European Cities, Municipal Organizations and Diversity

*The New Politics
of Difference*

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Global Diversities

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Over the past decade, the concept of 'diversity' has gained a leading place in academic thought, business practice, politics and public policy across the world. However, local conditions and meanings of diversity are highly dissimilar and changing. For these reasons, deeper and more comparative understandings of pertinent concepts, processes and phenomena are in great demand. This series will examine multiple forms and configurations of diversity, how these have been conceived, imagined, and represented, how they have been or could be regulated or governed, how different processes of inter-ethnic or inter-religious encounter unfold, how conflicts arise and how political solutions are negotiated and practiced, and what truly convivial societies might actually look like. By comparatively examining a range of conditions, processes and cases revealing the contemporary meanings and dynamics of diversity, this series will be a key resource for students and professional social scientists. It will represent a landmark within a field that has become, and will continue to be, one of the foremost topics of global concern throughout the twenty-first century. Reflecting this multi-disciplinary field, the series will include works from Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Law, Geography and Religious Studies. While drawing on an international field of scholarship, the series will include works by current and former staff members, by visiting fellows and from events of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. Relevant manuscripts submitted from outside the Max Planck Institute network will also be considered.

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To Reinhard

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Introduction

Many European leaders have said that [the multicultural society had failed]. And then? I can't relate to that. Amsterdam has 183 nationalities, more than half of the children in primary school have a bicultural background. As a political goal or ideal the multicultural society has waned. But as a reality it is there, and we have to deal with it. Therefore it is so important that we learn how to live with those differences. (Alderwoman for Diversity and Integration ('Wethouder Diversiteit en Integratie') Andree Van Es, quoted in an interview by Jaap Stam, published in de Volkskrant, 21 May 2011; author's translation)

From Multiculturalism to Diversity

Much conceptual confusion has surrounded debates on the adequate response to difference in increasingly diversifying European societies in the past, which is reflected in the quote by Amsterdam's alderwoman[1]

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[1] Alderman/Alderwoman is a translation of the Dutch terms 'wethouder', used in the Netherlands, and 'schepen', used in Flanders.

cited above. The word 'multicultural' can refer to a descriptive characterization of the demographic composition of society, to a normative political theory, a policy, and sometimes also to a way of being or acting. Invoking a shift away from the concept, critics of multiculturalism often left it unclear whether they were challenging the normative ideas, a specific policy or activity characterized as multicultural, or a description of the diversity that resulted from migration, among other factors. The introduction of diversity policies served as a response to public debates about the failure of multiculturalism, a discourse that was quite dominant in the European political and public sphere in the first decade of the new millennium. In my study, I am interested in how European cities appropriate this new concept of diversity and interpret and negotiate notions of diversity.

Diversity has become accepted as a fact by many political leaders in European cities, and the notion of diversity is now used as a label for policies addressing the heterogeneity of local populations. Amsterdam, Antwerp, Vienna, Ghent, and Copenhagen are just some of the cities that have renamed their former policies using the concept of diversity since the late 1990s and early 2000s. All these cities previously had policies in place which reflected some of the ideas of multiculturalism, targeting 'ethno-cultural minorities' and aiming at increased 'socio-economic equality'. The shared starting point of diversity policies in all cities was accepting diversity as a fact, conceiving it as something positive and potentially profitable, and also seeing it as an individual approach. In contrast to multiculturalism, which focuses on ethno-cultural difference, diversity policies approach difference by taking several categories of difference into consideration, including 'race'/ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, and mental/physical ability. This combined approach to difference was reflected in the merger of a range of departments under the heading of diversity. Leeds has merged its former departments working on race/BME (Black and Minority Ethnic), disability, and gender under the header of diversity; Amsterdam has merged two departments which had been working on ethnic minorities and on women and LGBT; and Antwerp has merged a number of departments, including departments working on disability, newly arrived migrants, poverty, women, and ethno-cultural minorities.

'Diversity' is not the only term in use for replacing previous policies, and has a natural competitor in the term 'interculturality'. Supranational European institutions did their share in promoting these terms, as they wanted to stimulate national and local governments to introduce new ways of accommodating difference.[2] 'Diversity' and 'interculturality' thus can be seen as 'competitor terms' (Meer & Modood, 2011, p. 2) to multiculturalism and assimilation.[3]

Interculturalism takes diversity as the demographic fact on the basis of which it suggests an interactive process of living together, with a particular focus on social exchange and communication. It takes into account the necessary resolution of potential conflicts in order to foster mutual learning and accommodation (Meer & Modood, 2011; Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010, pp. 260–261). In comparison with multiculturalism, interculturalism is geared more towards interaction; it is less 'groupist' and targets a stronger sense of the whole society by also being more likely to criticize illiberal practices (Meer & Modood, 2011, p. 3). It differs from diversity policies by retaining a stronger emphasis on culture and by focusing on ethno-cultural minorities.

A number of scholars have also examined 'diversity' against the background of a backlash against multiculturalism (Ahmed, 2007; Essed & De Graaff, 2002; Faist, 2009b; Lentin & Titley, 2008; Vertovec, 2012; Zapata-Barrero & Van Ewijk, 2011). They defined its starting points as accepting diversity as a characteristic of societies, as an individual competence to address cultural pluralism, and as a set of programmes organizations adopt (Faist, p. 174). It emphasizes the positive effects of cultural plurality (Faist, p. 177) and is used as a business strategy (Squires, 2007, p. 159), e.g., to improve the quality of the labour force by opening jobs to all ethnic groups. While researchers do see a potential value in the con-

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[2] Some examples are the Council of Europe's 'White Paper on Intercultural dialogue' and 'Intercultural Cities Programme', which builds on the work of Phil Wood and Charles Landry (e.g. Wood & Landry, 2008); the European Year of 'Intercultural Dialogue' in 2008; as well as the UNESCO World Report on 'Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue'. The EU commission has promoted diversity particularly as a means to achieve more equality in the employment sector (Wrench, 2003, p. 15).

[3] Next to this broader use as an alternative to multiculturalism or assimilation, interculturalism is used on a more micro level to denote specific educational or cultural programmes (Meer & Modood, 2011, pp. 12–13).

cept, the central reservations concern whether diversity can be linked to a politics of equality (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Cooper, 2004; Essed & De Graaff, 2002; Faist, 2009a; Lentin & Titley, 2008), and its limits in terms of combining different categories of difference into an analysis of an individual's position (Essed & De Graaff, 2002; Squires, 2009). If diversity is able to incorporate the idea of equality and introduce some new ideas, it could then go beyond multicultural politics (Essed & De Graaff, 2002) or become a new or extended form of multiculturalism (Faist).

As we can see from this literature, there is some scope to interpret diversity in different ways. This multivalence, as Vertovec has argued, may work for the success or to the detriment of the concept's career (Vertovec, 2012, p. 150). The career of the diversity concept then depends not only on elaborating the concept further, but also on the specific policies and practices being used to implement its attendant ideas. As diversity is increasingly used 'out there', at least in the places where I have conducted my fieldwork, we can observe and analyze how the notion of diversity is becoming imbued with meaning in actual policies and state practices. The challenge, which this book addresses, is to link these observations back to theoretical discussions of diversity.

The ways in which differences are conceived has been a core theme of much theoretical debate in the social sciences. Over the past years, diversity has been introduced as an analytical concept, as exemplified in a number of edited volumes and special issues dealing with the concept (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Vertovec, 2009, 2015a, b, c; Vertovec & Meissner, 2015; Wessendorf, 2013). Diversity puts into question the ontology of ethnic categories (Berg & Sigona, 2013, p. 353) and changes the focus from entities to relations (Olwig, 2013). The concept of diversity, then, is meant to stimulate new accounts of interactions between individuals by way of multiple groups, categories, and characteristics (Vertovec, 2015b, p. 3). In Vertovec's delineation of a 'diversity corpus', six main facets of diversity are identified (Vertovec, 2012, p. 297; 2015a, p. 2). These include redistribution, recognition, representation, provision, competition, and organization. In a slightly different list, Melissa Steyn (2015) brings together what she thinks should be the ten core analytical orientations for what she calls 'critical diversity literacy'. They involve an understanding of power, a recognition of the unequal symbolic and

material value of different social locations, the intersecting nature of systems of oppression, a definition of racism as a contemporary problem, an understanding of social identities as learned/acquired, a possession of a diversity grammar that facilitates talking about privilege and oppression, an ability to translate and interpret hegemonic practices, an analysis of diversity hierarchies based on specific social contexts and material arrangements, an understanding of the involvement of emotion in all the above, and an engagement with the possibilities of transforming oppressive systems. Some theoretical discussions of the diversity concept can also be found in organization studies, where a separate debate is being held on diversity in corporate organizations.[4] Compared to the vast literature on multiculturalism, however, there is still very limited scholarly discussion of the concept of diversity to date, and empirically based discussions of the diversity concept are especially missing.

Based on ethnographic observation of the practices of local bureaucrats in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds, this book's objective is to provide precisely such an empirically based discussion of diversity. What are the concrete practices that emerge when new departments are created and new officials are recruited in order to implement diversity policies? How does their role and position in bureaucratic organizations and their individual trajectories impact on the meanings such policy acquires? How do the practices of bureaucrats in implementing diversity policies reflect or contradict the ideas presented in these policies? And how does this definition of diversity in practice relate to scholarly discussions of diversity and multiculturalism? These are some of the questions this book addresses.

As diversity is increasingly used as a policy concept at the local level (Essed & De Graaff, 2002), it remains unclear whether diversity policies actually replace activities that were promoted beforehand (e.g., under the name of multiculturalism) and whether the ideas of these new policies reflect a shift from ideas of multiculturalism to alternative ideas on the adequate response to difference. Such questions become pertinent in the

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[4](See for example: Aaltio & Mills, 2004; Andrews, Boyne, & Walker, 2006; Ashley, 2010; Foldy, 2004; Janssens et al., 2005; Janssens & Zanoni, 2005; Milliken & Martins, 1996; Nkomo & Stewart, 2006; Prasad, Mills, Elmes, & Prasa, 1997; Shore et al., 2009; Tatli, 2008; Tatli, Vassilopoulou, Al Ariss, & Oezbilgin, 2012; Thomas, 1990; Thomas et al., 2014; Zanoni & Janssens, 2003, 2007).

social environments of large cities, which are becoming more complex due to migration and the proliferation and visibility of different lifestyles. A significant number of large European cities, listed in Table 1.1 below, uses the notion of diversity today as part of their official policy label (either using the English term or translating it into the national language, such as 'mangfold' or 'Vielfalt'). The table is based on internet research of the websites of the five largest municipalities (including city states and city

Table 1.1 Cities using the notion of "diversity" in their official policy label

Country	City	Policy title
Belgium	Brussels Capital Region	Egalité des chances et diversité[a]
	Antwerp	Stadsplan diversiteit[b]
	Brugge	Diversiteit en Noord-Zuidbeleid[c]
The Netherlands	Amsterdam	Burgerschap en diversiteit[d]
	Den Haag	Diversiteitsbeleid[e]
	Utrecht	Diversiteit en integratie[f]
	Eindhoven	Diversiteit, Emancipatie en Participatie[g]
UK	Birmingham	Equality and diversity
	Leeds	Equality and diversity
	Sheffield	Equality, diversity and inclusion
Norway	Oslo	Mangfold og integrering
	Bergen	Handlingsplan for likestilling, inkludering og mangfold
	Stavanger	Strategi for likestilling og mangfold
Denmark	Copenhagen	Inklusion og mangfoldighed
	Aarhus	Mangfoldighed
	Odense	Mangfoldighedsstrategi
Germany	Berlin	Integration: 'Vielfalt fördern, Zusammenhalt stärken'
	Cologne	Diversity/integration
	Frankfurt	Integration und Diversitätspolitik
Austria	Vienna	Integrations- und Diversitätspolitik
Spain	Bilbao	Inmigración y Convivencia en la Diversidad

[a]'Equality of chances and diversity'
[b]'City plan diversity'
[c]'Diversity and North–south policy'
[d]'Civic citizenship and diversity'
[e]'Diversity policy'
[f]'Diversity and integration'
[g]Diversity, emancipation and participation

regions) of countries in Western Europe (including Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain) and some northern countries (including Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland), which was conducted in 2015. Out of 70 cities, about a third (22 cities) used the notion of diversity in their official immigrant policy. Notably, in some of the countries, at least three of the five largest cities use the term diversity. These countries include Belgium, The Netherlands, the UK, Norway, Denmark, and Germany. In some countries, none of their five largest cities uses the notion, including France, Italy, Finland, and Switzerland.

Cities[5] have received increasing attention in the immigrant-incorporation literature, next to immigrant incorporation at the national level[6] and at the international level.[7] In today's interconnected and interdependent world, it has become all the more important to consider the specificities of each of these levels and the interrelationships among them. I argue that local-level policies cannot be understood without taking national-level legislation and policy and international networks, as well as local events and political pressures, into account. Whether we talk about 'policy mobilities' (Cochrane & Ward, 2012; McCann, 2011; McCann & Ward, 2015; Peck & Theodore, 2010; Robinson, 2015), 'policy-diffusion' (Shipan & Volden, 2008; True & Mintrom, 2001) or 'multi-level governance' (Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014; Hoekstra, 2015; Jorgensen, 2012; Marsh & Sharman, 2009; Scholten & Penninx, 2016; Zincone & Caponio, 2006), this book relates local developments to national and international ones. Analysing the introduction of the notion of diversity in cities provides us with the opportunity of gaining a deeper understanding of particularities at the local level in comparison to the national and international levels, and also to engage with the ways in which these levels are interconnected.

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[5] See for instance: Alexander, 2007; Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Glick-Schiller & Caglar, 2010; Jorgensen, 2012; Penninx, Kraal, Martiniello, & Vertovec, 2004; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Scholten, 2013.

[6] See for instance: Bertossi & Duyvendak, 2012; Brubaker, 1992; Adrien Favell, 1998; Ireland, 1994; Joppke, 2007; Koopmans, 2007; Van Reekum, Duyvendak, & Bertossi, 2012.

[7] See for instance: Barrett, 2013; Collins & Friesen, 2011; Downing, 2015; Faist & Ette, 2007.

Doing Diversity in Bureaucracy

The existing literature on immigrant policy-making has often focused on the bottom-up struggles of citizens or top-down political decision-making. The intermediate level of public administration and the officials who prepare policy texts and carry them out once they have been decided upon has been largely ignored. This book fills the gap by investigating the practices of diversity officers in municipal organizations. Local authorities and their organizations have been decisive in developing the notion of diversity and translating the concept into practice. They have put departments in place and recruited officials to implement diversity policies. I will refer to these as 'diversity departments' and 'diversity officers' in the remainder of this book. It is in these departments and with these officials that the research for this book has taken place. I use 'diversity officer' as an umbrella term and working concept for all officials working in municipal diversity departments. In practice, the terminological framings and obligations of this position do vary slightly and certainly are subject to translation to the context of different languages.

Diversity officers' influence on the overall ways in which diversity is played out in everyday life and on city streets is open to investigation. They are part of a strongly stratified multi-level and multi-actor governmental system, and they have only limited power to influence these hierarchical structures. However, some power is assigned to them by way of their role as public officials and due to their positions within municipalities. They act as brokers between the state and civil society, and their practice is significant for determining the scope of diversity policies. By exploring their role and position within local organizations, I was able to investigate the consistency of diversity-policy implementation and the ways in which diversity was defined in their everyday practice.

Ideas, Policy, and Practice: A Dynamic Interplay

This study's working hypothesis is: Local immigrant policies acquire meaning through the concurrence of organizational structures and

individual actors, which are informed by different sets of ideas about the adequate response to difference, such as multiculturalism, assimilation, or newer and to date less-established sets of ideas, such as diversity. More specifically, I analyze how diversity became defined by diversity officers in their everyday work of consulting other departments and carrying out projects. And I investigate how municipal organizations and hierarchies in which diversity officers are embedded inform their interpretations of diversity. The study thus examines how diversity policies are being defined in practice.

I conceive the ideas presented under the header of 'diversity' and the agencies and structures involved in interpreting these ideas as part of a dynamic interplay. This is based on two main points of departure: First of all, agency and structure are seen as dialectical, and no priority is given to the agency of making conscious choices and carrying out intentional actions, or the structures that condition such agency. I pay attention to the agency involved in the creation and stabilization, as well as transformation, of structures (Hay & Wincott, 1998, p. 951) and to the relationship between institutions and behaviour, context, and conduct (Hay & Wincott, p. 953). Second, I expand the dyad of structure and agency by acknowledging the role of ideas in public policy-making. This challenges the traditional separation of studies of the theoretical realm of policy ideas, and the study of the practical realm of policy development and implementation (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009, p. 81).

I argue that the meaning an immigrant policy acquires is not only determined by the ideas it is built on (realm of ideas), but also the practices of implementing the immigrant policy, as carried out by agents that occupy particular positions and are embedded in particular institutional contexts (realm of practice). The meaning an immigrant policy acquires (realm of policy) therefore does not only depend on the quality of the ideas that inform it, but also on the ways in which these ideas become interpreted. This model outlines the basic argument, which I will develop with empirical insights throughout this book (Fig. 1.1).
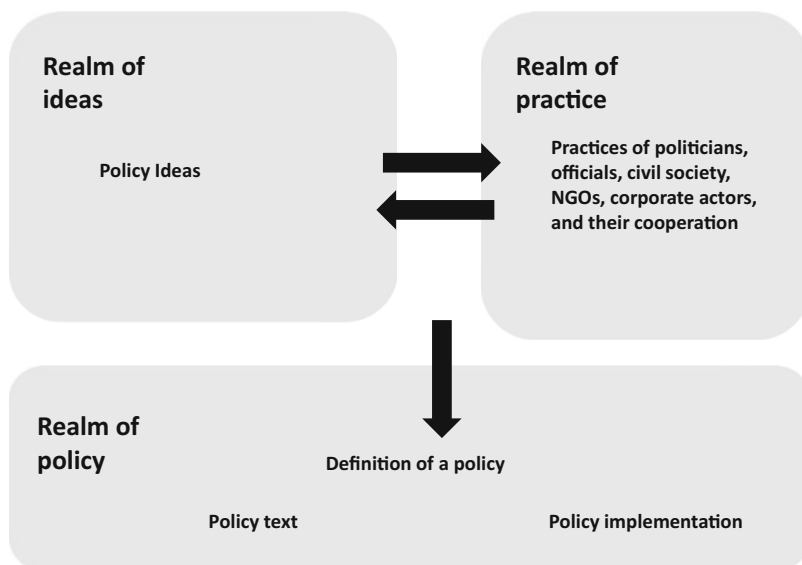
Fig. 1.1   Analytical model

Bridging the Divide Between Theory and Practice

The relationship among ideas, practice, and policy is relevant and also challenges some pre-existing assumptions about the relationship between academic work and policy practice in the immigrant-incorporation literature. Concepts such as multiculturalism or diversity are often used to refer to a specific set of ideas (often developed within or drawing upon political philosophy), what one could also call a 'paradigm', against which empirical uses of these notions are then assessed. In Hall's seminal work, a paradigm is defined as a 'framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems that they are meant to be addressing' (Hall, 1993, p. 279).

In this book, I expand scholarly debates on multiculturalism and diversity in three important ways. First, I conceive of paradigms such as multiculturalism or assimilation as being in the sole remit of neither theory nor practice, but rather as potentially being shaped by their interplay.

Academic scholarship and policy practice do not exist in a vacuum separated from one another. Drawing on Gressgard (2010, p. iix), political theory and policy practice can be understood as standing in a mutual relationship to each other. If diversity is to develop as a new system of ideas or 'paradigm', it is important to analyze the challenges that diversity officers encounter and identify in their practice, and observe how the concept is being negotiated 'out there'.

Second, concepts can acquire different meanings depending on the ways they are being used in different contexts. As has been noted about earlier paradigms on the accommodation of difference, these are much less homogeneous and orthodox than they were sometimes depicted (Zincone, 2011, p. 409). The notion of assimilation, for instance, has been used in very different ways in the USA and in Europe, in France and in Germany. In Europe, assimilation was largely equated with conservative, right-wing politics (Adrian Favell, 2005), whereas in the United States assimilation was used at its outset as an analytical category (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1984).

Third, concepts acquire different and divergent meanings over time. I take concepts of diversity or multiculturalism not as finished theories or policies which one can either accept or reject. As recent contributions remind us, paradigms on the adequate response to difference are neither static nor permanently established (Borkert & Caponio, 2010), and multiculturalism is not as monolithic as some have argued (Berg & Sigona, 2013, p. 348). Assimilation theory, for instance, started out with the notion of the four stages of contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation introduced by Robert Ezra Park (Park, 1950). While these first contributions mainly focused on the agency of the immigrants themselves, a few years later Gordon pointed out the relevance of structures for entry into the socio-economic mainstream (Gordon, 1964, p. 74). In a later revival of assimilation theory in the 1990s, the idea of a homogeneous immigrant population that needs to assimilate into the homogeneous entity of American society or culture was contested (Richard Alba, 1999, p. 16; R. Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 863). Assimilation was then conceived as a process of becoming similar rather than completely absorbed (Brubaker, 2001, p. 542). In yet another strand of assimilation theory, the literature on segmented assimilation, authors outline different possible paths of assimilation into different strata of US society (Portes &

Zhou, 1993, p. 927; Rumbaut, 1997). Based on this historical example, we can consider a paradigm of diversity that will only develop and become saturated over time, if at all. The emergence of a paradigm is thus conceived of as a long-term process.

Theoretical debates on diversity, to date very much in their infancy in comparison to assimilation or multiculturalism literature, still provide much scope for future development. Shifts in current policy practice allow us to reconsider how existing systems of ideas already provide a framework for understanding diversity officers' practices, and to observe new ideas emerging and how they reflect some of the more recent ideas in the academic literature. This is not to suggest that academic work and policy practice are the same thing, or that systems of ideas collapse when policies which were associated in pursuing such ideas do. Instead, theoretical work and policy work can remain interested in each other and profit from each other as critical friends. In Blumer's words:

> The basic source of deficiency in social theory consists in the difficulty of bringing social theory into a close and self-correcting relation with its empirical world so that its proposals about the world can be tested, refined and enriched by the data of that world. (Blumer, 1954)

We can investigate contemporary meanings of immigrant policy and ask: What are competing interpretations of diversity out there, and how do practices address difference in ways different from before? I assume that the agencies and structures involved will most likely have a substantial impact on the meanings ascribed to an immigrant policy. These practices, together with the theoretical strengths and weaknesses of the concept, will not be insignificant for the concepts' career.

Examining Local State Practices

My ethnographic research involved participant-observation of local diversity officers' practices of implementing so-called 'diversity policies'. I spent 8 weeks in Amsterdam, 8 weeks in Antwerp, and 5 weeks in

Leeds, conducting participant-observations and 35 in-depth qualitative interviews with diversity officers (Amsterdam: 14, Antwerp: 14, Leeds: 7), as well as 22 additional interviews with other relevant actors in the field (politicians, political advisors, other officials in the municipal organization, managers of the municipal organization, NGO representatives, and think-tank experts). I was able to carry out these interviews in Dutch and English as I am fluent in both languages. The ethnographic research was carried out in 2010 and 2011.

When discussing my possible research stay, one of my informants referred to it as 'a sort of traineeship, but for doing research'. This is how the notion of research traineeship emerged.[8] Framing my stay as a kind of traineeship made it intelligible to officials and local organizations. It allowed them to translate my presence into something which was not as unfamiliar an activity to the organization as 'doing research'. Giving my stay a label that made sense to the officials was important, as the head of department or manager needed to approve my stay. The addition of the notion of 'research' to that of 'traineeship' made it clear that my purpose was first and foremost that of conducting research.

Once in the field, I spent 36–40 h a week with the officers and participated in everyday rituals and routines, such as making tea with my colleagues in the Leeds office, walking to the coffee machine in Amsterdam, and joining collective canteen lunches in Antwerp. Just as outlined in the various handbooks on the ethnographic method, I took part, in my role as participant-observer, in meetings, all kinds of interactions in the open-plan offices, the activities of officers representing their organizations at public events, and coordination activities with political representatives (Hauser-Schäublin, 2003). I also followed some of the officers whenever they invited me or agreed that I could come along. I was 'shadowing' (Czarniawska, 2007) them, not in the sense of following each of their steps, but trying to be present and take all opportunities that arose for accompanying them. Given that my desk in all three cities was in the

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[8] For a more in-depth discussion of my method, please see my working paper 'The research traineeship: conducting participant observation in state organisations' (Schiller, 2015b): http://www.mmg.mpg.de/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/wp/WP_15-12_Schiller_The%20research%20traineeship

open office space, it was easy to be around and 'hang out'. I was also allowed to access relevant documents through the computer system and shared folders, which I collected and analyzed. I furthermore conducted problem-centred, semi-standardized interviews (Flick, 2009; Mayring, 2002) with nearly all team members. This provided the space and time for more in-depth initial conversations and allowed me to get to know each of them better as individuals.[9] Canteen lunches and staff outings provided the space to interact outside of 'working hours' in a casual atmosphere. As I got to know individual team members a bit better, I was also invited to a birthday party and after-work dinners, and to spend some leisure time on the weekend with individual officials.

A central element of the research traineeship was my offer to carry out a small project 'in return'. I mentioned this offer in the very first interviews and asked officials to think about some ideas that we could discuss once I arrived in the field. I also emphasized that this was meant to address the needs and interests of the department at the time. In the case of Antwerp, I carried out some research on how the diversity department was perceived by other central departments in the municipal organization, which informed the reorientation of the department's work focus. This meant that I could interview managers at different levels of the organization. In Amsterdam, I assessed the perception of department members of the merger of two departments into a single diversity department, and discussed my reflections in a general team meeting at the end of the research traineeship. In Leeds, I evaluated the perception of the municipality's reporting requirements by municipal NGOs and service providers. My report was meant to inform the future definition of relationships and requirements between the municipality and local organizations. These projects were important, as they provided me with many insights into the position of the diversity department within the municipal departmental structure, their relationships with local NGOs, and the atmosphere and internal cleavages within the teams.

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[9] All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed following a mix of classic and the more recent Grounded Theory approaches.

I chose to conduct ethnographic research because I see it as having an advantage over formal interviews with state officials and content analysis of official policy documents, such as we find in much of the research conducted in political science and in the immigrant-incorporation literature. By providing in-depth insights into organizational structures and practices and comparing them with official policy statements (Schiller, 2017), I reveal the gaps between what is being said and what is being done. Drawing on Bourdieu's 'theory of practice', I am interested in the social field and the relations of power within which officials operate, the capital that officials are using to define their positions, as well as the habitus they acquire within bureaucratic organizations (Bourdieu, 1977). As Zahle (2012, p. 51) pointed out, practical knowledge is mostly tacit and, if asked about, cannot simply be stated. By only conducting interviews, one misses the more tacit knowledge and practices of local officials and the meanings local policies acquire when they are being implemented (Schiller, 2015a). There is a substantial difference in the quality of the empirical insights obtained between meeting with officers once for an interview and participating and engaging with their everyday work and the structures within which they are positioned over an extended period of time. Indeed, some of the most fascinating insights I collected during my fieldwork stem from informal conversations and observing the interaction of team members. For instance, taking the elevator to a meeting with some team members or chatting after lunch in the canteen provided some of the moments when I collected important information that allowed me to sort through and interpret my impressions and insights. I could use these observations to analyze the tacit practices defining diversity policy.

Amsterdam, Antwerp and Leeds and the Shift Away from Multiculturalism

My choice of the three cities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds was based on two elements: First, I decided to look at cities where local authorities have declared its population's diversity as an accepted fact and have introduced diversity policies. The second criterion was that these cities had

experienced a debate on a shift away from multiculturalism, which had prevailed for much of the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, the cities differed in terms of population composition and the ways in which, for instance, migrant backgrounds were defined and counted, in terms of the events that triggered the diversity policies, and in terms of the categories of difference that were integrated in the definition of the diversity concept.

Antwerp has a population of about half a million inhabitants. In 2009, 30 % of all Antwerp residents were of foreign[10] origin, which is defined as including both residents of non-Belgian nationality and those who had a different nationality at their birth or upon arrival in the country (Stad Antwerpen, 2009a). The percentage of residents of foreign origin has been continuously growing over the past decade (Stad Antwerpen, 2009b, p. 39). Residents of Moroccan and Turkish origin make up the largest percentage of those originating from outside the EU, followed by people from Asia and Africa (Stad Antwerpen, 2009b, p. 40). There are an estimated 5 % homosexuals and bisexuals living in the city (Stad Antwerpen, 2009b, p. 45), which was also a diversity-department target group. Antwerp's diversity department from the start focused on ethnicity and sexual orientation, as well gender, disability, and class (i.e., poverty).

Amsterdam today has a population of nearly 800,000 inhabitants. Half of the population has a 'migration background',[11] which is defined as being born abroad or having at least one parent born abroad. The biggest groups of foreign origin are from Surinam, Morocco, and Turkey (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011c, p. 16). Nearly half of these residents of migrant origin are born in the Netherlands and are thus defined as 'second generation' (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 18). New arrivals in Amsterdam today mainly form part of the category of 'other non-Western countries'. Here, the smaller immigrant groups from Middle and Eastern European countries, Brazil, Russia, China, and India are the most significantly growing groups (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 129). Of the total population, 10 % of all men and 6 % of all women in Amsterdam describe themselves as homosexual (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 19). The categories of ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation were from the start at the centre of Amsterdam's diversity policy.

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[10] 'allochtone.'

[11] 'Migratieachtergrond.'

The city of Leeds today has about 800,000 inhabitants, of which 17.4 % of the population are of 'Black and Minority Ethnicity' (BME). The census category of 'Black and Minority Ethnicity' includes persons who identify as Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian, Chinese or other Asian ethnicity, Black African, Black Caribbean, other Black background, White and Asian mixed, White and African Caribbean mixed, and other mixed background. Around 22.5 % of pupils in Leeds are of BME heritage (City of Leeds, 2011a, p. 4). The largest BME groups are the Indian and Pakistani communities[12] (City of Leeds, 2011b, p. 13). An estimated 10 % of the local population is lesbian, gay, or bisexual. A long-term illness, health problem, or disability affects 18 % of the population. Leeds was the only city which particularly emphasized this category of health status in my sample. I hypothesize that this particular emphasis has to do with the history of strong legal protection of disabled people's rights as well as the strong institutionalization of the National Health System (NHS)[13] in the UK. The three categories of race/BME, disability, and gender were from the very outset the focus of the diversity department in Leeds.

