUPPORT OF LOCAL INITIATIVES
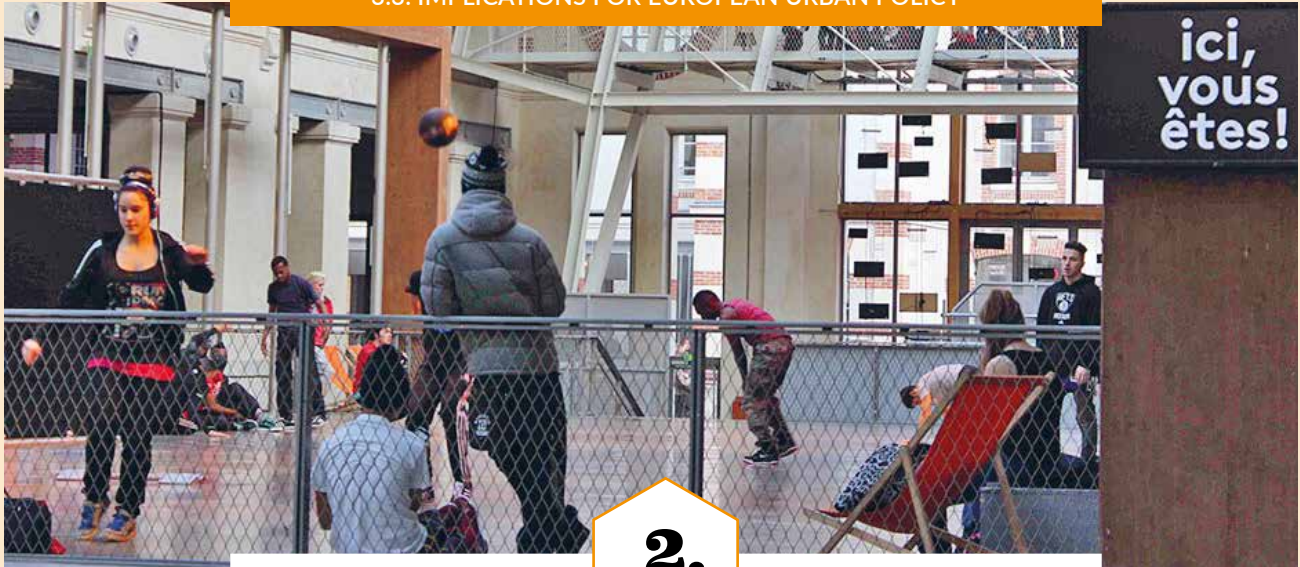
2.

Allow space for bottom-up initiatives so they are not over-controlled

Governmental strategies should consider the importance of open and consensual decision-making in order to give better support to initiatives dealing with diversity issues in European cities. This means that legislation should be flexible enough to support and fund initiatives which are less formally organized, have an open and participatory structure, and have difficulty meeting certain requirements. Local initiatives often experience tension between their flexible approach and their reliance on volunteers, on the one hand, and the formal and legal conditions they would have to meet to receive funding, on the other. Policy-makers should therefore be careful when setting their policy priorities and should leave sufficient space for local actors to respond to local needs. Integrated and comprehensive social policies are required to ensure the continuity and effectiveness of these initiatives.

3.3.2 SUPPORT OF LOCAL INITIATIVES

3.

Implement a global approach cutting across administrative units

Several local initiatives have difficulty obtaining financial contributions from public administrations since many projects may not be assigned to a specific administrative unit. Such arrangements often span several policy fields such as integration, community work, culture, youth, or sports. Therefore, the division of tasks within the public administration sometimes hampers a reasonable allocation of funds. Administrative systems are often not geared to handling a hyper-diversifying city, so a system of intersectoral cooperation covering all relevant administrative units should be promoted. The initiatives would then not have to compete for the same funds – at least as long as the initiatives render services complementing rather than duplicating each other. However, it is also crucial to engage in active and open political discussions on the scale and nature of an integrated approach and to ensure that coordination also occurs among the elected politicians. Most departments do not want other departments to intervene in their affairs. So without political steering, it is hard to organize and fund 'diversity' across an administrative system. Governments should therefore clarify whether local initiatives can play a crucial role in their overall strategy and whether these initiatives can be part of long-term processes.

3.3.2. SUPPORT OF LOCAL INITIATIVES

4.

Establish platforms for exchange or forums of interaction

Being involved in diverse networks and having to compete for political support and funding are time-consuming tasks for local initiatives. The reason is that effective engagement requires specialized skills and professional know-how. This claim on competences could be diminished if public authorities were to establish platforms for exchange or to set up forums of interaction and cooperation. These would interconnect the initiatives with different administrative units, experts, or local entrepreneurs around the common targets of strengthening social cohesion, social mobility, and economic performance. Establishing a dynamic and long-term framework in cities and neighbourhoods would support voluntary policy coordination and mutual learning and strengthen the synergies and complementarities between different local activities. It is therefore imperative to lay the groundwork for interaction. Although financial support is crucial for small initiatives, the non-material support enabled through such interaction structures – such as networking possibilities, legal and technical expertise, the provision of public space, and logistical support – should not be underestimated.

3.3.2 SUPPORT OF LOCAL INITIATIVES

3.4. Perspectives for the future

Putting an unbiased view of urban diversity into practice is easier said than done under current European conditions: looming economic uncertainty and public funding cuts, complicated by the threats posed by globalization and increasing immigration. On the one hand, national governments across Europe are aligning themselves with an increasingly hostile rhetoric on ethnic and cultural diversity. Residents of diverse neighbourhoods, on the other hand, are more concerned with material issues – housing prices and unemployment – than with investing in social networks. The effect of promoting societal diversity as an asset to be leveraged for social cohesion, social mobility, and economic development therefore largely depends upon actions at the municipal level. Many European cities, sometimes supported by the European Union, have already adopted pragmatic and celebratory approaches, highlighting how diversity contributes to economic competitiveness and to a renewed sense of social cohesion. Our research clearly indicates that it is up to the cities to advance diversity recognition in Europe.

What is needed to deal effectively with a hyper-diversifying society is participatory governance. It is an approach that involves all relevant stakeholders from the public and the private sphere as well as the local population. Thereby, public authorities could benefit and learn from local initiatives. Establishing comprehensive, innovative, and inclusive approaches would enhance the positive potential of urban diversity. To effectively support and sustain these small-scale arrangements in the long run, city administrations would need to take an active stance on diversity. Concretely, that means providing platforms for mutual exchange, giving bottom-up initiatives enough room to manoeuvre, and developing cross-departmental coordination of the diversity agenda.

APPENDIX

DIVERCITIES reports

List of DIVERCITIES reports on governance arrangements and initiatives

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Policy Brief no. 2:
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Policy Brief no. 3:
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Urban Diversity to Create Positive Outcomes
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Eraydin, A. (2016)

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