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## CULTIVATING PEACEFUL RELATIONS WHERE DIFFERENCE MATTERS

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HARRIS BEIDER\*\*

### INTRODUCTION

This note reflects on observations and experience of current research underway in Coventry, UK on the lived experiences of diversity.<sup>1</sup> The research is calling for a change in the way that migration and diversity is discussed, debated and managed.<sup>2</sup> Starting from the premise that increased levels of ethnic diversity are the future reality for Britain, as elsewhere across the globe, initial findings suggest the need for improved understanding of the different impacts of migration in localities.<sup>3</sup>

The work in Coventry builds on a larger study, *Trajectory and Transience* by the Institute for Public Policy Research and the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations that has explored how active and continuing migration was having a “trajectory” in which more evident ethnic diversity is a normal, accepted and everyday part of communities.<sup>4</sup> Yet in other areas of the UK, the local experience is one of “transience” with a real sense of “churn,” ongoing change and temporary forms of migration.<sup>5</sup> In localities in the UK experiencing such active and current change, the rate of migration, both pace and volume, creates

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<sup>1</sup> See *infra* Part V.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra* Part III.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra* Part IV.

<sup>4</sup> PHOEBE GRIFFITH & JULIA HALEJ, *TRAJECTORY AND TRANSIENCE: UNDERSTANDING AND ADDRESSING THE PRESSURES OF MIGRATION ON COMMUNITIES* (2015), <https://www.ippr.org/publications/trajectory-and-transience-understanding-and-addressing-the-pressures-of-migration-on-communities>.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* at 3.

distinct challenges for communities and the integration process.<sup>6</sup> The increased propensity and ability of people to move—associated with cheaper travel, ease of labour mobility in the European Union, rising levels of conflict and rapid technological change, all of which are associated with increased connectivity between sending countries and “home”—can lead to significantly different outcomes for cities and towns in different localities.<sup>7</sup> These are explored in more detail in *Trajectory and Transience* which proposes a series of interventions for central government, local authorities and non-state actors.<sup>8</sup> The findings of *Trajectory and Transience* suggest interventions that better reflect these differences in context, and are better informed by the scale and impact of migration, can reduce the pressures of living with diversity at the local level and generate responses that are reflective of, and respond appropriately to, the specificities of time and place.<sup>9</sup>

Many of the challenges of diversity and change are more often now defined and manifested in a locality, specific to complex and sometimes unique sets of relationships between non-state actors, governments, and communities.<sup>10</sup> Given the challenges that local government faces in terms of resources, credibility and scope, it is important that value is seen in drawing in stakeholders, including representatives from higher education and business, which have often been peripheral to these critical debates.<sup>11</sup>

This note considers the implications of these findings by exploring two areas of interest and experience—first, taking a cities-perspective on migration and inclusion, building on work developed under the “*OPENCities Programme*,” a Europe-wide programme sponsored initially by the British Council with others,<sup>12</sup> and second, by focusing on the potential for higher education institutions to strengthen cohesion and integration locally with reference to the example of Coventry University’s “*City-University Initiative*.”<sup>13</sup> These perspectives through cities

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<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 8–10.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 20–27.

<sup>9</sup> GRIFFITH & HALEJ, *supra* note 4, at 20–27.

<sup>10</sup> Steven Vertovec, *Super-Diversity and its Implications*, 30 *ETHNIC & RACIAL STUD.* 1024, 1047–49 (2007).

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* at 1047–48.

<sup>12</sup> See *OPENCities: Complete Overview*, URBACT, <http://urbact.eu/opencities-complete-overview> (last visited Jan. 18, 2019) (discussing the general goals and motivations of OPENCities). See *infra* Parts II–III.

<sup>13</sup> See COVENTRY UNIV., *CENTRE FOR TRUST, PEACE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS: 2015-2016 ANNUAL REPORT* 23 (2016),

and through universities provide insights that can help develop policy discussion on practical and innovative ways to address diversity in local places and identified localities, characterized by significant changing demographics and amongst communities in a positive and progressive way.<sup>14</sup> Both perspectives challenge approaches which are premised, either explicitly or implicitly, on the assumption that migration and change, and associated diversity, are “problems” requiring direct palliative measures or preventative barriers.<sup>15</sup> These approaches encourage us to think about diversity as an asset to a local area, as a catalyst for positive change.<sup>16</sup>

## II. LOCALITY, INCLUSION, AND DIVERSITY: OPENCITIES PROGRAMME

The work on the importance of openness for healthy cities has been hugely promoted and authentically developed by the urbanist Greg Clark, with the British Council between 2008-10.<sup>17</sup> His collation of experience and examples have helped form and develop the approaches made by Coventry more recently.<sup>18</sup> It could be put forward that local leaders are frustrated by their perceived inability to successfully address the challenges of migration and diversity.<sup>19</sup> This is not new but is hampered by a reliance on what they have done in the past, or in ways that have relied on traditional models of governance for implementation.<sup>20</sup> The limitations of a focus around single organisational or agency remits, relying on the deployment of resources over which leaders and managers have direct authority, and

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[https://www.coventry.ac.uk/Global/08%20New%20Research%20Section/Researchers/CTPSR/CTPSR\\_Annual\\_report\\_web.pdf](https://www.coventry.ac.uk/Global/08%20New%20Research%20Section/Researchers/CTPSR/CTPSR_Annual_report_web.pdf) (describing generally the Coventry City University Initiative). *See infra* Part V.

<sup>14</sup> Compare Parts II–III with Part V (juxtaposing European cities with European institutions of higher learning in their approaches to migration and diversity).

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*

<sup>16</sup> *See generally* Parts II, III & V (discussing the beneficial aspects of migration and diversity on communities and universities).

<sup>17</sup> See GREG CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES 2 (2010), [http://www.opencities.eu/download/understanding\\_opencities.pdf](http://www.opencities.eu/download/understanding_opencities.pdf) (discussing Greg Clark’s involvement as an international advisor on city development) [hereinafter UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES].

<sup>18</sup> *See infra* Part V.

<sup>19</sup> See OECD, POLICY BRIEF: THE GLOBAL COMPETITION FOR TALENT 6–7 (2009), <http://www.oecd.org/regional/searf2009/42577033.pdf> (noting that it is “difficult to point to best practices” for these types of policy questions).

<sup>20</sup> GREG CLARK, INTERNATIONALISATION OF OPENCITIES 68–72 (2010), <http://www.opencities.eu/download/internatocs.pdf> (discussing the lessons learned from “notable success and difficult challenges” in internationalisation work) [hereinafter INTERNATIONALISATION OF OPENCITIES].

the rigidity of this top-down governance models, have been exposed.<sup>21</sup> First, traditional models underplayed the influence of stakeholders, both community members and their leaders, now even more emboldened by social media and community activism, which has created strong participation of others in both decision making and implementation.<sup>22</sup> Cities, like nations and even regions, are increasingly negotiated spaces.<sup>23</sup> Second, many top-down government strategies become dependent on continuous budgetary support – rarely sustainable in times of financial austerity.<sup>24</sup> Finally, and most importantly, people feel that they can hold decision makers accountable—and accountability requires new governance structures to open up rather than close down debates.<sup>25</sup>

It may be that new governance models are required for managing change, and the role and potential of new collaborations of state and non-state actors defined by a locality.<sup>26</sup> This “social innovation” would be characterised by collaboration and empowerment of all involved stakeholders, strengthened, and enabled by the use of new tools such as IT and online resources.<sup>27</sup> Towns and cities would add new service-relationships with their citizens by becoming catalysts and innovation brokers.<sup>28</sup> Some are already developing along these lines.<sup>29</sup> The supporting new leadership model places emphasis on maximising community participation.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 6–9.

