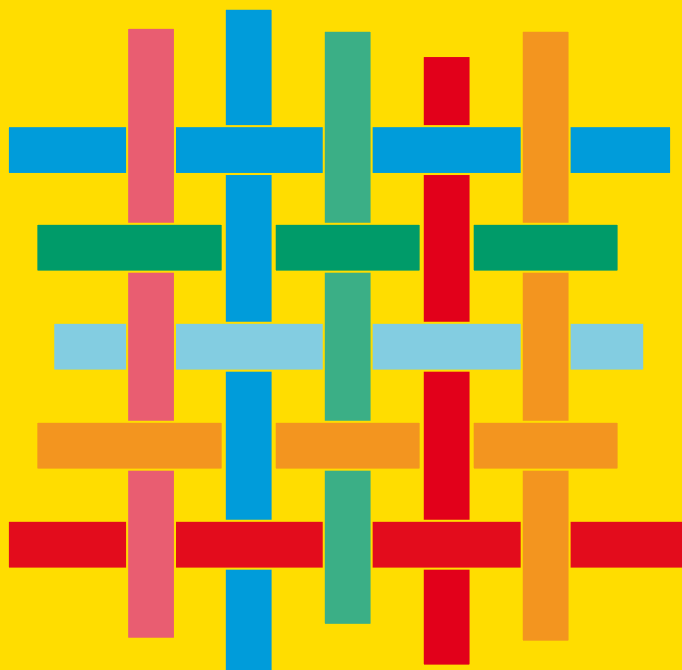




Centre for Local Economic Strategies



Where next for ethnic diversity policy-making at the local level?

Lessons from a comparative study of Manchester and Copenhagen

Jessica Smith

About CLES

The Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) is the leading membership based organisation in the UK dedicated to economic development, regeneration and local governance. Founded in 1986, CLES undertakes a range of activities including independent research, events and training, publications and consultancy. CLES also manages the monthly New Start online magazine through its new CLES online service which provides comprehensive analysis and commentary on current policy and good practice. In all of CLES' work, the challenge of delivering local economic development alongside progressive environmental and social benefits is a common theme. For more information visit www.cles.org.uk.

About the author

Jessica Smith, Policy Researcher
jessicasmith@cles.org.uk

Jessica joined CLES as a Policy Researcher in 2007 after graduating with a degree in Sociology from the University of Birmingham. Between September 2008 and September 2010, Jessica combined working at CLES with studying part time towards a Masters Degree in Human Geography Research at the University of Sheffield. This publication draws on findings from Jessica's Masters Dissertation entitled: *'Negotiating National Rhetoric at the Local Level: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Diversity Policy-Making in Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen'*. To access copies, contact the author.

Having recently returned to full time employment at CLES, Jessica's strong academic record makes her experienced in reviewing and analysing both policy-focused and academic literature. In her role as a Policy Researcher, Jessica has experience of working with a wide range of clients and her professional interests include employment policy, the role of the third sector and equalities issues.

Centre for Local Economic Strategies, Express Networks
1 George Leigh Street , Manchester M4 5DL
tel 0161 236 7036 fax 0161 236 1891
info@cles.org.uk www.cles.org.uk

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Acknowledgements

I embarked on this research project with the ambition of contributing to existing understanding of the policies and approaches that have been developed in response to increased ethnic diversity in Europe. As an employee of a research organisation that focuses on local economic strategies, I was curious to find out how local authorities negotiate a different but related policy field: ethnic diversity policy-making.

I would like to thank all those who gave up their valuable time to contribute to this research. Special thanks to René Lyngfeldt Skov at the City of Copenhagen and Anissa Kheratkar at Manchester City Council for all their support in accessing interviewees and to Jacob Urup Nielsen at the British Council for the initial contacts and encouragement.

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Jessica Smith

Policy Researcher, CLES



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Foreword

This publication draws on findings from an impressive cross-national study of two local authorities' policy responses to increased ethnic diversity: Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen. CLES has a long history of challenging the boundaries of local economic development thinking and of promoting a holistic understanding of our local economies; an understanding that appreciates the role of residents' well-being and their attachment to place. For CLES, local economies are most successful where diversity is recognised as an economic, social and cultural asset and where effective strategies are in place to overcome the challenges or inequalities that may act as barriers to realising this potential.

This publication is timely. The economic crisis and the impending spending cuts mean that local authorities are under increasing pressure to do more with less. Indeed, in the UK context, local government Community Cohesion funding is amongst the streams that are being cut by the coalition government. In the midst of this challenging context, it is vital that equality and diversity does not slip off the agenda and that the 'Big Society' concept recognises inequality as a barrier to participation.

One of the key conclusions of this research is that nationally imposed approaches are often unhelpful and that the rhetoric of ethnic diversity policy-making, whether that is 'integration' in the Copenhagen context or 'community cohesion' in Manchester, can stifle local state actors' work and their ability to formulate policy responses that are creative and relevant to the local economy and population. To date, the UK government has not defined its approach to ethnic diversity policy-making, however it is unlikely that we will see the development of an over-arching policy concept as we did with New Labour's 'community cohesion' agenda. Whilst recognising the extremely challenging context that local government is currently operating in, there is nevertheless an opportunity for a truly bottom-up approach to ethnic diversity policy-making that recognises and is responsive to the economic and social characteristics of our communities.

As in all of CLES' work, with this publication we are seeking to provoke debate and discussion amongst our member network and the wider local economic development and regeneration audience.

Neil McInroy

Chief Executive, CLES

Summary

About the research

This publication is based on an academic study of two local authorities' approaches to ethnic diversity policy-making: Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen. The research, undertaken between June and September 2010 for the author's Masters Degree in Human Geography Research at the University of Sheffield, set out to explore what approaches have been developed to date and outlines important considerations for the development of future policy.

The findings are based on 32 semi-structured interviews with policy officers and policy-makers from the two local authorities, as well as external representatives from non-governmental organisations, the voluntary and community sector and, in one instance, a government ministry.

