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GOALS OF INTEGRATION POLICY IN CITIES

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INTRODUCTION

As the title of this Working Group implies, one of the foremost challenges of the modern era in Europe is to find a successful solution to the goal of "living together in difference". A word which is commonly used by policy-makers to express this goal is 'integration'. In this presentation I want to explore what is meant by the word 'integration', because in my experience it is often used rather loosely and without clear definition. 'Integration' is something that everybody can be in favour of, but over which many people disagree. If we are to advocate 'integration' as a solution to the challenge of "living together in difference", it is essential that we have a shared understanding of what we mean.

In my presentation I shall focus specifically on the theme of cultural and ethnic difference. Obviously there are numerous other dimensions of social difference, but I believe that the main issues can be illustrated in relation to the ethnic dimension. This, moreover, is the dimension with which I am most familiar from my own work.

I shall begin by setting out six distinct forms which the relationship between ethnic groups may take, and within that I shall identify one as corresponding to what most people tend to mean by 'integration'. I shall then explore the concept of 'integration' in an ethnically diverse society in greater detail, paying particular attention to the distinction between the public and the private domains. My aim throughout will not be to provide new facts, but rather to offer tools which can aid thinking about practical issues which already confront us in Europe. They are tools which have been found useful both in my work in Britain and north-west Europe, and more recently in work I have undertaken for the Council of Europe in Central/Eastern European countries also. I shall illustrate their use briefly by referring to issues relating to the role of the police in multi-ethnic societies.

SIX FORMS OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

In the table below, six different forms which the relations between ethnic groups may take have been set out. There are two dimensions. One is the dimension of how the groups are connected with one another: *isolated* from one another, *interrelated* to some degree, or *incorporated* with one another. The second is the dimension of power: whether the relationship is *equal* or *unequal*. (Both dimensions could, if desired, also be represented as a continuum.)

	Isolation	Interrelation	Incorporation
Equal	SEPARATISM	PLURALISM	FUSION
Unequal	EXCLUSION	DOMINATION	ASSIMILATION

What is the actual state of intergroup relations in our cities in Europe, and what is the state to which we aspire? Obviously the reality is complex, but we must start by accepting that whether we like it or not, ethnic and cultural diversity are part of the fabric of European life – and increasingly so as we approach the new millenium. The issue for us in Europe, therefore, is not whether diversity should be a feature of our social life, but how groups relate to one another, and how in public policy we should respond to this.

The state of relationships between ethnic groups in different cities and European nations is of course extremely varied. Past histories and present circumstances combine to produce different patterns of interrelationship, and different degrees of equality and inequality. However, although some cases may be brought forward of ethnic groups living closely together in relative equality and harmony with one another, across Europe there are major tendencies towards inequality, segregation and inter-group conflict. Antisemitism, colour-based racism of colonial origin, racism against Roma/gypsies, and ethnic conflict linked to national/territorial aspirations are merely the most prominent manifestations of these tendencies during the past fifty years. 'Separatism', 'dominance', and forced 'exclusion' are forms of intergroup relations which are readily identifiable as having been – and as continuing to be - manifested throughout the Europe as a whole.

What, then, is the form of intergroup relationships to which we in Europe today should aspire? To begin with, the premise of "living together" (rather than apart) points us firmly towards the centre and right-hand options. "Living together", however, may take a variety of forms, ranging from that in which groups are interrelated while maintaining a distinct identity, to that in which they become incorporated with one another to form a single group. "Living together", furthermore, may be in relations of either equality or of dominance and subordination.

Beyond this, our guide should be the principles of fundamental human rights, which are the pretext for this working conference. To begin with, the principle of equality guides us unambiguously into the upper level of the table that has been set out above. And the principle of acceptance of and respect for 'difference', again expressed in the title of our working group, directs us away from the right-hand extreme as a policy goal, and back into the central area.

This review of the different forms that inter-group relations may take therefore points clearly to the challenge of combining the principles of 'equality' with ethnic or cultural 'pluralism' as the challenge that we should be identifying when we talk of 'integration' as a policy goal. At this point, we could do a lot worse that note the definition of 'integration' coined in Britain in 1966 by the then Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, which runs as follows:

"I define integration not as a flattening process of assimilation, but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance."

However, before directly exploring this idea of integration further, let us first pay some attention to the alternative idea of 'assimilation' as a policy goal. The word 'assimilation' often receives a bad press these days, but the reason it does so is not always clear. From the human rights angle, it should not be the idea of loss or change of identity in itself that should be condemned, but that such change should be enforced rather than a matter of choice.