<sup>22</sup> See Niamh M. Moore, *Globalising Dublin: Indicators of an Urban Society in Transition*, 21 DELA 213, 218–21 (2004) (discussing the “human and material flows that have contributed to Dublin’s transformation”).

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* at 214.

<sup>24</sup> See Ringa Raudla, *Budgeting During Austerity: Approaches, Instruments and Practices*, 5 BUDGETARY RES. REV. 30, 31–32 (2013) (examining top-down budgeting during fiscal crisis).

<sup>25</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 9–10; see KAROLIS GRANICKAS, OPEN CITY: LOCAL GOVERNMENT & OPEN DATA 15 (2015), [https://www.europeandataportal.eu/sites/default/files/2015\\_open\\_city\\_local\\_government\\_and\\_open\\_data.pdf](https://www.europeandataportal.eu/sites/default/files/2015_open_city_local_government_and_open_data.pdf) (discussing the importance of government “transparency and participation” to ensure “meaningful accountability”).

<sup>26</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 73.

<sup>27</sup> Moore, *supra* note 22, at 221.

<sup>28</sup> *Id.*; see, e.g., UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 29 (discussing Madrid Global role as a “[c]atalyst for mobilising all stakeholders towards a common goal and for implementing clear and focus actions”) (internal quotation omitted).

<sup>29</sup> See generally INTEGRATING COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY – POINTERS TO GOOD PRACTICE, LOC. GOV’T GROUP (Sept. 2010), <https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/integrating-community-eng-8f0.pdf> (outlining best practices for communities to modernize service delivery).

<sup>30</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 10.

An approach to managing diversity that centers on people in their localities requires that leadership is built at the local level.<sup>31</sup> It must create interaction—and full engagement—with local business leaders as well as schools and colleges that are outward looking and communicate with confidence.<sup>32</sup> The best examples would develop deliverable outputs that are implemented well and have sustainable impact.<sup>33</sup> The best approaches result in complex collaborations, which avoid disputes rather than exhausting significant resources in an attempt to create a clever dispute resolution processes.<sup>34</sup>

If patterns of migration and local change are both experienced so differently in different places, then *locality* becomes more important for understanding diversity and for developing strategies to help capture the benefits it can bring.<sup>35</sup> This was one of the drivers behind the early work on OPENCities in Europe.<sup>36</sup>

OPENCities focused on identifying what makes a city attractive to international populations and on developing practical strategies for tackling economic and social integration issues which can help cities better attract and retain diverse populations, thus contributing to their overall competitiveness, and by extension their economic, social, and cultural vitality.<sup>37</sup> The early project created an OPENCities Monitor, an indexing tool for evaluating and comparing city openness.<sup>38</sup> The starting point for policy-makers was very clear: migrants, and the diversity they bring, can be crucial for a successful strategy of economic and local development as well as to a city's chances of success as a competitor in a

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<sup>31</sup> GREG CLARK, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES 6, 84–86 (2010), [http://www.opencities.eu/download/leadership\\_and\\_governance.pdf](http://www.opencities.eu/download/leadership_and_governance.pdf) (noting that “only local government leaders can articulate and co-ordinate an effective agenda”) [hereinafter LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES].

<sup>32</sup> *Id.* at 79–83.

<sup>33</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 73–74 (discussing the “lessons learnt” from cities that have “become open” and have “developed global economic and cultural roles supported by a diverse population base”).

<sup>34</sup> LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 31, at 11–13.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.* at 87–88.

<sup>36</sup> OPENCities was originally developed as a concept by the British Council to identify what makes a city open and attractive to international migrants. *See* CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 4. With additional funding from EU URBACT, the OPENCities project included 10 partner cities across Europe. *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 6–10 (discussing the purpose of OPENCities).

<sup>38</sup> *See* OPENCities Monitor, OPENCITIES, [http://www.opencities.eu/index.php?monitor\\_en](http://www.opencities.eu/index.php?monitor_en) (last visited Feb. 2, 2019) (describing the scope and mission of OPENCities Monitor).

continually globalizing world.<sup>39</sup> As stated by the urbanist Greg Clark, “in such a world, places that underutilise the skills migrants have to offer inevitably suffer from a reduced competitive advantage.”<sup>40</sup>

The OPENCities Programme was extended to a range of European city partners by incorporation into the European Union’s URBACT Programme, and offered a distinctive lens for examining the daily experiences of living with diversity, with an emphasis on economic recovery and benefit.<sup>41</sup> This set an agenda around diversity as an ingredient of economic dynamism.<sup>42</sup> Within the Coventry experience, we have viewed this as important for localities as it is for new arrivals, an approach to a collective self-interest that suggests policy should promote the economic potential of migrant populations, both present and future.<sup>43</sup> Inevitably, the severe cuts back in public spending in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis has made this a more difficult message to sell for both national and city leaderships.<sup>44</sup>

The impact of the wider economic conditions significantly changed the receptiveness of general populations and their political

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<sup>39</sup> *Technical Description OPENCities*, OPENCITIES 16 (2012), [http://www.opencities.eu/download/technical\\_details.pdf](http://www.opencities.eu/download/technical_details.pdf).

<sup>40</sup> OPENCITIES FINAL REPORT, URBACT 4 (Apr. 2011), [http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/import/Projects/Open\\_Cities/outputs\\_media/OPENCities\\_Project\\_Report.pdf](http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/import/Projects/Open_Cities/outputs_media/OPENCities_Project_Report.pdf) (citing GREG CLARK, TOWARDS OPENCITIES (2008)).

<sup>41</sup> See GREG CLARK, TOWARDS OPENCITIES 129–53 (2008), [http://www.opencities.eu/download/conference/towards\\_opencities.pdf](http://www.opencities.eu/download/conference/towards_opencities.pdf) (explaining the case studies in the cities of Belfast, Bilbao, Cardiff, Dublin, Dusseldorf, Gdansk, Madrid, Sofia, and Vienna) [hereinafter TOWARDS OPENCITIES].

<sup>42</sup> See *generally id.* at 11–19 (discussing how the “integration of economies and societies around the world” is accomplished through diversity); CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 10 (noting that “willingness to attract diversity and innovation, and hence international populations” is one condition necessary for “social and economic development of the city”).