The research was undertaken in the context of a change in government following the UK general election in May 2010. This made it a particularly appropriate opportunity to reflect on the policies and approaches that had been developed under the previous Labour government and to explore what the future holds for this area of policy. Moreover, the research is also framed by the wider context of economic uncertainty across Europe and, in particular, public sector cuts.

The research finds that the two authorities have developed markedly different approaches to this policy field. In Manchester, the research uncovered a largely 'social-cultural' approach to ethnic diversity policy-making. Under the banner of 'community cohesion', a host of policies and initiatives have been developed that emphasise the importance of 'shared values' and a strong 'sense of place'. In contrast, in Copenhagen a largely 'structural' approach emerges, one that emphasises the role of employment and housing in the 'integration' of migrant communities and their descendents.

In particular, this publication compares and contrasts the projects, policies and initiatives that the two authorities have developed as part of their ethnic diversity policy-making which have been organised according to the following themes:

- Shaping perceptions of place
- 'Managing' community relations
- Measuring and monitoring

Five key policy messages

1. The end of a national policy for local ethnic diversity policy-making: what next?

The UK's coalition government has not yet set out its approach to ethnic diversity policy-making. Indeed, 'community cohesion' was referred to just once in the Conservative Party's 2010 manifesto. It is quite likely that the 'community cohesion' framework, which was developed for almost ten years under the Labour government, will be quietly dropped by the coalition government. Without an overarching policy steer from central government, local authorities will have to think creatively and independently about how they are going to approach this field of policy-making and there won't necessarily be a theoretical concept for them to draw on. This presents an opportunity for local authorities to develop the type of creative and locally-specific approaches that this research advocates. However, a lack of steer from central government may prove challenging in areas that, unlike Manchester and Copenhagen, do not have a history of migration and ethnic diversity policy-making.

2. Localism and the need for bespoke ethnic diversity policy-making

As explored later in this publication, the research uncovered two very different approaches to ethnic diversity policy-making in the case-study local authorities. It is not CLES' intention to propose an ideal approach to ethnic diversity policy-making. Such an attempt would inevitably prove unsuccessful as the opportunities and challenges that ethnic diversity bring to a locality vary greatly depending on a range of factors including the nature of the local economy, the history of immigration and the characteristics of the 'host' community. To be most effective, ethnic diversity policy-making at local government level must be tailored to these local circumstances and not constrained by predetermined national rhetoric.

It was highlighted in the course of the research, for example, that 'labelling' funding streams with nationally defined policy rhetoric can be unhelpful. In applying for and accepting specialist ethnic diversity related funding streams, local authorities are, implicitly, 'buying into' nationally defined rhetoric with the implicit assumption that their locality was otherwise 'un-cohesive' or poorly 'integrated'. Whilst the current context raises many challenges, the removal of ring-fences from local government funding may open up possibilities for a more targeted use of monies which is more relevant to local circumstances. Moreover, the prominence of 'localism' within the UK coalition government's agenda potentially presents

possibilities for a truly bottom-up approach to ethnic diversity policy-making, providing that local government is given the powers and resource to seize the opportunity.

3. Tackling inequality should be at the root of ethnic diversity policy-making

This research argues that ethnic diversity policy-making will be ineffective unless it goes hand-in-hand with attempts to overcome systemic inequalities. In the Danish context, for example, focusing on employment as the key milestone to becoming accepted as an integrated citizen overlooks the challenges that some migrant communities can face in accessing the labour market, including employer discrimination and the problem of qualifications gained outside of the EU not being recognised. The UK's approach, with its emphasis on culture, must be complemented by efforts to tackle inequality: residents are unlikely to subscribe to a set of 'shared values' unless they feel satisfied with the services they receive and that they have an equal stake in society. To address this, local government needs to strengthen links with employers in the private sector, trade unions and voluntary and community organisations, all of which have an important role in promoting equality.

4. 'Big Society' must address barriers to participation

In both the UK and Denmark, concepts related to 'active citizenship' are becoming increasingly prominent within national policy-making. In the UK context, this is taking shape as the coalition government's 'Big Society' agenda.

Amongst interviewees in both Copenhagen and Manchester there was concern as to what impact the shift towards an 'active citizenship' based approach to policy-making will mean for equalities issues. Not all groups in society have the same opportunity or capacity to be active members of their local community. Many people face multiple barriers to accessing existing services, let alone having a stake in delivering them, as is the UK coalition government's vision.

Moreover, questions remain as to who will be accountable for the decisions made and the services delivered under the banner of the 'Big Society'. As the agenda continues to develop, it is imperative that the coalition government works to ensure equal access to participating in the 'Big Society' and develops effective processes for monitoring equality and diversity.

5. Ethnic diversity policy-making needs to be protected in a context of cuts

The Comprehensive Spending Review 2010 set out a real terms reduction of 28% in local authority budgets over the next four years. Whilst local authorities' individual settlements vary, the national picture is one of stringent cuts and local authorities will have difficult decisions to make about where and how deep they cut. Mainstream equalities and cohesion-related activities may well be viewed as dispensable. Coupled with cuts to the revenue grant for local government is a string of cuts to area based grant funded initiatives, as announced in June 2010, including initial cuts to Community Cohesion monies of £4 million and Prevent monies of £7 million.

CLES argues that it is important that central government allocates sufficient funds to enable local government to develop policies that are effective in harnessing the opportunities of ethnic diversity and overcoming any potential challenges that can emerge from local population change. Moreover, there is a real risk that the climate of public sector cuts will result in a rise in community tensions. As such, it is crucial that local authorities retain capacity and that central government provides resources where necessary for activities that promote good community relations.



Introduction

Cities across Europe are becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, a trend that presents both opportunities and challenges for state actors at the local level. Whilst patterns of migration operate at the national and international level, it is at the local level where their impact is most keenly felt.