The trigger for introducing diversity policies differed across the three cities. In Leeds, as a Northern English city, the diversity concept was introduced against the background of the outbursts of race riots in 2001. Antwerp faced the particular challenge of having a very large number of nationalist, anti-immigrant voters, which challenged the Social Democrats to become more proactive in relation to diversity at the end of the 1990s. And Amsterdam, despite its self-image of being Europe's most liberal city, was challenged by an ongoing debate about the emergence of an ethnic underclass and segregation in the city in the 1990s, as well as in 2004 by the political murder of Theo van Gogh. The municipalities of Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Leeds have all officially adopted diversity policies which are very similar in the way they conceptualize diversity, as I will discuss in more detail in Chap. 2.

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[12] In the UK the term 'communities' is generally used for what in other contexts are called 'groups', and will be used in the following to stand for all kinds of minority collectives.

[13] The NHS is the largest and oldest health care system in the world for which a specific governmental Department of Health and Secretary of State for Health are responsible.

Also, the respective national and regional contexts differ in particular with respect to legislation and policies. The Netherlands, Flanders,[14] and the UK thus each provide a specific context for the introduction of diversity politics at the local level. They have different histories of migration, different histories of policy development, and different ways of mobilizing ideas of multiculturalism. All three countries have experienced migration from former colonies, guest workers, and asylum seekers, yet with different countries of origin and histories of response to these immigration flows. Britain was the first country in Europe to introduce an immigrant incorporation policy in the 1960s, whereas the Netherlands only followed in the 1980s (see also Cantle, 2005, p. 41) and Flanders in the 1990s (Martiniello & Rea, 2004, p. 274). The UK, the Netherlands, and Flanders are all seen as having had multicultural policies (Adam, 2011, p. 283; Modood, 2007, p. 3; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000, p. 1), but we find different ways in which the two key principles of multiculturalism—cultural recognition and social equality and participation (Vasta, 2007, p. 7)—were given expression in policies and laws. The UK mainly focused on questions of equality and created a strong legal and policy framework. The Netherlands put a subsidy scheme in place which allowed specific minorities to create their own institutions. In the Flemish region, the electoral success of an anti-immigrant right-wing party triggered the creation of a multicultural approach which largely drew from the approach taken in the Netherlands. Some authors also argue that the UK just 'accepted' cultural difference, while the Netherlands in contrast explicitly encouraged it (Collinson, 1998, pp. 155, 170).

In sum, the three cities have some overarching commonalities allowing cross-city comparison. But they also vary regarding the particular triggers of diversity policies and the national histories of multicultural policies. This invites developing a nuanced picture of how the different cities interpreted diversity in slightly different ways, reflecting their specific contexts. By having three rather similar case cities, this book allows a modest generalization of the meaning of diversity policies in European cities, without losing sight of the peculiarities of each of the three different cases.

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[14] In the Belgian context, it is the regional rather than national level where most responsibilities for immigrant incorporation are allocated.

Structure of the Book

The book is structured in five main chapters. The second chapter provides a theory-based discussion of the diversity concept and a comparison with theories of multiculturalism. It traces the evolution of the concept from affirmative action to diversity and argues that diversity may be more than just a change of discourse. In the third chapter, I delineate the transformation of state organizations and explore the ongoing trends of modernization and diversification, as well as the demands of entrepreneurialism and authenticity. By identifying different profiles of local bureaucrats, I argue for conceiving of bureaucracies as dynamic and heterogeneous, and of officials as autonomous and able to make different choices on how to interpret diversity and struggle over its meaning. The fourth chapter engages with the factors that shape local policies, engaging with local events and political dynamics as well as national and European policies and legislation. I propose a typology of factors which we need to take into account when analyzing local policy-making. In Chap. 6, I provide an empirical analysis of the interplay of institutions, agency and ideas by way of the collected ethnographic insights and data. Chap. 7 delineates my core concept of 'paradigmatic pragmatism', which proposes that cities pragmatically combine different paradigms in practice. I identify some of the compatibilities and incompatibilities of different ideas that are being combined under the header of diversity. The conclusion then sums up and condenses some of my findings and proposes several directions for future research.

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2

Diversity: A New Approach to Difference

Diversity has become a new catchword. It is used as an analytical concept for capturing the increasing social complexity in cities due to migration, while at the same time becoming used as a policy concept. In analytical usage, 'diversity' conceptualizes social positions of individuals as based on multiple categories and as located at their intersection. It postulates the relevance of these categories in creating complex social positions. The concept of diversity has become central for analyzing a social context which is complex and imbued with power relations, such as in societies which have experienced immigration, demographic changes, and changes of life forms and life styles. Vertovec (2015a) identified 'modes of social differentiation' and 'complex social environments' as two distinct but inherently related topics of investigation. At the same time, diversity has become an important policy term. The purported 'crisis of multiculturalism' in European public discourses created a particular momentum for the use of diversity as marking a shift in policy.

An increasing number of scholars today use the concept of diversity for analyzing the social organization of difference, taking a more analytical approach (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Olwig, 2013; Salzbrunn, 2014; Vertovec, 2015a, 2015b; Wessendorf, 2013). A number of schol-

ars discuss diversity as a policy concept (Faist, 2009; Fischer, 2007; Martiniello & Rea, 2004; Wrench, 2007). And some scholars refer to diversity as a new paradigm, many of them being critical about the remit of 'diversity' (Cooper, 2004; Kraus, 2011; Lentin & Titley, 2008; Michaels, 2006; Squires, 2007). However, most of the existing literature on 'diversity' does not engage in actual empirical research. A handful of studies have investigated the uses of diversity as a policy term in more empirical fashion, mostly focusing on the university or the corporate sector. These include a study looking at the field of diversity management in private enterprises with a case study of diversity managers at Ford Motor Company (Tatli, 2008), one on the translation of diversity into university policies (Ahmed, 2007) and one, possibly the most relevant empirical study for my research, on the practice of diversity politics in municipal governments (Essed & De Graaff, 2002). To date, no study has provided in-depth insight into the ways in which diversity policies are being implemented, as Essed and De Graff's book relies on a few interviews with mayors and other city representatives. Having carried out ethnographic fieldwork in municipal diversity departments, this study is relating in-depth empirical investigations to theoretical debates about multiculturalism and diversity.

In this chapter, I provide a genealogy of the concept of diversity, linking the evolution of diversity policies on the European continent with its history in the US management and university sectors. I then compare the ideas ascribed to diversity—drawing on both the literature and my empirical data from the interviews with diversity officers—to the ideas that have been ascribed to a multiculturalism paradigm.

A Genealogy of Diversity

Diversity policies are often referred to as having their historical origins in the USA (Anderson, 2004; Beckwith & Jones, 1997; Blanchard & Crosby, 1989; Robinson, 2001; Steinberg, 2004; Thomas, 1990; Wood, 2003), where they have evolved from affirmative action policies. I will therefore provide first an overview of the evolution of diversity policies in

the US to then discuss how the concept became adopted in the European context.

Affirmative action policies in the USA started in the 1960s based on the African-American civil rights movement (Robinson, 2001, p. l; Steinberg, 2004, p. 37), and were essentially an anti-discrimination policy for the workplace. This began with the insight that the provision of formal legal equality would not necessarily suffice to achieve de facto equality (Robinson, 2001). Affirmative -action policies stimulated the targeted recruitment of groups that had been largely underrepresented (Blanchard & Crosby, 1989, p. 16) and had been subject to discrimination in the past. They aimed to achieve equal representation of those groups in the workforce (Blanchard & Crosby, 1989, p. 18). However, in the 1970s, affirmative action became increasingly contested in the USA and, according to some authors, had reached its 'zenith' (Anderson, 2004, p. 157). At the beginning of the 1980s, the legal basis for affirmative action policies was effectively repudiated by the Reagan administration (Anderson, p. 173), as it was seen as illegal and unconstitutional, yet was still not abolished as such. This continuation was supported by the fact that businesses in the meantime had become accustomed to affirmative-action policies and were not greatly in favour of banning an instrument that had helped their image and had been effective in preventing lawsuits (Anderson, p. 175). During Clinton's presidency in the 1990s, 'affirmative action' was eventually replaced by a new term. Diversity became the designated new catchword and allegedly a more legitimate principle for managing university admissions and the corporate workforce, following a major public battle over affirmative-action policies at universities, which went all the way through the US court system. A whole industry of diversity books, consultancies, and events evolved as a consequence (Anderson, p. 220; Steinberg, 2004, p. 34). Diversity policies became the norm in US higher education in the following years (Wood, 2003, p. 155), providing a response to court challenges. Although diversity policies' actual benefit for business was never actually confirmed by scientific means, and were criticized as overstated and over-generalized (Wrench, 2007, p. 89), they also became a major management tool in the business world (Wood, 2003, p. 392).

Important social forces that had propelled that changed were the demographic development of increasing diversification of the population and the discovery of minority communities as new markets. The decline of manufacturing and the proliferation of the service sector, new management strategies in organizations, and the globalization of companies' activities were also important (Wrench, 2007, pp. 14–16).

The introduction of diversity policies had some fervent supporters. The director of the American Institute for Managing Diversity (Thomas, 1990) claimed that affirmative action policies contradict a politics of empowerment. Being chosen for a job or admitted to a university on the basis of affirmative action policies in his view makes no one proud, but stigmatized. Diversity policy instead calls for an 'environment where *we* is everyone' and where individual enablement is envisaged in order to get the most out of corporate human resources (Thomas). As Wrench (2007, p. 9) specifies, diversity policies differ from affirmative action policies by envisaging a systematic transformation of an organization, using a positive and voluntary rhetoric, and comprising several dimensions of possible identification in its definition. However, some voices have been more cautious in their appraisal of the diversity concept. Thomas emphasizes the need to continue affirmative action policies in the framework of diversity management until equal representation in the workforce is achieved (Thomas, 1990). Steinberg (2004, p. 35) takes a similar stance: diversity policy without affirmative-action policies in the USA not only means that people of colour receive less, but also that diversity is bereft of the moral and political reasoning that had legitimized affirmative action policies in the first place. This draws a picture of the two approaches being used in complementary ways while being different in scope: The authors welcome the notion of diversity as a less contested term and as providing a broader, possibly more easily supported vision for the whole society, while also warning of its lack of means to deal with the actual discrimination and unequal distribution of power in society, for which it needs to be backed by affirmative action.

While some authors have described diversity as opposed to and sometimes even in contradiction with affirmative-action or equal-opportunity

approaches,[1] Wrench contends that this distinction might be more of a theoretical construct serving the academic desire to create 'ideal types' (Wrench, 2007, p. 10). In his view, diversity policies and affirmative-action policies in past decades have been intrinsically intertwined in American politics. This alliance was challenged not only because of the increasing public rejection of affirmative action measures, which I have mentioned earlier, and the continued use of various quotas under the heading of diversity.

Scholars who have debated the uses of the diversity concept in the USA often start from a rather clear political positioning as either left- or right-oriented. One of the more outspoken critics of diversity politics is the anthropologist Peter Wood, who describes diversity as a discourse which succeeded in reframing the quest for 'racial justice' in the light of a declining acceptance of affirmative-action policies (Wood, 2003, p. 162). He equates diversity with 'leftist multiculturalism', but also depicts it as a complex social and cultural movement that has penetrated the university, business, and government spheres in the USA (Wood, p. 28). Diversity in his view largely represents a vision based on hopes or wishes for society, but which is contradicted by the introduction of concrete goals and quotas under the label of diversity (Wood, p. 36). He accuses diversity of a built-in essentialism towards categories such as race, ethnicity, and gender, and argues against recognizing difference and group identification (Wood, p. 11). Instead, he favours a more assimilationist perspective on the USA, which shares 'one culture' (Wood, p. 32). Disappointment with diversity is a recurrent motif in his book (Wood, p. 52). However, his complaints about the concept go beyond mere disappointment. Wood claims that the promotion of diversity policies is part of an anti-American program (Wood, p. 391), posing as a form of equality while being rather a principle mitigating assimilation (Wood, p. 395), as contributing to the vulnerability of the USA in the face of terrorism, and as a form of moral instability (Wood, p. 409). Michaels offers a similar, yet more nuanced, interpretation in his discussion of 'the trouble with diversity' (Michaels, 2006). He distinguishes between

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[1] See for example: Steinberg (2004, pp. 35–37).

leftist multiculturalism, which emphasizes respect and the preservation of differences, and a right-wing approach, which considers and privileges only one identity, the American one. Michaels provides us with another, third perspective on the struggle for equality, which I interpret as a class-conscious approach. In his opinion, the focus on racial inequalities is a mere strategy to distract us from much more valid and profound differences over the basis of economic differences, which therefore remain unchallenged (Michaels, pp. 6–10). He denies the importance of identity in order to support his focus on class as central basis for difference and inequality in American society (Michaels, p. 19). He takes issue with the inherent neoliberalism, defined as the idea of free markets as the essential mechanism of social justice, in both forms of anti-racism, and criticizes their acquiescence to economic inequality in their quest for racial equality (Michaels, p. 75). What bothers him most about the diversity movement however is that the left becomes an easy ally of a right-wing politics.

> What the commitment to diversity seeks is not a society in which there are no poor people but one in which there is nothing wrong with being poor, a society in which poor people…are respected. And in the effort to create such a world, liberalism has ended up in playing a useful if no doubt unintended role, the role of supplying the right with just the kind of left it wants. What the right wants is culture wars instead of class wars because as long as the wars are about identity instead of money, it doesn't matter who wins. And the left gives it what it wants. (Michaels, 2006, p. 109)

Reviewing the literature on the introduction of diversity in Europe, we find quite different starting points in comparison to the literature on diversity policies in the USA. This could simply reflect the different context, but could also reflect that Europe began to introduce equality policies several decades later and to some extent can build on the experiences of the USA. However, there are some similarities between the two contexts in terms of the complementary or parallel ways in which equality and diversity policies are used, despite to a certain extent being contradictory or at least significantly distinct in vision. Both in Europe and in the USA,

it is not entirely clear whether diversity has really replaced affirmative action or whether affirmative action continues to be practiced under the header of diversity. Diversity policies in Europe have been applied first in the employment sphere, where many of the pressures that Europe is facing today resemble those that led to the establishment of diversity programmes in the USA (Wrench, 2007, p. 27). Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing awareness of discrimination in Europe, which is reflected in increasing research and the development of EU and national anti-discrimination policies (Wrench, p. 29). In 2003, the EU changed its terminology from preventing racism to mainstreaming cultural diversity in employment programmes (Wrench, 2003, p. 15). In Wrench's view, there is a continued need for anti-discrimination elements within diversity policies, and he thus suggests the complementarity of affirmative action and diversity, as in the USA (Wrench, p. 20).

While some of the broader national dynamics of the evolution of diversity policies are fascinating, the aim of this book is to focus on the local level, where diversity policies have only recently put down roots. In the following section, I introduce the phenomenon of local diversity policies and the specific ways in which these have emerged in the three cities which I have chosen as case study cities for my research: Leeds, Antwerp, and Amsterdam.

Critiques of Multiculturalism

Political theory has developed alongside two distinct approaches to the 'good life', one approaching human nature as unchanging and thus starting out from just one possible way of leading a good life (monism), and the other adopting a more pluralist perspective on possible ways of leading a good life (pluralism) (Parekh, 2000, p. 14). Multiculturalism and assimilation have developed from these perspectives as two core conceptions of difference in the context of societies characterized by migration-led diversification. While assimilation starts out from a monist perspective, multiculturalism takes on a pluralist perspective. Diversity has developed as a more recent idea, and it is not entirely clear how it can be positioned within these different perspectives, possibly

because there is still much scope for further theoretical saturation of the concept. Some authors have argued against letting go of multiculturalism or assimilation (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 863; Brubaker, 2001, p. 533; Modood, 2007, p. 14), while other authors have claimed that diversity could go beyond multiculturalism (Essed & De Graaff, 2002) or become a new or extended form of multiculturalism (Faist, 2009). Clearly, the concept of diversity to date lacks the theoretical sophistication of older paradigms, and there is still much scope for further elaborating the ideas pursued under the header of diversity. Furthermore, diversity's very starting points may insufficiently incorporate some of the ideas of multiculturalism which it would be worth retaining, for instance by failing to address inequalities due to the individualism inherent in the diversity concept.

In order to assess this claim, we investigate the idea of multiculturalism in this section, and compare them with existing attempts to theorize diversity.

Multiculturalism has developed since the 1960s mainly in political philosophy. Ideas of multiculturalism were also implemented in various ways as 'official policy' in the USA (in reaction to the success of the civil rights movement), in Canada, in Australia, and in the UK. These policies also informed policies in many other countries, such as the Netherlands,[2] Sweden, and Belgium.

There are numerous definitions of multiculturalism, but two key principles can be defined to be at multiculturalism's core: cultural recognition, and social equality and participation (Vasta, 2007, p. 7). Multiculturalism bestows value on cultural pluralism and recognizes the rights of migrants to hold on to their cultural belongings and be recognized as cultural groups by the state (Faist, 2009, p. 176). In practice, this was often implemented by identifying 'target groups' which received specific attention by the state. In the following, I will therefore refer interchangeably to 'target group policies' and 'multiculturalist policies'.

Since the 1960s, political philosophers and other social scientists have contributed to the development of the idea of multiculturalism. They

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[2] A more encompassing discussion about whether the Netherlands had a policy inspired by multiculturalism will be provided in Chap. 4.

were driven by the aim of finding a normative answer to reconcile the demographic reality of multiculturality with liberal ideals of individual freedom (Grillo, 2005, p. 6). One of the foundational texts of multiculturalism is Charles Taylor's account of 'The politics of recognition' (1994), which provided a basis for a new politics of difference and identity. Will Kymlicka dominated the first phase of multicultural theory-making with his model of multicultural citizenship, which was based on the recognition of differences between cultural groups. By acknowledging nationalism and migration as intrinsic realities of the twentieth century (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 193), he argued that the autonomy of individuals and their individual right to a free life could no longer be safeguarded without supplementary group rights. These group rights would ensure the necessary 'external protection' of group members against the economic or political power exercised by the larger society, while remaining alert to the possible 'internal restrictions' that these groups might create for their members (Kymlicka, p. 37). The relationship between individual minority groups and majority groups was further revised in subsequent works by Parekh (2000) and Levy (2000), who demanded a critical discussion of the underlying concept of culture, and a rejection of its more static and closed interpretation, as in Kymlicka's writing. Instead of the more realist approach of Kymlicka to the fact of multiculturality, Parekh emphasized the value of cultural diversity as a welcome feature of human nature (Parekh, 2000). In some more recent contributions, multiculturalism has also been developed as a more global project of identity and interdependence (Alibhai-Brown, 2000, p. 66 ff.; 82 ff.; Kymlicka, 2007; Parekh, 2008).

Criticisms of multiculturalism targeted its essentialist depiction of culture and its failure to achieve equality between groups (Prato, 2009, p. 2 ff.). Multiculturalism was also seen as failing to provide enough protection against in-group discrimination, as inequalities within groups can be reinforced by cultural rights. This was especially pointed out from a feminist perspective. In Okin's view (1999), multiculturalism allows cultural groups to subordinate women in the name of culture. Other critics also pointed to multiculturalism as focusing too much on the specificities of groups and thereby losing sight of commonalities. Shachar demanded an overhaul of existing conceptualizations of the relations between state,

identity groups, and individuals in earlier conceptions of multiculturalism. She suggests to understand identity as multiple and complex and to conceive of the individual as both a member of one or more groups and as a citizen (Shachar, 2001b, p. 81). Her approach both recognizes cultural diversity and supports the empowerment of endangered individuals. Her suggestion was to develop a sort of 'differentiated citizenship', whereby both inequality between groups becomes diminished and equality within groups is strengthened (Shachar, 2001b, p. 4). In order to bridge the dichotomy between state and identity group, as responsible for ensuring the rights of its members (Shachar, 2001a, p. 85), she proposed a 'joint governance' approach, envisaging a continuous interaction between state and group (Shachar, p. 5). This would demand a radically new architecture for the separation and sharing of authority, creating a form of 'governance composed of dialogue between different non-monopolist power centres, rather than an imposition by all-knowing state or group officials' (Shachar, p. 88). Attempts at reconciling multiculturalism and feminism (Reitman, 2005; Saharso, 2003; Volpp, 2001) have resulted in suggestions of a 'multiculturalism without culture' (Phillips, 2007) or an 'expanded multiculturalism' (Vasta, 2007, p. 26 ff.) which involves mutual accommodation through dialogue. Other authors argued for the compatibility of multiculturalism with embracing national identity, as citizenship can be conceived of as fostering commonality across differences (Meer & Modood, 2011, p. 16; Modood, 2007, p. 146 ff.). Similarly, Kymlicka has argued for multiculturalism as 'citizenization' (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 8), and thus for the construction of civic and political relations in the framework of multiculturalism, as a means of overcoming deeply entrenched inequalities.

Some of these authors argued that the critique of multiculturalism is to some extent unfair, as multiculturalism is in theory capable of dealing with what have been depicted as its flaws in practice. The alleged 'backlash against multiculturalism' in past years was driven by disappointment with the result or the implementation of policies, or was politically motivated, but was not necessarily based on a critique of the ideas of multiculturalism.

To date, this backlash had only limited effect on actual policy practice, some authors argued. In their view policy practice changes less

quickly than public discourse (Penninx, Garces-Mascarenas, & Scholten, 2005b, p. 6) and there is limited evidence for a decline of multiculturalism if actual policies are considered across Europe (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 14; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010, p. 18). A different case was made for the Netherlands, which is seen an example where not only debate about but also practice of multicultural policies have declined (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 14).

However, over the past decades, there also has been a recognizable change in the composition particularly of urban populations, which was characterized as a new situation of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). We observe an increasing acceptance of diversity as a demographic reality by large parts of the population in Europe, even though many people still oppose and fear the visible presence and incorporation of migrants as members of society. The idea of diversity evolves at a time when scholars are looking for new ways of capturing this new situation and for defining principles for addressing the situation that are desirable from a normative point-of-view. To date, however, it is often unclear to what extent diversity is a thoroughly new idea, or whether it is only a change in emphasis with respect to multiculturalism. As Vertovec and Wessendorf argued, diversity is a new label for policies which in practice continue to be multiculturalist in character (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010, p. 19). They assume an ideological affiliation between diversity and multicultural theory. To date, however, a systematic discussion of the similarities and differences of diversity and multiculturalism is missing. In the following section, I therefore want to compare statements about diversity in both policy practice and academic literature with the principles of multiculturalism.

Assessing Diversity Against Multiculturalism

In the following, I will discuss three core issues which were at the centre of previous multicultural policies. The first issue is how conceptions of self and other, sometimes also referred to as conceptions of identity and belonging, are conceived. The second issue is how mobilization, contestation, and adaptation of culture, or systems of shared meaning, are taken

into account. As a third issue, I discuss how equality, which is based on the assumed existence and social relevance of power imbalances, is addressed. I reflect what the concept of diversity - based on existing theories and my observations of its uses in practice - offers to respond to these issues. Assessing the ideational content of the notion of diversity I will show how the concept of diversity and its interpretation in so-called diversity policies encapsulates a particular perspective on difference. The perspective is to a considerable degree different from multiculturalist conceptions of difference.

Conceptions of Self and Other

An Individual and Intersectional Approach

Diversity policies in the literature are often contrasted with multicultural policies because of their failure to recognize collective identifications. In contrast, diversity policies start out from an individual conceptualization of self and other and focus on the competencies of individuals. The more individual approach is thus combined with a positive evaluation of difference. As Faist notes, diversity policies approach individuals as potentially beneficial for society or the organization, and thus emphasize their talents or competencies as assets (Faist, 2009, p. 175). Diversity retains the idea of a possible combination of diversity and equality from multiculturalism, but sees it as something to be realized primarily in the field of organizations and civil society (Faist, p. 185). From the viewpoint of the state, this means a reorientation towards the resources of the citizens themselves, adding the resources of solidarity and trust into a democratic civic sphere (Faist, p. 187). As some authors observed, this individual conception of the self is appropriated by the state, which declares the participation of all individuals, as a potential asset, as something that wants to be nurtured. In the Netherlands, diversity policies therefore would strive for the participation of all local citizens, not only as customers and users of municipal facilities, but also as partners, as contributors to shaping municipal policy, as employees, and as voters (Essed & De Graaff, 2002, p. 133). Lentin and Titley are very critical

of this appropriation, as they see diversity policies as a reflection of a contemporary neoliberalism (Lentin & Titley, 2011, p. 18; 162), which caters mainly to increasingly affluent consumer societies (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 10). Some authors also trace the roots of this appropriation in the history of the concept, which was developed in the corporate world as a business strategy (Squires, 2007, pp. 158–159). Diversity from this perspective is meant to increase economic productivity, as it encompasses the wish to transform societies' heterogeneous talents into societal profit.

What are the repercussions for conceptualizing the self and other as individual in diversity policies, and how does this contrast to multiculturalism? Multicultural theorists often acknowledged both individual and collective identities, but multicultural policies have come under criticism for a too-simplistic and singular conceptualization of identity in practice. These critics argue that the claims made by groups and the activities of governments in targeting groups in multicultural policies often reflect an essentialist approach to collective identity. At a time when being mixed is becoming more ordinary and is used by youngsters of mixed race in Britain in defining themselves (Song 2010, p. 352). Song cautions against creating an aggregate category of mixed race, and demonstrates how mixed race intermingles with gender and class in shaping the construction of youngsters' identities (Song, pp. 353–354). The issue of essentialism has also divided social scientists for a long time. Self and other, sometimes also referred to as questions of identity or belonging, were often conceived as independent of time and space, which is diametrically opposed to more processual and constructivist notions (Baumann, 1999, p. 81 ff.; Eriksen, 1993). Recent contributions have pointed out the problematic of methodological nationalism and an ethnic lens (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2006, Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009) and have provided evidence for constructivist conceptions of identity (Song 2010).

An intersectional approach has sometimes been depicted as particularly suited to discuss the concept of diversity. It analyzes the ways in which categories of difference combine or intersect. Intersectional theorists criticized the diversity concept for its additive approach to identity.

An additive approach starts out from each axis of discrimination as both distinct (Squires, 2007, p. 162) and adding up, based on the multiple aspects of identity. As Wekker and Lutz (2001) frame it, diversity implies an additive approach to identity, as it invites us to talk about 'men and women', 'allochthonous and autochthonous', 'black and white', and, in doing so, the very dichotomies it claims to resolve are reproduced. While diverse identifications are acknowledged, an implicit norm—defined as masculine, white, and middle-class—is constantly assumed. In other words, these authors call for a more fine-grained analysis of the interplay of categories, which goes beyond the listing of a number of such categories as relevant elements of diversity.

Recent feminist intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1991; Degele & Winker, 2007; Klinger & Knapp, 2005; Lutz, 2003; Matsuda, 1991; Mc Call, 2005; Nash, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006) points out the situation-dependent and complex character of conceptions of self and other. Starting with the observation that most of us are not only women or men, black or white, or Muslim or Catholic, intersectional approaches emphasize the multiplicity of identity (e.g., being both Muslim and black, Turkish and poor, Catholic and male). According to an intersectional approach, social categories, such as class, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. intersect in complex ways. Being Turkish and being gay, for example, cannot be neatly separated when one wants to understand the impact of these aspects of identity on a person. They are intrinsically interwoven and might be changing. No person in this sense owns an identity, nor does anyone share the same identity with anyone else. Those intersections are dynamic and shifting, and the ways in which we conceive of our selves and the other often depend on the situation. Shared positions in specific situations are the basis for common positions and forming coalitions. The core aim of such a theory is to capture the ways in which power relations and discrimination affect individuals in their lives. Rather than theorizing about specific aspects of identity, intersectional theory suggests a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding that different aspects of identities taken together define individuals' power positions.

Along these lines, Squires suggests that the additive approach to diversity should be replaced by a transversal approach (Squires, 2007, p. 162).

Instead of identifying separate identities, one would pursue a politics based on a dialogue between different standpoints.[3] In a transversal approach, positions are differentiated from identities and values. Having a dialogue between positions allows the participants to recognize differences in their positions, while at the same time envisaging the possible dissolution of these differences (Squires, pp. 162–163). This is based on feminist theorizations of the use of dialogue and communication, and the recognition of different positions for the establishment of strategic alliances (Squires, p. 162). Such a transversal politics, in Squires', view goes beyond diversity management, as it allows participants in the dialogue 'to negotiate a common political position, mutually reconstructing themselves and others in the process' (Squires, p. 163). This potentially becomes translated into institutional structures which are able to address multiple equality strands at the same time and to incorporate their intersections (Squires, p. 163).

We can conclude from this theoretical discussion that the concept of diversity places more emphasis on the individual in regard to questions of self and other than concepts of multiculturalism have done, and that an intersectional approach offers some starting points for thinking through the interlinkages of different categories of difference. However, many questions remain. By way of its focus on the individual, the diversity concept is allowing to bypass an essentialist conception of self and other, but it is not quite clear how a diversity concept allows to conceive of collective identifications. By way of taking into account different categories of difference, a diversity concept also allows a more complex account of difference, but it at the same time is at risk of adopting an additive approach of summing up a number of categories. The notion of transversal forms of dialogue provided by intersectional theorists is inspiring in this regard, but has yet to become operationalized in debates on diversity.

In the following section, I will show how self and other were conceived of in my interviews and observations with diversity officers in the three cities. In the institutional structures and diversity officers' practices, do

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[3] This conceptualization of identity also reflects Anthias' proposal to replace the concept of identity with 'translocational positionality' (Anthias, 2002b) and complements it with a vision for interaction between individuals.

we find a multicultural approach, which focuses on single categories? Or are there some signs of acknowledging multiple, and then additive or transversal, conceptions of difference?