<sup>43</sup> See GREG CLARK, MANAGING DIVERSITY, INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION IN OPENCITIES 76 (2010), [http://www.opencities.eu/download/managing\\_diversity.pdf](http://www.opencities.eu/download/managing_diversity.pdf) [hereinafter MANAGING DIVERSITY, INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION IN OPENCITIES]. Integration and inclusion are obviously significant contributors to the successful management of diversity. Positive social and economic relations between migrants and the traditional city population into which they integrate are important for a number of reasons. These range from the exchange of new business ideas by new perspectives, to the enrichment of cultural activities in the city. *Id.*

<sup>44</sup> See ANNETTE HASTINGS ET AL., THE COST OF THE CUTS: THE IMPACT ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POORER COMMUNITIES, JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUND. 5 (Mar. 2015), <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/cost-cuts-impact-local-government-and-poorer-communities> (finding that local government has “suffered a faster rate of cuts than most other areas of government spending”) [hereinafter THE COST OF THE CUTS].

leadership to the arguments OPENCities presented.<sup>45</sup> The 2008 downturn in the UK and EU highlighted new fears and insecurities and sadly, shortened time-horizons as local areas appeared to lose sight of the longer-term goal of diversity being a key ingredient for growth.<sup>46</sup> The OPENCities initiative found that it was increasingly difficult to win the argument that being receptive to migration is a strategy for the whole economic cycle; that cities which are open to diversity and change do not lose their efficacy in a downturn, but rather their openness becomes a strategy for dealing with the consequences of economic crisis by increasing the resilience of a local area.<sup>47</sup>

Policies that support communities to live with, and benefit from, diversity are more likely to gain traction, and popular backing, if they align strongly with regional policy especially if these are accompanied by practical benefits such as jobs and investment.<sup>48</sup> The EU's stated *Europe 2020 objectives*<sup>49</sup> (high levels of employment, innovation, productivity, social cohesion, smart jobs and mobility) combined with the ageing populations will most likely mean that attracting new diverse populations that can respond to the changing context is a logical policy response, even if this remains an unpopular public opinion.<sup>50</sup>

The network of URBACT OPENCities comprised a diversity of its own and one intended benefit of the programme was the ability to

<sup>45</sup> *OPENCities Fact Sheet 2011*, URBACT II 9 (2011), [http://www.opencities.eu/download/fact\\_sheet.pdf](http://www.opencities.eu/download/fact_sheet.pdf).

<sup>46</sup> *The Impact of Funding Reductions on Local Authorities*, NAT'L AUDIT OFF. 5–8 (Nov. 19, 2014), <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Impact-of-funding-reductions-on-local-authorities.pdf>.

<sup>47</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 8 (noting that a “successful city strategy should focus not just on the core economic attributes of innovation, productivity, connectivity and entrepreneurship, but also on . . . sustainability . . . [and] openness” which assists the city in its ability to “ensure resilience and to promote recovery” in the face of “shocks such as recession”).

<sup>48</sup> June Sarpong, *Diversity is Britain's Greatest Strength. It Must Be at the Top of the Political Agenda*, THE GUARDIAN (June 8, 2017), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentis-free/2017/jun/08/diversity-britain-greatest-strength-political-agenda-june-sarpong>.

<sup>49</sup> CLARK, OPENCITIES FINAL REPORT, *supra* note 40, at 5. See Europe 2020 Strategy, EUR. COMMISSION, [https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-co-ordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-co-ordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy_en) (last visited Feb. 2, 2019).

<sup>50</sup> Scott Blinder, *UK Public Opinion Toward Migration: Determinants of Attitudes*, MIGRATION OBSERVATORY 1, 1–4 (May 27, 2011), <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-migration-determinants-of-attitudes/>; *Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Population?*, UNITED NATIONS POPULATION DIVISION 1, 1–4 (2001), <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/ageing/replacement-es.pdf>.



compare and contrast different examples of innovation and creativity in policy development.<sup>51</sup> In terms of variety of approach, different types of interventions have worked with NGOs, international companies, police and fire-services, trade unions and a full range of other non-state actors in sport, cultural and economic domains.<sup>52</sup> The peer group of cities addressed a range of issues from entrepreneurship, health, language, participatory approaches, gender, IT tools and more.<sup>53</sup> The different types of interventions observed and promoted by the URBACT Programme focused, at the high level, on leadership and governance, on internationalization, on the direct management of inclusion and, importantly, at an integrated approach to all three.<sup>54</sup> Action Plans within the URBACT OPENCities program, relied on the principle of complementarity, building on existing initiatives and resources, and working within larger policy frameworks—such as broader strategic plans, large-scale regeneration projects or through mainstreaming into other policies and into administrative structures and norms.<sup>55</sup>

It is the case that, conceptually, local understanding of “openness” was varied but enhanced by participation in the OPENCities network.<sup>56</sup> For some the approach was an extension of that which was already in development, for others as the final report stated, “the idea that migration, diversity and openness are assets which benefit a city—rather than being a problem to solve, manage or minimise—came as a novelty and broke entirely new ground in their communities.”<sup>57</sup>

### III. LEARNING FROM OPENCITIES

OPENCities was just one of several programmes that developed to explore and experiment with the notion that local areas, towns, and cities and their leaders might look beyond their national context to other

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<sup>51</sup> *OPENCities Concept Paper: Openness and the Competitive Advantages of Diversity*, URBACT II, [http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/import/Projects/Open\\_Cities/outputs\\_media/7\\_Concept\\_Paper\\_01.pdf](http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/import/Projects/Open_Cities/outputs_media/7_Concept_Paper_01.pdf).

<sup>52</sup> OPENCITIES FINAL REPORT, *supra* note 40, at 5.

<sup>53</sup> *Id.*

<sup>54</sup> *Id.*; *OPENCities Results*, URBACT, <https://urbact.eu/opencities-results> (last visited Feb. 2, 2019).

<sup>55</sup> See CLARK, TOWARDS OPENCITIES, *supra* note 41, at 107–24 (discussing the importance of an “internationalisation strategy” and ten core principles for strategy development).

<sup>56</sup> OPENCITIES FINAL REPORT, *supra* note 40, at 5 (finding that local understanding of openness was “better articulated in terms of its practical application” with the introduction of OPENCities).

<sup>57</sup> *Id.*

locations with similar aspirations or challenges.<sup>58</sup> In our report on Trajectory and Transience clear challenges were recorded arising from the movement and poor settlement of people.<sup>59</sup> Demographic changes bringing more diversity seemed not to have been accompanied by considered public policy at national and local levels.<sup>60</sup> The Report saw a more diverse UK, coupled with continuous movement of people, poorly served by a more joined-up approach to policy.<sup>61</sup> So, as the Report points out, a National Policy on Immigration might not dovetail supportively with local conditions for arrived migrants, or that the conditions for local policies could be much more effective with more devolved resources, as an example.<sup>62</sup>

Three strong themes emerged from the OPENCities programme which are central to the development of any policy interventions to assist these identified challenges.<sup>63</sup> These themes relate to leadership, internationalization and inclusion.<sup>64</sup>

- *Responsible City Leadership*: Within the OPENCities experiences, it was generally found among all partners that the *leadership* that took responsibility for driving policy needed to be clear about their relationship with their stakeholders and find a concise and fact-based way to explain to stakeholders, and decision-makers, that openness is an asset in terms that they can relate to, and match their own priorities. Being an open city may be a good idea and an effective development path but city residents, both existing and new need to understand why, and in simple terms.<sup>65</sup>
- *Increased Globalization*: The *internationalization* theme underlined the significance of looking at pockets of diversity in

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<sup>58</sup> See, e.g., *What is an Intercultural City?*, COUNCIL OF EUROPE, <https://rm.coe.int/1680483cd4> (last visited Feb. 2, 2019).