Despite this, ethnic diversity policy-making at the local authority level remains relatively under-explored. Drawing on the findings from qualitative interviews with policy-makers and policy officers from two local authorities: Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen, this research explores how national policy and rhetoric become meaningful when they are translated at the local level. To achieve this, the research focuses on three key themes:

1. The influence and interpretation of national level policy and rhetoric at the local level
2. The meanings and discourse local authority practitioners hold with regard to key policy concepts
3. The policies, strategies and approaches developed at the local level

The timing of this research is significant. Both the UK and Denmark are dealing with the impact of the global economic crisis: local authorities in both countries are operating in an uncomfortable context of public sector funding cuts, tightening budgets, and austerity measures. Furthermore, in the UK context, the general election of May 2010 marked an end to thirteen years of Labour government making now an opportune time to reflect on the key policy concepts related to ethnic diversity that have shaped central and local government policy-making.

About the case-study locations

The primary reason for selecting Copenhagen as a case-study was the interesting political context relating to immigration and ethnic diversity in Denmark and the controversies generated. The research was sparked by the question: ‘What challenges does such a political climate raise for local authorities, and what is the impact of the national context on policy-making at the local level?’

Long-established links between CLES and the City Council made Manchester the obvious choice for the second case-study. Moreover, Manchester and Copenhagen share a number of common characteristics which make the cities interesting units for a cross-national comparative study. Both are major regional hubs for business, culture and the ‘knowledge economy’. The two cities are also both characterised by an historic openness to, and acceptance of, alternative sub-cultures which have carved a place in the built environment: from Manchester’s long-established and flourishing ‘gay village’, to Copenhagen’s bohemian settlement, Christiania.

In both cities, local government plays an important role as a direct deliverer of services and as an employer of the cities’ residents. Moreover, as revealed during the interviews, the two local authorities are both considered ‘leading lights’ within their respective national contexts. As Denmark’s capital city, towns and cities elsewhere in the country look to the City of Copenhagen for inspiration, and whilst Manchester is only England’s ‘third city’, the City Council is similarly influential and ambitious.

Another common characteristic is the left-leaning political make-up of the two authorities. Manchester is a Labour Party stronghold and the City Council has been led by the party since the 1970s, whilst the City of Copenhagen has long been led by the Social Democrat Party. Both local authorities are characterised by charismatic and popular left-wing political leaders who have played an important role in shaping the cities and spearheading left-wing policy agendas: particularly Sir Richard Leese in Manchester (1996 to present) and Ritt Bjerregaard in Copenhagen (2006-2009). More broadly, both local authorities are working within a wider EU-wide policy framework; thus sharing common themes with regard to ethnic diversity, most notably the concepts of ‘integration’ and ‘social cohesion’.

Whilst the cities share a number of similarities, there are nevertheless important differences to be acknowledged. Firstly, the histories of immigration in the two cities are very different. Unlike the UK, Denmark does not

have a significant legacy of colonialism (Rangvid, 2007). It was not until the 1960s that Denmark, and Copenhagen, saw the arrival of significant numbers of non-northern European migrants, largely 'guest-workers' from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Morocco (Hedetoft, 2006). In contrast, Manchester has a long history of immigration, from the Jewish and Muslim merchants that came to the city to trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Seddon, 2007), to the *Windrush* generation of the mid-twentieth century. Moreover, the city has a large and long established Irish community. For more information on the characteristics of the two cities, see Appendix 1.

Ethnic diversity policy-making at the national level

A range of approaches have developed over time in response to increased ethnic diversity, including: assimilation, integration, and multiculturalism/cultural pluralism. Assimilation is based on the principle that the arrival of migrants should have as little disruption to the host society/culture as possible. As such, typical policy responses include making it compulsory for migrants to learn the host language and minimal recognition of cultural differences in the public sphere. In contrast, multiculturalism/cultural pluralism involve the active promotion of cultural differences, for example, state-supported celebrations for minority religious festivals. Integration is positioned somewhere between assimilation and multiculturalism/cultural pluralism as it is based, at least in theory, on the concept that the incorporation of migrants into a society is a negotiated process whereby both migrant and host make adjustments to their culture and values.

Whilst the findings of the research are specific to the case study local authorities, it is relevant to position the project within wider discussion around ethnic diversity policy-making in the UK and Denmark. As the timeline below illustrates, the two countries have developed quite different policy approaches in the past 50/60 years.

Ethnic diversity policy trends in the UK and Denmark



The UK context

The UK has a long history of immigration and emigration but it was in the post-war period that the multi-ethnic population we see today first began to take shape. Despite the significant social change that immigration from the Commonwealth nations engendered, the government initially avoided any intervention in 'managing' ethnic diversity. This laissez-faire approach later gave way to a concerted effort to assimilate migrants into UK society.

From the 1970s onwards, a new framework for 'managing' ethnic diversity emerged: multiculturalism. Multicultural policy-making was based on the principle that the state should actively support minority groups in expressing and maintaining their distinct culture, tradition and language. As such, in 'celebrating difference' it was far removed from the preceding assimilation effort.

Despite the influence of multiculturalist thinking, it was nevertheless the subject of criticism. Alibhai-Brown (2000), for example, argued that in its celebration of diversity it 'glosses over' the multiple disadvantages that some minority ethnic groups encounter. With attacks on multiculturalism mounting, events in 2001 proved to be a fundamental turning point in the government's policy around ethnic diversity. In the summer of that year, Bradford, Burnley and Oldham witnessed an outbreak of violent street disturbances between young Asian men and young White men: these came to be popularly labelled as 'riots'.

According to the findings of the government-commissioned *Cantle Report*, the fundamental cause of the disturbances was the notion that in these northern towns, "communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives" (Cantle, 2001, p.9). The report argued that Asian (Muslim) communities and the White communities were failing to mix in everyday settings and that, as a result, divisions had been established between them. The *Cantle Report*, and its associated media coverage, blamed the multiculturalist policies of the previous two decades for pitching minority groups against one another to compete for local government funding.

In response, the concept of 'community cohesion' came to the foreground as an alternative political settlement and has since taken hold as the defining concept of New Labour's approach to 'managing' ethnic diversity. Whilst 'community cohesion' has remained unchallenged within political circles, the concept remains highly contested amongst academics and commentators. Burnett (2004), for example, suggests that 'community cohesion' distracts from the social and economic inequalities these groups were experiencing. This resonates with Amin's (2005) criticism of the implied assumption within New Labour regeneration policy that an area's 'failures' could be overcome by "eliminating bad community and replacing it with good community with the unwritten assumption that, if and when the policy efforts fail, the communities will have only themselves to blame" (pp.619-620).