Selfing and Othering in Practice

Diversity policies in the three cities reflected the conceptualization of self and other as based on multiple belongings. This was reflected in the diversity officers' perception of their work as well as in the ways diversity departments had been set up within the municipal organizations. In the past, all three cities had a separate policy, as well as municipal department, focusing on 'ethnic minorities' or 'Black and Minority Ethnic' people. Diversity policy has changed this. Difference was no longer defined as only based on the characteristic of ethnicity or race, as one diversity officer said, but other categories, such as gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age, were brought into the picture. As one diversity officer said: *'When I think about diversity, I am nearly automatically thinking of ethnicities. You know diverse ethnicities, but by working in the team you are thinking more broadly, so you are thinking of disabilities and age'* (Diversity Officer in Leeds). This consideration of multiple categories differs from a multicultural approach to integration, and also from an assimilationist approach. The concept of diversity neither envisages claims for recognition based on a shared ethnicity, nor does it allow for claims of adaptation to a majority ethnic group. As such, the concept of diversity circumvents the production and reproduction of difference along, for example, a category of 'race', as we find it in a racist and anti-racist politics.[4]

Such a conception of self and other based on multiple categories was also reflected in diversity officers' depictions of the substance of their work. Diversity officers were convinced that one would hardly ever only identify with one category. As one diversity officer stated: *'Often what I experienced was there is almost an expectation that you would identify as one thing. So that you were perceived and your needs would be met if you say you are a disabled person or if you were a woman or if you were black or if you*

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[4] For a theoretical discussion of the production of 'color line' and 'color consciousness' and its problematic aspects, see Appiah and Gutman (1998) and Gilroy (2000).

were lesbian or gay' (Diversity Officer in Leeds). Diversity policy is thus defined as going beyond a singular approach to identity, which is also reflected in the policy text of the Leeds 'Equality and Diversity Strategy': *'Diversity recognizes that people do not exist in neat and clearly definable groups and that most people identify with more than one equality strand at a time.'* (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 5)

We also find some recognition of an intersection of these categories, as different categories in diversity officers' perceptions can no longer be looked at separately. In the view of one diversity officer, individuals simultaneously identify with multiple categories:

> I think it is really hard to work in silos…you know, like I could fit into anything. I could fit into woman, I could fit into BME, disabled, lesbian, everything. You know, I can't say I look at my needs separately. I think you have to consider everything; you have to consider equality[5] as a whole. You have to look at making your services or policies equal for everyone, rather than thinking this is something for the disabled, and then thinking about BME, etc. I think the approach that we've got is, we think of everything. And we've always done that, we think about the impact on everyone, rather than thinking about it individually, it might affect BME or it might affect… And I think it is the right thing to do. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

Or as the policy text of Amsterdam puts it:

> It no longer makes sense to develop policy for THE gay person, THE woman, THE ethnic minority member, THE person with a handicap, THE elderly. Experiences, chances and opportunities in society are not determined through one single difference, but through a mix of factors. (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 8)

The multiple identification with several categories (e.g., being a young. single Moroccan woman with a disability) also means that, within

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[5] 'Equality' is used here, in the context of Leeds, as a generic term depicting the current integration policy. In Leeds, and more generally in the UK, the term equality in public discourse was used in a much more common-sense way and with a much less heavily utopian connotation than in most of continental European cities. There, the term equality is also in use, but is more strongly connected with an emphasis on its utopian quality and therefore often stimulates debate about what activities it should imply.

categories, you would not find homogeneity amongst the people identifying with it: *'What concerns diversity, even within a particular ethnic group, they don't all get on, they don't all speak to each other. So you've also diversity within that group. There are some more devout than others'* (Diversity Officer in Leeds). One diversity officer mentions that such a conception has not been present in previous policies:

> And there was almost like a hierarchy, from my work experience and personal experience, I was finding that…women were lumped together as group of women, but…people weren't necessarily thinking that whilst there might be some common issues that all women experience, that there might be some very different experiences that young women might experience from old women. And within that disabled women again might experience some other issues than black women. And so on. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

As had been already suspected in the existing literature, identity thus becomes acknowledged as something which is addressed more individually in the framework of diversity politics:

> Amsterdamers can no longer be comprehended as being one group, but as being part of many different groups. People more and more want to be seen and addressed as unique individuals. Individuals who themselves determine when and in which manner they want to profile themselves as members of a group. (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 8)

Identity was apparently not being rendered irrelevant through the complex combination of different categories. As the diversity policy in Antwerp states, both individual identity and group identity can be emphasized at specific moments: *'Identity means a lot to people. One is as proud of one's personal identity as of the identity of the group(s) one belongs to.'* (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 22). In Amsterdam, for example, the stimulus for creating a policy that responds to a more complex understanding of identity came from women's groups. The category 'women' was seen as no longer needing targeted services, as struggles for emancipation were starting to show results. Yet, this did not mean that all women were seen as emancipated, and diversity officers still wanted to be able to

address gender as intersecting with categories such as ethnicity. This aim was given form in the diversity policy under which different categories were combined:

> Then we got the diversity policy, which was really at the moment when the categorical policy was getting strongly questioned in politics. In the sense of now they are integrated and emancipated. Here in Amsterdam this mainly was brought about by women's groups…'now women are emancipated, this attention is no longer necessary'. Thus they thought we have to do something different. And then the diversity policy was introduced, which they [the women's groups] have propagated a lot in Amsterdam and they have also convinced the other groups about it. And that was taken up quite fast through politics and diversity policy came into focus. Thus [this was acknowledging that] the city is in the meantime so diverse and complex, what are you doing when you are an ethnic minority woman, then you kind of fit into both the policy for ethnic minorities and the policy for women. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

Such an understanding of self and other as based on multiple categories being combined then also had repercussions for the organization of municipal-government structures. Previously, services for the different categories were structurally organized independent from one another in different sub-teams. This also meant that their users had to choose one aspect of their identity, as structures in the past were created on the basis of singular categories. In the framework of diversity policy, these structures then became combined into a general diversity office. Some diversity officers worried that their expertise on specific minorities was lost, but the structural reorganization was also positively evaluated by diversity officers, as it provided them with a new collaborative sphere:

> I have experienced that [the fusion of different target group services into one diversity department] as very positive because we learned a lot from each other, even the instruments that we were using. Before that we were isolated departments, one for women, one for people with a handicap and one for ethnic minorities. And there was very little contact and everyone looked after his own target group. That went as far that it was like 'my target group is more important'. That certainly isn't sustainable, I am very

much for combining the services because then there is no longer a discussion about who is the most important, but then there is the question how we can use the same instruments. Collegiality is also very important. Thus I find that a positive change. In place of each working on his/her island, you could now work as colleagues and there was no longer a fight between target groups. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

In Leeds, the general 'Equality and Diversity' department also emerged in 2006 from the combination of previously separate departments for different categories. Approaching diversity in a broader sense and including different categories and sections within these was seen as compatible with acknowledging and bestowing some specific attention on subgroups:

It is acknowledged that there are core similarities between the different equality legislations. The Scheme recognizes that people do not exist in neat and clearly definable groups and most people identify with more than one equality area at a time and the Scheme assists us in responding to the issue of multiple discriminations. (City of Leeds, 2008, p. 7)

The combination of attention for different categories can be interpreted as a neoliberal move, as it allows for a more 'efficient' way of dealing with differences. In Leeds, it eventually led to a combination and simplification of tools:

So what we did with our impact assessment is we made it so that rather than doing separate assessments, you do one assessment. And within that, you consider age, disability, gender, sexual orientation; you know the whole gamut of equality characteristics. And it still enabled people so when something was a particular issue for a particular group, say it was a service aimed at old people, then clearly age is a significant consideration. But that is not to say that men experience issues differently to women. So there would still be that expectation of breaking it down a little bit further, but as a whole you are looking at the experience of old people. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

The officer in the quote talks about 'breaking it down a little bit further', but leaves it open whether in practice this means an additive approach, combining two or three categories, or whether a more transversal practice

is meant here, which would eventually transcend categorization. In the representations of diversity officers, I identified three ways of 'breaking it down a little bit further'.

First of all, diversity officers suggested an approach to identity by also considering those characteristics that are assumed to be associated with (more) power. One diversity officer said one would need to be careful to prevent institutionalizing a biased approach of looking only at the characteristic that is expected to be less powerful within a category, an approach that was, for example, institutionalized by having a women's department, but not a men's department.[6] Only paying attention to women would be underestimating the need for men's emancipation, and its synergistic effect on the emancipation of women (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam). This view was shared by a diversity officer in Leeds, who argued for a more inclusive approach to identity by also paying attention to the white majority within the category of ethnicity. Such an approach then forms the foundation for the consideration of the individual as part of a larger society, rather than viewing an individual from the perspective of one, and only one, category. Of course this can also imply a distraction from the cleavage between those who are privileged and those who are not, so as to talk again about white men, rather than for instance about Turks or women.

Second, diversity officers were aware of different degrees of inequality between categories. Diversity officers assumed that there is already less inequality within the category of gender than within categories such as ethnicity or sexuality. If categories are combined, being a woman, for example, is thus less significant than being of Turkish origin or being homosexual. Some categories therefore may receive more attention than others. An organization promoting homosexuals' rights, for instance, can have more social capital for writing professional funding applications than ethnic minority associations and therefore have an advantage in obtaining funding, as a diversity officer in Amsterdam argued. Diversity officers also claimed that homosexuals are more successful in influencing the definition of policies because of their existing strong lobby and vocal

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[6] This has historically been the case in all three cities.

self-representation, than are, for example, ethnically defined minority groups. Also, the stronger representation of homosexuals among politicians can be a factor that contributes to the attention given to them:

> You see that it [specific attention for homosexuals] is a gigantic priority. Why? Because you have many homosexuals and lesbians in the municipal council, who pose many questions to the aldermen,[7] thus there is an enormous attention for the homosexuality dossier. In any case also on national level you have a large political support at the moment…. One topic where there is still money for is the policy on homosexuals and lesbians, there we still have money…. There is a strong pressure on the aldermen and the politicians, in civil society, and also in the civil service. Thus there is much more support and requests from politicians coming to us, there is much more drive and power behind it. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

The difference in power between categories, where some minorities are relatively stronger than other minorities of a different category, was also reflected in discussions on the composition of diversity teams. According to one officer in Amsterdam, it would be less important to have a woman as a diversity officer to tackle gender emancipation, than it would be to have someone who himself is of an ethnic minority origin or is a homosexual working on ethnic or sexual equality. Some officers identify a lack of solidarity of minorities across categories (e.g., between disabled people and homosexuals) due to the different degrees of power these different minorities have. People can resist sharing existing resources across categories. As we can see from the example of Leeds, the range of categories that should be paid attention to under the header of diversity was indeed a topic of heated debate:

> It was about trying to push forward the agenda that equality is about more than just race, disability and gender. And it is much more complex than just single identities. And particularly around things like there was some

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[7] The aldermen ('wethouders' in the Netherlands; 'schepenen' in Flanders) are the day-to-day authorities of a local government. Their role can be compared to the role of ministers at the national level. Together with the mayor, they form the 'college' which makes most day-to-day decisions of the local government. They are appointed by the local council for a set number of years and for a specific portfolio. Together with the local council, they form the local government.

perceived resistance around sexual orientation and…there was kind of no way to accept…hearing people saying 'but why would we want to be looking at the sexual orientation, why do we want to know about somebody's sex life' … And to hear someone in a decision-making setting say things like we're happy to look at race and disability and gender, but some of these things we don't really want to touch. And a city as large…people living here and visiting here, who cut across so many different characteristics, you know for me every single one of those people has the right to that basic dignity and respect, so why would we just focus on a couple of different areas and leave the rest out?! (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

Third, when dealing with individuals, breaking it down a little bit further would imply considering multiple categories in defining an individual's position. However, as one officer in Amsterdam mentioned, a maximum of two or three categories were taken into account to depict a specific identity position, as the complexity increases exponentially when considering more categories. For example, if one not only takes into account whether a person was from Dutch or Moroccan background (singular category), but considers ethnicity in conjunction with gender (two categories), one already would arrive at four different positions, including the position of a Moroccan women, a Moroccan man, a Dutch woman, and a Dutch man. Adding a third category of age (three categories in total), one would need to consider eight positions, including the position of a young Moroccan woman, a young Dutch woman, a young Moroccan man, a young Dutch man, an old Moroccan woman, an old Dutch woman, an old Moroccan man, and an old Dutch man. As the following examples from the case-study cities illustrate, we indeed find mostly two or three categories taken into account.

In Amsterdam, for example, target groups based on a single category (such as 'the Turks' or 'the Moroccans') were no longer spoken of, but several 'problem groups' (based on two or three categories) were identified. For example, young women of migrant origin were depicted by one diversity officer as one of the groups that would need targeted support to be able to foster their own identity. From the view of diversity officers, approaching specific (sub-) groups to target or focus on might allow a first entrance point into spheres of domination, in order to achieve an

acknowledgement of diversity in a broader or more complex sense later. An officer argued that acknowledging the underprivileged position of specific groups is the right way to tackle problems:

> It always remains a choice. Actually you have to choose, e.g. when it is about the topic of health and diabetes, which groups have more diabetes than the average citizen. And these citizens you then have to work on, I find. I think this is the way you have to make your choices.… That you chose to work on a specific target group is according to me beneficial for diversity. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

In the diversity officers' view, the quality of different power positions based on multiple identities is also very difficult to compare because of the different quality of power differences across different categories. The power position of a young Muslim woman of Turkish origin is more complex to delineate than just calculating the sum of the position of being a Muslim, of being a woman, and of being Turkish. Also, the power of this position will be different depending on the context (e.g., being a young Muslim woman amongst other young Muslim women will provide a different power position than being amongst a group of old Dutch women; being a Muslim man of Moroccan origin in the Netherlands might have occupied a different position prior to the murder of Theo van Gogh than afterwards). When addressing power in diversity-policy practice, diversity officers find it too difficult to cater to such an individually shaped position of power, and thus still begin by identifying specific sub-groups to address inequalities. The concept of diversity to date does not allow us to determine the linkages and quality of various types of differences.

I have in my ethnographic research observed a number of activities which are being carried out by diversity officers. As I discuss at length in Chap. 5, we find a number of projects, which go beyond having activities e.g., for target groups like 'the Moroccans', 'women', 'disabled', but which do rely on defining slightly more complex 'target groups' (often defined as 'problem groups') based on the combination of two to three categories (such as 'Moroccan women', 'Turkish Muslim women', 'young Polish men'). These projects consider the assembled meaning of two or at maximum three categories. Diversity policy and diversity officers, according

to my findings, hardly take into account the situated and shifting character of identity as suggested by intersectional theory, and thus remain constrained by an additive approach to identity.

We can conclude that there is unresolved tension between theoretical concerns and contemporary policy tools in dealing with complex identities. However, the diversity concept allows conceiving of individuals in different situations, perceiving categories as combined, and involving a multiplicity of relevant axes of self and other. As has been suggested in a multicultural theory, we find that the unequal power position of individuals is still addressed, in the practice of diversity policies, by identifying some collective they belong to. This bears the danger of essentializing and minoritizing the collective in the process. Also, considering a maximum of three categories does not of course do justice to the situational and complex depiction envisaged by intersectional theorists.

Addressing the normative content of the diversity concept, one finds several limitations of current practices of diversity policies that need to be addressed both in theoretical and practical terms.

Conceptions of Culture

Diversity as Taking the Hands Off Culture

From discussing the transversal negotiation of self and other, we arrive at a second issue that was central to the idea of multiculturalism, namely the recognition of differentiation as a way of collective meaning-making.

One central marker of difference, especially in the context of migration-led diversification and having been at the centre of multicultural debates, has been the notion of culture. Multiculturalism emphasizes the importance of culture and the equality of different cultures (Kelly, 2002, p. 4), which in practice, as Wikan has argued, can result in cultural essentialism. Both those who call for 'cultural respect' and those who claim an irreconcilability of 'cultures' in their interpretation of multiculturalism in practice start out from an understanding of culture as an objective, material thing (Wikan, 1999, p. 57), an essence (Brumann, 1999, p. 1) that is shared collectively by all members of an ethnic group (Wikan, 1999,

p. 61).[8] Theoretical debates in anthropology have long pondered the usefulness of the culture concept, which in many ways has been at the core of the discipline, but also has entered public debate. There have been discussions whether an essentialist notion of culture reflects a built-in weakness of the concept of culture or merely a misappropriation[9] of the concept in its non-academic usage. On the one hand we currently witness a 'reification of culture' (Baumann, 1996). On the other hand, culture always had the qualities of collective identification and boundary-drawing. Baumann reminds us that culture is socially relevant and that it has an impressive stronghold. It is sometimes used in very conscious ways and is also produced and reproduced. In a similar vein, Bourdieu conceives of culture as an instrument of vision and division, at once a product and a weapon (Wacquant, 2005, p. 20). He emphasizes the relevance of culture as part of his larger claim that power is present in all kinds of social relationships. The multicultural literature in his view would ignore the implications of questions of culture and power, and he evaluates academic demands for cultural recognition as rather naive. They would ignore the more general nature of culture as part of creating meaning in relationships, which are always also 'relations of force'. Culture thus cannot be a 'means' to resolve struggles for recognition, but it is rather an intrinsic dimension of those struggles. Given the critical qualities of the concept of culture, some anthropologists argue that the concept as such should be abandoned (Abu-Lughod, 1999, p. 14), especially in light of an observed 'abuse' of the concept of culture 'out there'. Others argue that retaining culture puts us in a better strategic position to investigate an essentialist use of culture and to take a position against it (Brumann, 1999, p. 12). Also, the concept of culture still has analytical value if understood as a meaningful order (Sahlins, 1999, p. 409) or an abstract aggregate rather

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[8] One has to note, though, that an essentialist use of the concept was not necessarily something unprecedented, as it has both been part of the anthropological application of the concept in putting far-away 'cultures' into boxes one could grasp (see Phillips, 2007), but had also been reflected in the formerly widespread notion of cultures as reflecting a clear national boundary, as in depictions of e.g., 'Indian culture', 'French culture', and so on (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, pp. 6–7).

[9] For reasons of space, I will refrain from going more deeply into the debates this has created within the discipline of anthropology (Brumann, 1999; Sahlins, 1999) and the ways the concept of culture has at the same time experienced a revival in more 'mundane ways' in the neighbouring debates and disciplines of social science, such as cultural studies (Bhabha, 1994).

than an object (Brumann, 1999, p. 2; 6). Phillips takes an intermediate position, as she acknowledges the critical potential of the uses of culture, but also argues for keeping it as an analytical concept. Instead of getting all wound up by the misappropriations of culture, it would in her view be more fruitful to analyze the very ways in which culture is being mobilized (Phillips, 2007, p. 53).

The concept of diversity promises to resolve the 'problem of difference' by acknowledging the heterogeneity of society and accepting an increased demographic diversity (Faist, 2009, p. 171). We find contradictory answers in the literature on the relation of diversity and culture. Wrench casts the ability of diversity to conceptualize difference in a positive light, as it allows for more variety. He acknowledges the possibility for diversity to embrace both the individual and group dimensions (Wrench, 2007, p. 125) and its varied applications as either dissolving differences or valuing differences. Others have been more sceptical as regards diversity concepts' ability to accommodate difference. In Faist's view, diversity replaces the notion of a dominant culture with a recognition of multiple or 'diverse' cultures as coexisting in society (Faist, 2009, p. 174). Again others are critical of diversity accommodating the 'wrong differences'. Titley argues that diversity's attention to cultural difference distracts from the more profound racial differences in society (Titley, 2009).

In the following, I will discuss in what ways, if at all, diversity policies relate to questions of culture and how culture is being mobilized in local diversity policies. In contrast to multicultural policies, there is no explicit stance being taken on questions of culture in conceptual discussions of diversity. Yet, given the mobilization of culture in representations of diversity, we can expect an evaluation, even if implicit, of culture in practices for implementing diversity policies.

Individual Versus Target Groups in Practice

Diversity policies in the three case-study cities have been introduced against the historical background of ongoing national debates about the purported failure of multiculturalism in the Netherlands, Flanders, and the UK. This historical context is important for thinking through the

meaning ascribed to culture in diversity policies. As one diversity officer recalls:

> I know that back then was a big discussion as specific persons in the city stood up—critics, writers—who said that minorities were snuggled to death. And back then we started to think how we can look differently at the city, because actually we started out much too much from one group that we need to serve next to the general resident and who needs extra things. And we had all kinds of services established for that, but maybe we need to look much more at how we can see people as part of this society. Because they are staying and that is a fact. This really was a shift in the way we thought about Amsterdam. Instead of a city that welcomes ethnic minorities and migrants to have them work here next to the general population towards an Amsterdam that has a diverse population and how we can deal with that. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

To date, only limited research exists on how this alleged 'crisis of multiculturalism' left a mark on ensuing diversity policies. Observers of recent urban policies in the Netherlands have pointed out concessions to the crisis of multiculturalism in current policies, but that such policies still recognize differences as relevant (Uitermark & Van Steenbergen, 2006, p. 265). Vermeulen points out how a more generic policy, that is, a policy targeted at the whole society, is combined with policy elements tailored to specific group characteristics (Vermeulen, 2008, p. 55). Do we therefore find that diversity policies ignore culture, or do we find some practices which recognize cultural belonging in one way or another?

   In order to answer this question, we have to start from the emphasis on the individual in diversity policies, as contrasted to the emphasis on the collective in multicultural policies. The latter have often been implemented by way of defining 'target groups', i.e. collectives, which were often defined as sharing a specific ethnicity or 'culture'. Diversity policies, by contrast, emphasize the individual, sometimes in reaction to the perceived excessive emphasis given to group-based influences in previous multicultural policies (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam). In Antwerp, the policy text reflects the critique of multiculturalism and emphasizes the dangers of identity politics. The meaning of identity in diversity policy

is contrasted with the definition of identity in multicultural policies: *'Attention for identity processes increases the self-confidence and opens the view on one's [residents'] own possibilities to contribute to society. But too strong a focus on identity can also be a hindrance to take part in society'* (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 24). As we can see from the quote below, the focus on individual identity was also present in Amsterdam's initial 1999 policy text on diversity: *'Amsterdam's society is not the total sum of groups and categories, but of individual citizens. Citizens who, each in their way, are of particular meaning to the city.'* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 3). This is based on the perception that target group policies had an essentializing and stigmatizing effect on groups depicting them as unable to do well without the special support of the government (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 8). However, in practice, a combination of an individual approach and targeted measures continues:

> We get further and further away from target groups and more and more to diversity tailored to people. Some women want to wear a headscarf, and some women are happy if it is forbidden. So that they can come and work without a headscarf, and you cannot fix that for groups as a whole, that's what we realize. But it still remains important to address that as a whole. If we say, okay we would like to have 2 % of people with a handicap [in our workforce], then you have to have some policy for this group. But in dealing with the diversity you cannot say we have to treat all people with a handicap in such or such way and all people of migrant origin in such a way. Thus the concept indeed has changed a lot. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

Such a focus on the individual is also linked to emphasizing the independence of individuals in economic terms. Economic advancement is expected from the individual, as is emphasized in the case of Amsterdam:

> Now she [the alderwoman] really focuses on economic independence, because at the moment when you are economically independent, you also can make your own choices. At the moment that you aren't, you are very much dependent on everything in your environment. Then you are depending on the state, on your husband, on your father. You see, I understand

why she focuses on that, because it just really is the first step to determine what you want. For example if you have economic independence, then you can determine I don't find that great, and then you can say something about it, and then you can also deviate from others. But as long as you don't have that, then you have to take into account…you have to adapt yourself, what the giving party is giving you. Thus it is obvious to focus on that. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

The collective scope of diversity policy at the same time shifts from the group level to individuals within society as a whole. One goes beyond a strict opposition of minorities and majorities and abandons the differentiating logics of some as dominant and others as dominated. Rather, some diversity officers emphasized an acknowledgement of a complex conceptualization of identity on which a vision for all individuals as part of the general society can be built:

And it just seemed to me that none of us fit into this neat little box, it just doesn't happen. But the common thread for all of us, we just all of us want to feel able to contribute to life, contribute to work, have as independent a life as possible, that isn't about just always being on our own, but is about being able to make choices about what we do and when we do it. We want to feel safe, we want to be comfortable, we want to be happy. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

The notion of shared values and desires reflected in this quote demonstrates a trend towards a new assimilation, which posits one overarching culture determined by an economic rationale and a shared societal value system based on security, comfort, and happiness.

At the same time, some recognition of target groups continues to be upheld. In Antwerp's diversity policy text, the goal of enabling all residents of Antwerp to have basic social rights is seen as involving some attention to target groups. As such, it *'can be relevant to take temporary measures for a particular target group'* (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 25). A diversity officer values the specificity of different categories within diversity to make people join in the broader diversity perspective: *'It isn't either or, but it is "and". It is broad diversity but we mustn't lose the attention for the specificities either'* (Diversity Officer in Antwerp).

However, there was some anxiety as to whether it is legitimate to combine a focus on the individual with targeted attention to some groups. As one diversity officer in Amsterdam said, the challenge is to work out the balancing act of neither stigmatizing a group by essentializing some of its characteristics for symbolic politics, nor underestimating the effect of essentialism within the group on some of its individual members. Whether and to what extent an individual and a target-group approach are compatible was therefore a quite controversial issue. There were big differences across cities, some diversity departments being rather anxious about combining an individual with a group approach, and others being more pragmatic about it. In Antwerp one diversity officer conceded:

> I sometimes felt guilty in my first year, as I thought 'I do know e.g. the situation of people in poverty quite well'…but from my tasks couldn't one, two, three make a link. And I thought damn, I just really would like to start meaningful projects with the partners from the area of poverty, because I see that there is so much need…. And that's sometimes also very difficult, you cannot do everything, and you try to find each other on the level of broad diversity, but still sometimes having attention for specific needs, but it remains difficult sometimes. Because you see that the needs of the specific target groups are so specific. And if you for example give training for people it sometimes can be very difficult to keep talking on a broad level, because then it also becomes a very broad discussion. Sometimes it is just helpful to say we are now just giving training only for people in poverty, we gathered a number of people and create a specific activity for them. I think it is a tension, I think that many other colleagues also have this issue. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

When and to what extent target group attention would then be appropriate is largely left to the diversity officers' discretion. They were insecure about how to reconcile *'broad diversity'* with *'temporary measures for particular target groups'*. According to a diversity officer in Antwerp, it was unclear whether focusing more on a target group was legitimate, as it stood in *'constant tension'* with the broader framework of diversity. The following quote reflects the feeling of being torn between attention to target groups and broad diversity:

> Either you are saying we are working for all Antwerp residents but then you cannot reach them, or you work specifically on a target group, but then again you work on a specific target group and not for the broader Antwerp resident. Thus you always have to choose and that stays a difficult exercise. Either you do a big campaign where not a lot of people profit from or you work very specifically, but then you again won't reach a whole lot of groups.… I think the problem of reaching people and of organising the work in general in the team remains a difficult task. You have to work for all Antwerp residents, but because they are diverse, you have to do specific activities. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

The combination of target-group and whole-society perspectives was also perceived as clashing within diversity officers' job descriptions. Some saw reconciling both perspectives as a burden, as it would be creating a complex and contradictory work package. Individual diversity officers in Antwerp not only worked on consulting one specific thematic directorate (such as education), but were also supposed to provide expertise on one specific minority group (e.g., ethnic minorities). Several officers said that this was impossible to fulfil, as expertise on specific groups was more of an add-on to the counselling work, and there was not any time left over to build up contacts with civil society and associations and actually to develop one's expert role.

> Because eventually you get a project…and I am constantly busy with this project and for building up knowledge on the target group there just isn't any time left. If I once would like to go to a debate, then I do this in my free time. And the idea behind that is certainly by doing such a project you at the same time create target group knowledge, but I don't find this works that well. Well, it is the case that my project is mainly focused on ethno-cultural minorities, but I cannot say that I attain more knowledge about ethno-cultural minorities through it. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

A more general diversity approach was pragmatically combined with the acknowledgement and targeting of specific groups and their claims. As becomes clear in the following quote, giving specific attention to some identity aspects at a specific moment is possible, even if it also means providing a general scheme and a more complex view of self and other:

There are things we really aspire to at one time of our lives, but maybe some of the things that help us are different. So for disabled people there might be additional things that are needed to help that someone can participate. And that might be different to what a young carer needs or what an older man needs etc. But the same principles apply about what people want to have and what some of the barriers might be that are in place. So from a single equality point of view we are not saying we have to treat everybody the same but we are saying we have to treat people with the same level of dignity and respect. But how we meet those needs might be different. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

This is also anchored in the main policy texts, which include *'working with communities'* as one of the core values of the city council (City of Leeds, 2011c, p. 3). However, because of the acknowledgement of a focus on single categories as problematic, Leeds has formulated its policy in more general terms and emphasizes that it has *'not organized it in terms of traditional equal opportunities groups.'* (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 26)

In Amsterdam too, diversity officers combined specific targeted actions on specific groups and a broader notion of diversity, as is reflected in the current department's outline of activities. While, for example, emancipation and participation are defined as one general work task, homosexuals, women, and ethnic minorities are mentioned specifically as those whose emancipation and participation should improve through the department's activities (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010a, p. 4). While activities are no longer explicitly designed for target groups (e.g., by having one section for migrants, one for the elderly, one for women), a diversity officer in Amsterdam contended that there was some continued focus on some of the target groups within the department's work programmes [10]

Even if such specific actions can no longer be communicated to the outside, as they have become discredited through the crisis of multiculturalism, specific attention to some groups is still needed, as the following statement illustrates.

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[10] Anti-discrimination, anti-radicalization/social cohesion, citizenship, emancipation of women/girls, and emancipation of homosexuals were the five work programmes at the moment of my fieldwork.