<sup>59</sup> GRIFFITH & HALEJ, *supra* note 4, at 17–18.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.* at 16 (noting that “rapid demographic transformation will be felt most intensely in places that lack the social and policy infrastructure” to support a more diverse population).

<sup>61</sup> *Id.* at 6 (explaining the purpose of the report is to “inject greater balance” to the debate about the impact of ethnic diversity and discuss how to remedy the “localised understanding of demographic change [which] is currently overlooked”).

<sup>62</sup> *Id.* at 3–5. The three objectives aimed at central government and local authorities include “ensur[ing] that immigration rules do not drive up transience and inhibit integration,” “create[ing] the conditions for better local policy,” and “set[ting] up action plans for local authorities.” *Id.*

<sup>63</sup> OPENCITIES FINAL REPORT, *supra* note 40, at 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Id.*

<sup>65</sup> See CLARK, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 31.

the context of a global frame. Supportive relationships at the level of towns and cities might best be secured with places in other countries. Local relationships alone might not be enough.<sup>66</sup>

- *Inclusion*: Of the three themes, partners worked most on *inclusion*, as this aligned with their immediate needs and capacities. The impacts of the economic crisis since 2008 have also served to concentrate minds on tackling exclusion issues. Interestingly, the OPENCities experience highlighted a generalized lack of connection between policies that reduced exclusion, policies for economic development and for promoting places as attractive to outsiders. A key conclusion points to a structural need to forge greater linkages between these policy areas as part of any sustainable strategy for helping local areas to live more comfortably with diversity.<sup>67</sup>

These themes have distinctive implications for policy making because they are about relationships. Effective programmes that support communities to live together, and facilitate integration in the context of increased diversity, are as much about relationships as simply resources, enabling structures and rules of engagement for new arrivals or those who have long been settled in a particular neighbourhood.<sup>68</sup>

OPENCities provides evidence of approaches to local management that can accommodate the real and lived experience within localities of diversity, disparity and disconnections.<sup>69</sup> Policy attempts to create cohesion and peaceful relations in newly formed and rapidly changing local communities that fail to acknowledge the real differences that developed in different places are not likely to succeed.<sup>70</sup> Top-

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<sup>66</sup> See CLARK, INTERNATIONALISATION OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 20.

<sup>67</sup> See CLARK, MANAGING DIVERSITY, INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION IN OPENCITIES, *supra* note 43.

<sup>68</sup> See CLARK, INTERNATIONALISATION OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 20, at 5–18 (discussing the “essential elements” of a city’s internationalisation strategy which focuses on “specific collaborative” divisions of labor and overall “supporting the international community’s co-operative efforts”).

<sup>69</sup> See CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 23–72 (analyzing case studies from Madrid, Dublin, Toronto, Auckland, and Amsterdam).

<sup>70</sup> See MARÍA GABRIELA ORDUNA ALLEGRINI, IDENTITY AND IDENTITIES: POTENTIALITIES FOR SOCIAL AND TERRITORIAL COHESION 89, 90, 100 (Diputació de Barcelona, 2012), <https://www1.diba.cat/uliep/pdf/52704.pdf> (noting that “protection of identity differences and the promotion of diversity and interculturality” aids in generating “equality and social inclusion, belonging, recognition, legitimacy and participation within local communities”).

down and externally designed solutions to local challenges of diversity often generalise the problems and take little account of local capabilities or local experiences.<sup>71</sup> Agency that is external to a conflict is unlikely, by itself, to reconcile difference within local areas.<sup>72</sup>

Trevor Phillips, former head of the Commission for Racial Equality, provides a high level review of the issues, among others, relating to locality.<sup>73</sup> A focus on locality encourages the development of policies tailored carefully to the particularities of context; different places are different in different ways—and it is this variety that should be the starting point for the development of effective policy.<sup>74</sup> In our view, locality discourages generic and top-down, “one-size-fits-all” attention to the social and economic consequences of diversity and change at local levels.<sup>75</sup> The diversity of lived experiences in different places means that some localities such as Boston in the East of England may find themselves experiencing very rapid change, whereas for other place like Slough in Berkshire, UK, change is now more gradual and

<sup>71</sup> CLARK, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 31, at 6 (commenting that “only local government leaders can articulate and co-ordinate an effective agenda”); see Lucie Cerna, *The Nature of Policy Change and Implementation: A Review of Different Theoretical Approaches*, ORG. ECON. COOPERATION & DEV. 1, 18 (2013), <http://www.oecd.org/education/cei/The%20Nature%20of%20Policy%20Change%20and%20Implementation.pdf> (discussing how bottom-up approaches to policy implementation “identifies the networks of actors who are involved in service delivery in one or more local areas and asks them about their goals, strategies, activities and contacts”).

<sup>72</sup> CLARK, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 31, at 84–85. Local action is central to the core roles of planning, co-ordination, communication, and advocacy for change. These can only be done consistently and reliably at the local level; without them there is no holistic and accountable process of becoming more open. Local government and local leadership clearly play a role in setting a shared agenda, coordinating otherwise disparate and fragmented actors around a set of common goals. Collaboration of this kind typically leads to greater confidence and innovation. *Id.*

<sup>73</sup> See Trevor Phillips, Chairman, Commission on Racial Equality, Address at Manchester University: After 7/7: Sleepwalking to Segregation (Sept. 22, 2005) (transcript available online at [https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A3=ind0509&L=CRONEM&E=quoted-printable&P=60513&B=%EF%BF%BD%E2%80%94%3D\\_NextPart\\_001\\_01C5C28A.09501783&T=text%2Fhtml;%20charset=iso-8859%E2%80%93&pending=](https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A3=ind0509&L=CRONEM&E=quoted-printable&P=60513&B=%EF%BF%BD%E2%80%94%3D_NextPart_001_01C5C28A.09501783&T=text%2Fhtml;%20charset=iso-8859%E2%80%93&pending=)).

<sup>74</sup> CLARK, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE OF OPENCITIES, *supra* note 31, at 79 (discussing how it would be “hard for any individual city to undertake” an open city plan “comprehensively” because each city “makes the case for openness in different ways”). See Maria Schiller, *The Implementation Trap: The Local Level and Diversity Policies*, 83 INT’L REV. ADMIN. SCI. 267, 278 (2015) (“Comparing the implementation of diversity policies in different cities allows us to identify similarities and differences among these city contexts and factors that explain the variation regarding a consistent implementation of diversity policies.”).