The Danish context

It was not until the 1960s when the first significant wave of migrants from outside of northern Europe arrived in Denmark, much later than in the UK. At this time there was a limited response from government in terms of how this increased ethnic diversity should be dealt with in policy terms. As these migrants were supposed 'guest workers', the presumption was that they would return to their countries of origin once they were no longer needed: the so-called "myth of return" (Alexander, 2003, p.419). As such, the government would have seen little reason to spend much time or money 'integrating' these groups. Therefore, as in the UK, in the early years of immigration the government appears to have stayed largely at arm's length from such matters.

However, from the late 1980s onwards an increased public hostility towards immigration emerged (Hervik, 2006) which presented the Danish government with the new challenge of responding to increased ethnic diversity in their policy-making. In contrast to in the UK, and indeed other countries such as Canada, Australia, and Sweden, Danish governments have avoided anything resembling multicultural policies at the national level. As Lex et al (2007) highlight, "no important groups or constituency favours multiculturalism, if this is taken to mean a comprehensive, normatively grounded political program of accommodating cultural minority needs" (p.9). For a country that has, until relatively recently, been characterised by a culturally homogeneous population, the idea of 'special treatment' for minority communities is an alien concept and not one that any government has supported.

Since the 1990s, and heightened by the 2001 local and general elections, the Danish policy response to increased ethnic diversity can be seen as being underpinned by a markedly neo-nationalist discourse. This has played out in a host of policy documents and legislative measures, all of which stress the importance of migrants 'integrating' into Danish society.

A move towards 'active citizenship'

Whilst the two countries' policy approaches have, historically, been very different, interestingly, both countries are moving towards a model based on the principle of 'active citizenship'. Whilst 'active citizenship' was a prominent theme under New Labour's time in office, the concept has returned to the political spotlight under the guise of the Conservative Party's 'Big Society'. In the Danish context, 'active citizenship' is a more recently emerged concept but one that is beginning to shape policy documents related to ethnic diversity at both national and local government level.

Methodology

The overall ambition of this research was to gain deeper understanding of what policy approaches have been developed at local authority level in response to increased ethnic diversity. To achieve this, two case studies - Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen - served as the main sites of the research. This research attempts to address a pertinent gap in the existing understanding of ethnic diversity policy-making by addressing three key research aims:

1. To understand how central government policy concepts and rhetoric related to ethnic diversity are negotiated at the local authority level
2. To gain an insight into what these concepts and rhetoric mean to practitioners in the case-study local authorities
3. To find out what policies, projects and approaches have subsequently emerged at the local authority level

To achieve these aims an entirely qualitative methodology was adopted. This was based on an appreciation that qualitative methods allow for a deep and rich understanding of the research topic and issues at stake (Goodwin & Horowitz, 2002). The main research method used in this study was qualitative, semi-structured interviews with local authority practitioners employed at Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen. Their roles were fairly wide-reaching including policy officers, policy-makers and heads of department across a range of service areas. All interviewees worked for the administrative side of the authorities with the exception of one Councillor from Manchester City Council. In order to gain a wider appreciation of the issues at stake, interviews were also conducted with representatives from non-governmental organisations, third sector organisations and in one instance, a government ministry. For an anonymised list of interviewees and consultees, see Appendix 2.

Policy approaches to ethnic diversity: ‘structural’ and ‘social-cultural’

In both the UK and Denmark, devolution and decentralisation of power are common themes. In light of this context, interviewees were asked for their opinions on their authority’s relationship with central government. Whilst there is not space here to fully explore these findings, responses from interviewees at both Manchester and Copenhagen revealed a strong rhetoric of independence: that they were able to shape their own approach to ethnic diversity policy-making. However, there is evidence to suggest that national level policies and rhetoric have had a significant impact on the policies developed at the local level.

This research uncovered two very different approaches to ethnic diversity policy-making in the case-study authorities: at the City of Copenhagen, the research revealed a distinctly ‘structural’ approach in contrast to the ‘social-cultural’ approach of Manchester City Council. In the section that follows, qualitative material from the interviews and examples of projects and strategies illustrate these two different policy approaches. It is not the aim to provide a comprehensive list of all relevant projects but to highlight those that were raised as important during the interviews. Projects have been grouped according to three common themes, demonstrating how the two authorities’ approaches compare and contrast.

Shaping perceptions of place

A theme common to the projects that both Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen have developed is that of shaping residents’ perceptions of place at the city level. In the Manchester context, this can perhaps be understood as an interpretation of national rhetoric around ‘shared futures’. The Commission on Integration and Cohesion’s (2007) final report, entitled *Our Shared Future*, stressed the importance of creating a shared vision for the future: “As a Commission our vision of society is one where people are committed to what we have in common rather than obsessing with those things that make us different” (p.4). Whilst the Commission’s report has been met with criticism from commentators, not least for the primacy of ‘integration’, it has had a significant influence on ethnic diversity policy. Moreover, the responsibility for local authorities to help encourage a ‘sense of place’ and a ‘sense of belonging’ has, in the last five to ten years, come to the forefront of policy rhetoric nationally; a role heightened by the emergence of the ‘place-shaping’ agenda following the Lyons Inquiry into local government (Lyons, 2007).

Looking at how this translates at the local level, many of the interviewees from Manchester City Council reflected this rhetoric in their responses. For example, when asked to define 'community cohesion' one interviewee responded: "*It's about communities working together and creating that sense of place*" (Acting Head of Service, Manchester City Council). Elsewhere, an interviewee described the principles underpinning the City Council's approach to 'community cohesion':

"You want your population to get on well together and you want them to have a common sense of purpose and we want them to have a common attachment to Manchester and to have pride in their local area" (Head of Service, Manchester City Council)

This vision can be seen in a number of policies and projects that have been developed by Manchester City Council including the first 'Manchester Day Parade' held in June 2010 which brought together community groups, charities and businesses. Reflecting the legacy of multiculturalism in UK, Manchester City Council has a long tradition of supporting community festivals, including the African-Caribbean carnival, Asian melas and St Patrick's Day events. There was a multi-cultural element to the parade: according to the Manchester City Council's (2010d) community newspaper, *Manchester People*, "the parade showcased the fantastic cocktail of cultures that makes up Manchester" (p.1). However, in contrast to 'multiculturalist' community festivals, the focus of this event was to nurture a shared "*sense of Manchester*" (Head of Service, Manchester City Council).