> It is always said we do general policy, as a counter-reaction to migrant policy and multiculturalism, and we acknowledge that everyone is equal. But now anyway the question comes up: well yes but wait a moment, if we realize that unemployment amongst youngsters of non-Western origin is exorbitantly high, and then we would however have to see if this doesn't have to do with discrimination. (Diversity Officer Amsterdam)

The recognition of the specific needs of target groups also prevents a specific group's situation from deteriorating and it from becoming a permanent 'problem group', as one diversity officer in Amsterdam said. The importance of such target group attention is also confirmed in the city's policy text:

> Starting out from the problems that need to be tackled, instead of (a-priori) starting out from target groups. Such an approach does better justice to the socio-economic diversity between and within groups of residents of Amsterdam. It is self-explanatory that a bigger backlog of individuals or groups justifies a bigger policy investment and, where it makes sense, a specific approach. That way diversity policy builds onto the positive results of the backlog policy and adds an extra dimension. (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 9)

Diversity officers rejected the idea of having target groups from the outset, but argued for working on the basis of identifying problems most present in specific groups. Another diversity officer in Amsterdam said *'that one will never escape from naming target groups, even if you cannot subsume everyone under them'*. In a diversity policy, one defines such 'problem groups' by using a combination of characteristics, and thus applies an understanding of identity as based on multiple categories in policy practice. One would, for example, consider age and ethnicity to define ethnic minority youngsters as a target group. This was linked to some diversity officers' assumption that these youngsters were most subject to poverty and dropping-out of school, which the responsible diversity officer working on Antillean youngsters in Amsterdam confirmed for this particular ethnic group. Another diversity officer said that Muslim youth also possibly needs targeted attention because of evidence of this group's alienation. Lesbian women and Antillean women were

mentioned as two other examples of alienated groups. Also, a diversity officer in Antwerp emphasized the importance of building relationships between diversity officers and minorities, and of acknowledging specific minorities' needs and realities, for example, in determining meeting hours.

As I have shown in this section, attention to groups, central to multiculturalism, has not become redundant in the framework of diversity. However, it is no longer the explicit and foremost approach to difference. Official policies and diversity officers' practices in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Leeds conceive of bringing attention to the individual and to target groups as complementary, contradictory, or parallel in their policy practice. While Antwerp can be characterized by great nervousness about combining an individual and target-group approach, Leeds stood out for its pragmatism in doing so. Amsterdam allowed some combinations, yet without explicitly communicating this externally. Despite differing degrees of comfort about doing so, in each of the three cities, individual and targeted activities were to some extent combined in the activities of the diversity department. While the focus on the individual and the whole society takes the front stage in diversity policies, activities targeted at specific groups continue on the back stage. The burden of legitimizing such targeted actions lies on diversity officers, who, in practice, need to reconcile these different practices simultaneously.

Conceptions of Equality

How Do Diversity and Equality Combine?

The issues of self and other, and the issue of culture, which I have discussed above, become very salient in view of questions of discrimination and inequality. Multiculturalism was at its core concerned with power imbalances. Multicultural theorists drew here on a longstanding debate in normative political philosophy, which argued for combining democracy with an inclusive imperative (Young, 2000, p. 11). Redistribution or recognition are two possible aims when one talks about equality (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), and, following Turner's typology of equality (1986,

p. 34 ff.), are inherently different and incompatible. Multicultural theorists have usually aimed for the more modest aim of recognition and equal opportunity, rather than for redistribution and equality of outcome.

Other authors, such as Bourdieu, acknowledge the continuing relevance of power. He describes democracy as 'a never-ending effort to make social relations less arbitrary, institutions less unjust, distributions of resources and options less imbalanced, recognition less scarce' (Wacquant, 2005, p. 21). At the same time, he acknowledges that access to political expression is determined on the basis of social differentiation (Wacquant). Social differences are thus the starting point for the ordering of power relations, which are an integral part of the efforts societies can and do undertake to organize social relations. Political action in Bourdieu's terms aims to make or unmake groups (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 127), with divisions between groups organized along the lines of power (Bourdieu, p. 130). Dominant groups have an interest in having their powerful positions taken for granted. As they are in power, and are interested in keeping it that way, they strategically represent established divisions as natural to prevent them from being challenged by those with less power (Bourdieu). Bourdieu asks for an anthropology of power in order to examine these forms of exploitation that are normally hidden under the cloak of 'nature' (Wacquant, 2005, p. 131). Acknowledging the central role of power in ordering our social world, Bourdieu calls for analysing these existing power relations.

The notion of diversity in turn has been differently evaluated with respect to its stance on equality aims, and was both challenged for its purported ability to address inequalities, and praised for potentially providing a broader basis for discussing issues of equality. Some authors posit an opposition between diversity and equality, while others see a possible combination of diversity policies with equality concerns. The more critical voices, such as Lentin and Titley's, chastise the notion of diversity for 'refusing to address the foundational problems of culture, race and socio-political power that have so unsettled multiculturalism in Europe' (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 13). Faist provides a less fatalistic perspective, but also points out a potential weakness of diversity policies in regard to equality. In contrast to multiculturalism, diversity is not based on the provision of specific rights to minority-group members (Faist, 2009, p. 173).

If one wanted to avoid reinforcing categories such as ethnicity, or reifying inequalities and perpetuating cultural difference, the projects of diversity and tackling inequality to be linked (Faist, p. 186). He thus argues that diversity policy should build on elements of previous multicultural theories. In these authors' view, diversity can only be seen as successful if it is able to increase and eventually attain equality. In Lentin and Titley's view, the reason for the contradiction between equality and diversity is diversity's business logic. They posit the incompatibility of these logics, and argue that diversity may ultimately adhere to the latter. Lentin and Titley's critique is based on the claim that the business argument removes the moral imperative from equal-opportunity actions: differences are no longer challenged as the basis of inequality, but merely treated as a commodity and as social capital in a consumption-oriented society (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 20). Likewise Squires (2007, pp. 158–159) has noted that diversity is primarily a means of producing economic productivity rather than social justice, because the discourse of 'diversity management' relates diversity specifically to corporate human resource management. In a similar vein, Essed and De Graff (2002, p. 10) have shown that 'management' plays a central role in the notion of diversity. They suggest that diversity's emphasis on unity raises the criticism of whether this does not potentially lead to indifference concerning discrimination and powerful hierarchies. Efforts to emphasize certain identity axes and to create equal opportunity in a diversity regime could thereby easily be ignored (Essed & De Graaff, 2002, p. 19). In this view, the aim of equality may become subordinated to diversity policies' striving for productivity.

A second group of authors claims that the combination of moral logic and business logic in the framework of diversity is not only possible but desirable. According to Wrench, the moral and business arguments need not be mutually exclusive, and he emphasizes the need to see them as complementary elements of a diversity politics (Wrench, 2007, p. 126). He thus makes an argument for the compatibility of elements of earlier multicultural and neoliberal ideologies. The reference to multiculturalism is important for the investigation of how diversity deals with inequalities, as multiculturalism explicitly aimed for equality in the context of pluralism.

A third argument sees diversity as an explicit move away from the aim of equality. Ahmed (2007, p. 237) argues that diversity can be understood as response to an 'equality fatigue', as diversity policies are emerging in response to the suggested 'failure of multiculturalism'. If its emergence is a mere symptom of the failure of the term equality, Ahmed asks, is diversity not then symptomatic of the failure to achieve equality itself (Ahmed, p. 238)? The intrinsic problem with ideas such as equality, as Ahmed believes, is that they need to be repeated again and again in order to trigger action (Ahmed, pp. 239–240). Introducing diversity as an alternative term can be a strategy to circumvent fatigue and resistance, but it also proves problematic. The meaning of diversity is blurred and it therefore would sustain existing boundaries and distract from the goal of equality. If the success of diversity is that it can be 'detached' from histories of the struggle for equality, its success in Ahmed's view is also paradoxically dependent on being 're-attached' to those same histories. In this point, we see some correspondence with Faist's call for linking equality and diversity. We can hence speculate that the success of 'diversity' depends on the extent to which practitioners can determine the condition of its circulation by understanding 'what sticks'. This success may, in turn, be dependent on the degree to which an organization[11] has already committed to or invested in an equality agenda (Ahmed, p. 240). In the literature I have discussed so far, the relationship between diversity and equality is seen as ambiguous.

In the following section, I will investigate whether diversity in practice can be linked to an equality of opportunities, sticking to the more modest multiculturalist version of equality claims that I discussed above. Most interesting here is the question of how an equality of opportunities is combined with an individual approach to difference, as promoted in diversity policies. For Arendt, power is always something which is reserved to the collective and can never be exercised by an individual alone (Arendt, 1998, p. 45). How then can individuals in diversity politics challenge inequalities exercised by the collective, if they are not supposed to take any collective stance?

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[11] Ahmed studied the introduction of a diversity policy in the university sector.

Diversity and Equality in Practice

Overall, practices of diversity in the three cities explicitly emphasized the need to combine equality and diversity. However, we find some variance across cities, as diversity officers in Amsterdam and Leeds were more confident that equality and diversity policies could be combined than was the case in Antwerp.

Diversity officers in Amsterdam clearly underlined the possible links between and overlap of the positive and negative aspects of diversity. They depicted anti-discrimination as part of the package of more positive measures to enable people to take part in society. With the reorganization of the department in 2010, work areas such as anti-radicalization, anti-discrimination, social cohesion, and emancipation and participation were combined as complementary work areas. The department's aim is to create a *'balance between creating perspective and tackling problems'* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010b, p. 4). One diversity officer mentioned, for example, activities for the prevention of discrimination. Anti-discrimination was also reflected in the delineation of activities of the diversity department, of which it represents one of the four main work areas or 'programmes' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010a, p. 5). A new policy plan was approved by the city council in 2011, which presented a plan for future work on anti-discrimination. It acknowledges that a central idea of diversity is to have everyone participate within his or her capacity, and that this would also help prevent future discrimination. At the same time, a diversity officer emphasized that negative developments are often ignored or not readily identified with, and it was very difficult to get support for preventative work on negative or problem-based issues. Diversity and anti-discrimination thus were policy elements used in parallel or next to each other. They were pursued under the heading of diversity, as this was perceived as giving a more positive message, and thus giving less visibility to the element of anti-discrimination.

In Leeds, the link of diversity and equality was particularly pronounced. One explanation is the long history of equality legislation in the UK. In Leeds, diversity and equality were defined as intrinsically linked in the policy text. Protecting the rights of local residents and their equal access

to services is taken as a prerequisite to acknowledging the needs and hearing the desires of the city's residents. In the earlier Equality and Diversity Strategy of 2006–2008, equality and diversity are presented as the two cornerstones of the strategy:

> Equality is about treating people fairly and ensuring that we do not unfairly discriminate against particular individuals or communities.[12] Diversity is about understanding that each individual is unique and will have different experiences, expectations and needs. This strategy aims to help us address inequalities and promote equality and diversity across the whole organization and indeed more widely in the City of Leeds. (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 8)

In the most recent policy document, the aspect of equality is intimately interwoven with diversity:

> An equal society protects and promotes equal, real freedom and substantive opportunity to live in the ways people value and would choose, so that everyone can flourish. An equal society recognizes different people's different needs, situations and goals and removes the barriers that limit what people can do and can be. (City of Leeds, 2011c, p. 7)

The fact of discrimination was widely acknowledged by governments in Leeds and the UK in general, and overcoming this inequality was seen as the basic condition for the achievement of equality and diversity. This gives rise to a slightly different discourse, as the fact of discrimination is usually taken as a starting point rather than as an additional component of diversity policy. Equality needs to be specified as equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcomes, as an alderwoman emphasizes:

> I get the impression that for some of the councillors equality means sharing everything out equal, treating everybody the same. And it is about getting over that, that's not what equality and diversity is about. It's about treating people according to their needs, not making everybody the same. I mean it

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[12] The term 'communities' is generally used in the UK for what are mostly called minority 'groups' in continental Europe.

maybe would be nice if everyone had the same standard of living, but it's about looking at people's needs and treating them with respect. And according to what they require particularly from the Council. So that is my starting point. (Alderwoman in Leeds)

The 'barriers approach' which one diversity officer emphasized depicts society as a whole as having a central responsibility for removing barriers and allowing individuals to participate equally (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 26), rather than passing the responsibility to individuals themselves. As one diversity officer said:

I don't think it [diversity] is the real focus of what we do, it is kind of a by-product, or not by-product, but there just doesn't seem to be much focus on it. You know we could drop the diversity bit from our documents and I don't think anyone would really notice. It would certainly not affect what we did. I mean for me diversity is just recognising that people are different, you know and that's fairly obvious, and I suppose it is embracing difference as well. And once you understand that concept, it is the equality bit that is the important bit. You know making sure that all these different people have the same access to services and same opportunities.…I think the diversity bit is just a bit of an add-on. It's just people saying the term equality and diversity, but it would mean the same if they'd just use the word equality. And I know equality and diversity mean different things, but still you could drop the diversity and we would be still saying the same thing. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

In Leeds, just as in Amsterdam, diversity is seen as lacking practicality, while equality is valued for its concreteness. They therefore should be combined, as this officer argues:

Because when we think of equality, people think of things that you can do to make sure people have equal access. So they think very practical, when they think of equality. They think we need to make sure the lift is working; we need to make sure we've got different language interpreters; we need to make sure there is a ramp. So I think this is why it is the language we keep, because it keeps people thinking about what they need to do. So I think we keep diversity, but equality—because it is about practically working—I think equality works, we are going to keep that word equality, so people

actually think about what they need to do to make sure people have equal access. Cos that's what we need to do as a team, making sure people have equal access to a service or making it easier for people to access services or access grants or communities. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

Acknowledging diversity is thus the starting condition for implementing equality:

So we still use diversity, but the way we use diversity is that we appreciate that people are different and to celebrate the differences. But you have to put things in place to make sure people have equal access. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

Equality of outcome is something one can concretely work towards, but in the view of one of the diversity officers in Leeds, it is also a rather abstract or 'fluffy' goal and is less likely to be achieved. The far-fetched nature of the goal of equality was discussed by one of my interview partners in Leeds:

It's about making everybody equal, but it never will happen, well maybe it will, you know. That is the aim, to make everyone, well treat them all the same. But we'll have to get to that stage first and people come from different backgrounds, different education, and they need to be treated with respect, and they need to be treated differently, according to their needs. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

Policy texts, as well as diversity officers in the interviews, supported an equality of opportunities instead of an equality of outcome. While the combination of equality and diversity was endorsed in some of my case studies, we find some contradictory practices in the case of Antwerp. Here we find conflicting interpretations among diversity officers and politicians. Diversity officers criticized some politicians for using diversity as a way to avoid addressing the underprivileged position of ethnic minorities and to avoid publicly acknowledging the existence of 'racism':

Sometimes you also realize that they define the [diversity] framework so broadly, because they just don't want to address a specific group. For

example concretely: the coming year there is a day on the fight against discrimination. Then they want to work around non-discrimination, but the city doesn't want to call it a fight against racism. Thus the city doesn't even want to be publicly against racism anymore. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

This was in stark contrast with the policy text, where anti-discrimination and equal opportunities were explicitly mentioned as an important aspect to complement mutual understanding, exchange, and identity in the framework of diversity policy (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 24). The official recognition of the importance of equal opportunities, combined with practices undermining such a claim, resulted in a contradictory politics. As one diversity officer said, diversity policy should rather be seen as a broader social policy aimed at the participation of everyone. In the view of a diversity officer in Antwerp, poverty, for example, is an issue that can be included within the framework of diversity. While anti-poverty was recognized as part of the department's activities, it was experienced as having a special status within other, more generic diversity aspects, as it contradicts the positive principle of 'promoting difference':

But it [poverty] is a bit of a misfit. Why? Because the other themes—ethnic minorities, youngsters, elderly, people with a handicap, homosexuals, etc.—are all target groups. Those people are in society and one tries to create a good link between these residents, that they get to know each other, to promote that diversity…. Whereas poverty is nothing that you have to promote, that is something you have to fight. In that sense it is a bit of an exception in our list. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

Looking at the experiences of different cities, equality was, in all cases, seen as linked to diversity, yet with different levels of ease. In diversity officers' views, equality was in line with the idea of diversity. It was something that should be safeguarded for every individual in a diverse society and not necessarily be achieved for specific groups. It is thus also not the majority who empowers the minority; rather, tackling discrimination becomes the responsibility of everyone in society. Also, in some cities, politicians and diversity officers are unanimous about the importance of equality and the combination of equality with a diversity policy. Diversity, as such, does not provide a means of tackling inequality, but

neither does it ignore power relations. My research thus contradicts the argument from previous literature that diversity and equality are contradictory. Most diversity officers saw equality as an important goal of a politics of diversity.

Conclusion

Exploring the meanings and uses of the diversity concept, this chapter aimed to compare the idea of multiculturalism with the idea of diversity—drawing on the existing literature as well as policy texts and interviews with diversity officers in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds. I argued for investigating the social processes that have led and given shape to the uses of the concept. Such a discussion comes at a timely moment, as the notion of diversity has now increasingly gained a foothold in the European context. Here, the context and the ongoing debates on diversity differ to some degree from the USA, where diversity has been considered and debated for several decades now. It is especially in European cities where the notion of diversity has come in handy to mark a shift from previous, more multicultural policies, and where diversity stands as a more positive, profit-oriented and individual approach to the social organization of difference. This chapter has identified the stance of the concept of diversity vis-à-vis issues such as conceptions of self and other, of culture, and of equality. Diversity takes an additive approach to defining self and other, and in practice only takes into account up to three different axes of difference, but this also means it is not restricted to ethnicity or nationality as the main basis of difference. In regard to culture, attention on specific groups has not waned in practice, but it is no longer an explicit part of diversity policies, and activities for recognizing and supporting the expression of culture are relegated to the back stage. This displacement of culture can be explained by the symbolic value of diversity, which oftentimes is used as a means to symbolize a shift away from previous multicultural policies. Equality is easily defined as part of diversity in cities' policy texts, and diversity officers unequivocally support striving for equality as part of working on diversity. However, we find some mixed views on the commitment to equality under the header

of diversity, as well as variance across cities in the degree to which equality is accepted as an element of diversity policy. The availability of a strong national normative/legal framework for equality clearly supports the legitimacy of working on equality, as does a strong commitment by local politicians to equality. Such a commitment is at stake when nationalist parties come to power and when the normative/legal framework shrinks at the national level.

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3

The Changing Nature of Public Authorities and Bureaucrats

This chapter contributes to my broader argument that diversity policies cannot be understood without taking into account the practices of the diversity officers who implement these policies and are embedded in the structures of municipal organizations. How a politics of diversity comes to be defined in practice derives from the use of political concepts, as well as the institutional structures and the disposition of the officials who interpret these concepts in their work.

This chapter explains the configuration of municipal bureaucracies and the profile of local bureaucrats that can be found in contemporary Western European cities. In the work of migration scholars, the bureaucrat has so far received little attention, and the few existing studies have produced ideal versions of street-level bureaucrats or of distanced enforcers of government policies. This chapter aims to understand the contemporary position and role of the local bureaucrat in a way that goes beyond this bottom-up versus top-down binary. My interviews with diversity officers show the changes in the ways bureaucracies are conceived through the trends of modernization and diversification, and that the public official now has to fulfil both expectations of being a good manager and of being 'authentic'. A new professional profile is emerging by means

of recruitment mechanisms and the self-selection and self-definition of diversity officers.

The chapter starts out by identifying the conventional conceptions of local bureaucracies and the two macro trends of modernization and diversification, and then discusses the ways in which these are negotiated within municipal organizations. It analyzes the effects of such larger trends on the local bureaucrat at the individual level. Who works in local councils and which competencies do bureaucrats bring to the job, especially in view of the ongoing trends of modernization and diversification? Finally, drawing on fieldwork material with local officials put in place to implement diversity policies, I identify different official profiles.

Trends of Modernization and Diversification

Modernization and diversification are two macro trends which are currently reshaping public organizations and the role and position of bureaucrats in Europe. A substantive amount of scholarship has discussed the effects of 'modernization' on the public official's role and profile. The trend of the diversification of organizations has also been extensively addressed, especially in the anglophone literature on private enterprise. To date, however, these two literatures have not been linked, nor have the intertwined effects of these trends in the role and position of public officials been analyzed. Allan Cochrane's (2007) and Watkins-Hayes's work (2009) are cases in point. Both start out from macro-developments of modernization to show how this has affected the reality of public officials, but they fail to pay equal attention to the effects of diversification trends. Other authors focus on personal dynamics and the agency of practitioners in reaction to specific policies without reference to the larger macro-trends of diversification or modernization (Jones, 2013). Nalbandian is an exception in that he captures diversification as a trend related to modernization, though his focus is on the US context and much scope remains for research on the European context. In this chapter, I aim to address this gap. I will first delineate the parallel developments of modernization and diversification, and then discuss their effects for shaping the profile of public officials in the three European cities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds.

Much of what we know about the workings of bureaucracies goes back to the work of Max Weber. In his seminal work from 1921, Weber provided a close analysis of the ways in which bureaucracy developed as a defining feature of 'modern' societies. He suggested understanding bureaucracy as a form of social organization, and delineated several of its defining features, such as:

1. management by written rules and procedures;
2. division of labour and allocation of responsibility based on functional specialization;
3. hierarchical structure;
4. purposely impersonal environment (written communication and records);
5. employment based on technical qualification; and
6. longevity of administrative careers. (Weber, 1976, p. 124ff.)

Municipal organizations, despite having a reputation for being slow-moving bureaucracies, have over the past 30 years undergone substantial changes. The degree to which these trends have affected bureaucracies may vary. In my fieldwork, I clearly found indications of trends of modernization and diversification of public administrations in all three cities, which this chapter will discuss.

Modernization

Assuming a profound shift from Weber's bureaucracy model, the so-called 'modernization' of public administration has been extensively discussed in the literature. Since the 1980s, it has involved the introduction of market principles and a more entrepreneurial or managerial approach to the delivery of social services (Cochrane, 2007, p. 85; Le Grand, 2003, p. 15). Urban scholars such as Allan Cochrane observe a shift in urban policies from focusing on struggles in and against the state, in the 1960s and 1970s, to a focus on economic regeneration and urban competitiveness in the 1980s (Cochrane, p. 85). In the 1990s, some states attempted to reconcile neoliberalism

and social-democratic values through so-called market socialism. This was, for example, the case in the UK (Le Grand) and the Netherlands (Verhoeven & Ham, 2010, p. 10). A change in dominant political forces was at the root of these developments. Many European governments experienced a confrontation between social democracy, which was the dominant political force after WWII, and the rise of the political right in the 1980s. This confrontation has led to the formation of various centre-left governments across Europe since the 1990s, which were labelled as 'third-way politics' by the 'New Labour' political movement in the UK (Giddens, 2000). Pickvance (2011, p. 65) has pointed out, however, a continued stronghold of welfarism amongst electorates and governments which challenges the assumed increasing influence of neoliberal principles. Pickvance warns against using neoliberalism as a broad-brush explanation, and suggests engaging with underlying actions and demonstrating how specific ideologies have influenced them (Pickvance, 2011, p. 78).

Some of the more concrete changes in such a managerial approach were often captured by the notion of New Public Management (NPM) (Peters, 2010, p. 326; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008, p. 116). The emergence of New Public Management (NPM) coincided with the transformation of the state in most Western countries at the beginning of the 1980s, and was introduced by right-wing governments under Thatcher and Reagan, by left-wing governments in France (i.e., programs of 'modernization' and 'gestion' or 'management') (Peters, p. 224) and by rainbow coalitions in Finland (Peters, p. 326). The term NPM summarizes several different processes, most prominently the introduction of market-based principles in the public sector, and an outsourcing of some services to private providers in public-private 'partnerships'. It starts with the idea that the roles of public officials, as well as their relationships with politicians and civil society, are being transformed. Some authors claim that NPM has led to a more participatory style of management (Cochrane, 2007, p. 31ff; Peters, p. 326) and stronger discretionary power for public managers (Peters, p. 327).

New Public Management is closely related to and also an expression of the postulated trend from government to 'governance'. Based on observations in the UK context, Rhodes is just one of many authors who

have claimed a shift away from 'government' by a unitary state (Rhodes, 2007, p. 1249) to the mode of 'governing with and through networks' (Rhodes, p. 1246). Rhodes claims that we see the changing role of the state in the implementation of policies and an increased fragmentation in the public sector (Rhodes, p. 1247). In other words, the state government's role as the single and most important actor is declining (Klijn, 2008, p. 505) and decisions and policies are made by coalitions of state representatives and citizens, local associations, interest groups, and private actors (Giersig, 2008, p. 55; Hambleton & Gross, 2003; Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002). These coalitions, alliances and networks may become formalized into structural arrangements such as partnerships (Hambleton & Gross, p. 12), and a policy such as city development, for example, can become a sort of 'collective product' (Selle, 2013, p. 46). In the following section, I will also discuss coalitions of politicians and administrations, as well as of administrations and civil society, as their relevance emerged in my research.

From my first-hand experience in the three cities, Weber's principles are still to some degree reflected in contemporary bureaucratic organizations, but they also have been adapted, softened, or done away with. Written rules and procedures are complemented by an imperative to think 'out of the box' or 'from the inside to the outside', steering officials to go beyond established ways of working and towards a more dynamic, flexible, and integrated approach (Interview A6 400). Team work and intra-departmental cooperation allow for less hierarchical and fewer record-based forms of working. Municipal officials are under pressure to become more efficient and service-oriented in their work. Many posts previously filled through apprenticeship and seniority are now accessed on the basis of specialization in a specific area or the completion of specific degrees targeted at future public employees. Such actions as hiring university graduates and postponing permanent status through temporary contracts have altered the nature of administrative profiles and careers. This was reflected in my sample of diversity officers. A majority of the 35 respondents in my research had a graduate degree (most often in disciplines such as sociology, psychology, political science, anthropology, and social work) and more than half of the officers had worked for the municipality for only a couple of years (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Number of years diversity officers had worked for the municipal organization

City	>3 years	<3 years
Amsterdam	8	6
Antwerp	1	13
Leeds	1	6
Total	**10**	**25**

In the following, I will more closely discuss four aspects of the changes which I observed in my own fieldwork, and which can be seen as reflecting a certain trend away from a Weberian-style bureaucracy and towards a postmodern one. First, responsibility was assigned differently within the municipal organization by way of organizing the hierarchical structure as a matrix. Second, new forms of performance management have been introduced. Third, the respective position of bureaucrats vis-à-vis politicians has changed. Finally, the position of local bureaucrats vis-à-vis the local population was different than in Weber's account. These changes are relevant, as they determine whether and to what degree officials not only have specialized knowledge but also can inform decisions about what is to be done.

In my research, I found matrix organizations to be the prevalent way in which hierarchies were organized in the three cities. Cities today often no longer followed a strict functional organization characterized by a classic pyramid-shaped hierarchy and departments which are each clearly specialized (Youker, 1977a). Such a classic vertical hierarchy differentiates between line managers, who are supervisors retaining formal authority, and staff, who provide more specialized knowledge (Robey, 1986). Instead, cities were structured as a 'matrix organization' (Interview A2 263, Interview B7 86). According to one handbook on project management, a matrix organization is defined as 'one in which there is dual or multiple managerial accountability and responsibility. … In a matrix there are usually two chains of command, one along functional lines, and the other along, project, product, or client lines' (Stuckenbruck, 1981). The project-oriented lines of organization would lead to smaller, specific-purpose, temporary structures, for which different expertise is brought together in a flat hierarchy (Youker, 1977b). We usually are dealing with a matrix organization when two or more bosses exist for individual officials (Stuckenbruck, 1981, p. 69): —a functional supervisor (the vertical

command line) and a project supervisor (the horizontal command line) (Stoner, Freeman, & Gilbert, 1995, p. 264; Youker, 1977b).

The matrix organization represents a middle position on the continuum from functional organization to flatter, project-based organization, and combines some of the logics of these extreme positions. The diversity departments in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds all had a head of department with more functional authority, and project or programme managers for more specialized expertise and responsibility for the content and implementation of specific projects. The head-of-department's responsibility was to assign tasks to individual team members, to represent the team and defend its interests with third parties (top management, politicians, other external actors) (Interview C2 270) and to ensure the cohesion of the team (Interview A8 271). Department heads were also meant to stimulate new experiments and innovation (Interview A10 188, A9 377, A10 199, A14 35, A2 254). The more specialized project work of these departments was led by project or programme managers, with only slight differences in hierarchical organization in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Leeds. In Antwerp, the consultancy/project work was organized in the least hierarchical fashion, with each individual being responsible for their own consultancy/project and everyone below the head of department having a formally equal position (Interview C1 40). In Leeds, there were two levels of hierarchy below the head of the team, namely senior and junior project officials. A similar structure existed in Amsterdam, where the city organization had introduced 'programme management'. This term refers to an organizational methodology which introduces programme managers as an additional hierarchical layer between heads of team and project staff. In the specialized literature, programme managers are 'responsible for the oversight of multiple projects, usually a collection of projects that are interrelated by similar business interests, technical solutions, or customer base. This position usually serves as the reporting official of the project…. It bears the responsibility for project success' (Hill, 2008, p. 229). Programme managers are the 'owners' of strategic targets, and they are responsible for delineating plans for how to achieve these targets (Stoner et al., 1995, p. 233).

The city of Amsterdam had picked up the term programme management from a private consultancy firm which was hired to introduce a new

way of organizing the team. The introduction of programme management did not go without challenges. In fact, diversity officers engaged in various ways in contesting and mediating the effects of such transformations in the organization of their work, as I will show throughout the following section. Officers in Amsterdam, for instance, criticized programme management for adding another hierarchical layer to the team (Interviews A2 121, A2 148, A14 103, A6 394, A5 116, A1 520) and for creating thematic clusters that each stood for a certain mission and vision, but lacked communication across different programmes (Interviews A1 531). They also lamented that to date their programmes lacked clear action plans and targets (Interview A2 96, A6 399) and thus were insufficiently implemented. Frustration about the differentiation of programme managers and other team members culminated particularly when one programme manager who was given the task of developing a new policy did not consult with the whole team but only a few of its members (Interview A7 433, A2 436).