<sup>75</sup> OECD, COPING WITH THE CRISIS AT LOCAL LEVEL: POLICY LESSONS FROM THE OECD PROGRAMME ON LOCAL ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT (LEED) 9 (2009), <https://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/42965605.pdf>.

this difference creates real challenges for policy.<sup>76</sup> In many ways, the experiences of different places underlines policy dysfunction.<sup>77</sup> In short, the way in which we manage diversity has not kept up with the way in which we encounter it.<sup>78</sup> The lived and practical experiences of diversity are multi-dimensional and yet policy and political responses are more often than not one-dimensional.<sup>79</sup>

As *Trajectory and Transience* makes clear, the argument for locally allocated budgets to reflect the local impacts of migration is not new<sup>80</sup> but our improved understanding of the complexity and changing diversity of local places, reinforced by revisiting our experiences of the OPENCities programme, suggests that we might want to look much more carefully and with considerable more focus at managing diversity for the future.<sup>81</sup>

We have referred to the fresh perspective of our work in *Trajectory and Transience*, noting that diversity is not linear and that it impacts places differently for reasons associated with previous experiences of immigration, the transience of communities and plurality of place.<sup>82</sup> The recognition of differences between localities is important in the policy and academic literature on local economic development and even within

<sup>76</sup> See GRIFFITH & HALEJ, *supra* note 4, at 14–15; CLARK, TOWARDS OPENCITIES, *supra* note 41, at 67–74 (discussing the differences in population changes amongst European cities).

<sup>77</sup> See Tiziana Caponio, *Conclusion: Making Sense of Local Migration Policy Arenas*, in THE LOCAL DIMENSION OF MIGRATION POLICYMAKING 161, 166 (Tiziana Caponio & Maren Borkert eds., 2010) (noting the shift from focusing on “best practices” to a “search for basic mechanisms that may allow for the transferability of certain practice in different contexts”).

<sup>78</sup> See generally, Schiller, *supra* note 74, at 277 (discussing the “implementation gap” in which the “activities for implementing the diversity policies often diverse from the goals formulated in the policies”).

<sup>79</sup> See Aneta Piekut et al., *Multidimensional Diversity in Two European Cities: Thinking Beyond Ethnicity*, 44 ENV'T & PLAN. 2988, 3006 (2012) (arguing that “equality policies need to move away from focusing on any particular minority group, but instead to embrace the multidimensional nature of diversity” and “localism and integration within local communities” is important).

<sup>80</sup> GRIFFITH & HALEJ, *supra* note 4, at 24–25.

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., HARRIS BEIDER, COMMUNITY COHESION: THE VIEWS OF WHITE WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITIES, JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUND. (2011), <https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/working-class-community-cohesion-full.pdf>; MARY HICKMAN ET AL., IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION IN THE UK: THE RHYTHMS AND REALITIES OF EVERYDAY LIFE, JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUND. (2008), <https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/2230-deprivation-cohesion-immigration.pdf>; MARIA HUDSON ET AL., SOCIAL COHESION IN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES, JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUND. (2007), <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/social-cohesion-diverse-communities>.

<sup>82</sup> GRIFFITH & HALEJ, *supra* note 4, at 13–19.

discourse on international trade.<sup>83</sup> However, until recently, that recognition has been less apparent in discussions of social change, the perceptions and consequences for social cohesion, and sustaining peaceful and productive relationships at local levels.<sup>84</sup> In the many discussions of local change, the impacts of migration and increased diversity have tended to be framed in terms of the consequences for one place versus another with a focus on local issues and political or economic changes, driving populations to leave one place, and growing jobs markets and opportunities attracting populations to arrive.<sup>85</sup> This is very apparent in the recently developed and published London Plan, which provides a powerful insight to the points we make.<sup>86</sup>

In the OPENCities approach, towns and cities are increasingly recognised as new collective stakeholders and leaders.<sup>87</sup> They have an important role in framing debates on diversity and a power of convening that continues despite constraints on public spending.<sup>88</sup> Based on the lived experience of individual places, more and more urban leaders can promote increased *and meaningful partnerships* between people from different cultures and national backgrounds to beneficial effect, in the way shown by existing best practices.<sup>89</sup>

In the example of the work developed under the OPENCities Programme where the leadership of towns and cities developed policies reflecting their very local conditions were crucial success factors in managing diversity in ways that maximised overall benefit for all.<sup>90</sup>

#### IV. SUPPORTING COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

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<sup>83</sup> See Katharine L. Bradbury et al., *The Effects of State and Local Public Policies on Economic Development: An Overview*, NEW ENGLAND ECON. REV. 1, 1 (Mar. 1997) (noting that “policies pursued by subnational governments do affect the pace of economic development within their borders”).

<sup>84</sup> *Id.* at 11–12.

<sup>85</sup> *Id.* at 3.

<sup>86</sup> THE MAYOR’S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR LONDON, GREATER LONDON AUTHORITY (Dec. 2017), <https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/economic-development-strategy-for-london-2017.pdf>.

<sup>87</sup> CLARK, UNDERSTANDING OPENCITIES, *supra* note 17, at 3–4.

<sup>88</sup> *Id.* at 8–9.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.* at 10.

<sup>90</sup> See CLARK, MANAGING DIVERSITY, INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION IN OPENCITIES, *supra* note 43, at 5–6 (noting that the impact of immigration policy is “strongly felt at the local level where other policy areas . . . interact” and “good city leadership is crucial” for the “successful participation of newcomers in city life.”).

Within the current context, communities themselves are being left to make sense of the implications of migration for local service delivery and the scale and rapidity of neighbourhood change and to form alliances with different groups at the time of few, if any, resources.<sup>91</sup> Yet there are numerous examples of community mobilisation on different issues. Most notably among these is the emergence of London Citizens<sup>92</sup> on the basis of community organising methods deployed in the United States by pioneers such as Saul Alinsky.<sup>93</sup> The organisation sees itself as outside government having lobbied successfully for a Living Wage and campaigning on neighbourhood-based issues bringing people together.<sup>94</sup>

Political institutions have failed to build a progressive narrative on diversity.<sup>95</sup> Government has driven debates on diversity along with professionalised activist-based organizations.<sup>96</sup> This was seen in how community cohesion became meshed in bureaucracy and targets which gave the impression that it was disconnected from the lived experiences of people.<sup>97</sup> Current debates have become part of the void that begets the laissez-faire approach adopted since the 2010, 2015 and 2017 UK elections.<sup>98</sup> Policy frameworks such as community cohesion and integration work with the “usual suspects” of embedded leadership. In some studies, they are viewed as gatekeepers rather than gateways of

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<sup>91</sup> GRIFFITH & HALEJ, *supra* note 4, at 16.

<sup>92</sup> Citizens UK “organises communities to act together for power, social justice and the common good.” *About Us*, CITIZENS UK, [https://www.citizensuk.org/about\\_us](https://www.citizensuk.org/about_us) (last visited Feb. 4, 2019). Citizens UK consists of a network of local Citizens alliances and over 450 civil society institutions all “committed to working together for the common good.” *Local Chapters*, CITIZENS UK, [https://www.citizensuk.org/local\\_chapters](https://www.citizensuk.org/local_chapters) (last visited Feb. 4, 2019).

<sup>93</sup> See generally SAUL D. ALINSKY, *RULES FOR RADICALS: A PRAGMATIC PRIMER FOR REALISTIC RADICALS* (Vintage Books 1989) (1971) (describing how to successfully run a movement for change for future community organizers).