Under the banner of the City Council's 'Proud Of' programme, which was launched in March 2009, a number of projects have been developed with a view to enhancing residents' feeling of pride in their community; encouraging a sense of pride in individuals, including their ability to aspire and achieve; and promoting residents' "celebration of life in their neighbourhoods" (Manchester City Council, 2010b, p.44). The 'Proud Of' programme and 'brand' spawned a range of events including "'Get to Know Your Neighbours' days, sporting events, healthy eating, grow your own and planting events" (ibid, p.45).

Within the Copenhagen context, there is a similar emphasis on the role of the City of Copenhagen in shaping perceptions of place: in particular, creating an inclusive and accessible city identity. The most notable example is the 'Vi Københavner' (VI KBH'R'), or 'We Copenhagensers' (WE CPH'Z'), campaign. The campaign, developed by the Employment and Integration Committee and Administration, encompasses a high-profile branding exercise including posters of city residents from ethnically diverse back-

grounds; a pool of funding available for projects that encourage cross-cultural dialogue; and an annual 'International Day'. According to the City of Copenhagen, the campaign:

“works towards engagement in Copenhagen and establishing more trust and a feeling of unity amongst Copenhageners. WE CPH'Z' acknowledges cultural, religious and national diversity in the city. WE CPH'Z' believe that the more you learn about differences and similarities between you and others, the better you will be able to understand, respect and trust others and feel included in the community of the city. We are all united. We are all Copenhageners”
(Københavns Kommune, 2008, <http://www.kk.dk>)

In addition to VI KBH'R', another notable project is the City of Copenhagen's Eid celebration which will be held for the second time in 2010. Whilst local authorities in the UK have a fairly long tradition of recognising minority groups' religious festivals, a legacy of the multiculturalist approach, this is unusual in the Danish context and is therefore a bold policy decision by the City of Copenhagen that should be welcomed.

There are a number of similarities between Manchester City Council's Proud Of campaign and the VI KBH'R'. Both projects convey a rhetoric of valuing diversity in the city, yet at the same time both authorities aspire to develop an identity which can be shared by all residents of the city: to feel proud to be a Mancunian or a Copenhageners. However, there are important contextual differences that distinguish the Proud Of and the VI KBH'R' campaigns which are interesting to explore.

As highlighted above, Manchester City Council's efforts to shape residents' perceptions of place can be understood as a translation of national 'community cohesion' policy at the local level. In contrast, the VI KBH'R' campaign is perhaps demonstrative of what some interviewees saw as the need for the City of Copenhagen to help foster an alternative identity at the city level as a response to, and to guard against, the often exclusionary rhetoric at national level. As one interviewee explained:

“In the Vi Københavner campaign, we tried to code the sameness as 'Copenhagenness'. We thought it could prove a good contrast to the Danishness that is not accessible to some people, we could offer something else: a joint identity as Copenhageners. You might not want to be Danish or might not be able to be Danish because someone else says you can't, but don't worry because there's room for you here in this 'Copenhagenness'” (Project Manager, City of Copenhagen)

There was certainly agreement amongst many interviewees that Copenhagen was a more accessible identity to associate with than Danish national identity in which cultural, and indeed phenotypical, homogeneity is key. The limited scope of this research project meant that it was not possible to interview Copenhagen residents, beyond City of Copenhagen employees, about their views on the VI KBH'R' campaign and to what extent they agreed with the proposition that the city presented a more accessible identity. As the most ethnically diverse city in Denmark, it may be a more comfortable and convenient place for those from migrant backgrounds to live, not least because of access to cultural amenities: however this does not necessarily mean that they 'feel' like Copenhagensers. Moreover, as one interviewee suggested, the City of Copenhagen's attempt to create a welcoming and inclusive city identity may be hindered by its role as administrator of stringent welfare policies from central government.

'Managing' community relations

A prominent theme within the Manchester phase of the research was the role of the City Council in promoting good community relations and mitigating against potential tensions between established communities and newly arrived migrant groups. At the national level, a number of policy and guidance documents have been published by government that emphasise the role of local authorities and partners in facilitating the 'integration' of new migrants into communities and minimising the risk of community tension. This was, in part, a response to the expansion of the EU in 2004 and the challenges associated with the arrival of migrants from the accession states. National level documents suggest two key ways in which local authorities can help promote good community relations: firstly, by providing information to new migrants on practical matters such as how to register with a GP, when rubbish is collected etc.; and secondly, by promoting 'shared values', citizenship and common norms of behaviour.

The Manchester phase of the research found that amongst interviewees there was an apparent agreement with this direction from central government. Indeed a number of interviewees highlighted the challenges that they believed could arise when the demographics of a community or neighbourhood changed suddenly, as the following quote outlines:

"If there's a stable community, sometimes with quite conservative attitudes towards change, or deprived communities where we've seen a change in population over quite a short period of time, you can get some antagonism towards those new communities... Are those communities getting things we're not getting? Are those communi-

ties changing the character of an area? Cultural clashes over the way some communities live their lives in comparison to the established communities...” (Head of Service, Manchester City Council)

There was agreement amongst many of the interviewees that the City Council had an important role in tackling misconceptions and mitigating against any potential community tensions, as one interviewee described: *“it’s about making sure things don’t run out of control really”* (Head of Service, Manchester City Council) and to *“ensure people from different backgrounds get on well together”* (Head of Service, Manchester City Council).