There is, however, an important issue that is posed by advocates of 'assimilation', one that is often ignored (or insufficiently appreciated) by those who readily campaign for a 'plural' or 'multi-cultural' solution. The question is: what exactly is the wider framework that must exist in order to hold the different component parts of the plural society together? Who determines this, or decides how it should operate in any particular national or city context? And how do we overcome the practical problems of building such a framework and ensuring it is implemented effectively? And of ensuring that it has the confidence of all of the different ethnic groups that live together in the society or city in question?
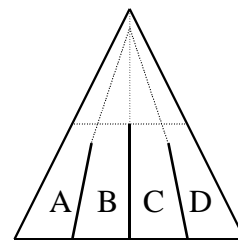
THE CONCEPT OF A MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY

Let us probe further into the precise nature of this challenge. Below are set out three models of what a multi-cultural society might look like, in diagrammatical form. Note that in each triangle, the vertical dimension represents the dimension of power.
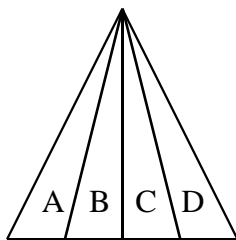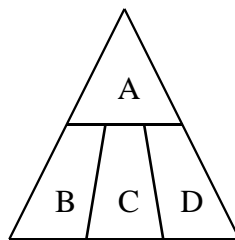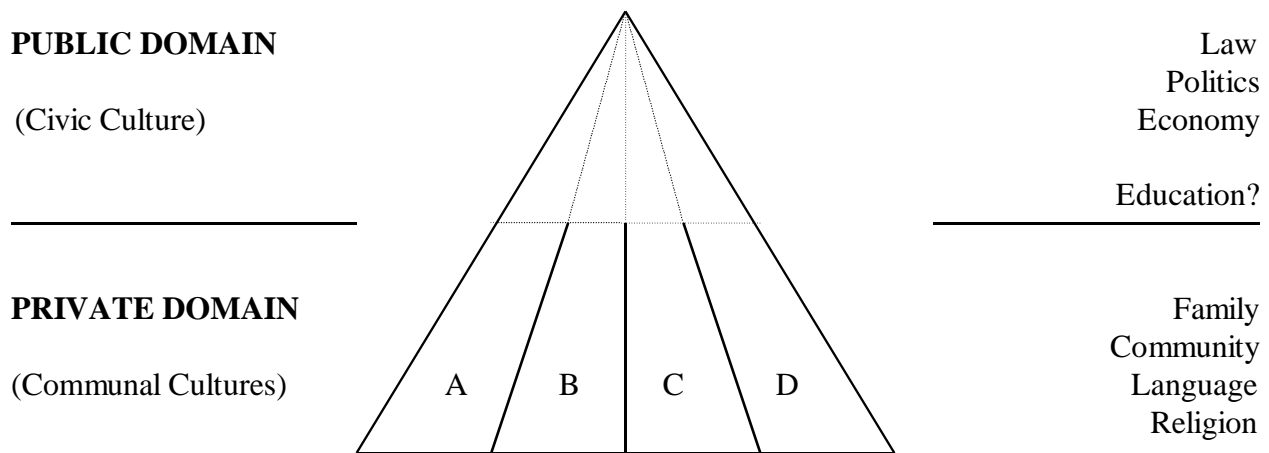

CO-EXISTENCE   DOMINANCE   CIVIC INTEGRATION

The first, labelled 'co-existence', may be the most obvious image that comes to mind: ethnic groups living alongside one another, distinct and equal but not in any way combined. But what is it that holds the society together in this simple form? This first model highlights the point that unless there is some structural framework holding the groups together, this simple coexistence may soon fall apart.

The second model, labelled 'domination', portrays the reality of multi-cultural societies as they are known to us throughout history. To varying degrees, past multi-cultural societies have held

together because one group has played an integrating role on account of its dominance over other groups - typically conquerors, nationalist or colonial powers. In the model, group A now plays this integrating role. However, since pluralism has been achieved at the expense of equality, this model is clearly the antithesis of what we are trying to achieve. It warns us, however, that the message of history is that we face a uniquely challenging task.

The third model, which is labelled 'civic integration', and draws upon the writings of sociologists Brian Bullivant in Australia and John Rex at Warwick University in Britain, tries to capture the essence of the challenge that we face. It represents a form of society in which the positions of power and public authority in society are open to and shared by individuals regardless of ethnic background, but in which distinct cultural identities and groupings continue to exist within this shared, 'universal' structural framework.