<sup>94</sup> See *Living Wage*, CITIZENS UK, [https://www.citizensuk.org/living\\_wage](https://www.citizensuk.org/living_wage) (last visited Feb. 4, 2019).

<sup>95</sup> See Jeremy Heywood, *Where We’re Going with Diversity and Inclusion*, Gov.UK (Sept. 28, 2015), <https://civilservice.blog.gov.uk/2015/09/28/where-were-going-with-diversity-and-inclusion/> (discussing the Civil Service’s goal to become the “most inclusive employer” while noting that this is “only the start”).

<sup>96</sup> See Pauline Hope Cheong et al., *Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social Capital: A Critical Review*, 27 *CRITICAL SOC. POL’Y* 24, 27–29 (2007) (examining the importance of public debate and policy discourses in showing how “issues of integration and social cohesion symbolically represent a complex set of issues”).

<sup>97</sup> *Id.* at 28.

<sup>98</sup> James Laurence, *The Effect of Ethnic Diversity and Community Disadvantage on Social Cohesion: A Multi-Level Analysis of Social Capital and Interethnic Relations in UK Communities*, 27 *EUR. SOC. REV.* 70, 73–74 (2011).

concentrated rather than distributive power.<sup>99</sup> Community engagement and conversations within and between groups does not materialize and policies have a superficial rather than a deep impact.<sup>100</sup>

Accepting this analysis means that a new type of advocate is needed to take make diversity work at the local level. These will be community activists, volunteers or concerned residents who are passionate about the perception and vitality of a place, whether it is in a micro neighbourhood or a city, building cohesion or integration.<sup>101</sup> Independent organizations such as foundations, or universities, working with local government, could foster a new type of community advocacy designed to make a local case for difference.<sup>102</sup>

Based on the principles of successful community mobilising efforts this could work in a developmental way. First, scoping individuals who could be engaged and have the skills and capacity to deliver change from across different communities. Recruitment would target a representative sample of residents from a variety of backgrounds, working closely with trusted community organizations. Second, a leadership programme could be devised challenging participants to become better leaders and increase capability. This could be accredited with a university to add value and incentivize individuals. Third, participants will have opportunities to be placed with organizations and activities that

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<sup>99</sup> See Margaret Boneham et al., *Accessing the Community: Gaining Insider Perspectives From the Outside*, 13 QUALITATIVE HEALTH RES. 578, 583–84 (2003) (discussing the role of community leaders as “gatekeepers” who have “local influence and power to add credibility” but also “erect barriers, [have the ability to] prevent[] access, and effectively shut[] the project down”).

<sup>100</sup> See PHIL WOOD ET AL., CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN BRITAIN: A TOOLKIT FOR CROSS-CULTURAL CO-OPERATION, JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUND. 21, 66–67(2006), <https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/1922-cultural-diversity-britain.pdf> (highlighting the importance of “a continuous process of informal discussion and engagement” amongst communities to better “understand other cultural perspectives” and setting policy goals for governments which includes creating a “better means of gathering and interpreting knowledge to inform local decision making”); see, e.g., Prime Minister David Cameron, Speech on Radicalisation and Islamic Extremism at Munich Security Conference (Feb. 5, 2011) (transcript available online at <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>).

<sup>101</sup> See Marjorie Mayo et al., *Community Empowerment and Community Cohesion: Parallel Agendas for Community Building in England*, 18 J. SOC. INTERVENTION: THEORY & PRAC. 23, 38 (2009) (discussing the importance of the “the voluntary and community sectors” in “acting as bridges for the different interests and groups within new communities to find ways of being effectively heard in local structures of governance”).

<sup>102</sup> *Id.* at 40–41 (noting the value of “local government authorities working collaboratively” with community based organizations whom provide “community development support, build[] trust, and ensur[e] that the voices of different interest and groups could be represented democratically”).



have a different community base. This is much more than intercultural contact but helping grassroots efforts to address practical and specific challenges. The initiative called for is not new but the focus on diversity and finding commonalities between communities without the blunt hand of government provides an innovative way forward.

V. COVENTRY CITY-UNIVERSITY INITIATIVE:  
THE ROLE OF A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION IN  
STRENGTHENING SOCIAL RELATIONS

Whilst OPENCities provides an example of how issues of mobility and diversity can be addressed by cities with implications for policy at a national or even EU level, it is also important to consider how these issues play out at a regional and local level where place has significant implications. A significant impact of the 2008 economic crash and subsequent decisions made by central government was sharply reducing levels of public spending.<sup>103</sup> Between 2010 to 2012 local government spending was slashed by 30%<sup>104</sup> and led to an unprecedented round of redundancies in councils.<sup>105</sup> These cuts have had specific local effects. For example, 33,904 people lost their jobs across local authorities in the West Midlands leading to a crisis of local leadership.<sup>106</sup>

The reduced size of local government and accompanying job losses has major implications for addressing issues of diversity and inclusion.<sup>107</sup> It is nearly twenty years from the expansion of programmes under the credo of community cohesion after the 2001 disturbances in Burnley, Oldham and Bradford.<sup>108</sup> In practice, much of the work of

<sup>103</sup> See John Van Reenen, *Austerity in the UK: Past, Present and Future*, LONDON SCH. ECON. & POL. (Mar. 11, 2015), <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/austerity-past-present-and-future/> (showing the post-Recession decline in public investment).

<sup>104</sup> ANNETTE HASTINGS ET AL., *SERVING DEPRIVED COMMUNITIES IN A RECESSION*, JOSEPH ROWNTREE FOUND. 14 (2012), <https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/communities-recession-services-full.pdf> [hereinafter *SERVING DEPRIVED COMMUNITIES IN A RECESSION*].

<sup>105</sup> CECILIA CAMPOS ET AL., *IMPACT OF THE RECESSION*, OFF. NAT'L STAT. 7, 12 (2011), <https://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/regional-trends/regional-trends/regional-trends--july-2011-edition/impact-of-the-recession.pdf> (noting that redundancy rates "rose in every English region" and redundancies for all people "peaked" at a rate of 12 per thousand employees in the fourth quarter of 2008).

<sup>106</sup> Patrick Butler, *Redundancies Have Cost English Councils £4bn Since 2010 – Study*, THE GUARDIAN (Sept. 13, 2018, 9:32 AM), <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/sep/13/councils-in-england-spend-4bn-on-220000-redundancies-since-2010>.

<sup>107</sup> COMMUNITY COHESION: A REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW TEAM, HOME OFF. 8 (2001), <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/14146/1/communitycohesionreport.pdf>.