Manchester City Council has developed a number of initiatives that have sought to ensure that sudden changes in the population do not lead to community tensions. As elsewhere in the country, this includes the development of a ‘Welcome Pack’ “to support integration and participation in Manchester life” (Manchester City Council, 2010a), including “information to help people access public services” (ibid). Echoing language from national level documents, including the Commission on Integration and Cohesion’s (2007) report, the Welcome Pack was also introduced with the aim of ensuring newcomers “know their rights and responsibilities” (Manchester City Council, 2010a). The Welcome Pack, along with other initiatives such as the Mancunian Agreements, aim to inform residents about practical matters around services, but also attempt to promote common ‘shared values’ and norms of behaviour, as one interviewee explained:

“One of the things we’ve been saying for quite a while is about communities talking to each other and sharing the same set of values, and new people knowing the ground rules is pretty important”
(Labour Councillor, Manchester City Council)

Within the Copenhagen context, a different approach to community relations was evident in the City of Copenhagen’s policy responses. Similar to Manchester City Council, there was some emphasis on ‘bringing people together’, for example the VI KBH’R’ campaign which involved funding community projects which brought different ethnic groups together. However, the VI KBH’R’ campaign aside, the City of Copenhagen’s ethnic diversity policies have historically focused on structural integration.

Perhaps the most prominent example of the influence of national policy and rhetoric on the City of Copenhagen’s policy-making is the way national concerns over the supposed ‘segregation’ of ‘non-ethnic Danes’ have been translated to the local level. Published five years ago, the Danish Government’s ‘integration plan’, entitled *A New Chance for Everyone* (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs, 2005), described how the

Government would meet its “goal of improving integration” (p.1). Within the first paragraph of the document is the statement: “the ghettoisation problem should be addressed” (ibid). Later, it goes on to describe ‘ghettoisation’ as “a significant barrier to integration into social life, the education system and the labour market” (ibid, p.3) and sets out its ambition to “obtain a more balanced composition of residents in vulnerable areas” (ibid, p.4, emphasis added).

At the level of the City of Copenhagen, there is a clear indication that this national level concern has been echoed in the authority’s housing and education policy. The City of Copenhagen’s *Integration Policy* (Københavns Kommune, 2006), which was being renewed at the time of this research, sets out the seven strands of the authority’s integration effort: employment; education and training; housing; feeling safe; culture and leisure activities; and health and care services. Under the heading of ‘housing’ is the statement: “The current situation: Heading towards ghettos” (ibid, p.25) and the document goes on to describe: “In the public housing sector, there is a high concentration of migrants. It is also here that you find the biggest concentration of people of employment age without a job” (ibid). Thus, a link is made between residents’ status as ‘migrants’ and the problems facing these neighbourhoods. This was echoed by one of the interviewees:

“There are political visions about having a more mixed town because some of these at-risk areas are characterised by a high proportion of ethnic minority communities: up to eighty, ninety per cent of social housing tenants have another ethnic background than Danish” (Analyst, City of Copenhagen)

The City of Copenhagen’s strategy to “prevent ghettos from developing” (ibid, p.28) is to actively promote mixed neighbourhoods, or in the Ministry’s terminology, a ‘balanced composition’ of residents. This has been attempted by working with the public housing sector to allocate a proportion of properties within these areas to employed tenants in order to promote mixed neighbourhoods in terms of socio-economic status. In a similar vein, the *Integration Policy* describes how “[t]he ethnic and social segregation in Copenhagen’s primary and lower-secondary schools needs to be challenged. There should be at least 50% ethnically Danish children in all new pre-school classes” (ibid, p.23). Indeed, between 2006 and 2009 the City of Copenhagen introduced a voluntary programme where children were moved from one school to another with the aim of promoting more ethnically mixed schools.

However, the research exposed a variety of different opinions and understandings within the City of Copenhagen about the authority's approach to housing and the influence of national policy and rhetoric. For example, one interviewee problematised the City of Copenhagen's approach to tackling 'segregation' through social housing allocation, suggesting: *"rather than saying the problem is around a lot of unemployment, a low degree of education, the focus was very much on the concentration of ethnicity. Ethnicity itself was presented as part of the problem"* (Integration Advisor, City of Copenhagen).

Others offered a more pragmatic critique: in attempting to promote diverse neighbourhoods by employment (used as a proxy for ethnicity), how would the needs of the most vulnerable be met? As one interviewee described: *"I think it is a nice idea that we're all mixed and blend in with each other, but how is it actually possible? Because we only have a few areas in Copenhagen where you can actually afford to live"* (Coordinator, City of Copenhagen). Thus, whilst national policy and rhetoric around tackling 'segregation' has influenced policy-making at the local level, the research finds that concepts such as 'segregation' remain contested.

In addition to concerns over 'segregation', one of the most salient examples of the City of Copenhagen's structural approach to ethnic diversity policy-making is the link between 'integration' and employment. In particular, the notion that getting a job in a Danish-speaking environment is a fundamental step in becoming an integrated citizen, as demonstrated by the name of the administrative department (and associated political committee): 'Employment and Integration'. As one interviewee described, *"...when we talk about integration there's a lot of focus on integration into the labour market, that it's a very important step in the integration process"* (Integration Consultant, City of Copenhagen). Another suggested that *"integration happens best in the workplace"* (Consultant, City of Copenhagen).

It soon became clear that the City of Copenhagen's focus on employment as a route to integration was something that had filtered down from central government policy. As one interviewee reflected: *"...if you look at the government level, it is a top priority, and it is also for Copenhagen"* (Head of Section, City of Copenhagen). Indeed, as the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs (2005) states in the aforementioned integration plan, "[a] job is the key to successful integration" (p.2). An interview with a civil servant from the Ministry revealed a similar rhetoric:

"you get to know a country, culture, language, meet other people, make friends all from your work relations; I'm pretty certain of that,

I believe it's true" (Civil Servant, Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs)

The link between employment and integration can perhaps be explained as an attempt to sustain the traditionally strong, universalistic Danish welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990) - a model that depends upon a high employment rate. As one interviewee commented:

"The economic solidarity we have in Denmark is extremely expensive if you get new citizens; it's totally dependent on people being able to play their part, so to speak" (Coordinator, City of Copenhagen)