A second change manifested in the shift towards evidence-based ways of working and the mobilization of new management technologies (Cochrane, 2007, p. 31ff) involving methods of evaluation and accountability (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008, p. 116). In all three cities' diversity departments, strategic targets had been defined and incorporated into a system of so-called performance management. This requires each individual department to report on its performance and ensures that the entire municipal organization gives due regard to diversity in all decisions and activities. Indicators were established to help assess the extent to which the implemented activities contributed to achieving the set targets. Diversity officers in the three cities welcomed the inclusion of diversity on that strategic level, but they were very critical about implementation. Good indicators of successful implementation were often missing (Interview C4 94), and the strategic performance management system only collects information on what and how much is done, but not how it has helped to achieve or how much progress was made in achieving the target (Interview B1 249; B1 262, B1 303, C4 142). When it comes to reporting the results, one diversity officer in Antwerp said, the diversity team struggles to interpret data to establish whether something was a success or not. The change towards more evi-

dence-based ways of working was therefore, just like programme management, both acknowledged and contested in my research.

A third change relates to the interaction of politicians and local bureaucrats. According to Nalbandian, management has 'moved from an orthodox view of a dichotomy between politics and administration to the sharing of functions between elected and appointed officials (Nalbandian 1991 cited in Nalbandian, 1999, p. 188). Although the separation of politicians and administrators may have been even stronger in the past, my findings cannot support contemporary claims of the sharing of functions. My interview partners clearly distinguished between the functions of politicians and diversity officers. Politicians are the 'leaders of the organization…not employees' (Interview B2 170) and are responsible for creating and adapting policies. Politicians should, in the view of diversity officers, provide strong leadership for the successful implementation of a policy (Interviews C8 267, C4 298) and provide direction to the top management of a municipal organization (Interviews C3 88, C5 79). Politicians are also perceived as being informed by their political party positions, whereas diversity officers are supposedly acting in politically neutral ways.

A fourth change in the context of the trend towards modernization of the municipal organization involves the ways in which the government and citizens relate to each other (Peters, 2010, p. 328). The literature assumes an increasingly important role of public officials as coordinators (Cochrane, 2007, p. 31ff). Nalbandian sees a move 'from political neutrality and formal accountability to political sensitivity and responsiveness to community values themselves' (Nalbandian 1991 cited in Nalbandian, 1999, p. 188). And Tonkens claims in the Dutch case that we find an increasing emphasis on stimulating and linking citizens and private institutions in providing services (Tonkens, 2009, p. 8ff.). Some of these changes were reflected in my research, as diversity officers in all three cities emphasized the importance of continuous exchange with the civil society (Interview C7 306) and the wish of the municipality to emphasize more strongly the individual responsibility of citizens (Interview A1 630). One officer contrasted the past role of the municipal government as 'authority', with a rather paternalistic stance of determining what is good for its citizens (Interview B2 30), with its contem-

porary role as a 'partner' in civil society and with an emphasis on the sharing of tasks and responsibilities between the public and private sector. According to another diversity officer, this entailed a more profound change in approaching citizens:

> In which manner is the government dealing with its citizens: Is it a government that much more listens: what is your opinion, what is your problem, how can I help you, what can you do yourself? That is a very different attitude than what has been the case for a long time, somewhat more liberal and less social-democratic. (Interview A4 147)

Mostly, this new role of local administrators as facilitators is operationalized by way of reorganizing funding schemes for citizens' initiatives and associations, and looking for other ways of stimulating citizen participation. Amsterdam went furthest in this direction, as the city reduced subsidies for migrant organizations or initiatives for several years (Interview A13 155) and intends to dismantle them altogether within the coming years (Interview A12 53). In both Leeds and Amsterdam, I came across debates about the private sector's potential for taking a stronger role in the provision of social services. This was reflected in the suggested 'partnership structure' of public and private sectors in the policy document 'Vision for Leeds' (Interview B6 42) and the requirement of co-funding by private organizations for considering social initiatives and organizations for subsidies (Interview A5 411). A changing perception of citizens as 'customers' rather than 'subjects' seems to be redefining the relationship of the government to its citizens. This also required a change of mentality in public officials, which has taken place only in the past years, as one officer explains:

> When I joined the team it just seemed that it was very much us vs. them. You know, we are the council and you are the public and we kind of do whatever we want. And we would speak to the people now and again, but we're not particularly interested in what they've got to say. You know, we will listen, but we kind of do what we want anyway. And that is pretty much true and that was what people thought of the council. (Interview B1 137)

Officials depicted their future role as one of facilitation (Interview A9 124). Traditional ways of relating to civil-society associations from the 1970s and 1980s were questioned (Interview A7 123, C3 137) as new partner-like relationships on equal footing were sought:

> The new effective way of working is a networked organization, where you have all loose links and just coalitions of opportunity around specific issues. Thus you have to solve a problem and then well, who do you need for that. There are people externally, there are people internally, and there are people in the department. And this is how you would need to work, but it is not the classic public official way of working, which is still very much ingrained here. (Interview A9 328)

I observed one example of such new experiments in relating with civil society at the Equalities Assembly in Leeds. Its aim was to involve residents in decisions of local authorities by means of so-called hubs, where activists of particular communities (e.g., the elderly, ethnic minorities, etc.) would regularly meet in the town hall to have their say on policy decisions. The diversity officer responsible for organizing these meetings represented her role as one of an intermediary for the interests of residents vis-à-vis the municipal government (Interview B5 135). The role of intermediary, however, complicated her position. Was her role to represent the municipal bureaucracy or the local population? In her words she constantly needed to change hats between 'being one of them' and 'being a council official'. She said '*I can still be professional when I need to, as you saw at the meeting, when I need to be a council official, make a Council statement, but they know I am still on their side.*' (Interview B5 119).

As I have reviewed modernization as the first of four trends in bureaucracies (modernization, diversification, claims for entrepreneurialism, and claims for authenticity), I found that the trend of modernization was tangible but also contested and contravened in diversity departments. The implications of this trend for the work of diversity officials manifest themselves in officers who adopt an entrepreneurial profile, as will be addressed later. Overall, I cannot confirm in my study a wholehearted shift in the ways municipal organizations work,

as much of the old bureaucratic institution is still in place. Instead, I found an ongoing negotiation of more traditional and more modern forms of governmental organization. Only the future will tell whether aspects of Weber's model of bureaucracy will persist, or whether we need to find new ways to capture the structure and functioning of local 'bureaucracies'.

Diversification

Another trend that is often put forward in public administrations in Europe is that of diversification, namely the increasing recruitment of migrants and their descendants to work in the public sector. The organizational process of diversification is directly linked with the social mobility of many individuals of the second generation. The policy area of social affairs and the work on implementing diversity policies is no exception to this trend, and indeed is a frontrunner. Diversity departments often pride themselves on being models for the rest of the organization in terms of their composition.

There is an abundant literature on the diversification of organizations and the public sector, especially focusing on the cases of the USA and the UK. How 'diversity' is becoming used and interpreted in organizations has been addressed to some degree in the field of organization and management studies since the 1990s (Johnston, Packer, & Packer, 1987; Prasad, Mills, Elmes, & Prasa, 1997). Some of this largely anglophone literature posited diversity simply as a fact or new reality that organizations have to address in view of the ongoing globalization of organizations' operations anda continued increase in the ethnic heterogeneity of the US population (Milliken & Martins, 1996, p. 402). Some authors used the notion of diversity to make a 'business case', that is, to promote diversity as a means of increasing a company's profit, or to point out continuing discrimination in the workplace (Ahmed, 2007; Ashley, 2010; Michaels, 2006; Prasad et al., 1997, p. 371).

More recently, scholars challenged the business-case approach to diversity. They argue against an instrumental use of diversity because of its essentialist approach to identity and its reproduction of existing power

relations (Aaltio & Mills, 2004; Janssens et al., 2005, p. 2; Janssens & Zanoni, 2005, p. 313; Zanoni & Janssens, 2004, p. 57).

A third argument, much less prominent in Europe, has been made in the anglophone literature about diversification as a way to create representativeness in bureaucracies. Instead of an instrumental argument for the profitability of diversity the theory of representative bureaucracy is based on the idea that only diverse bureaucracies can truly represent a diverse public. Bureaucracy is representative, according to this theory, if it consists of a reasonable cross-section of the body politic and is in tune with the ethos and attitudes of the society it is part of (Van Riper, 1958). This theory implies a democratic ethos for fostering diversity not only in the sphere of politics, that has been discussed in debates about democracy and participatory politics (Barber, 2003; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995; Phillips, 2013), but also for diversifying the administration. Representative democracy has been the dominant paradigm for discussing performance in terms of workforce diversity in the US for some time (Andrews, Boyne, & Walker, 2006, p. 289). In Europe, the claim for representative bureaucracy is less widespread and diversification in the public sector is just beginning.

Aside from these more theoretical debates about diversity as a business case or diversity as fostering a representative bureaucracy, there is to date scant empirical, comparative research on the composition of local bureaucracies and the effects of diversification discourses and policies. It is this gap that I will address in a modest way in what follows, as I discuss how the aims of diversification played out in the practice of recruiting diversity officers.

Diversification as a way to make an organization more reflective of a city's population was clearly on the agenda of the municipal administrations in all three cities studied. It was one of the first tasks diversity departments had to address in implementing diversity policies, even though in the long run human resources departments often took over. The argument of representative bureaucracy was made several times by my respondents. They argued that having a diverse team would allow them to 'represent the right message externally' (Interview C8 117). That is, the composition of the team was also an important symbol of the city's acceptance of diversity in the broader population.

In Amsterdam, the official responsible for promoting the diversification of the municipal organization, who was not part of the diversity department but of the 'Bestuursdienst', which is the central service providing political assistance to aldermen, claimed that recruiting an (ethnically) diverse workforce was close to being achieved. Amsterdam indeed had come a long way from 14 % representation of the 'non-Western allochtonous' in its municipal organization in 2001 to 21.5 % in 2010 (Amsterdam, 2011, p. 11). Compared to the 28 % of this group in Amsterdam's total population, the municipal administration as an aggregate has come fairly close to being a de facto representative bureaucracy. The human resources departments of the municipalities of Leeds and Antwerp have also worked on diversifying their workforce over the past years, even though I was not able to access precise numbers in either of those two cases. Many cities have difficulty in providing statistics about their own workforces, as it is either illegal or was not common in the past to collect information on the migration backgrounds of their staff. Also, statistics cannot tell us about the concrete dynamics within organizations and among recruiters trying to hire candidates in order to increase staff diversity. The diversity departments in each of the cities were frontrunners and can be seen as models for the diversification of the rest of the municipal organization. Of my 35 respondents, more than two-thirds were women, and about half of the diversity officers were of migrant origin.[1]

Overall, diversity officers make a case for diversifying municipal organizations and thereby making them more representative of the local population. Comparable statistics on the composition of the municipal staff was hard to come by, but the composition of diversity departments indicates that things have started to change. The individual histories of these two diversity officers illustrate the possibility of social mobility and the particular experiences and insights they can bring to the municipal organization.

In the following section, I will discuss some of the concrete effects of modernization and diversification processes on the role and profile of diversity officers. I will show how the effects of modernization and diver-

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[1] I use here 'migrant origin' in the sense of at least one parent being born abroad.

sification are intertwined, creating complex profiles for officials who are expected to be both 'authentic' and entrepreneurial.

Entrepreneurial and Authentic

In the previous section, I discussed modernization and diversification as two ways in which municipal organizations have been reshaped. Turning now to the implications of such processes for the role and position of bureaucrats, I argue in this section that we can observe distinct pressures arising from these trends: The modernization of municipal organizations results in pressures for public officials to become more entrepreneurial, and the diversification of public officials manifests in expectations that public officials be 'authentic'. The underlying ideas are that entrepreneurial officials would make public organizations more efficient. 'Authentic' officials, who draw on their own personal backgrounds and experiences, are assumed to be able to provide better services than civil servants who insist on a clear separation between personal and professional life. As I will argue, combined expectations of authenticity and entrepreneurialism, as I observed in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds, create a demanding profile for public officials.

The work of Lipsky (1980) is a prominent reference point for shifting the dominant ideas about the role of bureaucrats, which before had been understood mainly in the classic Weberian sense as technocrats following clear-cut rules and procedures with little personal communication and contact. Introducing the notion of 'street-level bureaucrats' in the 1980s, Lipsky pointed to a specific and novel set of officials that interact directly with citizens and have great discretion over the dispensation of benefits and application of public sanctions (Lipsky, p. 3). Lipsky referred to politicians, teachers, health workers, and social workers as prime examples of street-level bureaucrats. They personified the welfare state, which had been constructed in the previous decades, but at the same time, they also exerted social control (Lipsky, p. 11). This would give them a certain double role. On the one hand, they assert their rights as citizens. On the other, they accept the obligations imposed upon them by the public agencies employing them (Lipsky, p. xiv). Lipsky's concept was adopted by

many scholars who wanted to emphasize the departure of bureaucracies from the emphasis on authority and rigidity found in Weber's account. With its emphasis on the grassroots and the power of civil society, it also reflects the more liberal spirit of the time. In the more recent literature, 'street-level' has lost some of its purchase for the characterization of public officials. Instead, a post-bureaucratic profile of public officials is put forward and seen as emerging against the background of a shift from Weberian modern bureaucracies to post-bureaucratic organizations. The transformation of public organizations, some authors argue, changes the profile of the bureaucrat, making their roles more interactive and causing them to become managers of strategic targets. The post-bureaucratic official effectively manages a complex field of partnerships and co-operation between state and non-state actors (Cochrane, 2004, p. 487, 2007), works on more strategic levels, and is less a specialist and more a flexible generalist. The post-modern bureaucratic organization, in which they operate, is characterized by less hierarchy, more networks, and links with private actors or individuals (Bogason, 2001, p. 3). Due to the modernization of public administration, the relationships of officials with politicians are changing and there is a stronger focus on process management (1999, p. 193). Bureaucrats work on becoming 'closer to the customer' and are more closely related with their own or other 'communities' in their work (Cochrane; Nalbandian & Nalbandian, 2002). Calling the emerging new profile of officials 'post-bureaucratic' identifies what the official no longer is, but no study has defined how the new profile of officials can be characterized against the background of these changes. In this study, I propose the notion of the 'entrepreneurial bureaucrat' to capture this novel profile of public officials. It acknowledges the strategic role of public officials in managing processes and informing policy-decisions, and involves a self-image and way of working that is less technical in the execution of tasks that have been assigned from the top-down, but more entrepreneurial.

Entrepreneurialism, however, is only one aspect of changes to the profiles of public officials. We also find a new recognition that bureaucrats' personal backgrounds and experiences can matter in their job. This is referred to here as an authenticity claim. It is based on the assumption that their knowledge of and loyalties to specific sub-sets of society is

something they can draw on for their work. Cochrane stipulates that the attractiveness of the new self-image of local managers and councillors rests on their desire to embody the interests of 'their areas (and 'communities')'. He therefore posits that bureaucrats bring their own backgrounds in certain localities and social groups into their work. Such 'new urban managers' would have double loyalties and affiliations, feeling loyal both to the organization for which they work and to the social groups (what he calls 'communities') they identify with. John Nalbandian, working in the US context, conceptualizes the changes of the bureaucratic institution as including both trends of administrative modernization and an increased emphasis on civic engagement (Cochrane, 2004, p. 489; Nalbandian & Nalbandian, 2002). The role of local government managers would now incorporate community-building, facilitating partnerships and participation in view of diversifying city councils, and a more process-oriented rather than skills-oriented role in view of rapid technological advancement (Nalbandian, 1999). But what exactly is the relation of bureaucrats to these so-called 'communities'? In a recent book, Hannah Jones analyzes the personal knowledge and resources local policy practitioners draw upon. She suggests that they 'make links between local, personal experiences and societal structures of power distribution' (Jones, 2013, p. 57), and she shows how these policy practitioners relate policies to themselves, to their positions, and to how they locate themselves and are located by others. Similarly to the officers I studied, many officers in Jones's research said that their biography influenced their practice (Jones, 2013, p. 145ff). Some officers in her research reported how their minority origins had directly influenced their career paths, but also how their minority origins could be used in positioning themselves as officials (Jones, p. 148). Others reflected on how gaining a position as an official has shifted their personal position away from the margins (Jones, p. 151). Some talk about the difficult balancing act of personal subjectivity and professional objectivity (Jones, p. 152), whereas some practitioners are more explicit about moving in and out of marginality, choosing certain episodes in their biography to represent an association with difference (Jones, p. 155). In this officer's view, this also includes officials who had not themselves experienced discrimination, but were sensible to power struggles (Jones, p. 161). The variety of strategies shown in Jones's

account very much reflects some of the representations of officials in my research.

Though very different in approach, Cochrane's, Nalbandian's, and Jones's accounts share a common claim about the importance of personal links for policy practitioners in their work. The underlying rationale is that policy practitioners' work is not at its best when they are neutral (as in Weber's account), or when they work 'on the streets' (as in Lipsky's account), but when they, in their very self-conceptualization as policy practitioners, are true to their personal affiliations. Their depiction, I would argue, conceives of policy practitioners as drawing on a characteristic which could be described as 'authenticity'. Being 'authentic' involves the idea that bureaucrats are members of the population and that they can make better use of their knowledge, experiences, and insights for governing that very population, also acknowledging that they will do so in any event. Being 'authentic' does not mean to separate one's loyalties to the local population from one's loyalties to the local administration, but to embrace them as nurturing each other. I draw on a definition of 'authenticity as a project of becoming the person you are' (Guignon, 2004, p. 3) or of a 'person who knows how she feels about things and expresses those feelings in all her actions' (Guignon, p. 157), which according to Guignon is nowadays often understood as the ultimate goal of our lives. According to Guignon, authenticity has only become popular again in the past half century. It has replaced the idea of self-improvement (Guignon, p. 3), which resonates with the aim of making individuals into neutral bureaucrats. Guignon discusses the philosophical roots of the concept of authenticity and shows the ways in which its meaning has changed from pre-modern conceptions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where a mystical natural order was assumed in which one had to find one's place (e.g., Augustine, Plato), to modern concepts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (e.g., Shakespeare), with an emphasis on the social virtue of sincerity in a world that now was seen through a scientific lens. Happiness was the central pursuit in such a worldview. In today's world, Guignon claims that 'most of us are inclined to see authenticity as an ideal character trait or personal virtue that is necessary for living the best possible life under modern circumstances' (Guignon, p. 149). However, he argues that authenticity is more than a personal vir-

tue; it is fundamentally and irreducibly a social virtue (Guignon, p. 151). By making us think through the evaluation of a person as inauthentic, Guignon argues that there is an assumed betrayal of society, not just of the individual, implied in such an evaluation (Guignon, p. 159). Being 'authentic', then, is valued because we believe in its 'role in nurturing and sustaining the kind of society in which something like authenticity as an ideal can be possible', which is linked to the ideal of a free society (Guignon, p. 161). Secondly, authenticity makes the assumption that we need a specific type of society for realizing this character trait, which we also have to foster actively. It is a society where individual talents are recognized, differences respected, equal opportunities provided, and criticism and unpopular ideas valued, and where it is ensured that there will be no obstacles to freedom of expression (Guignon, p. 162). This conception of authenticity as a social virtue cannot only be an individual, civic virtue, but can become a professional virtue of bureaucrats. Being 'authentic' is conceived as allowing them to provide better service to society. Having public officials of migrant origin represented in the public administration is assumed to be part of becoming the diverse society we are, and is thus linked to this search for authenticity.

To date, entrepreneurialism and authenticity in the literature are often depicted as contradictory dispositions in public officials. On the one hand, post-bureaucratic officials, as Cochrane calls them, represent themselves as being proactive, outward-looking, and oriented towards the needs of service users and 'local communities'. They internalize this new image as a welcome alternative to the patronizing bureaucratic image of the past. As such, they are engaged in small acts of contestation (Cochrane, 2004, p. 487, 2007, p. 146). On the other hand, they continue to be restricted by bureaucratic and political control, budgetary restrictions, performance targets, and accountability (Evetts, 2003, p. 407), and they have to pursue official 'respect agendas' (Cochrane, p. 146). Public administrators are depicted as being in an in-between situation, as they are meant to directly engage with citizens, and increasingly act as process managers and strategists. Cochrane captures this perspective by positing a 'double-loyalty' which brings post-bureaucratic officials into an uneasy position.

In the following, I investigate entrepreneurialism and authenticity expectations, and how the officers in my sample reacted to these com-

bined expectations, drawing particularly on a case study of recruitment practices in Antwerp, as well as the self-representations of diversity officers across cities. I will identify different types of self-positioning on the part of bureaucrats. These are of course ideal types, and individuals may borrow from other types or develop from one type into another over time.

Diversity officers are an excellent example to illustrate some of the trends that are potentially more broadly relevant for different officials. Politicians and organizations are highly demanding about having their diversity policies succeed, and, with the notion of diversity, have opened up to more entrepreneurial and collaborative ways of governing mobilizations of difference in cities. Diversity departments are at the same time seen as exemplary for creating a diverse workforce and recruiting individuals who are of migrant origin and can help diversify the organization. I divide my analysis into two parts: I first analyze the expectations of recruiters and how they envisage creating a diverse team of officers who are competent in managing diversity. I then explore the self-representations and subjective self-perceptions of officers working to implement diversity policies in municipal organizations.

Recruiting the New Public Official

Recruitment of personnel for a local administration is one of the most important ways in which local administrations can influence their service provisions. And it is in recruitment activities that the trends of modernization and diversification become manifest. When diversity departments were established in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds, new team members had to be recruited for these departments, who would be competent to implement diversity policies.

In Antwerp, where I had the opportunity to reconstruct the different rounds of recruitment, the explicit aim of the head of a team was to build a team in which different competences or dispositions were represented.[2]

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[2] Individual officers were not necessarily expected to score on all different possible competencies, but such competencies should be represented in the team, with each team member bringing differ-

I will therefore draw mainly on the Antwerp case study in the following section.

Since its establishment in 2007, Antwerp's diversity team grew gradually from 4 to 12 staff members over 3 years. Each year two to three new diversity officers were recruited, and each time a specific recruitment procedure and a specific profile was tailored (Interview C14). There was thus no single work profile for the diversity officer, but different profiles that were developed based on an assessment of the existing team. In preparing job advertisements, the team reviewed some of the generic vocabulary used for the recruitment of municipal officials (Interview A14 190), and tried to use language that would be accessible to a broad range of candidates. Each time a new round of recruitment was planned, the existing competencies in the team were assessed in order to find out which complementary competencies were needed.

> At a specific moment we had a lot of people that scored well in analysing, overseeing a situation, that were very good in seeing how they could approach something or which core issues one would possibly have to tackle. … And how are we going to change something and create a solution and which step are we going to take. At such a particular moment you say okay, we have a team that is mainly strong in this, with new acquisitions we need to look on those terrains. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

The competencies and dispositions that were expected, next to a general identification with, and a commitment to, implementing the diversity policy,[3] reflected the trends of entrepreneurialism and authenticity.

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ent competencies to the table. Rather than defining an unchanging profile for the diversity officer, the goal was to create a powerful 'diversity department' as a collective entity. The diversity of the team and the sum of the different team members' capabilities was seen by several diversity officers as providing strength in itself. Therefore, not each individual team member was necessarily required to have different competencies.

[3] Knowing and following the basic governmental procedures was a skill many officers referred to as essential for their jobs. These officials considered it as important to be sensitive to political needs when directly working with politicians. They emphasized the need to be able to cooperate and be assertive, and to formulate and communicate policy advice. In interactions with civil society, it would be vital to be a good relationship-builder and able to facilitate knowledge-sharing, linking people, and monitoring processes. Being able to develop expertise in the area within which one worked or, alternately, as the job often involved on-the-job learning, to have some gut instinct, was important to officers.

Competencies I categorized as reflecting an entrepreneurial spirit were change management, creativity, initiative, the ability to formulate policy advice, and training skills. The second kind of competencies, categorized as 'authenticity competencies', were expected to be based on the experiences and predilections of individual officers due to their minority origins. For instance, being able to connect with Surinamese youngsters in a neighbourhood based on one's own Surinamese origin, drawing on one's own networks in the LGBT community to cooperate with a local LGBT organization, speaking up as an official at a public event about headscarves while wearing one, would be some of the ways of mobilizing authenticity.

One of the entrepreneurial capacities emphasized in Antwerp was that of change management. It involved analytical capabilities and being able to think in solution-oriented ways: If you are confronted with some problem, how are you going to approach it? What are the steps, what is the process you will have to follow? It allowed the officer 'to achieve change with other people, thus accompanying processes, stimulating processes and taking people with you in a specific process towards change' (Diversity Officer in Antwerp). The self-image of temporary 'change-managers' often involved contributing to a specific service as long as they felt able to make a contribution and bring about change, and move on as soon as that change was achieved, as one diversity officer in Leeds put it.

Another competence was creativity, which was linked to taking the initiative. Officials were expected to come up with new solutions to existing problems and to be alert to societal dynamics 'out there', suggesting projects to address these dynamics.

> Then we had something like we are too well-behaved, we need to have people who are proactive, where you don't have to steer too much, but who themselves take opportunities, chances, that have entrepreneurship. Thus we've been screening more for people who have an eye for opportunities and who have that entrepreneurship. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

With regards to authenticity expectations, the recruiters sought knowledge and expertise of particular groups, such as migrants, women, and the poor or older people. This reflects the idea that officials can draw on this knowledge and these experiences to make links based upon personal loyalties in their work, and thereby establish a closer relationship of the local administration with the local population. In short, greater authenticity would enhance the capacities of the team to implement diversity policies. According to my interlocutors, this authenticity expectation was not defined beforehand in Antwerp, but emerged during the appointment process from available candidates. For example, some candidates had started up a social project in their own community beforehand. Saleem, of Moroccan origin, was one officer who was selected because of his 'target group expertise'. He had set up a civil-society initiative in the past that targeted co-ethnics in a migrant neighbourhood. This ethnic connection was explicitly mentioned by his recruiters as a reason for selecting him for the position, as his contacts in the community were seen as an asset to and a capital for the job. According to one of the members of his recruitment committee, the fact that he had these personal experiences outweighed his lack of a university degree and his limited Dutch-language skills in the recruitment procedure.[4] Experiences based on having grown up as a member of an ethnic or other minority became constructed as a form of social capital, which was combined with expectations of entrepreneurial or managerial competencies. Officers of migrant origin were valued because of their ethnicity, next to their 'hard skills'.

The consideration of the migrant origin of candidates was not an official 'affirmative action' policy, and it was hardly mentioned in job advertisements, except in the general disclaimer that women and individuals of minority origin were particularly invited to apply. It also was not a tokenism policy, as the people involved have a genuine interest in the competencies they ascribed to belonging to an ethnic minority, being a woman, or having a particular sexual orientation. The recruiters had the idea that the more different origins represented, the better the work of the department would be. Minority origin therefore played a role in recruitment

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[4] Indeed, Saleem had a role as an internal reminder of the disadvantaged position of immigrant communities in team discussions. He voiced his frustration with me about the lack of attention of some of his colleagues to this fact.

procedures, yet there was a lot of nervousness about the legitimacy of this requirement. I can trace this nervousness in the case of Amina, a female diversity officer of Moroccan origin. When I asked one of the other diversity officers about the reasons for selecting her, the officer first mentioned Amina's entrepreneurship and proactivity as the central criteria. However, a bit later in the interview, my interview partner explained to me the selection criteria for another diversity officer, whom they hired just after Amina had joined the team.

> When we recruited him we didn't have the pressure anymore to have someone of ethno-cultural background, because we had Amina already. All that we would get now was bonus and it was not really the reason anymore to hire him. (Interview C14)

In this statement, the officer indirectly concedes that Amina's Moroccan origin did play a role for selecting her. This contradictory reasoning reveals some of the nervousness about using authenticity as an official criterion. Yet, Amina's recruiters expected that having someone from the Moroccan community in the team would make the team more 'authentic'. Having worked as a shop manager previously Amina's professional background had not predestined her to become a diversity officer. However, the lack of a diversity officer from that particular ethnic group in the team was a decisive factor for preferring her over other candidates.

Overall, I found a two-pronged expectation of entrepreneurialism and authenticity in the rationales of diversity officers' selections, reflecting the trends of modernization and diversification, next to the more general competencies expected from bureaucrats. Although I could most directly observe and inquire about recruitment in Antwerp, diversity officers in Amsterdam and Leeds referred to similar dynamics in their cases.

Four Types of Self-representation

By taking up the post of diversity officer, *one gets* a certain position. Individual motivations, competencies, and knowledge may at the same time allow positioning oneself. Next to a more objective place within an organization, and its ascribed characteristics, which I refer to as 'position',

the concept of 'positioning' is used for something *one creates*. It recognizes the more subjective standpoints and self-locations people produce or put forward (Anthias 2002). Positioning themselves thus can also change diversity officers' roles and positions within municipal organizations, and can be a strategy in 'playing a role'. The relationship of formal position and agency is relevant in analyzing how expectations of authenticity and entrepreneurialism became appropriated in diversity officers' self-representations. I identified four different types of positioning: the 'authentic' public official, the competent manager, the 'neutral public official', and the 'altruist' public official.

The 'Authentic' Official

The first profile I identify is that of the 'authentic' officials, who emphasize the importance of their minority origins with respect to competence in their job. Immigrant background was used in this way by some officers themselves, and was not only an organizational strategy. To some it was important to already have expertise on a specific issue through personal experiences. Having networks and contacts in a specific minority group was referred to as a resource, particularly when issues within that group arose in the city. One diversity officer also experienced her own migrant origin as having become relevant very quickly when some incidents happened within her own community and she was asked to work on the matter because of her migrant origin. The argument was that outsiders might be unable to gain access or be accepted by specific minority groups.