PUBLIC DOMAIN		Law
(Civic Culture)		Politics
		Economy
		Education?
PRIVATE DOMAIN		Family
		Community
(Communal Cultures)	A B C D	Language
		Religion

The expanded version of the model of 'civic integration' sets the idea out in greater detail. Two domains are distinguished: the public and the private. The 'private domain' is that of the family, of the immediate ethnic community, of the language of the home, and of a person's religion. This is the domain inhabited by a plurality of 'communal cultures'. The 'public domain' by contrast is that of the framework of politics and the law, and of the wider economy from which citizens secure their living. This domain houses a single undifferentiated 'civic culture', whose values and institutions must be designed to guarantee both the equality and the respect for difference on which the viability of a democratic multi-cultural society depends. It is a domain which must be open and accessible to all, and whose values and practices must be universally acceptable.

What, then, must be the values on which this 'civic culture' and its institutions are based? These need to be a combination of values which express agreed fundamental human rights, and values which express a commitment to a process of implementing such values, including resolving such disputes over their implementation. The values of 'equality' and 'respect for difference', and mechanisms for ensuring these are realised throughout all public life, must therefore be at the heart of the civic culture – and of the process of 'civic integration' in general in ethnically plural societies.

Abstract models of this kind may aid thinking at a general level, but they inevitably oversimplify the situation in reality. However, if they are good models, they will be able to highlight key issues which arise in achieving 'integration' at levels both of policy and practice. Several of these may now be identified.

The first is the difficulty of drawing a clear distinction between the public and the private domains. The most obvious area of difficulty relates to education. To what extent should education be managed by public authorities, and what influence or control should be devolved to ethnic or religious groups? How far should the curriculum be restricted to affairs relating to the public domain, and how far and in what ways should it address matters relating to the diverse communal cultures? These are already controversial issues in most European countries. Human rights instruments may provide guidance here, but their application to any particular situation usually leaves scope for substantial discretion as to interpretation and method of application.

But it is not only education that poses a challenge in this respect. Human rights principles also relate to areas such as the conduct of family life, such as the treatment of women and the upbringing of children. A system of 'civic integration' cannot grant its constituent 'communal cultures' complete autonomy in how matters in the private domain are run.

This in turn raises a second area of difficulty in implementing the model of 'civic integration'. How can the legitimacy of the 'civic culture' in the eyes of all of the 'communal cultures' be secured? There are two challenges here. The first challenge is to ensure that the public domain is in fact operating in according with the principles of the civic culture, i.e. that it is open and accessible to all, and that it operates in an equal and non-discriminatory manner.

The second challenge is to ensure that this is perceived by all groups to be so. Where one group is in the numerical majority, or there has been a history of dominance and subordination involving different ethnic groups, perception itself is likely to be an important issue. There may be fears and suspicions, or even expectations, that the 'civic culture' is being manipulated by – or even a façade for continuing dominance by – one particular ethnic group. There may be a perception that the majority or dominant group's own values and institutions are being promoted as universal or superior, to the subordination or exclusion of those of minority groups. Such groups perceive themselves to be in a structure of 'dominance' rather than of equal plural relationships, and are likely to react accordingly.

Major practical issues about the construction of a 'civic culture' arise at this point. One is the issue of language, usually not just a practical issue but also one of major symbolic significance as well. Multi-lingualism in the public domain presents major practical difficulties, although it sends out strong messages about the commitment to pluralism in principle. Monolingualism is practically simpler, but it sends a different message, and signifies dominance on the part of the ethnic group whose language frames the public domain. Can language be treated as culturally neutral, and separated off from debates about 'integration'? Or must it be accepted as inherently attached to a particular ethnic group, and thus both a practical and symbolic senses to be an inherent part of the 'integration' problem?

This brings us back once again to the question of 'assimilation'. The key issue that must be addressed is how does a civic culture necessarily have to draw on a specific communal culture (or cultures) for it to take practical form? It is one thing to formulate universal values in the form of basic principles of universal human rights, and make these the foundation of a civic culture – bearing in mind that even these may be contested from the point of view of some cultural groups. But it is quite another to transform these into specific working institutions and procedures in a particular multi-cultural and historical context. This, fundamentally, is where the real practical difficulties start.

A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE: POLICING

In order to translate this relatively abstract argument into immediate practical example, I wish to take the example of the challenge posed to policing as a public institution in the multi-ethnic societies that characterise Europe today. I do this partly because this institution enables me to highlight some key issues that affect government in Europe generally, and partly because once again it is the field that from my own work I know best.

The police occupy a special position among the institutions within the public domain, because of the highly visible role they play in the implementation of the law, and because of the unique powers they possess to use force and to deprive persons of their liberty. It is therefore essential that the police, possibly more than any other institution, must observe – and be seen by all to observe – the principles that underlie the civic culture. In a multi-ethnic society, and especially one with a history of dominance or of recent immigration, this places a huge demand upon the police.