Reflecting this link between employment and integration, a number of projects and initiatives have also been developed by the City of Copenhagen that seek to increase levels of employment amongst migrant communities as a way of integrated them into the labour market and also as a way of exposing migrants to 'ethnic Danes' and Danish speakers. To achieve this, attempts have been made to exploit the City's own potential as a significant local employer by improving the representativeness of its workforce. As one interviewee explained:

"As a very big place of work in Denmark, we have social responsibility in terms of our employment practices. Also, because what we do is deliver a service to the citizens of Copenhagen and I think it's important that in all levels of this organisation you can reflect the people living in the city" (Consultant, City of Copenhagen)

Since 2007, the City of Copenhagen has offered 'Integrations og Oplæringsstillinger' (IO), or 'Integration and Training' positions within the council. These positions are spread across a range of departments and skills levels and are aimed at migrants and their descendents who have limited Danish language skills. The IO positions are for a one-year contract and during that year, 20 per cent of the employees' time is spent learning the Danish language, and receiving mentoring and professional development activity.

Measuring and monitoring

Within both the case-study local authorities there is an indication that the national, and indeed international, trend of managerialist policy-making (e.g. Clarke & Newman, 1997; Clarke et al 2000; Ejersbo & Greve, 2005; Christensen & Lægread, 2007) has had an impact on ethnic diversity policy at the local level. This includes the development of targets, goal-setting and monitoring achievement on matters related to ethnic diversity policy-making. Indeed, in addition to statutory monitoring processes, both authorities have developed discretionary tools for measuring and monitoring the dominant policy concepts that underpin their approach, ‘community cohesion’ and ‘integration’ respectively. In Copenhagen, a number of interviewees stressed the importance of monitoring:

“You need to know what you’re doing is important. It’s not only about what is working, but also where you really have to make an effort to change something. If you can see what is working well you can apply it elsewhere” (Consultant, City of Copenhagen)

This approach is evident in the City of Copenhagen’s ‘Integration Barometer’ which is recognised by the European Commission as good practice (EUROPA, no date cited, <http://ec.europa.eu>). The aim of the Barometer is “to act as data warehouse and reporting web-tool for the monitoring system and to make this information available to all” (ibid). Available to the public, the Barometer (see Københavns Kommune, 2010b, <http://www.kk.dk/integrationsbarometer>) works by giving six key themes (employment; education; housing; safety; culture and leisure; and health) a ‘traffic light rating’ based on data from surveys and existing statistics and breaks the results down by neighbourhood.

The Manchester phase of the research also highlighted efforts to measure and monitor the dominant policy concept around ethnic diversity: ‘community cohesion’. In addition to evidence gathering on equalities issues, Manchester City Council has also developed a ‘Community Change and Perception Monitoring Tool’ which, as one interviewee described, “looks at the softer issues” (Head of Service, Manchester City Council). In contrast to the Integration Barometer which focuses on ‘structural’ themes, such as employment and housing, this tool focuses on community relations. As explained in a report to the City Council’s Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee, the tool: “provides a systematic mechanism by which community changes, perceptions and risks to community relations and service delivery can be identified / flagged by officers working at the neighbourhood level with communities” (Manchester City Council,

2010c, p.30). Currently being piloted in two wards in North Manchester, Cheetham and Harpurhey, it is hoped that the tool will enable the City Council to be more responsive to emerging community tensions in the city.



Conclusions

This research draws on information revealed during qualitative interviews with policy officers and policy-makers in two local authorities: Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen. In adopting a case-study approach, the findings are site-specific and as such this research does not attempt to make generalisations beyond the two local authorities. Moreover, in focusing on two authorities, the research does not explore the likely influence of neighbouring local authorities on the two cases' policy-making: places are unbound (Massey, 1994) and local authorities often do not work in isolation.

This research highlights that in Copenhagen there is strong focus on structural aspects of 'integration', in particular the importance of employment as a key milestone to becoming an integrated Dane and the local authority's ambition to tackle 'ghettoisation'. As this research has suggested, these policy priorities demonstrate the influence of national level policy and rhetoric at the local level and can be understood as a manifestation of Danish anxiety about maintaining the democratic societal model (Mouritsen, 2006) and preserving the country's liberal traditions (Lex et al, 2007). In contrast, the Manchester research exposed how the dominant ethnic diversity policy framework, 'community cohesion', is primarily concerned with cultural, as opposed to economic, factors; including the importance that the city's residents subscribe to a 'shared set of values'. Again, this echoes the largely unchallenged dominance of 'community cohesion' within national policy-making circles.

In the Manchester context, the Community Change and Perception Monitoring Tool demonstrates an emphasis on 'cultural' and 'community' level issues; but how do you measure 'neighbourliness' or residents' attachment to place, and is it possible to set a benchmark for what is deemed an 'acceptable' level of community tension? Following Amin (2005), we should be wary of the proposition that civil engagement and restoring a sense of 'community' can 'fix' deprived neighbourhoods; whether couched in the policy rhetoric of 'community cohesion', 'Big Society' or 'active citizenship', a concept that is also becoming increasingly prominent within central government policy-making in Denmark. In agreement with Burnett (2004), the 'community cohesion' agenda can distract from the social and economic inequalities that face deprived neighbourhoods, not least the persistence of racism (Kundnani, 2007).

By linking employment with 'integration', the City of Copenhagen presents a markedly different approach to ethnic diversity policy-making.

In contrast to the 'softer' approach of Manchester's Community Change and Perception Monitoring Tool, the authority's Integration Barometer potentially offers a more rigorous approach and perhaps suggests an appreciation of the importance of tackling structural inequalities. However, whilst the UK approach can be criticised for presenting 'community' as convenient 'fix-all', the view that employment is *the* way to tackle marginalisation amongst migrant communities is similarly narrow. As a number of interviewees highlighted in the Copenhagen phase of the research, some migrant groups face a range of barriers to entering the labour market, not least discrimination from potential employers. Therefore, the plausibility of the link between employment and 'integration' must be considered within a wider context of hostility towards migrants at national level.