Notwithstanding the use of the specific background of diversity officers in their work within an organization, diversity officers were insecure about whether they might also openly state their migrant origin at public events. There was a sense that this might conflict with an assumed need for officials to be neutral. Sevil was one of the officers who strongly emphasized her personal experiences based on her immigrant background as being central to her job. Her story started with the struggle she experienced with the conservative upbringing she received from her parents and the close-knit social network and resulting social control she had experienced as an adolescent. She told me how growing up as a daughter in a conservative Turkish guest-worker family in a small Dutch village

had shaped her. Challenging the pre-conceived ideas of her parents about their daughter's appearance and life plans was a central theme in her narrative, but she also emphasized that she at the same time wanted to safeguard her parents' respect and love. Her adolescence was informed by rebelling against and rejecting some of her parents' ideas about appropriate behaviour, while adopting others. She represented herself as a young educated woman who had moved to the capital city after her studies, who had a good job, and who was easy-going and extroverted. She made it clear that negotiating what she interpreted as her parents' culture and guest-worker background was an important resource for her self-positioning as diversity officer.

The Competent Manager

Sevil was not alone in using the experiences of her specific minority background as a resource, but not all diversity officers did. Some of them did not see their background as being relevant to their capacity for doing the job, or did not want to become reduced to it. Renaldo, who identified as belonging an ethnic minority and as a gay man, for example, was very hesitant and had many doubts about taking up a job in which he would work specifically on the acceptance of homosexuality and a programme for that ethnic-minority group. He rather chose to represent himself as an entrepreneur, someone who successfully manages projects, who is well versed in research development, and so forth. Although he also had a personal stake in the issues, being homosexual himself and sharing the ethnic background of that particular group, he did not emphasize these community links in his self-representation. Like some other diversity officers, he was concerned about the blurring of boundaries between professional and private life in the job and of becoming fixed in the role of representing specific minority groups. Despite this, he clearly was interested in the topic, and he was in his private life involved in minority group networks and forms of political mobilization. Still, he did not want to work only on the particular minority groups with which he himself identified as part of his job as diversity officer. While personal experiences

were a resource Sevil wanted to draw on, Renaldo was more hesitant to have his personal background be the basis for being recruited for his job. In her story, Sevil happily emphasizes her personal experiences as being the basis for her professional role, while Renaldo put more weight on his self-representation as competent manager.

The Neutral Public Official

Having differentiated the 'entrepreneurial' and the 'authentic' type, we now come to the story of Fatima, which illustrates how integrating managerialism and authenticity can also be approached in a more selective way. Fatima, who held a university degree in social sciences and whose parents had migrated from Morocco, saw her personal experiences as a resource for the job. However, experiencing Fatima's self-representation and habitus in the office, I felt that she was particularly concerned about being reduced to her ethnicity and gender. She wanted to be seen in the first place as a skilled professional, and not as a woman of Moroccan origin. She recalled how her own migrant origin was referred to and drawn upon very quickly when some incidents happened in the Moroccan community. She contested the relevance of her migrant background for doing her job well and she did not refer to managerial capacities in her self-representation. Neutrality was an important quality for Fatima, which she held up as a professional standard for being an official. She made that very clear in a debate with Sevil, whom I had earlier introduced as an 'authentic' type of official. Discussing whether it would be appropriate to openly argue from and identify her own ethnic background at a public event, Sevil saw no problem with openly identifying herself as a woman of Turkish origin. She wanted to take sides based on her personal experiences in public debates when participating in her function as diversity officer. Fatima, instead, contested whether this was 'professional'.

Fatima thus wanted to be in control of drawing on her personal experiences when she felt it was suitable, rather than being approached by others when they felt she should do so. Some officers also challenged the importance of specific group expertise, as they started out from a

multiple identity involving different belongings. Acknowledging such complex identifications, in their view, makes expertise in one particular area insufficient and superfluous.

Sevil and Fatima were divided about whether someone who had a minority background was better suited to be a diversity officer than someone who did not have that background. Having some sort of personal experiences as a member of a minority was used by some diversity officers with minority backgrounds as part of their professional profile, while the competent manager and the neutral official types often rejected explicit references to their own personal origins or experiences. The latter group of officers pointed out the danger of having their professional environment reduce their capacities to their minority background. Some of them recalled how their individual preferences were not respected by colleagues while being drawn upon as a resource in the institutions they were working in.

The distinction of 'competent managers', 'authentic' public officials and 'neutral' officials is similar to Watkins-Hayes's (2009) characterization of efficiency engineers, social workers, and bureaucratic survivalists as three types of social-welfare bureaucrats in the USA. In contrast to Watkins-Hayes, who focused on the results to modernization of the public sector, my typology takes into account the combined effects of modernization and diversification. Its reflects different standpoints as to whether diversity officers wanted to have their minority backgrounds referred to and drawn upon in their jobs, and how they dealt with expectations of entrepreneurialism.

The 'Altruist' Official

One disposition that does not easily fit into these three types, and could be defined as a fourth type, is that of the 'do-gooders'. Several officers mentioned the motivation to change society as a starting point for choosing this job. Sevil, for instance, emphasized how important it was that the job of diversity officer allowed her to work on something that 'made her heart beat faster', as it would allow her to change society. Mieke emphasized how being able to work on realizing her ideals was more important

to her than status or income, as she had chosen the job instead of pursuing an academic career:

> I always also had the idea for myself that I could give something back to society with what I had learned. You also have people who say with what I have learned I am going to earn a lot of money, but I cannot identify with that. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

This altruistic motivation went hand-in-hand with an acknowledgement of existing inequalities and the need to aim for equality. Many diversity officers referred to disadvantages they had experienced or observed as motivating them to choose the job of diversity officer. Some diversity officers themselves had been in marginalized social positions in the past, and they said that their own social mobility had inspired them to empower others. They saw their occupation as a way of giving 'something back to society'. In Amina's narrative the empowerment of others in reaction to one's own experience of racism, and in order to show one's appreciation for one's own advancement, is clearly present:

> I am myself from Moroccan background and I myself have felt a lot of racism and discrimination on the job market. And I am now working on personnel policy. So you try to have a policy through which people get equal opportunities. (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

Many diversity officers who claimed a moral principle of equality for themselves also expected other officers to adhere to this principle. They saw it as a central disposition to relate with marginalized people, be empathetic about their situation and claims, and try to improve their situation. An altruistic motivation and adherence to an idea of equality become criteria these officers apply in judging the quality of other diversity officers and the profession as a whole.

In bureaucrats' self-representations, I found representations of competent managers, of authentic public officials and neutral public officials as well as self-representations as 'do-gooders'. These different competencies and profiles reflect trends of modernization and diversification. A modern municipal organization expects its officials to be more competent man-

agers than officials have been in more traditional bureaucracies, whereas a diversification of the workforce is intimately connected with attracting individuals with immigrant background and expectations of 'authenticity'.

Conclusion

Starting out from an interest in the complex, multiple, and contradictory effects of diversification and modernization (Nkomo & Stewart, 2006, p. 531ff), in this chapter I analyzed the construction of bureaucrats. To date, no empirical study has been carried out to show how diversification and modernization translate into concrete pressures on the work floor and actually change the profiles of bureaucrats. I found that diversification and modernization transform the self-representation of and expectations of officials: Many of the diversity officers I interviewed and 'shadowed' are confronted with claims made on their managerial capacities and on their capacity to be 'authentic'. Some of these expectations are reflected in their self-representations, and I identified four different repertoires of the 'authentic public official', 'the competent manager', the 'neutral public official', and the 'altruist public official'. Having different profiles represented within the team results in a polarization among diversity officers. On the one hand, there are those who represent themselves as 'change managers', and on the other, there are those who represent themselves as 'minority representatives'. Entrepreneurs don't stay long within the department; they are often positively evaluated for their tangible achievements and often move on quickly to other departments or other jobs. Altruist officials often stay within diversity departments over the years and see fewer opportunities to pursue their goals elsewhere within the municipal organization.

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4

What Shapes Local Level Policies?

What shapes local diversity policies? What are the roles of national, European, and local contexts? In what ways did debates about the shift from multiculturalism and a search for new concepts play out in local-level policies? The following chapter aims to answer these questions in view of the recent trend introducing so-called 'diversity policies', which has contributed to a debate on the position of cities in immigrant policy-making. I argue that cities are informed by their relationships on European and national levels, and by exchanges with other cities, as well as by a particular local context. None of these frameworks on its own can explain local policy responses to difference. Across cities, I expect to find some cities where the national level has a stronger impact than in other cities, where the local context or the exchanges with other cities may be more important. I therefore will advocate conceiving the ways in which local policies are informed by taking into account different frameworks and a range of indicators.

A Framework for Understanding Local Responses to Difference

Over the past several years, we have witnessed a lively scholarly debate on the question of how local immigrant policies are being shaped, and which factors play a role in determining the policy approach taken in a particular city. Alternative explanations have been put forward, including emphases on European or national policies and legislation, on local pressures, and on city networks in determining local policies (Caponio, 2010b; Downing, 2015; Koopmans, 2003; Penninx & Martiniello, 2004; Scholten, 2013, p. 2; Zincone & Caponio, 2006). This book proposes a more encompassing perspective, acknowledging the potential relevance of different levels of government and their interaction in local policy-making, as well as a range of indicators that shape local policies, including policies and legislation, funding/resources and the economic situation of a government, political constituencies and politicians' leadership styles, civil society mobilization, the organization and culture of the local administration, the image of a city, and, finally, local events. Looking at this range of indicators allows going beyond analyzing policy declarations and discourses and taking into account different legal, economic, political, and societal aspects. As such, this framework offers a new toolkit for analyzing how different factors and different levels of government inform local policies.

The suggested typology is explicitly open regarding the directionality of the interactions between different levels of government and different cities. I thus do not have a predefined assumption about the top-down or bottom-up directionality of interactions between national, regional, and local levels. This differs from some literature in the area of immigrant incorporation, which has often assumed a top-down direction of coordination, conceiving the EU or national level to inform the local level (Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014; Poppelaars, 2007; Zincone & Caponio, 2006). Entzinger and Scholten (2014), for instance, posit that national-level policies provide the larger symbols reflected in local policies and implemented by local authorities. Instead, this study posits a more recursive, interactive conception of these relationships, involving

Table 4.1 Factors shaping local policy responses to difference

National/regional level impact	Exchanges between cities	Local context
Policies Legislation Resources/Funds	International city networks National city networks Links between individual politicians across cities Links of local administrations across cities	Political constituency/Political affiliation of the mayor Civil society mobilization Structure and culture of the local administration City image Local events

several levels of government and civic society, as well as supra-national actors (Alexander, 2007, p. 209). By leaving the directionality of these relationships open to empirical investigation, one can perceive when the national level takes a more imposing stance vis-à-vis the local level, and also when the local level acts more independently of the national level, or informs regional, national, or EU policy-making. This follows my assumption that national, European, and local levels can interact in more centralist modes (for example, by way of European or national legislation, funds, and policy labels) and more cooperative modes (for example, by way of exchanges between cities). In the following, I discuss three types of indicators: indicators for the impact of the national or regional level, indicators for the impact of exchanges between cities (for instance by way of networks organized by European institutions) and indicators for the impact of the specific local context of a city (Table 4.1).

The Relevance of the National and European Levels for Local Policies

The national level has long been considered as having an important effect on local-level policies by way of national legislation and funds but also by national policies. In the immigration literature there is a long-standing debate on national 'models' or 'philosophies' of integration.

Multiculturalism and assimilation, extensively defined and debated in normative political philosophy, have become used as policy terms, and sometimes became intimately associated with certain nation-states, as the UK and the NL with multiculturalism, and France with assimilationism (Brubaker, 1992; Favell, 1998; Ireland, 1994; Joppke, 2007; Koopmans, 2003).

Over the past years, the notion of national models has become increasingly criticized (Bertossi & Duyvendak, 2012; Duyvendak & Scholten, 2011; Favell, 2001, p. 350; Van Reekum, Duyvendak, & Bertossi, 2012). Some scholars have pointed out the variety of existing practices within national contexts. According to them French assimilationism was neither as monolithic as had been assumed, nor was France the only country with elements of assimilationism informing its immigrant policy. As they argued, scholars had used these 'models' as an explanation for differences across countries, that is, as an independent variable, instead of taking them as what needs explaining, that is the national policy response to difference (Bertossi & Duyvendak, 2012, p. 238; Van Reekum et al., 2012, p. 419).

The national level can also defer some autonomy to the local level, a process that is often referred to as decentralization (Caponio, 2010a, p. 166; Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014, p. 4; Jorgensen, 2012, p. 271). To date, however, a convincing and systematic comparison of decentralization trends and their relevance in regard to immigrant policy is missing. According to Garcia, we find different patterns of decentralization of social policy-making in the latter half of the twentieth century across European countries. She posits ample room for decision-making at the local level in such federal states as Germany, Belgium, and Austria, which she contrasts with the strong universal social-welfare system in Scandinavian countries, where a wide range of institutions implements national policies at the local level (Garcia, 2006, p. 746). Caponio (2010a, p. 166) makes a slightly different distinction, differentiating between federal and unitary states in regard to city autonomy. For the federal systems of Germany and Switzerland, Caponio mentions the constitutionally guaranteed autonomy of local governments, as well as the latter's role in carrying out most of the administrative tasks attributed to the 'Länder'. How this plays out in the area of immigrant policy in the

two countries, Caponio unfortunately does not specify. In the unitary states of Italy and the Netherlands, she finds a devolution of authority to the regions in Italy, and a more centralized system with local responsibility for the implementation of national immigrant policies, as well as the right to take the initiative in the administration of a local territory, in the Netherlands (Caponio, 2010b). Caponio doesn't find a clear pattern with respect to immigrant policy, but emphasizes the crucial role of local administrations in Italy and considerable local autonomy in the implementation of policies in the Netherlands in the 1990s.

In my case-study cities, we find a varied picture regarding processes of decentralization. In the case of the UK, the government coalition of conservatives and liberal democrats deliberately reduced the provision of equality guidelines and their control function in cities (Interview D2 32, D3 110, 4 28, B6 78, B6 138), which in turn opened up new windows of opportunity for cities in defining their own standards and concepts (DCLG, 2010 Interview D2 62). Amsterdam has long cherished its image as a rebellious capital with a more liberal outlook, which explains why officers perceive the city as operating largely independently of the national level (Interview A14 255). It is not the federal level but the regional level which is important in informing local immigrant policies in the case of Antwerp.[1] Almost all relevant responsibilities for integration lie on the regional level (i.e., Flanders, Wallonia, and the Brussels Capital region). As such, we cannot speak of one 'Belgian immigrant policy', but of either Flemish or Walloon or Brussels Capital Region immigrant policies. In 1974, the unitary Belgian state was reformed as a federal state, with powers shared among a federal government, three language communities,[2] and three regions.[3] In the process, responsibilities for integration were transferred from the federal level to regional authorities (Adam, 2011, p. 256; Blommaert & Martens, 1999, p. 28). Responsibilities for integration were then further split among the regions and the language communities in 1979 (Adam, 2011, p. 256),

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[1] With regard to immigration policy, the federal level regulates access to the Belgian soil, the stay and residence of immigrants, and their possible deportation. (Government of Flanders, 2009)

[2] The French, Flemish, and German communities.

[3] The regions of Wallonia, Flanders, and the Brussels Capital Region.

and between the Walloon region[4] and the French-speaking community of the Brussels region in 1993 [5] (Adam, 2011, p. 258). Antwerp is often portrayed as an innovator vis-à-vis the regional level in developing new policy concepts (Gsir, 2009, p. Interview C7 136).

Despite these decentralization trends, the national and regional levels continues to affect local policies. Comparing the three different cities, we find that some cities are more independent of national laws and policies in defining their immigrant policies, whereas others are more limited in their room for manoeuvre. In the case of the UK, a strong legal framework for equality is in place, which assigns statutory duties to local authorities. Amsterdam receives funding from the national level, some of which is earmarked. In Antwerp, the 'diversity department' has to satisfy the conceptual framework of the regional level in order to receive funds from the Flemish region, which are an important share of the budget from which work on diversity management is funded. How these relationships of the national/regional and city levels play out in practice will be discussed at greater length in the second part of the chapter. I will first introduce the role of exchanges between cities and of the local context in shaping local immigrant policies.

Exchanges Between Cities

Cities nowadays often look towards each other when defining their immigrant policies. In times of globalization, cities increasingly compete for human and financial capital, and positioning oneself vis-à-vis other cities has become increasingly important (Glick Schiller & Caglar, 2010; Sassen, 2001). As Faist and Ette suggest, there is a diffusion of policy concepts and ideas internationally, which can explain the increasing self-sufficiency of cities in developing and implementing policies (Faist & Ette, 2007).

Exchange between cities can happen in a more coordinated way, for example in city networks (Downing, 2015; Jorgensen, 2012, p. 271). In

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[4] 'Communauté française de la région wallonne.'

[5] 'Commission communautaire française de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale.'

the past decade, there has been a trend of international networks being set up, including the Eurocities Working Group on Integration and its programmes (Dive, Inticities, Mixities, Implementoring), CLIP, Open Cities, MILE (Managing migration and integration at the local level), ECCAR (European cities against racism), and the Intercultural Cities network. These networks oftentimes are promoted by EU institutions, as well as the Council of Europe, which aim to further exchange and learning across cities in their role as supra-national institutions (Barrett, 2013; Downing, 2015). They are one important way in which EU institutions have stimulated policy diffusion, given the reluctance of the Council of Ministers to join into a common European agenda of immigrant incorporation. The role of cities was therefore increasingly emphasized, and the importance of involving local authorities in the European Framework of Integration was first mentioned in the Hague Programme of 2004. The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in 2004 underlined the role of different levels of government in integration (Carrera, 2009). The communiqué 'A Common Agenda for Integration' (EC, 2005, p. 389) then claimed that 'in reality integration takes place at the local level as part of daily life' (Carrera, 2009). At the 2008 ministerial conference on integration in Vichy, the need to involve local authorities in planning, implementing, and evaluating immigrant policies was emphasized (EC, 2011). Next to these policy declarations, cities were also targeted with programmes to promote policy-learning processes and the introduction of benchmarking (Borkert & Caponio, 2010). This was for instance pursued through the Eurocities programmes INTIcities, Dive, Mixities, and Implementoring. All these are soft, third-pillar policies based on intergovernmental consensus, and were implemented through an open method of coordination (Borkert & Caponio, 2010, p. 9). Next to these international city networks, we also find city networks at the national level, such as the 'G4' group of the four biggest cities in the Netherlands, or the 'Deutscher Städtetag' in Germany.

However, the diffusion of ideas is not dependent on the existence of official networks, and we should be careful not to over-emphasize the role of these networks. In the internet age, with the possibility of communicating and accessing information about different city policies with a few clicks, concepts or ideas easily travel and can be borrowed across the globe. We thus need to

take into account that cities borrow ideas from other cities, even if they are not involved in any particular network. This is particularly relevant, as some of my case-study cities have in the meantime discontinued their participation in these European city networks, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

Local Context

National or regional governments and exchanges between cities are not always the only or most important component in defining local policies, but the specific local context plays a significant role. This also implies that there can be profound discrepancies between policies promoted at the local and national or international levels (Alexander, 2007; Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Penninx, Kraal, Martiniello, & Vertovec, 2004). Indeed, empirical studies have shown that local level policies often diverge from national-level policies (Entzinger & Scholten, 2014, p. 150; Jorgensen, 2012, p. 271; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). Cities can be innovators (Kraler, 2005; Penninx & Martiniello, 2004) or policy followers (Alexander, 2007). They can be more progressive, and also more restrictive, than the national level (Ambrosini, 2013; Jorgensen, 2012). As I have argued elsewhere, there is overall an increasing self-confidence and self-reliance on cities to develop their own policies vis-à-vis the national and regional levels (Schiller, 2015).

Several factors can play a role in determining the exact approach taken in a city. One important factor is the city's political constituency (Jorgensen, 2012) and especially changes of constituency due to local-government elections as well as a change of mayor (Alexander, 2007, p. 204). Other important factors are the existence of strong civic communities or civil-society mobilization (Fennema & Tillie, 2004; Nicholls & Uitermark, 2013; Penninx et al., 2004, p. 155; Zincone & Caponio, 2006, p. 280), city images (as created through city branding), local events (Scholten, 2013, p. 18), such as civil unrest or riots (Penninx et al., 2004, p. 155), and the structures and cultures of local administrations (Jorgensen, 2012, p. 253).

When diversity policies were introduced in the three cities under study, it was in each case a different factor that played the most prominent role: local events (riots) in Leeds, ongoing local debates and the ideas of a

newly established alderman in Amsterdam, and a landslide victory of the nationalist party in local elections and the desire of the Social Democrats to give a clear symbol to their proactive approach on questions of immigrant incorporation in Antwerp.

Towards a More Complex Assessment of Local Immigrant Incorporation Policies

I have so far presented the overall framework and several indicators (policies and legislation, funds and economic resources, political constituency and political affiliation of the mayor, civil society mobilization, structure and culture of the local administration, city image, as well as local events and public debates for understanding local policy responses to difference.

The relationship of the local level and the regional/national level, exchanges between cities, and the local context should not be understood as either-or options for determining local policies. It is likely that more than one if not all three of them will play a role in any particular city. Also, we should not assume that there is one pattern across cities, and one element may be more important in one city than in another. To date, we lack systematic comparative studies of local immigrant policy-making which go beyond a focus on policy frames but also take into account other elements. In the following, empirical section of this chapter, I will analyze the three case-study cities of Leeds, Amsterdam, and Antwerp in terms of this framework.

National and Regional Factors

National-level policy labels, legislation, and funds are the first important element in shaping local-level diversity policies. In the three cases of Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Leeds, we can analyze whether European institutions or national governments take the lead, and whether they stand in the way of cities or whether their policies are independent of local policy. Or does the local level have a pioneering role in experimenting with new policies, which are then taken up at the national or European level? I will take into account several ways in which the national and local

levels might inform one another. These include policies legislation, and the deferral of funds/resources.

The Netherlands

Dutch Policies

For many years, the Netherlands was seen as a prototypically multiculturalist country. Referring to the Dutch Ethnic Minority Policy and the provision of funding for services specifically targeting social minorities (Modood, 2007, p. 11), some would argue that the Netherlands had a strong multiculturalism (Koopmans, 2010) and was the only Western European country that has attempted to translate multicultural values into a coherent policy framework (Collinson, 1998, p. 163). However, some authors contest that the Netherlands ever has had such a multicultural 'model'. Vasta, for example, argues that the multiculturalism of the Netherlands was imperfect or 'modest', as it did not provide for anti-discrimination and equal opportunity tailored to specific groups (Vasta, 2007, pp. 734–735). Penninx, author of the foundational statement of the Dutch ethnic minority policy (Uitermark, 2012, p. 50), sees this policy as multiculturalism 'avant la lettre' (Penninx, 2005, p. 4). He emphasizes that the policy was neither conceived as 'multiculturalist' nor was the term itself used in the policy text (Penninx, 2005, p. 5). Along this line, Duyvendak and Scholten argue that the policy was coined as 'multiculturalist' retrospectively by politicians who wanted to distance themselves from multiculturalism (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2011, p. 339).

The Netherlands developed its first official immigrant policy, the so called 'Ethnic Minorities Policy',[6] in the 1980s (Vasta, 2007, p. 716). Certain ethnic-minority groups (Turks, Moroccans, Southern Europeans, Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, refugees, Roma, Sinti, and other caravan dwellers) became eligible to receive funds for their own institutional structures, including schools, places of religion, and media institutions (Vasta, 2007, p. 716). This was often explained by the Dutch tradition of

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[6] 'Minderhedennota.

pillarization (Entzinger, 2003, p. 64) and the right of different recognized ideological or religious groups to create separate structures which could then be funded by the state. Pillarization was the central feature of societal organization in Dutch consociational democracy and was laid down in the Dutch constitution of 1917 (Prins, 2002, p. 366).

Three events have been decisive for shifting the Dutch debate on immigrant incorporation over the years, including the publications of Bolkestein & Scheffer, the rise and murder of Fortuyn, and the murder of Theo van Gogh. The prevalent ethnic-minority policy became contested in the early 1990s, when the leader of the Liberal Party, Frits Bolkestein, problematized the role of Islam in integration (Vasta, 2007, p. 717). In 1994, the policy was modified[7] to reduce provisions for specific ethnic groups and to mainstream the responsibility for integration across services (Vasta, 2007, p. 717). A number of compulsory integration measures for newcomers were created in the following years (Vasta, 2007, p. 714),[8] establishing the Netherlands as a pioneer in the development of civic-integration measures for newcomers in Europe[9] (Joppke, 2007, p. 5). In the year 2000, Paul Scheffer made headlines by setting forth 'a multicultural drama'. He criticized the country as too tolerant and insufficiently assertive towards immigrants, and requested requirements that immigrants learn the Dutch language, culture, and history (Vasta, 2007, p. 714), (Scheffer, 2000). This discourse, which also is referred to as a 'New Realism' (Prins, 2002; 2004, p. 368), represented itself as trying to break societal taboos and as voicing views contrasting with the position of an 'elitist left'. In even more polemical ways, Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh picked up these criticisms with their discourses on Islam as a backward religion. They claimed there was a conflict between the values and norms of Muslim immigrants and the Dutch majority, and that there were too many immigrants in the country (Vasta, 2007, p. 714). The experience of the landslide victory of Fortuyn in the 2002 elections, his assassination by an environmental fundamentalist, and Van Gogh's murder in 2004 by a Muslim fundamentalist deeply shocked the Dutch

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[7] This was done through the policy document 'Contourennota'.

[8] These include language and integration exams.

[9] This was based on the Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers WIN of 1998.

public. This was perceived as a profound challenge to the bases of its supposedly tolerant and multicultural society.

Given these trends in public debate on migration and integration, and the murder of Van Gogh in 2004 in Amsterdam, an 'integration policy new style' was introduced in 2004 (Ministerie van Justitie cited in Penninx, Garces-Mascarenas, & Scholten, 2005, p. 5). It emphasized the obligations of migration and possible sanctions if they were not met (Vasta, 2007, p. 718), reflecting a public discourse which had moved away from the idea of welfare-state protection to an emphasis on individual self-sufficiency and responsibility (Vasta, 2007, p. 725). Some authors have interpreted the shift of policy in the Netherlands since the 1990s as a turn towards assimilationism (Entzinger, 2003, p. 80) and as reflecting a neoconservative stance (Entzinger, 2003, p. 82). In Joppke's depiction, the Netherlands has gone furthest in pursuing a repressive liberalism and privatizing it in neoliberal fashion (Joppke, 2007, p. 18). The integration policy of Minister Donner (Government of the Netherlands, 2011) in 2011 continued this trend. It starts from the failure of multiculturalism to argue for an approach which emphasizes Dutch society and norms and values[10] as the central reference framework for integration. Integration is seen as the responsibility of migrants, who have to make sure they become capable of building a self-sufficient[11] life in the country. The government controls their integration performance through compulsory integration measures, and puts sanctions in place if these are not met. The policy also operationalizes the concept of 'burgerschap'[12] for creating a cohesive society, and interprets it as a key request that citizens actively engage with the broader society. Concerning the role of the government, the policy reflects the UK Big-Society vision and its localism bill as a potential inspiration for the Dutch approach (Government of the Netherlands, 2011).

Cultural anxiety and new realism in the larger national debate have, according to some authors, left their mark on recent policy development

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[10] These are specified as freedom, equality, tolerance. and solidarity.

[11] The key notion used in Dutch is 'zelfredzaamheid'.

[12] This notion could be translated as 'civic citizenship', as it refers to the behaviour that is expected from citizens in public life.

in Amsterdam (Vermeulen & Plaggenborg, 2009, p. 207). As Duyvendak et al. have pointed out, the Dutch multicultural and societal crisis is to a large extent perceived as an urban crisis (Duyvendak, Hendriks, & van Niekerk, 2009, p. 9). In reaction, the city administration of Amsterdam has, for instance, changed its funding schemes and considers only those who can provide a positive image of diversity for funding. Amsterdam now also requires applicants for funding to reach people from different backgrounds in order to be eligible for the financial support of specific integration activities (Uitermark & Van Steenbergen, 2006, p. 284). Only the most virtuous citizens would be seen as deserving support, in what Uitermark (2012, p. 161) refers to as 'civil liberalism'. As Uitermark has shown, first and foremost private businesses profited from the funding scheme, whereas guest-worker associations lost (parts of) their funding (Uitermark, 2012, p. 167). The change of local policies was thus intimately linked with developments in national-policy labels.

Dutch Legislation and Funds

The responsibilities for immigrant policies have shifted in the Netherlands over the years. Initially taken up by the national government in the 1980s, responsibilities for immigrant incorporation were soon decentralized to the more local level. As one officer recalls, when she started to work for the municipality in the early 1980s, the national ministry was responsible for dealing with the guest-workers, but they asked local authorities to carry out some of the activities they had conceived. Decentralization was more systematically promoted in the 1990s, following the rationale that many issues were best dealt with on the local level.[13] As social welfare funds were now channeled to the local level (Veenman, 2002, p. 29), municipalities could employ officers and devise activities. Local authorities were further strengthened in taking their own policy approaches by the so-called 'Grootstedenbeleid' (Veenman, 2002), a national policy introduced in 1994 that involved the creation of a ministry for big cities and integration.

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[13] This was based on a report by the 'Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid' (WWR), a think tank advising the Dutch government.

Today, local diversity officers in Amsterdam claim that cities in the Netherlands are fairly free to create their own integration policies. Unlike policies on education or the specific programme of civic integration, which is funded by the national and implemented on the local level, it is in cities' discretion if and what they do on integration. One officer claimed that the national law and policies provide no strong limitation.[14] In my interviews, it was always this autonomy of the city that was emphasized, which contrasted with the permanent reference to equality legislation as providing the framework for local policies on equality and diversity in Leeds.