<sup>108</sup> *Id.* at 15.

community cohesion was implemented by local government together with the community and voluntary sector under the framework of grants, monitoring and evaluation.<sup>109</sup> Since 2010, community cohesion teams have been dismantled because of the shift towards *laissez faire* integration, but also due to cuts in funding at the local level.<sup>110</sup>

Reduced levels of commitment, capability, and value in promoting diversity are the bitter harvest of the much-reduced size of local government.<sup>111</sup> Commitment ebbed as community cohesion was tarred as being part of “state multiculturalism” that had arguably failed Britain.<sup>112</sup> Capability became compromised because of experienced staff being lost and legacy washed away due to the lack of resources for follow up work after 2010.<sup>113</sup> This is not to say that community cohesion was without faults. It was perceived by some academics and activists as a statist top-down intervention, too bureaucratic and disconnected from the experiences of people.<sup>114</sup> The intention may have been to address the challenges of diversity, but it often viewed issues from a singular, homogenous lens generalising differences into simplistic assumptions about people and communities.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *Id.* at 17 (noting the “mutual support” and “trust” between local leadership and community and voluntary organisations in promoting community cohesion); HASTINGS ET AL., THE COST OF THE CUTS, *supra* note 44, at 84.

<sup>110</sup> See Sebastian Payne, *The UK Government is Right to Worry About Integration*, FIN. TIMES (Mar. 14, 2018), <https://www.ft.com/content/c30e3878-2785-11e8-b27e-cc62a39d57a0>; THE COST OF THE CUTS, *supra* note 44, at 31–46 (discussing four councils and the “scale of the budgetary challenge they faced”).

<sup>111</sup> SERVING DEPRIVED COMMUNITIES IN A RECESSION, *supra* note 104, at 49.

<sup>112</sup> Cameron, *supra* note 100 (stating that under the “doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives” and “failed” to provide a cohesive society).

<sup>113</sup> COMMUNITY COHESION: A REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW TEAM, *supra* note 107, at 24 (noting the lack of skills and resources available to “maintain the links within the community”); THE COST OF THE CUTS, *supra* note 44, at 10–11.

<sup>114</sup> See Ash Amin, *Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with Diversity*, 34 ENV'T & PLAN. A. 959, 972 (2002) (asking if community cohesion is even feasible in polarized and economically diverse communities); Cheong et al., *supra* note 96, at 42–43 (discussing the “illiberal top-down attempt to socially engineer democracy and community cohesion”); Paul Foley & Steve Martin, *A New Deal For the Community? Public Participation in Regeneration and Local Service Delivery*, 28 POL'Y & POL. 479, 488 (2000) (arguing that the “real test” of community cohesion policies will be “the degree to which the national government is willing to trust communities and local service providers with policy space, resources and greater autonomy”).

<sup>115</sup> Foley & Martin, *supra* note 114, at 486 (finding that “community aspirations are nowhere near as homogenous as government pronouncements frequently imply” because it is clear communities “rarely speak with one voice” and are “deeply fragmented”); Amin, *supra* note 114, at 963 (“These are genuinely well-meaning proposals for cultural dialogue, but underlying them is a worrying assumption of cultural fixity and homogeneity within both the majority and minority ethnic communities . . .”).

In the absence of policy framing and commitment by government, a shrinking workforce and lower levels of capability in actively promoting race equality, the prospects look bleak. Counterintuitively, a smaller state and continued pressures on public spending may create an opportunity for non-governmental organisations to play a significant role in championing diversity. In this context, higher educational institutions can be put forward as exactly the type of organisations that could, and should, be taking on a progressive agenda on diversity in a town or city. First, they are committed for the long term and hence important to horizon scanning and strategic development of a locality.<sup>116</sup> Assets, such as buildings and employees, are unlikely to move away in the short term. Second, universities have strong levels of capability measured in terms of financial clout with even the smallest institution having a multimillion turnover and an army of accountants and risk managers. Financial strength, combined with the fact universities are regulated by government, means that they are relatively low risk partners to work with local government, or the private sector. Third, higher education institutions hold significant levels of knowledge capital that could be applied to overcome place-based challenges and unlocking the potential of diversity. Fourth, as many universities are international institutions attracting students from across the world, they have the experience of investing in and managing diverse communities.<sup>117</sup> Finally, although universities are increasingly complex institutions, they largely are regarded as liberal and progressive organisations on issues of diversity.<sup>118</sup> The process of mining a global market for students and staff means that higher education institutions are increasingly recognising the value of diversity.

Universities, as non-governmental organisations, have benefited from immigration.<sup>119</sup> International students help increase turnover and

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<sup>116</sup> See generally DEBRA FRIEDMAN ET AL., THE FOUNDATIONAL ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES AS ANCHOR INSTITUTIONS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT, COALITION OF URB. SERVING UNIV. (2014), [http://usucoalition.org/images/APLU\\_USU\\_Foundational\\_FNLlo.pdf](http://usucoalition.org/images/APLU_USU_Foundational_FNLlo.pdf) (discussing the importance of universities as “‘anchor’ institutions supplying their city-regions with educational, research, and entrepreneurial capacity”).

<sup>117</sup> See Niall Hegarty, *Where We are Now – The Presence and Importance of International Students to Universities in the United States*, 4 J. INT’L STUDENTS 223 (2014).

<sup>118</sup> See Caryn McTighe Musil, *Promoting Universal Values in the Face of Societal Change*, in HIGHER EDUCATION FOR MODERN SOCIETIES: COMPETENCES AND VALUES 87, 87 (Sjur Bergan & Radu Damian eds., 2010), <https://rm.coe.int/higher-education-for-modern-societies-competences-and-values/168075dddb> (noting that the “universal value that has prove its resilience” in terms of colleges is the “concept of liberal education”).

<sup>119</sup> See generally THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS BY PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY, LONDON ECON. (Jan. 2018), <https://www.hepi.ac.uk/wp->

profits, open up new global markets for education and research, and expose universities to difference.<sup>120</sup> Despite this, and the contribution that universities could make on diversity, government debates have been based on working with local government or under resourced and small community-based organisations.<sup>121</sup>

The case of Coventry, UK amplifies the potential of non-governmental organisations to work on new ideas for diversity. This is a city of around 360,000 residents whose population growth in the last decade has been the result of international migration.<sup>122</sup> Between 2006 and 2010, 33,000 people from overseas moved to Coventry.<sup>123</sup> In fact, according to recent estimates the minority ethnic population has risen to 33%.<sup>124</sup>

Previously known for motor manufacturing, cars have long ceased rolling off assembly lines and employment is below the national average.<sup>125</sup> The City Council played an important role on diversity,<sup>126</sup> but since 2010, the workforce has shrunk from 8,000 to 5,000, with

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content/uploads/2018/01/Economic-benefits-of-international-students-by-constituency-Final-11-01-2018.pdf.

<sup>120</sup> *Id.* at 47.

<sup>121</sup> See INTEGRATED COMMUNITIES STRATEGY GREEN PAPER: BUILDING STRONGER, MORE UNITED COMMUNITIES, HM GOV'T 14 (Mar. 2018), [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/696993/Integrated\\_Communities\\_Strategy.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/696993/Integrated_Communities_Strategy.pdf) (discussing how innovation and cohesion are key policy priorities for local governments, not universities).

<sup>122</sup> *City Factsheet: Coventry*, CENTRE FOR CITIES, <https://www.centreforcities.org/city/coventry/> (last visited Feb. 5, 2019); *Insight: Coventry's Population Estimate 2017*, COVENTRY CITY COUNCIL (June 2018), [http://www.coventry.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/27490/coventrys\\_population\\_estimate\\_2017.pdf](http://www.coventry.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/27490/coventrys_population_estimate_2017.pdf) (noting the “main cause of population growth” between mid-2016 and mid-2017 was “net international immigration”).