The approaches adopted by Manchester City Council and the City of Copenhagen present two very different approaches to ethnic diversity policy-making. This research does not provide answers as to how best to strike the right balance between the 'structural' and the 'social-cultural' approach. However, there is a strong case to be made for the role of local economic development activity within the sphere of ethnic diversity policy-making. Indeed, in the UK context, one of the criticisms of the 'community cohesion' concept is that it fails to challenge the underlying economic causes of community tension. The 'social-cultural' approach can only go so far and it is misguided to see it as counteract to systemic inequalities.

Final thoughts

As has been alluded to elsewhere, local government in both the UK and Denmark is facing difficult times. Cuts to public sector spend will have a massive impact at the local level: jobs will be lost and demand for services will rise. In the UK, the coalition government has announced significant cuts to the funding streams that support many ethnic diversity related projects (i.e. Community Cohesion funding and the Working Neighbourhoods Fund). With the pressure on for local authorities to do more with less, it will be increasingly important that their policy responses are tailored and pertinent to the local context. Moreover, in the UK context at least, there is likely to be less of a steer from central government in terms of providing a meta-narrative for ethnic diversity policy-making. Indeed, it is likely that ‘community cohesion’ will be, as one interviewee predicted, “*quietly dropped*” (Policy Officer, Manchester City Council).

The challenges and opportunities that increased ethnic diversity bring to localities vary according to the particular patterns of migration and the characteristics of the local economy and geography. For example, the City of Copenhagen’s ‘integration’ efforts were targeted mainly at the generation of 1960s ‘guestworkers’ and their descendents. In contrast, Manchester City Council’s ‘community cohesion’ effort focuses mainly on promoting good community relations between newly arrived migrants and established communities. As such, local authorities should be given sufficient powers to develop policies that are locally-relevant. Moreover, local authorities will need to retain the capacity of existing staff and give them the freedom to think creatively and not be stifled by national policy concepts, whether that is ‘integration’ or ‘community cohesion’, that risk being overly prescriptive and unhelpful.

Whilst acknowledging the difficult context in which local authorities will be working within in the months and years ahead, there is potentially an opportunity for the emergence of a truly localised approach to ethnic diversity policy-making: an approach which is responsive to areas’ particular circumstances and affords local state actors the opportunity to think beyond pre-determined national policy frameworks.

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Appendix 1: Case-study context

Ethnic diversity policy trends in the UK and Denmark

	Manchester	Copenhagen
City context	Third largest city in England	Capital city of Denmark
	Population: 473,190 ¹	Population: 528,208 ²
	76.9% White	78.4% 'ethnic' Dane
	9.2% Asian; 4.9% Black; 3.2% dual heritage; 3.2% other; 2.5% Chinese	21.6% 'migrants and descendents' [Largest migrant groups in Denmark: Turkey; Iraq; Germany; Lebanon; Bosnia; Pakistan (Pinnex, 2007)]
	Mid 20th century: arrival of migrants from the Commonwealth	First wave of migrants in the 1960s: demand driven immigration, i.e. 'guest workers'
	Subsequent waves of asylum seekers	Subsequent waves of asylum seekers
Local political framework	Manchester City Council is a Labour Party stronghold currently in opposition to the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government	The current Lord Mayor of the City of Copenhagen represents the Social Democrat Party and therefore is in political opposition to Venestre and the Conservative People's Party coalition government
	Manchester has 32 wards each represented by three councillors, giving a total of 96 elected members	The City Council has a total of 55 elected members who set the framework for the City of Copenhagen's seven thematic committees. Each committee has an associated administration
Local government statutory responsibilities	Housing; education; social services; libraries; transport; planning; waste management; council tax collection; licensing; consumer protection; cemeteries and crematoria.	Overseeing the provision of social housing by housing associations; health care; employment; social services; education; business service; transport and roads; nature, environment and planning; and culture.

¹Manchester City Council, 2010c, <http://www.manchester.gov.uk>

²Københavns Kommune, 2010a, <http://www.dk.kk>

Appendix 2: Interviewees and consultees

Manchester field work

Head of Service / Section Head, Manchester City Council
Head of Service, Manchester City Council
Head of Service, Manchester City Council
Head of Service, Manchester City Council
Acting Head of Service, Manchester City Council
Acting Head of Service, Manchester City Council
Head of Team, Manchester City Council
Policy Officer, Manchester City Council
Labour Party Councillor, Manchester City Council
Associate Director, NHS Manchester
Chief Executive, Manchester Council for Community Relations
Consultant / Network Chair / Board Member
Consultant, Audit Commission

Copenhagen field work

Project Manager, City of Copenhagen
Head of Section, City of Copenhagen
Special Consultant, City of Copenhagen
Consultant, City of Copenhagen
Consultant, City of Copenhagen
Integration Advisor, City of Copenhagen
Consultant (Human Resources), City of Copenhagen
Analyst (Employment and Integration Management), City of Copenhagen
Coordinator (Social Services Department), City of Copenhagen
Integration Consultant, City of Copenhagen
Consultant (Task Force Integration), City of Copenhagen
International Coordinator, City of Copenhagen
Integration Consultant, City of Copenhagen
Project Coordinator, City of Copenhagen
Special Policy Advisor, Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs
Volunteer Coordinator, SR Bistand
Project Coordinator, Danish Youth Foundation
Senior Advisor, Danish Institute for Human Rights
Journalist, New Times
Volunteer Journalist, New Times
Associate Professor, Danish Institute for Governmental Studies

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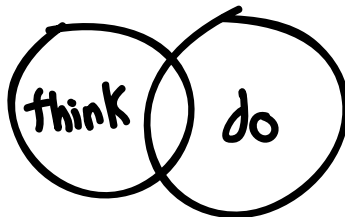
Centre for Local Economic Strategies

Express Networks, 1 George Leigh Street

Manchester, M4 5DL

tel 0161 236 7036 fax 0161 236 1891

info@cles.org.uk www.cles.org.uk



Centre for Local Economic Strategies

Express Networks • 1 George Leigh Street
Manchester M4 5DL

tel 0161 236 7036 fax 0161 236 1891
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