In the literature, the Netherlands is considered one of the most centralized countries in Europe, and more than half of its cities' funds are channeled through the central government, while the other half comes from local taxes (15 %) and other local income (31 %) (Allers, 2012, p. 38). The ways in which national money can be spent is specified in detail for at least for half of these national funds ('specifieke uitkeringen'), which leaves only limited freedom to cities to decide how to spend it (Allers, p. 39). The other half ('algemene uitkeringen') is also effectively earmarked, and only what is left of the money after fulfilling all these requirements can be freely spent (Allers, p. 40). Overall, it is a complex system, with difficulties in identifying the precise numbers that cities can spend at their own discretion. It would exceed the limits of this study to provide an overview of the overall budget of the diversity department in Amsterdam, but it is worth noting that some of its activities were specifically funded through a national-government programme, by way of a co-financing arrangement. In one officer's view, these additional funding streams for specific programmes are the only way the national level exerted influence on local integration policy. Such funding was provided for specific issues to which the national government ascribed particular importance in order to stimulate cities to support and engage with that issue in their local activities. This was, for example, the case for Antillean youngsters at-risk [15] in Amsterdam. According to the diversity

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[14] For a discussion of the lack of effectiveness of the Dutch Equal Treatment Act, which was only adopted in 1994, see, for example (Dierx & Rodrigues, 2003).

[15] 'Kabinetsbeleid Antilliaans-Nederlandse probleemjongeren vanaf 2010'.

officer responsible for this programme, €0.5 million for the 'Programme Caribbean Amsterdamers' came from the local and another half a million from the national authorities. When the new integration policy of then Minister of the Interior[16] Piet Hein Donner [17] was published during my research stay, some officers predicted that these funds would be cut. They also anticipated that the funds for a programme targeting Antillean youngsters would be cut. According to one officer, these cuts were no surprise because of the government's general anti-immigrant perspective. While the policy area of integration would also be affected by these national savings, this would mainly concern 'civic integration' (the language tests, citizenship tests, etc. that were implemented by another department), where cuts of tens of millions of euros were anticipated.[18]

To conclude, despite the centralized channeling of funds through the national level, local officials perceive little institutionalized influence of the national government on Amsterdam's integration policy. Although a harsher political atmosphere and discourse towards minorities was noted on the national level, local-level officials in Amsterdam largely kept a critical distance from integration policies developed at the national level.

Flanders

In the case of Antwerp, it was not the national but the regional government that traditionally was the relevant level in regards to policy labels and the provision of funds. One of Antwerp's first reports on integration ('Antwerpen, 1999) emphasized that the city of Antwerp should take the regional guidelines as a framework for setting up its own integration policy (Stad Antwerpen, p. 3), although without losing sight of local specifics (Stad Antwerpen, p. 12).

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[16] 'Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties.'

[17] As part of the right-liberal minority cabinet with support of the PVV (Geert Wilder's party).

[18] 'inburgering.'

Flemish Policies

The regions of Wallonia and Flanders have historically taken different approaches to immigrant incorporation. According to some of the literature, the Walloon government tended to orient its policy towards French debates, and rejected target groups in labour policies, whereas the Flemish region reflected a more multicultural approach (Van de Voorde & De Bruijn, 2010, p. 1). As Ilke Adam has shown, however, it would be too reductionist to depict Wallonia as purely assimilationist and Flanders as multiculturalist. For instance, the Walloon policy in its early days had some multiculturalist elements, and there have been significant political differences between the French-speaking Walloon region and the French-speaking Brussels region (Adam, 2011).

The first policy documents in Flanders regarding 'policy on immigrants' date from 1981, and include the development of supervisory services for migrant workers,[19] subsidies for migrant organizations, and the establishment of a 'High council for migrants'[20] (Adam, 2011, p. 277). Once created, the latter took up a central role in lobbying for a more interventionist, multiculturalist integration politics in the 1980s (Adam, p. 276). The first Flemish institution focusing on the coordination of services for migrant workers, the 'Vlaams Overleg Comite Opbouwerk Migratie', was introduced in 1984 as the regional coordinating centre for integration measures (Adam, p. 278), and in 1989 the Royal Commissariat for Migrant Policy (KCM) [21] was founded under the leadership of commissioner Paula de Hondt. She was responsible for delineating the basic definitions and starting points of the multiculturalist immigrant policy (Blommaert & Martens, 1999, p. 10ff.), and produced the first coherent immigrant policy for Flanders[22] (Blommaert & Martens, p. 32). [23]

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[19] 'Begeleidingsdiensten Opbouwwerk Migranten.'

[20] 'Hoge Raad voor migranten.'

[21] 'Koninklijk Commissariaat voor het Migrantenbeleid.'

[22] Johan Leman (her cabinet chief) and Bruno Vinikas (her adjunct) were the authors.

[23] Later, the KCM was reformed as Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism ('Centrum voor Gelijkheid van Kansen en Racismebestrijding'—CGKR), which still exists today (Blommaert & Martens, 1999, p. 11; 30).

Interestingly, the rise of the nationalist party 'Vlaams Blok',[24] which won a landslide victory in the October 1988 local elections,[25] stimulated the development of structures for immigrant incorporation at the time. The KCM was created as a direct reaction to the election results (Blommaert & Martens, p. 8; 13).

In Flanders, many of the political measures on immigrant incorporation have to be understood in light of the continued struggle of mainstream parties to contain nationalist right-wing parties. Since the local rise of the nationalist party 'Vlaams Belang' in 1989, there has been an agreement of all parties to keep the Flemish nationalist party out of the Flemish government. The electoral success of an anti-immigrant party has stimulated the introduction of multicultural policy-making in Flanders (Jacobs & Swyngedouw, 2002, p. 332). The multicultural policy, introduced in 1989, policy, provides a clear signal to the nationalists that the Flemish government would not make any concessions in the policy area of immigrant incorporation. The rise of 'Vlaams Belang' thus resulted in a reactive institutionalization of a multiculturalist politics and a stronger political will to tackle social exclusion (Adam, 2011, p. 284).

In the 1990s, both equal opportunity[26] and civic integration[27] became important aspects of Flemish integration policy (Van de Voorde & De Bruijn, 2010, p. 12). In 1998, the 'decree[28] on ethno-cultural minorities'[29] provided the central policy base for working on immigrant incorporation. The Flemish policy shifted in 2000 towards one of 'civic integration', taking a more interventionist policy stance. This coincided with a shift in governing parties from the rule of the Christian Democrats and Socialists to a coalition of Liberals,[30] Socialists,[31] and Greens[32] (Adam,

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[24] The party reorganised itself in 2004 as 'Vlaams Belang'.

[25] The party received 17.7 % of the vote in Antwerp.

[26] 'gelijkekansenbeleid'.

[27] 'inburgeringsbeleid'.

[28] 'Decreet' in Belgium refers to a formal law issued by the government of one of either the three language communities or three regions.

[29] 'Minderhedendecreet'.

[30] 'VLD'.

[31] 'SP'.

[32] 'Agalev'.

2011, p. 289). It was the first Flemish minister of 'integration', Marino Keulen,[33] who then promoted a shift in focus towards living together in diversity and an emphasis on the individual citizen rather than on target groups (Gsir, 2009, p. 3). While this new policy stance did not involve a total renunciation of the previous policy, it made some important modifications and adaptations. The new policy moved away from targeted group measures to an emphasis on intercultural programmes and the modernization of institutions, reflecting a diversity approach (Adam, 2011, p. 290).

The government accord from 2004 to 2009 then differentiated between the two tiers of 'civic integration' (of newcomers) on the one hand and 'diversity' on the other (Motmans & Cortier, 2009, p. 62). The aspect of civic integration, which delineates how newcomers will be welcomed and guided into Flemish society (Pelfrene, Doyen, & Hellemans, 2009, p. 4), was supported by the civic integration decree[34] of 2002 (as amended in 2006). The creation of this civic integration programme[35] involved cultural- and language-orientation classes and a job-insertion programme (Adam, 2011, p. 289; Pelfrene et al., p. 4). The diversity tier not only addressed ethno-cultural as well also other differences in society, but as Motmans and Cortier state, the Flemish policy framework now paid attention to 18 different categories[36] simultaneously (2009, p. 61). The diversity tier[37] thus also no longer targeted a specific 'allochtonous' category (Motmans & Cortier, 2009, p. 65), but, according to one diversity officer, all Flemish residents were targeted and everyone was considered to be 'integrating into society'. With the most recent policy note from 2000, the two tiers were again merged under the header of 'civic integration',[38] which is seen as a way to create a more cohesive and respectful society (Pelfrene et al., 2009, p. 6).

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[33] The first ministerial post which explicitly bears 'civic integration' in its title was created in 2004. Marino Keulen (the liberal democratic party 'Open VLD') held office until 2009. Since then it has been filled by N-VA (the Flemish nationalist party) politician Geert Bourgeois.

[34] 'Inburgeringsdecreet'.

[35] 'inburgeringsprogramma'.

[36] These include: gender, race, skin color, origin, national or ethnic origin, age, sexual orientation, civil status, birth, ability, religion and belief, political conviction, language, health status, handicap, physical or genetic characteristics, social position, and nationality.

[37] Which, since 2009, is based on the so-called 'Integration decree' ('Integratiedecreet').

[38] 'inburgering'.

Antwerp went beyond the confines of the policy label of 'civic integra-tion' in the Flemish minorities decree when it introduced the concept of broad diversity in the local social policy plan for 2007–2012 (Gsir, 2009, p. 8).[39] The city sought to substitute the earlier target-group focus on ethnic-cultural identity, age, gender, religion/belief, etc., with a broader diversity-management approach, and to commit all city services to being targeted to all city residents (Gsir, p. 10). In the local policy plan that the city has to deliver to the Flemish authorities bi-annually, the city bypasses the cleavage between local and regional policy labels by depicting ethno-cultural minorities as an aspect of general diversity.[40] This plan for the Flemish authorities is written and published next to local policy docu-ments such as the 'Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008–2012'. There, we find a broad emphasis on diversity that goes beyond the boundaries of regional decrees (Stad Antwerpen, 2009, p. 8).

Officials in Antwerp felt that the Flemish civic-integration policy label acted as a brake rather than stimulus to further policy development. Whereas Antwerp's policy on ethno-cultural minorities had largely fol-lowed the parameters of the Flemish decree on that subject, Antwerp's diversity policy acknowledged diversity in broader terms, taking into account several categories of difference. For Flanders, Antwerp's policy provided an impetus to innovate, some officers suspected, as the new Flemish 'civic integration decree' of 2009 reflected some of the ideas of Antwerp's diversity policy, even though the Flemish government kept what in their view was a more dated notion of 'integration'. They based this judgement on the recent association of integration with a more assimilationist stance. Even if the new Flemish integration decree reflected some of Antwerp's starting points, according to one officer, the city was one step ahead in delineating specific work areas to focus on within the diversity framework[41]

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[39] In 2009, this trend was also followed up on the regional level, when the integration decree was introduced. As regards the labelling of this policy as one of diversity, Antwerp at the local leve is still one step ahead.

[40] The city's integration service needs to set up a policy plan every three years, in accordance with the requirements of the regional minorities/integration decree, to serve as a framework for an agree-ment between local and regional policy levels. This creates a certain double reporting for Antwerp's diversity department, which not only publishes its yearly action plan (Stad Antwerpen, 2009b), but also a bi-annual plan for the Flemish government (Stad Antwerpen, 2009a).

[41] These include increasing accessibility, living together in diversity and conducting pilot projects.

Flemish Legislation and Funds

The relatively strong impact and guidance of Flemish municipalities at the regional level are linked to its role in partially funding local integration structures.[42] In Antwerp, funding for the diversity department and its activities, according to my informants, comes from a range of sources: municipal, regional, federal, and European. The share that comes from the regional level of Flanders is substantial, as it is also meant to steer Flemish cities and their organizations in integration-policy development. Historically, the Flemish government funded the office responsible for integration within the municipal organization of several of the bigger cities of Flanders (Vlaams Minderhedencentrum, 2010). The municipal-integration service[43] in Antwerp was therefore established through the Flemish minorities decree and later by the Flemish integration decree.

One officer problematized the definitional power of the Flemish level over local policies, and expressed the wish that the municipal government becomes more of a director of local integration structures. As the Flemish region not only funds to a substantial extent the municipal governments' structures for diversity, but also the local array of integration organizations. It inform which partners are available to the municipal authority. As the official argued, the city would need to retrieve the authority to choose which organizations are funded in the city, and to what extent.

The UK

British Policies

Policy-makers in the UK have explicitly addressed questions of 'race' and 'equality' since the 1960s. Roy Jenkins's speech to the 'National Committee for the Commonwealth Immigrants' in 1966 is often seen as a turning point from an assimilationist discourse towards an appreciation of equal opportunity and cultural diversity.

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[42] E.g. in 2009 4.5 of seven team members of the diversity department were funded by the Flemish government (Stad Antwerpen, 2009a).

[43] This is accompanied by provincial 'integratie centra', in the case of Antwerpen the De8 (www.vmc.be)

Riots in Bristol, Liverpool, and Brixton in 1980 and 1981, brought to the fore profound frustration about racial discrimination (Cantle, 2005, p. 46; Young, 1990, p. 256). This led to a more explicit tackling of racial disadvantage and the creation of positive action programmes which aimed at equality of outcome in the 1980s (Young, p. 257). The Rushdie Affair and the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence in southeast London in 1993 challenged British policies (Alibhai-Brown, 2000, p. 19), and the MacPherson report in 1999 described British society as characterized by 'institutional racism' (Cantle, 2005, p. 8).

Some scholars have interpreted these UK policies as multicultural. Alibhai-Brown, for instance, defines the 1970s and 1980s as two phases of British multiculturalism: The first phase in the 1970s and 1980s mainly aimed at stimulating pride amongst ethnic minorities and representation of their cultural or historical distinctiveness. The second phase of multiculturalism, in which anti-racism became the focus of multicultural activities, was mainly pursued through municipalities (Alibhai-Brown, 2000). John Rex also posits such a multicultural approach, although he contends that official institutions, such as the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), had long failed to provide a clear definition of multiculturalism. In his view, this was provided only in the Runnymede Trust report on Multi-Ethnic Britain by political theorist Bhikhu Parekh in 2000 (Rex, 2008, p. 36). Other authors contest whether Britain even had an explicit multicultural policy at the national level, and argue that only at the local level could one observe a more active line of multiculturalism (Collinson, 1998, p. 158)

Observers of the British case often take the year 2001 as a turning point in the British national debate (Modood, 2007, p. 10). This was the year that riots took place in the northern English towns of Bradford, Burnley, Leeds, and Oldham, and a new Home Secretary was introduced. Of course, it was also the year of the 9/11 attacks in the USA, which are seen as having had a lasting impression on British debates as well (Modood, p. 10). In 2004, the policy label of multiculturalism was discredited in public discourse, and depicted as 'out of date' by Trevor Phillips, the chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality (Modood, p. 11). 'Integration' and 'community cohesion' (Cantle, 2005, p. 10)[44] became salient con-

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[44] The concept originated in Canada, where it was developed on the basis of the notion of 'social cohesion' (Cantle, 2005, p. 50).

cepts in policy discourses, a development that some scholars interpreted as a 'repressive liberalism' (Saggar & Somerville, 2012, pp. 10–11). These new terms also, in some authors' as well as one of my interviewee's views, signified that equality was no longer on the national UK integration agenda (Moore, 2011, p. 4). As several diversity officers in Leeds said, one concept after the other has been devalued, which they interpreted as a move away from equality and towards a more assimilationist policy. The London bombings of 7/7/2005 provided another key event, and shifted the attention of debates to the 'home-grown' dimension of terrorism, resulting in having a counterterrorism policy become embedded within integration policy (Saggar & Somerville, 2012, p. 15). David Cameron confirmed this new emphasis on security in his speech at the Munich Security Conference in February 2011, where he located the root problem of integration in Muslim extremism, and emphasized multiculturalism as having led to citizens leading 'separate lives' (Cameron, 2011). As some critical observers would have it, the focus on security as a response by the government ironically reflects how the bombers themselves had framed their attacks, as one of the bombers said, 'Until we feel security, you will be our targets.' (Race, 2008, p. 3). Contrary to the public and political discourse, some scholars in the UK continue to uphold multiculturalism as a relevant policy approach (Eade, Barrett, Flood, & Race, 2008).

The local trajectory of policies needs to be understood against the background of how national level policies have developed. The Leeds policy long paralleled the national equality policies. However, in 2006, Leeds complemented the equality policy with the concept of diversity. It thus departed from the national framing in terms of security threats and separate lives that was so prevalent at the time.

British Legislation and Funds

The core legal provisions in the UK, the Race Relations Act of 1965 and 1968, were passed during the years of the civil rights movement.[45] They were accompanied by the creation of institutional structures dedicated

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[45] In the following section, empirical findings from several additional interviews with heads of diversity departments in Bristol, Sheffield, and two London city boroughs, such as an interview

to overseeing their implementation. The national 'Race Relations Board' and 'Community Relations Commission' were created in the 1960s, and were replaced by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 1976 (Cantle, 2005, p. 43; Rex, 2008, p. 35; Young, 1990, p. 255).[46] After the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the Macpherson report, the anti-discrimination legislation was extended. The racism detected in public bodies was addressed in the Race Relations (Amendment) Act of 2000 (Cantle, 2005, p. 8), and in contrast to earlier anti-discrimination legislation, this Act put public authorities under the positive duty of promoting racial equality (Audit Commission, 2002, p. 4). My interviewees at the local level saw it as a most significant piece of legislation, as it had forced them to develop a local Race Equality Scheme and introduced the 'equality impact assessments' tool through which public authorities assessed the impact of their policies and services on 'race relations':

> It was actually the first time that we were expected to set out what we understood as the issues experienced by black and minority ethnic people, what barriers they came across and what we were actually going to do to address those barriers. And it was very, very prescriptive in that we had to set out how we consulted and involved people in developing this particular scheme, listing all the policies and stuff, listing all those relevant to equality and diversity and then listing all the outcomes of those. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

The most recent renewal of the legal framework for local government and the public sector in the field of equality and diversity was the Equality Act 2010, which contains the so-called 'public sector equality duty'. It covers eight protected characteristics (age, disability, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, 'race', religion or belief, and sex and sexual orientation) and combines nine pieces of legislation into one (Squires, 2009, p. 502). Public authorities are required to give 'due regard' to pursuing equality, which implies the duty to publish information on the ways in which public authorities' decisions and activities

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with one representative of the Local Government Group (LG), will be included in my analysis. These were conducted in July 2011, prior to my research stay in Leeds.

[46]In 1975, and parallel to the racial equality legislation, the Sex Discrimination Act came into place, which was overseen by the Equal Opportunities Commission (Squires, 2009, p. 498).

are impacting the position of disadvantaged groups.[47] They must specify equality objectives and document the activities carried out to achieve these objectives.

The national-equality laws were referred to as an important framework for dealing with equality and diversity at the local level in Leeds. According to one official, the legal framework provides a stable delineation of what is possible, and therefore also limits too-radical interventions by anti-immigrant-leaning governments. At the same time, national legal requirements served to protect local diversity departments from local challenges by, e.g., minority groups. As each city service is required by national law to implement certain standards of policy in the fields of equality and diversity, they rely and depend on the support of the diversity department to do so, one diversity officer said. The legal requirements, from diversity officers' perspectives, also represent a strategic tool for the diversity department to make officials from the city council [48] actually invest in equality.

Based on national legislation, the English government[49] has long provided substantial guidance to the local level on how to design local immigrant policies. Concretely, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 1995 created a minimum standard for local government as to what it should achieve towards the objective of 'race' equality (Audit Commission, 2002, p. 6). The CRE's role was also to oversee local councils and to police them in their adherence to the national guidelines, even if its capacity to do so was controversial (ODPM, 2003, p. 7). Under the lead of a Labour government, national guidance was further developed in 2001 through the Equality Standard for Local Government,[50] which was reframed in 2007 as the Equality Framework for Local Government,[51] -taking into

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[47] The approach to individual needs by merging attention on different categories was highly welcomed in Leeds. According to a diversity officer, it not only provides synergies, but stimulates thinking across categorical boundaries.

[48] In the UK 'city council' is the legal and generally used term for local governments with city status.

[49] In the following, I will refer to immigrant policies in England, and not to the United Kingdom more broadly, as Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland have their own ways of stimulating local integration politics.

[50] The Standard encompassed five levels of attainment.

[51] The Framework encompassed three levels of attainment: developing, achieving, excellence.

account the now-integrated approach to multiple 'equality strands' of ethnicity, gender, and disability (Squires, 2009, p. 500). The implementation of the standard also required an adaptation of institutions at the national level (Fredman, 2001; Squires, 2009), and the three existing equality commissions (for 'race', gender, and disability[52]) were replaced in 2007 by a single body, the so-called Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). At the same time as it supported local authorities with tools for monitoring, the EHRC was also meant to supervise these authorities. Challenging local authorities' adherence and helping them to adhere to legal requirements provided them with a somewhat awkward double role, some of the interviewed diversity officers found. The EHRC was therefore viewed both by some of my interlocutors, as well as in the literature (Saggar & Somerville, 2012, p. 14), as having had limited impact and lacking teeth.

The attainment scales of both the Equality Standard and Framework mirrored the legal requirements local authorities had to fulfil, and allowed cities to have their own strengths and weaknesses evaluated and acknowledged. They also provided a clear framework for cities to know the minimum they had to do in order to comply with national legislation. The city of Leeds had adopted the Equality Standard, and was evaluated as having achieved level four of the five levels, and was later accredited the highest level of 'excellent' in the Equality Framework.[53]

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[52] The Disability Rights Commission of 2005 based its work on the Discrimination Act of 1995.

[53] When the national Equality Standard for Local Government was reworked as the 'Equality Framework' in 2010, the Equality and Diversity department set up an internal validation process. They assessed whether they were ready to apply for the 'excellent' appraisal. Its outcomes were summarised in the internal document 'Our improvement journey' (City of Leeds, 2011b), which provides a narrative on the current status of the municipal organization in its attainments in five areas of performance in the Equality Framework. Diversity officers in Leeds experienced the use of 'storyboards' in this document as a helpful methodology to capture qualitative evidence in documenting the progress of the city council on equality and diversity, and to also communicate these successes to the rest of the organization. Instrumental software (EFECT stands for 'Equality Framework Evidence Collection Tool') for collecting evidence and monitoring activities, in order to compare them to the set standards, was provided by the 'Improvement and Development Agency' (IDEA). IDEA has in the meantime been renamed 'Local Government Improvement and Development' and was merged with the 'Local Government Association' to become the 'Local Government Group'. It is an association of and consultancy body for local governments in England and Wales, and tries to lobby for the local government sector in England and Wales vis-à-vis the national government. Even if the operationalization and monitoring of this data after its collection can be further improved, the use of the software, in one official's view, had facilitated the introduc-

In the past few years, a lot of the prescriptive national guidance and requirements for local governments have been abandoned. According to a diversity officer from a London borough whom I also interviewed, this is due to the coalition beginning in 2010 of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, which considered most schemes, action plans, and consultation with stakeholders as creating unnecessary bureaucracy. As such, there is no longer a legal requirement for cities to produce and publish an official Equality and Diversity Scheme, which was the official policy document that all cities in the UK up to that time had to produce every other year.[54] The public-sector equality duty has been weakened by the coalition government since its installation in 2010, as the way information on equality and diversity must be published is now left much more to individual local authority.[55] Instead of expecting the publication of schemes and Equality Impact Assessments, the national government today requires only the publication of one or more equality objective(s) every 4 years for any group. According to one diversity officer, cities still have to demonstrate their compliance with the law and for having given 'due regard' through a yearly report.

This shift in requirements is based on a number of ideas the new government has taken as starting points for its programme. One is to give more responsibility to local governments, as codified in the recent Localism bill.[56] It pushes for decentralization and a transfer of power from the central government to the local level (DCLG, 2010, p. 2).[57] A

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tion of working with indicators and a more business-like approach to services. In fact, the city planned to voluntarily repeat an internal validation of the municipality on equality and diversity in the summer of 2013, as it acknowledged the usefulness of the exercise. After going through a peer-review challenge, the 'excellent' appraisal was attained in 2011, and at the time of my research the equality and diversity department was spreading word about its success within the municipal organization. Overall, the exercise was experienced as potentially not challenging enough (Notes Team meeting 6/9/2011).

[54] Minutes from Equality and Diversity Board 16/6/2011.

[55] Based on document 'Public sector equality duty brief', received from the strategic policy officer in the Leeds Equality and Diversity department.

[56] The national legislation is at the same time still binding at the local level and guidance on the application of the laws is communicated to the local level by DCLG 'circulars'.

[57] The increasing emphasis on the local level in policy-making, however, has been part of government agendas for more than a decade in the UK. In the 1990s, a range of reforms of the role of local government were carried out, transferring substantial responsibility for integration to the local level. As Rhodes has claimed, government in the UK is no longer mono-centric or unitary, but has

second idea is stipulated in the Big-Society programme. As one official framed it, the idea is to 'turn big government and small society around. So the government does only a small number of things, the minimum, and it works to create conditions where society can do a lot of things that the government previously did'. While local diversity officials did not necessarily challenge the Big-Society vision's theoretical starting point as such, a diversity officer in Bristol claimed that a lot of it was actually already happening and that the government failed to value these existing initiatives. Another officer argued that the ideological motivation that was driving the implementation of the Big Society, which works against any redistribution of wealth between rich and poor, would greatly influence its outcome. Another diversity officer in London wondered whether the government would actually strengthen civil society in a way that would allow it to make such a Big Society happen. She suggested that a Big Society might work in more affluent areas, but its implementation would be rather unlikely in more deprived areas, and would not serve vulnerable populations. As a diversity officer in Sheffield noted, this is especially so in view of current cuts in the funding of civil-society organizations, with which the Big-Society Vision is intimately intertwined.

A decrease in requirements regarding immigrant policies was also explained by severe austerity measures and savings in response to the current economic crisis. The government certainly presents these cuts as inevitable in view of economic pressures. According to an officer from the Local Government Group, they are however hard to disentangle from the ideologically driven decisions with which they are associated. The austerity measures, however, certainly impact on local capacities for implementing policies. In Leeds, for example, the suggestion of the diversity department to give 'due regard' to different needs when a new policy is put in place was rejected by other parts of the municipal organization. They would only agree if more staff resources were made available to the

become a 'differentiated policy'. Intergovernmental relations are established between government departments of all types and levels, and are exceeded by relations with the private sector and voluntary bodies (Rhodes, 1997, p. 8). In the 'White Paper on Modern local government: In touch with people' a strategy for this reform was set out, aiming to make local councils more outward-looking and in touch with people (DETR, 1998, p. 9). These aims for reform were stipulated through the Local Government Act of 2000. The new localism bill was presented to the parliament in December 2010, and in November 2011 received the status of an Act.

Equality and Diversity Team, which was impossible in view of ongoing staff reductions.[58] This experience supported officials' depiction of the current government's approach to equality as a disposable activity, which they interpreted as a deliberate and ideologically driven decision.

Austerity measures by the national government also have directly impacted local-level work, with profound effect on local structures and activities in the field of equality and diversity. Cities such as Bristol and Sheffield have lost some of their staff working on equality through direct cuts, loss of motivation of certain staff members who decided to leave, or the 'mainstreaming' of equality and abolition of equality and diversity teams. Also, the downsizing of the overall staff of city councils has impacted their capacity to realize equality, as a diversity officer in London mentioned.

Overall, officials evaluated the changes at the national level as having led to a reduction of the equality agenda, with councils being only concerned with keeping legally compliant. In one official's view, the national changes would reduce activity on equality on the local level to a necessary minimum, leaving the big issues untouched. As this official said, the agenda will shrink down, only to be rediscovered in a few years' time.

Some diversity officials also supported the new government's ideas, while doubting the way these were operationalized. The need to reduce bureaucracy, for instance, was widely shared by local officials. One agreed that a new freedom for municipalities to develop their own way of approaching integration might make them become more responsible. Some officers in Leeds experienced the less prescriptive stance of the national government as a relief, as some of the burden of reporting, often experienced as a lot of bureaucratic work of filling in tick-box forms, was gone.

The local authority also was relatively self-confident and self-reliant in tackling diversity and equality, and was eager to represent itself as doing more than what was required at the national level. About 6 years ago, the equality and diversity team, for example, introduced a single framework for its equality activities which encompassed different categories. The Leeds officials thus antedated the conceptualization of difference in the national Equality Act. They already combined such categories as 'race', gender, and

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[58] Notes from Equality and Diversity Board, 8/9/2011.

disability in the assessment of their services, and thus addressed categories in their activities which were not required by the national law. They even went beyond the characteristics of the 2010 Equality Act by paying attention to an additional characteristic, that of careers, in their equality activities, which, according to my informants, was particularly important in the Leeds context. The city's relatively self-confident approach to tackling equality could be explained by its size and by its recent shift to a Labour-led government. We thus need to consider that the approach to equality might differ in other local authorities,[59] as Conservative-led municipal governments might be much less interested in working on diversity, and might only do the bare minimum of what is required by national law. As became evident in interviews with heads of diversity teams in Bristol, a London borough, and Sheffield, the specific political lead in a local government often has a substantial impact on the structures for a local organization working on equality and the way this is approached. The increasing diversity of political leadership across councils has also weakened some of the collaborations between councils. In one diversity officer's view, councils are now less inclined to develop similar approaches than before.

Comparing the Relationship Between the National and the Local Levels Across the Case Studies

I have shown the various ways and differing degrees to which the national level can inform the local level. The national level can have an impact by way of its policies, legislation, or funds allocated to the cities, and can provide a more or less binding framework for cities to follow. I found a slightly different constellation in each of the three cases. The city of Amsterdam perceived itself as independent from national-level legislation, and its policies strongly differed from the policies at the national level. Leeds, by contrast, was strongly bound by national legislation and reproduced national concepts and ideas. However, there still was some scope for developing

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[59] For example, see the shift from a Labour-led council to a council led by the Liberal-Democrat Party in Sheffield, where it shifted again back to Labour in 2011, or Bristol, or the shift in London from having mainly Labour councils to a more ambiguous picture of some councils being led by the Labour Party and others by the Conservative Party.

its own local policies, as Leeds complemented the notion of equality with diversity. In Antwerp, where Flemish policies have a strong impact due to the Flemish region's role in funding local structures, the city accommodated the regional framework, while at the same time acting as a policy innovator. We thus arrive at identifying some tendencies and trends for each of the three cases which go beyond the focus on policy labels of other studies (Table 4.2).