<sup>123</sup> PEOPLE COMING TO COVENTRY – INFORMATION ABOUT MIGRATION, P'SHIP FOR COVENTRY 2 (July 2016), <http://www.coventrypartnership.com/wp-content/uploads/People-coming-to-Coventry-5-1.pdf> (citing *Insight: Coventry's Population Estimate 2017*, *supra* note 122).

<sup>124</sup> See *Population and Demographics: Ethnicity and Religion*, COVENTRY CITY COUNCIL, [http://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/195/facts\\_about\\_coventry/2435/population\\_and\\_demographics/5](http://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/195/facts_about_coventry/2435/population_and_demographics/5) (last visited Feb. 7, 2019) (“According to the Census 2011, the majority (66.6%) of Coventry’s total population is White British . . .”).

<sup>125</sup> Graham Ruddick, *It Was Once Britain's Motor City. Now Coventry's Wheels are Turning Again*, THE GUARDIAN (Apr. 23, 2016, 11:00 AM), <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/apr/23/coventry-britain-motor-city-wheels-turning-again>.

<sup>126</sup> See *Equality and Diversity – Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Commitment*, COVENTRY CITY COUNCIL, [http://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/132/equality\\_and\\_diversity/1272/equality\\_and\\_diversity/4](http://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/132/equality_and_diversity/1272/equality_and_diversity/4) (last visited Feb. 5, 2019) (highlighting the City Council’s commitment to “cognizing and celebrating diversity, and ensuring equality of opportunity”).

more spending cuts planned to 2017.<sup>127</sup> However, Coventry has two excellent universities: the University of Warwick, located on the fringe of the city, and Coventry University, based in the city centre. Together, they bring more than 50,000 students<sup>128</sup> into the city, a quarter of who are international.<sup>129</sup>

Of the two universities, Coventry is in a better position to implement the themes from the OPENCities study. The University owns 45% of property in Coventry City Centre and employs over 2,000 people.<sup>130</sup> The global and local footprint, together with the story of growth and expansion, provides a striking contrast to shrinking local government with a reduced capacity for change.<sup>131</sup>

The imagery is of a 21st century university housed in a 20th century city. Yet Coventry University and Coventry City Council are working closely to ensure that the knowledge capital of the university works in a way with residents for mutual benefit through a ground-breaking “City-University Initiative” (CUI).<sup>132</sup> Focusing on action research and impact, this project has created an impact hub that will be the catalyst for social enterprises, creating jobs and training local people, improving social relations by evidencing change in different neighbourhoods, as well as bringing together community groups as part a social inclusion task group, and matching students up with community groups to address

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<sup>127</sup> Simon Gilbert, *Most Coventry City Council Staff to be Offered Chance of Voluntary Redundancy as Plan to Shed 1,000 Jobs is Backed*, COVENTRY TELEGRAPH (Aug. 6, 2014, 3:03 PM), <http://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/most-coventry-city-council-staff-7573138>.

<sup>128</sup> Warwick University had a total of 26, 531 students in 2017/18. ESSENTIAL WARWICK 2018, UNIV. WARWICK 3 (2018), <https://warwick.ac.uk/about/profile/essentialwarwick.pdf>. Coventry University had “just under 30,000 students” in 2017. Duncan Gibbons, *Why 20,000 Students from 140 Countries are Making Coventry Their Home*, COVENTRY TELEGRAPH (Oct. 10, 2017, 1:03 PM), <https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/ct-29-student-numbers-lead-13737088>.

<sup>129</sup> Gibbons, *supra* note 128 (noting that the incoming students at Coventry in 2017 came from 140 different countries, and around 40% came from the EU or were international students); *International Student Statistics*, UNIV. WARWICK, <https://www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk/warwick/international> (last visited Feb. 4, 2019) (In 2016-17, Warwick had 7,725 international students).

<sup>130</sup> *Jobs at Coventry University*, COVENTRY UNIV., <https://www.coventry.ac.uk/the-university/working-at-coventry-university/> (last visited Feb. 5, 2019); Laura Hartley, *What Land Does Coventry University Own in the City?*, COVENTRY TELEGRAPH (May 7, 2018, 12:43 AM), <https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/what-land-coventry-university-city-14624551>.

<sup>131</sup> Gilbert, *supra* note 127.

<sup>132</sup> See *Building an Urban Serving University: A Social Relations Programme for Coventry*, COVENTRY UNIV. (July 25, 2014), <https://www.coventry.ac.uk/research/about-us/research-news/2014/building-an-urban-serving-university-a-social-relations-programme-for-coventry/>.

exclusion and diversity.<sup>133</sup> Developing this further, the CUI has taken the lead in investing and creating a “FabLab” in the centre of Coventry.<sup>134</sup> This is a resource for people and businesses in the city, which builds on Coventry’s industrial heritage by using advanced manufacturing to give people, especially those who are aged sixteen to twenty-four and came from poor, diverse backgrounds, the power to turn ideas into reality and to energise them to learn more about science, technology, engineering, enterprise, arts and maths through an accessible, fun, learning environment.<sup>135</sup> Not only has Coventry University taken the lead in investing in the project but has also secured has a partnership with the City Council, University of Warwick and a local charity that works with young people.<sup>136</sup> Opening in July 2016, the FabLab expected to bring in at least 250 people a week, with interventions targeted to build social cohesion and address the low level of skills in Coventry.<sup>137</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

CUI remains in an early and formative stage but is already demonstrating how Coventry University is encouraged to use its assets to champion diversity and inclusion working alongside partners. The project is taking a proactive role in shaping a city, bringing people and stakeholders together through a convening power and adding value in terms of supporting business start-ups and addressing skills amongst disadvantaged communities. This is even more critical given that local governments are facing a capability crisis in addressing the challenges of making diversity work in towns and cities across the country. Severe public spending cuts has meant reduced levels of investment for promoting diversity at the national level and a mass shedding of workforces locally. This is likely to continue during the next governmental cycle to 2020.<sup>138</sup> In this context, non-governmental actors, such as universities, are in a good position to take a much more proactive role. They

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<sup>133</sup> *Id.*

<sup>134</sup> *About Us*, FABLAB COVENTRY, <http://www.covfablab.org.uk/about-us/> (last visited Feb. 7, 2019) (explaining the joint venture between Coventry University, Coventry City Council and University of Warwick to create a “resource for the community offering access to digital tools and technologies”).

<sup>135</sup> *Id.*

<sup>136</sup> *Id.*

<sup>137</sup> *Id.*

<sup>138</sup> Alan Travis, *Public Services Face Real-Terms Spending Cuts of Up to 40% in Decade to 2020*, THE GUARDIAN (Nov. 27, 2017, 8:22 AM), <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/nov/22/public-services-face-real-terms-spending-cuts-of-up-to-40-in-decade-to-2020>.

have benefitted from globalisation and international migration and are one of the few institutions based in towns and cities that are growing. This marks a new way for a progressive agenda to be championed with government taking a facilitative role in partnership with leading stakeholders.