What exactly is this demand? There are three distinct requirements, which may be identified by reference to the models of a multi-cultural society already set out above.

The first requirement is to ensure that, in all their dealings with members of the public – whether as victims or perpetrators of crime, or in whatever other context – the police treat members of all ethnic groups fairly, equally and in accordance with standards of human rights, and with appropriate sensitivity to their specific culture or religion. The second is to ensure that employment and advancement in the police organisation is open and equally accessible to members of all ethnic groups, and that the institution is seen to reflect the participation of all such groups in its composition and operation. These two fundamental requirements may be derived directly from the model of civic integration as set out above.

It is not enough, however, to expect the police simply to reflect the standards of performance that would be expected of any public service organisation in the public domain. To begin with, because of their role and their visibility, the police need to demonstrate the very highest standards of all institutions in this regard, if the challenge is to be met of making sure the multi-ethnic society works successfully in practice.

However, there is also a third requirement, which reflects the police role in ensuring that breaches of standards embodied in the civic culture are dealt with effectively. In the context of a multi-

ethnic society, this requirement is that the police effectively implement those laws which proscribe racial discrimination and racially-motivated violence. Only the police have such powers, and unless they use them actively and effectively, civic integration will fail. Minorities will experience racial domination and exclusion, and see the police as colluding in this process – if not being agents of it themselves. By default, if not by intent, the structure of the society will have shifted to being a structure of 'dominance' rather than of 'civic integration' – and certainly so in the eyes of minority groups. And it will be minorities who will most readily perceive this state of affairs, not the majority as they do not have to confront this reality in their daily personal lives.

The implications for the police are both urgent and fundamental. In an increasingly multi-ethnic society, with a history of diverse forms of racism and with new pressures towards nationalism and xenophobia, the challenge to the police institution is one that demands fundamental organisational and cultural change. Police institutions must transform themselves from being predominantly mono-cultural organisations operating in environments where minorities are either acquiescent or actively suppressed, to multi-ethnic organisations which not only reflect their multi-ethnic environment but which fight actively against the racism and discrimination which threaten the viability of democratic plural societies.

This calls for transformation on every level and in every field of police activity. It calls for new policies, for new structures, for leadership, for new standards of professionalism, for self-awareness, for understanding and respect for other cultures, for training programmes to support this, for building bridges with all the different communities, for understanding racism and appreciating the role of police in combatting it, and many more. In the transitional stage, it will call for special task forces, for critical self-examination, for bold experiments, and for a willingness to learn from the experience of others – especially in other institutions outside the police that have made progress in achieving institutional change.

Across Europe, both in our cities and outside, police are now beginning to come to terms with this challenge. A few are even quite advanced, many are just beginning, and some are still denying there is any problem at all. The latter are not part of the solution to the challenge of 'living together in difference'; they are part of the problem itself. This has to change, yet it cannot be expected that the police organisation can achieve this change by itself. For this reason, both NGOs and cities have a key role to play in creating a form of policing that accords with the concept of 'civic integration' – just as they do in the transformation of all other public institutions in our societies.

There is no one model for how this can be done. Solutions must be devised to meet the needs, and fit the environment, at the local level. But European-level cooperation can provide crucial help, through the sharing of experience and the provision of mutual support. I want to finish by illustrating this with two examples. The first is an EU-funded project, "NGOs and Police Against Prejudice" (NAPAP), in which eleven anti-racist NGOs in nine countries have been funded to develop training programmes in partnership with their local police organisations, and to support and learn from each other by means of a programme of transnational workshops and other forms of communication and exchange. Intended outcomes of the project include a European 'state-of-the-art' report, setting out practical examples and guidance, together with a network of NGOs and police partners which others can join. But once EU funding finishes, a new framework of

support will be required, and cities networks could play an important role in helping to take this initiative forward.

The second example is the production of the 'Rotterdam Charter', "Policing for a Multi-Ethnic Society". This is a document which synthesises the experiences of countries throughout Europe (including Central and Eastern Europe), and welds them into a concise schedule of the tasks that everywhere need to be addressed. The key feature of the Rotterdam Charter is that it grew out of a specific city initiative, the core of which was the three-way working partnership between NGOs, municipal authorities and the police. Here the support of individual cities and of cities networks has already proved invaluable.

I want to conclude by saying that defining the goals of integration policy is one task, identifying the practical implications for our public institutions is another. I have stressed that, without identifying the former clearly, the latter will fail. However, achieving the necessary transformation in our public institutions is the most fundamental task. Given the fact that it is cities which are the principal locations for 'living together in difference', and that they represent democratic government at the local level, it must be cities, working in partnership with NGOs, that must lead Europe forward in achieving this goal. This Conference can set the framework within which we can all play our part.