Overall, we find a mixed picture regarding the importance of the national level for local-level immigrant policies. The national/regional level certainly had the strongest apparent influence in Leeds, some influence in Antwerp, and only little perceived influence in Amsterdam. Different elements were important, though, in the different cities. In Leeds, the strong standards provided by national legislation and recent austerity measures stood out; in Antwerp, the regional funding was decisive; and in Amsterdam the change of policy labels played an important role.

Local Factors

Apart from national-level influence, I also want to consider the specific local contexts and assess for each of my case-study cities how these play out. These include a (change of) political constituency/mayor, the degree

Table 4.2 How the national level informs local diversity policies

	Leeds	Amsterdam	Antwerp
Policy	National equality policy informing the local level, complemented with the concept of diversity	Local policy diverges from the national policy	City as positioning itself as innovator by using another term than the regional level
Law	Strong influence of national equality legislation	National legislation hardly referred to as relevant for local immigrant policies	National legislation hardly referred to as relevant for local immigrant policies
Funds	National austerity measures as impacting local structures and resources	Some direct funding programmes of the national level	Strong reliance on regional funds

of civil-society mobilization, the structure and culture of the local administration in place, the city image as reflected in the city marketing strategies and local events.

Antwerp

Antwerp's diversity policy was created against the background of the success of the Flemish nationalist party 'Vlaams Blok' in the local elections of 2000, which gained 33 % of the vote and took 20 of the 55 seats in the municipal council (Fisher, 2001, p. 1). The ensuing Socialist government introduced the diversity policy in part as a way to show its pro-active stance vis-à-vis the nationalist opposition. At the time of my research, the policy enjoyed political backing through an alderman position that was created for dealing with issues of diversity,[60] as well as by the Socialist mayor then in power. He emphasized diversity as an important element of the city's image. However, the creation of the diversity policy was clearly motivated by the political pressures in the strongly polarized political atmosphere of the early 2000s.

The fear of the potential take-over of a nationalist political party and its implication for immigrant policies was present not only in the initial creation of a diversity policy, but continued to inform the policy's implementation. The urge to produce 'visible results' in the field of diversity for the administration, during my research in 2011 and in view of upcoming elections, was mentioned several times and was also a factor in reorganising the department's work focus towards external diversity projects. The insecurity about possible changes in the diversity agenda if an N-VA-led local government was elected was a central concern amongst diversity officers.[61] Their fears proved to be founded in the local elections in autumn 2012, when the Flemish nationalist party N-VA won a neck-and-neck race with the Labour party. As a result, the diversity department was transformed into a department working on poverty, with a very dif-

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[60] 'Alderman for social affairs, diversity and service provision'. At first, the position was filled by someone from the Socialist Party, but since the landslide victory of the nationalist party N-VA in 2013, the position has been filled by N-VA representatives.

[61] Notes from discussion with team member on the occasion of a presentation of the overall findings of my PhD project in Antwerp, 29 May 2012.

ferent scope and focus. We can thus conclude that immigrant policy in Antwerp is strongly informed by the political constituency and the pressures of the political opposition in a polarized atmosphere.

Amsterdam

Amsterdam has a tradition of a Labour-dominated government in coalition with the Greens and other, smaller parties, such as the Conservative-Liberal VVD, which contrasts with the prominent role of right-wing and economic liberalization forces on the national level over the past few years. Amsterdam is often claimed to have a more liberal tradition and is known for its outspoken and relatively vocal local electorate.

After an ongoing debate on the failure of the minorities policy in Amsterdam throughout the 1990s, it was, according to my informants, the newly installed alderman Van der Aa who was pushing for introducing the concept of diversity. He had come across the concept during a journey to Canada and wanted to use it to get away from the previous target-group policy and to change the policy label.

Diversity officers also pointed to a change in the style of political leadership of the mayor over the past years, which could help better explain the ways in which the 'diversity' policy became interpreted in different ways over time in Amsterdam. They contrasted the leadership of previous mayor Job Cohen, who was installed in 2001 and was a figurehead of an approach to integration and diversity which Uitermark depicts as 'pragmatism' (Uitermark, 2012, p. 129), with that of the current mayor, Eberhard van der Laan, and his more populist style. As one officer mentioned, 'diversity' is now becoming associated with the previous generation of politicians, such as Job Cohen, whereas newer politicians regard it as a rather vague concept, preferring the notion of 'burgerschap'.

Overall in Amsterdam, it was less the change of political constituency than a change of individual political personalities, which led to the introduction of the diversity concept. Also, it is important to note a decisive redefinition of the diversity concept after the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004. We thus see the significance of single events at the local level for far-reaching policy changes.

Leeds

The introduction of diversity policy in Leeds happened in the context of the fairly stable political leadership of the Labour party and an absence of a strong public debate about combining existing 'race', gender, and disability agendas. Leeds, like most other big cities in the UK, has usually been Labour-controlled. After a short period of a Liberal Democrat-led coalition, Labour regained control in the May 2011 elections, with 55 out of 99 seats (City of Leeds, 2011a, p. 5). The Labour leadership contrasts with the political direction of the national government. According to one of my interlocutors, this had allowed a continuation of the pursuit of equality and diversity, and fostered a positive appreciation of equality in the city.

Historically, Leeds has been strongly determined by national anti-discrimination legislation, which focused on sex, disability, and 'race relations',[62] and had three teams working on disability, 'race', and gender. It was also ahead of the national level in some ways. Due to the leadership of one local official, who led the department from 1998 until 2004, there was a move away from single strands of disability, gender, and 'race' towards an integrated attention on equality. According to the official policy text, the 'Equality and Diversity Scheme', which was introduced in 2006, 'builds upon the principles within our Race Equality Scheme. However it goes beyond that and seeks to cover Race, Gender, Disability, Sexual Orientation, Religion or Faith, Age and Human Rights' (City of Leeds, 2006, p. 1). According to my informants, this change in focus was accompanied by a changed self-representation of the department from being a watchdog to supporting the rest of the administration in implementing equality. Officials working on equality were no longer specialists for single equality strands, and their work emphasis shifted towards consulting others and helping them find the information they needed.

Although the financial crisis cannot explain the initial definition of the diversity policy, which had already been introduced some years ear-

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[62] The initial anti-discrimination acts were the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, the Disability Discrimination Act of 1975, and the Race Relations Act of 1976. Only in the 2010 Equalities Act were different categories combined in the national anti-discrimination legislation.

lier, it had an important impact on its implementation. Debates about austerity measures were very present during my research in Leeds, as they amounted to £90 m savings in 2011, £50 m in 2012, and £30 m in 2013. For example, officials in the Equality and Diversity Board discussed how one should strategically deal with the fact that some diversity targets (e.g., achieving a certain percentage of minority representation in the municipal organization's workforce) might no longer be realistic. As one officer said, setting targets in such a climate might actually be counter-productive if there is no way to achieve them in view of ongoing cutbacks. On the other hand, abolishing the targets might send the wrong message, as it might suggest there was no longer a commitment to realize them in the long run. The central debate thus was over how to step back from some of the previously stated goals without saying so, within a framework of unprecedented welfare cuts.[63] For the equality and diversity service itself, the reduction in team size implied the need to do things differently. As one diversity officer said, it will in the long run most likely lead to a more supervisory role for the diversity team. Also, within the activities of the different directorates, there was less money and fewer staff resources (e.g., the city council staff was reduced by more than 10 % within a few years) for certain measures targeting equality and diversity.[64] The loss of some non-governmental organizations in the city, such as the Migrant Advisory Service, put an additional strain on public authorities' counselling services, such as the Leeds City Council helpline.[65]

Comparing the Importance of Local Context Across the Three Cities

Overall, I find several factors that have been important for the introduction of so-called diversity policies are specific to the local context. These include a change in political constituency or the formation of a strong political opposition, an ongoing local debate, the initiative of a new political leader who wants to coin a new term, and the willingness

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[63] Notes from Equality Board meeting, 8/9/2011.
[64] Notes from Equality and Diversity workshop, 7/9/2011.
[65] Notes from Equality and Diversity workshop, 7/9/2011.

of local bureaucrats to go beyond what is required by national law in a favorable political climate.

In each of the cities, a different factor has been most important. Antwerp tried to signal a proactive immigrant policy so as not to leave the topic to the nationalist party. Amsterdam had witnessed an extensive, ongoing debate about the failure of its minorities policies at the local level, and the diversity policy was coined by a newly installed alderman. And in Leeds, local bureaucrats have been decisive in introducing a diversity policy that went beyond national standards.

City Networks and Exchanges Between Cities

The third factor that we want to assess in terms of its importance for local-level immigrant policies is the impact of exchanges between cities in city networks. As mentioned earlier, the literature often assumes the increasing relevance of national and international exchanges of ideas between cities in the field of integration. And indeed, all three of my case-study cities had been involved in one way or another in some of these networks. Amsterdam, for example, is an active member in the Eurocities Working Group on Integration, and hosted the last conference of the network in March 2012. Leeds and Antwerp have been part of the network in the past. However, as I could observe in my fieldwork, the commitment to these networks also was subject to change. Leeds would no longer participate in such international networks, due to the high costs of having someone pursue this work and travel to the meetings. Such expenditures are likely to be questioned in times of economic crisis and austerity measures, and also in view of cities' economization efforts. In Antwerp, the new head of the directorate had decided to invest less in such exchanges, one diversity officer said, which led the city to stop its participation in the Eurocities working group. And also in Amsterdam, some officials started to question the actual added value of the participation in such networks. The officers lacked the time to make sense of the exchanges once they had returned home.

The three cities had also built links with other cities in the same country, sometimes on a less long-term and coordinated basis, for instance by

organizing 'study days' or exchanging best practices. Antwerp, for example, had organized exchanges with Ghent, Genk, Utrecht, and Rotterdam in the past. In Amsterdam, politicians stimulated collaboration among the larger Dutch cities in the field of integration, to give them a stronger voice vis-à-vis right-wing trends and to influence national-level politics. The initiation of the collaboration, however, already showed some deep contradictions because of the different political-party backgrounds of aldermen in different cities. Furthermore, individual links between officers and their experiences on the international level were established, and in the view of my informants provided a resource for cities.

Learning about policy trends or ideas in other cities was inspiring for diversity officers, but in their view should not be overestimated. For example, in Leeds, the absence of riots in summer 2011, as compared to other northern cities, provided some indirect reassurance that social relations in the city might not actually be that bad, in part due to its policy, some officers said. Compared to other European cities, Amsterdam's officers were reassured about their own approach, as they observed that they were one step ahead of other cities, even though cities such as Copenhagen, Oslo, and Berlin have been catching up recently and developing interesting new approaches. As such, concepts and definitions are borrowed and exchanged across local and national borders.

Once having taken part in an organized exchange or network, continuing participation depends on the subjective surplus one takes away for one's own local context, ensuring that such exchanges prove useful for cities. Officials mentioned some of the criteria on the basis of which they assessed the usefulness of participating in such a network. Similar city size was a decisive factor in making exchanges interesting, diversity officers in the different cities said. It is especially important, my informants emphasized, to ensure the appropriateness of other large cities in such exchanges. Larger cities are often seen as arrogant vis-à-vis smaller cities and, to counter this perception, might abstain from voicing reservations. In diversity officers' views, similar approach in policy or vision, and also having the institutional structures in place to tackle diversity, was another criterion of making other cities valuable in terms of comparison and competition. Thirdly, exchange is never interesting simply for the sake of exchange, but must provide concrete output on specific issues cities are

working on. Therefore, cities expressed the wish to organize international meetings focused on specific issues, with the cities being able to pick and choose the meetings that are of concrete interest to them. The preference for more concrete or tangible output is also the reason some cities prefer bilateral exchanges based on specific best practices they see in other cities. This prevents them from participating in networks where programmes are compiled without necessarily having concrete relevance for all participant cities. Having and making the time to actually use and integrate insights in one's own city are important to ensure the actual usefulness of the exchange, one officer said. The fourth criterion is a rather obvious one, but still cannot be taken for granted: the quality of workshops and sessions on relevant topics involving important questions. In view of the investment involved in such exchanges, quality needs to be high in order to make the investment 'pay off', which according to my interlocutors may not always be the case. Fifth, even if international exchange might not be rewarding to the same extent for different cities at the same time, it needs to achieve reciprocity between different cities over time. A city might mainly give inspiration or knowledge to others at some point, but in the long run must also receive some inspiration and knowledge from other cities in order to gain something from the exchange as well. Such a long-term perspective, however, already requires the commitment of cities to a long-term participation and investment in such exchange. As I have shown, such a commitment cannot be taken for granted.

Comparing the Importance of Exchanges Between Cities on Local Immigrant Policies

Exchanges between cities in both international and more coordinated networks, as well as networks with other cities in the same country, have been an important source of inspiration for diversity officers in developing their ideas for local immigrant policies in all three cities in the past few years. However, participation in these networks could be a trend that is not of long duration, given that the added value of these networks in the long term was questioned in all three of my case-study cities. Cities such as Leeds and Antwerp have decided to opt out of these networks,

and are no longer members of Eurocities, because of the high costs of participating in the meetings (Leeds) or a management decision to reduce participation in international networks (Antwerp). And in Amsterdam, diversity officers felt that often they were an innovator in these networks and questioned to what degree Amsterdam was profiting from the input of other cities. Based on these observations one can question whether the city network hype witnessed in the first decade of the millennium is already past its zenith.

Conclusion

From my review of a variety of factors, I find that relationships between national and local levels, exchanges among cities, and the local context are all important in understanding local policy-making on immigrant incorporation. National- and regional-level policies can provide minimum requirements by way of legislation (Leeds) or funding (Flanders), but the local level can also creatively appropriate these standards and go beyond of what is needed. In Leeds, for instance, the legal framework and the methodologies provided by national bodies have long been very important in defining local concepts and practices. Yet, the city still went beyond what was required and provided by the central government. The same is true for Antwerp, where regional funding requirements did not prevent the city from developing its own concepts and standards aside from what they were required to submit to the region. The participation in international city networks has clearly been a trend in which all three cities at some point have participated. However, some cities critically reviewed such costly participation, and in some cities diversity officers challenged the added value of cities' participation in European networks. Incidents of riots or violence in a city, the changing leadership of the local government, the emergence of a local nationalist movement, and the leadership and management style of the mayor and local councilors, left a clear imprint on local policies, and had an important role to play in allowing for or complicating local 'diversity policies'. Comparing the importance of these different factors, it becomes clear that the local con-

Table 4.3 Most relevant factors in Amsterdam, Antwerp and Leeds

	Relationship with national level	Governance cooperations/exchanges	Local factors
Amsterdam	Rather parallel/ independent if not opposite stance	Role model in exchanges, questioning the added value for Amsterdam	Leadership of aldermen and mayor as determining factor
Antwerp	Depends on funds from regional level, but departs from conceptual framework	European exchanges discontinued due to management decision	Nationalist right pressure as determining factor
Leeds	Strongly informed by the legislative framework	European exchanges discontinued due to financial considerations	Labour-led government and self-initiative of local officials as determining factors

text is extremely important, and that exchanges between cities as well as the national level play smaller roles. Which of the local factors is most important differs from city to city. In Amsterdam, the priorities of the local aldermen/women as well as events such as the murder of Theo van Gogh were decisive for shaping and transforming diversity policy. In Antwerp, we also find that local factors are determinative of local diversity policy, but here the presence of a strong nationalist opposition[66] was the most important local factor. And in Leeds, we find the strong relevance of national-level legislation in conjunction, however, with local factors, including the Labour-led city government and the self-initiative of local officials (Table 4.3).

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[66] In the meantime, the nationalist party N-VA is that of the mayor of Antwerp and has a much stronger representation in the city council.

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5

Diversity Policy in Practice

The Local Introduction of the Diversity Concept

The three cities of Leeds, Antwerp, and Amsterdam were chosen as case-study cities because of explicit changes in the ideas underlying their policies. Local 'minorities policies'[1] (Amsterdam and Antwerp) and 'equality policies' (Leeds) in the 1980s and 1990s were guided by the idea that immigrant groups would need special and targeted recognition and support in order to allow for their equal participation in society. These ideas were complemented or replaced by so-called diversity policies at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. In the following, I first want to trace the evolution of diversity policy in each of the cities, and then to shed light on the structures and agents in place and the practices for implementing these policies.

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[1] minderhedenbeleid.

Diversity Policy in Leeds

Immigrant policies started in Leeds in the 1980s, usually promoted under the header of 'equality'. About a decade ago, the notion of 'equality' was complemented by the concept of diversity, resulting in the local 'Equality and Diversity Strategy 2006–08'.[2] The new policy had an expanded remit, taking into account not only the category of 'race',[3] but also disability, gender, and other categories.[4]

Most recently, equality and diversity have become streamlined and embedded as part of the central municipal policy strategy, the 'vision for Leeds'. This delineates goals for Leeds to achieve over the next 20 years and identifies priorities for the next few years in operationalizing this vision.[5] A new partnership structure was introduced, aimed at stimulating collaboration between the municipal organization and the voluntary and private sectors, coordinated by the 'Leeds Initiative Board' (City of Leeds, 2011c, p. 7). Its aim, as one diversity officer explained, is to mainstream attention to the equality and diversity policy and to have it become a mainstream feature of all 'business plans' which are set up by the civil service and its partners when working on one of these priorities. The business plans also provide for embedding equality and diversity in targets and the review of these targets in individual staff members' appraisals. The first year these appraisals were carried out was 2011 (City of Leeds, 2011a, p. 11). Despite this effort to mainstream equality and diversity, the city continued to produce a stand-alone 'Equality and

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[2] Here, Leeds went beyond national policies and law, as the national level at this time was focusing on securitization in the field of integration in response to the 7/7/2005 London bombings, and introduced a combination of different categories with the Equality Act in 2010.

[3] As did the previous 'Race Equality Scheme 2002–05'.

[4] After positive evaluation in the 'Equality and Diversity Strategy Review: Analysis of outcomes and involvement', the policy was continued in 2008 by means of the 'Equality and Diversity Scheme 2008–11'.

[5] These priorities are published in the city priority plan for 2011–14, which was entitled 'Leeds 2015: Our vision to be the best city in the UK' (Leeds, 2011). The City Priority and Council Business Plans also take into account the current financial context by providing a smaller, more focused set of 'must-do' priorities for the city and Council. These priorities are measured through a number of indicators which identify the issues where the city really wanted to make a difference. (City of Leeds, 2011b, p. 16).

Diversity' policy document for the period 2011–15 in order to communicate its priorities on this particular agenda.

Diversity Policy in Antwerp

Activities aimed at the incorporation of immigrants in Antwerp were first initiated by private initiatives in the 1970s, well before Flemish and local policies were introduced.[6] The first two officials dedicated to the accommodation of difference were hired by the municipal authority in 1998, which coincided with the establishment of the decree for ethno-cultural minorities at the level of the Flemish region. These two officials were financed through Flemish funds[7] and were meant to create and realize a coherent policy for the city (Stad Antwerpen, 2001, p. 9). At that time, officers from different services of the municipality, politicians, and citizens formed interdepartmental sounding boards[8] to develop specific policies for the accommodation of difference (Stad Antwerpen, p. 10). The two designated officials defined the basic ideas of the municipal policy and the municipal 'integration service' in their initial document 'All citizens of Antwerp'[9] (1999). This document to some extent already embodied some of the ideas of the later diversity policy. Also, they laid the basis for a municipal 'integration service',[10] which was envisaged as a coordinating centre for the municipal 'integration policy'[11] and a driver for specialized initiatives around integration, functioning under the political supervision of the alderman for integration policy (Stad Antwerpen, 1999, p. 35). The 'integration service'[12] was introduced in 2000 (Stad Antwerpen, 2009a, p. 15), merging earlier activities such

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[6] The Centre for Migrant Workers ('Centrum voor Buitenlandse Werknemers') played a central role here. Today this organization has been renamed 'De Acht' and functions as the integration centre for Antwerp, funded by the Flemish government.

[7] Provided through the 'Sociaal Impulsfonds' (SIF).

[8] 'Interdepartmentaal Overleg Commissies' (IOCs).

[9] 'Allemaal Antwerpenaars'.

[10] 'Integratie dienst'.

[11] 'Integratiebeleid'.

[12] 'Integratie dienst'.

as the 'interpreter's service',[13] the 'reception office'[14] and the 'integration office for newcomers' [15] (Gsir, 2009, p. 8). Their work was given a policy base with the 'policy plan ethnic-cultural minorities 2000–2002',[16] which was accepted by the city council[17] in the summer of 2000 (Stad Antwerpen, 2001, p. 9). The title of this policy reflects the terminology used in the Flemish decree on ethno-cultural minorities, which was in place at that time,[18] and it was introduced in the same year that the extreme-right nationalist party 'Vlaams Blok',[19] had strengthened and won 33 % of the votes in the 2000 local elections.

A city council decree in 2002 then took the initiative for a diversity policy which takes into account different categories and defines diversity as 'a point of departure for the entire city policy' (Gsir, 2009, p. 8). This preceded the Flemish regional level, where ideas of diversity management were only introduced by the Flemish governmental accord of 2004. The responsibilities for the management of integration policy in Antwerp were streamlined from being a mere task of the former integration service to becoming a task for all city services (Gsir, p. 8), including the Center for Public Well-Being (OCMW[20]) and the services of different districts in Antwerp (Stad Antwerpen, 2003, p. 44). In the policy note for 2003–06, diversity management and equal opportunities were depicted as the two central dimensions of Antwerp's integration policy (Stad Antwerpen, p. 38). More systematic contact and financial support of ethno-cultural groups were also part of this policy (Stad Antwerpen, p. 50).

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[13] 'Sociale Tolkendienst'.

[14] 'Centrale voor sociale taalbemiddeling'.

[15] 'Project Integratie Nieuwkomers Antwerpen' (PINA)—This service was initially developed by the 'Centrum voor Buitenlandse Werknemers', but in 1999 became a municipal service and was integrated as part of DIA in 2000.

[16] 'Beleidsplan etnisch culturele minderheden 2000–2002'.

[17] I will in the following use 'city council' and 'municipal organization' interchangeably, the former being the official denomination in the UK context for what is called 'municipal organization' ('stedelijke organisatie') in the Dutch and Flemish contexts.

[18] The Flemish minorities decree was in place since 1998.

[19] After it was convicted for discriminating foreigners in 2004, 'Vlaams Blok' was renamed as 'Vlaams Belang'.

[20] 'Openbar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn'.

The conceptual terms of the policy were developed in two main policy documents: the 'City plan Diversity 2008–12',[21] which depicts the central targets the city wants to work on, and 'Living together in diversity: Policy plan 2009–11'[22], which outlines how the local policy fulfils the requirements of the Flemish decree. There are four central issues the city wanted to work on: reaching diverse groups, a diverse staff, accessibility, and capacity-building to accommodate diversity. The policy included 14 concrete activities, which are then further delineated in yearly action plans (see Stad Antwerpen, 2009b, p. 305).

Diversity Policy in Amsterdam

Amsterdam has a long history of developing and implementing policies for accommodating the increasing diversity of its urban population. Since the 1980s, it has had a policy focused on ethno-cultural minorities which was similar to the national-level policy (Vermeulen & Plaggenborg, 2009, p. 206). In the 'Framework note on municipal minorities' policy'[23] from 1989, the city identified several minorities for receiving specific attention by focusing on their access to participation. It was the increasing dissatisfaction with the ethno-cultural minorities policy in public discourse throughout the 1990s which led to the introduction of the notion of diversity in 1999, symbolizing and communicating a withdrawal from the earlier target-group policy (Vermeulen, 2008, p. 29).

The notion of diversity was defined as concerning all residents of Amsterdam, and also operationalized the notion of 'civic citizenship',[24] making the municipality's expectations of its residents explicit. The policy text sought to give concrete responses to some of the questions which dominated public debate at that time. Since then, the implementation of this new policy has been organized in several work areas, each

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[21] 'Stadsplan Diversiteit 2008–12'.

[22] 'Samenleven in diversiteit: Beleidsplan 2009–11'.

[23] 'Raamnota Gemeentelijk Minderhedenbeleid'.

[24] 'burgerschap'.

of them with its attendant policy texts and documents.[25] Today, these work 'programmes'[26] encompass anti-discrimination, prevention of radicalization and polarization, emancipation of women/girls, emancipation of homosexuals, and 'civic citizenship'.[27] After the recent policy note for the programme on 'civic citizenship' was passed,[28] the department was renamed 'department for civic citizenship and diversity'.[29] Of a different order, but equally representing policy in one way or the other, are the governmental programmes for each electoral period and the plans for the diversity department after reorganizations of the department's structure in 2010.[30]

Although Amsterdam has taken a rather divergent stance from the national policy label of 'integration'[31] in the last decade (Vermeulen, 2008, p. 30), its diversity policy cannot be seen as detached from national debates on integration (Uitermark & Van Steenbergen, 2006, p. 269ff.). The notion of diversity in the case of Amsterdam was redefined several times since its inception, in view of events and public discourses in the 2000s. This is reflected in the fact that Amsterdam over time has replaced the initial policy document 'The power of a diverse city'[32] and its 'Implementation plan for the power of a diverse city'[33] (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2000). An adapted policy text published in 2003 explicitly referred to the public debate on the 'multicultural drama' instigated by

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[25] See, for example: 'Burgerschap en Diversiteit: Geen burgerschap zonder hoffelijkheid 2011'(Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011b), 'Amsterdam is er klaar mee: Beleidsbrief Discriminatie 2011–14' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011a); 'Meerjarenbeleidsplan Participatie 2011–14' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011g); 'Aanpak discriminatie 2009–10' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009a); 'Actieprogramma Amsterdam Gay Capital 2009–11'(Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009b); 'Perspectief en Kansen: Amsterdam's integratiebeleid tegen de achtergrond van het programma Wij Amsterdammers 2006' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2006).

[26] 'programmas'.

[27] 'burgerschap'.

[28] 'burgerschap'.

[29] 'Burgerschap en diversiteit'. In recently published factsheets for the different programmes on the website, 'burgerschap' is depicted as general label for integration policy and as a guiding concept for all programmes in Amsterdam. (http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisatie-diensten/dmo/burgerschap/).

[30] 'Inrichtingsplan afdeling BIND 2010'; 'Afdelingsjaarplan Burgerschap en Diversiteit 2010'.

[31] 'integratie'.

[32] 'De kracht van een diverse stad'.

[33] 'Implementatieplan van De Kracht van een diverse stad'.

Paul Scheffer, the terrorist attacks in New York City in September 2001, and the murder of Pim Fortuyn, as necessitating a reworked immigrant policy framework for Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2003, p. 1). It was published with the title 'Belonging and participating: Starting points for integration in Amsterdam',[34] and was supplemented in the same year by the text 'Integration in Amsterdam: work in progress'.[35]

Starting Premises of Proclaimed 'Diversity Policies'

Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds have all introduced so-called diversity policies over the past 15 years, as I have shown in previous chapters. What are the underlying conceptions of difference and ideas about how difference can be accommodated or conceived as an element of social organization in each of these cases? To answer this question, I analyze the content of local policy texts in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds and provide a comparative analysis of the ideas represented in the three cities. Overall, my findings show a striking similarity in the ideas represented.

The first important point of similarity is the policy texts' emphasis on accepting their population's heterogeneity. Antwerp's first diversity policy (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 12) stated that *'The policy of the city targets all residents. They are nearly half a million of people who live together in the city, who have a lot in common, and who can also be quite different from each other.'* In its Equality and Diversity Strategy, Leeds also emphasizes its demographic diversity. It presents itself as *'a cosmopolitan city. It is a city of many cultures, languages, races, religions and lifestyles. It is a welcoming mix of very different neighbourhoods.'* (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 8). The more recent version of the policy text re-affirms the self-image as '*a diverse and multicultural city with a proud history of welcoming new communities'* (City of Leeds, 2011b, p. 4) (Table **5.1**).

Another point of agreement between the three cities' diversity policies is the suggestion of a positive, profit-oriented, and individual way of approaching difference. A diversity officer from Amsterdam who was

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[34] 'Erbij horen en meedoen: Uitgangspunten voor integratie in Amsterdam'.

[35] 'Integratie in Amsterdam: werk in uitvoering'.

Table 5.1 Key principles of diversity policies in Amsterdam, Antwerp and Leeds

Central principles	Antwerp	Amsterdam	Leeds
Diversity as a fact	'The policy of the city targets all residents. They are nearly half a million of people that live together in the city, that have a lot in common, and that can also be quite different from each other.' (SA, 2008, p. 12)	'Also the last decennia the composition of the city has undergone a metamorphosis. Mainly the influx of people with a different ethnic background has resulted in visible changes in the streets.' (GA, 1999, p. 5)	'Is a cosmopolitan city. It is a city of many cultures, languages, races, religions and lifestyles. It is a welcoming mix of very different neighbourhoods' (LCC, 2006, p. 8)
Diversity as positive	'Difference has quite some advantages. People who are different look differently at problems and tackle them in their way. Thereby an offer becomes richer and more creative.' (SA, 2008, p. 14)	'It is not all about grief and agony, it is not only misery, but it is also a lot about what diversity adds to the city.' (Interview A6 50)	'We want to make sure that we take equality and diversity into account, in a positive way, at every stage of our work' (LCC, 2006, p. 48)
Diversity as profitable	'Dealing with diversity might not always be easy, but diversity for a city as Antwerp can also be an asset' (SA, 2008, p. 14)	'The diversity in backgrounds, orientations and talents of Amsterdam's residents forms the human capital of the city. And this capital can, much better than now, be made use of.' (GA, 1999, p. 18)	'Skills and productivity… the need to recruit, retain and motivate the talent necessary to business growth.' (LCC, 2006, p. 12)

Table 5.1 (continued)

Central principles	Antwerp	Amsterdam	Leeds
Diversity as focusing on the individual, taking into account a number of categories	Everyone is man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, queer or straight, believing or not, disabled or not… (SA, 2008, p. 11)	'Amsterdam's population is not a sum of groups and categories but of individual citizens. Citizens who, each in their own way, are of particular meaning for the city.' (GA, 1999, p. 3) It makes no longer sense to develop policy for THE homo, THE woman, THE ethnic minority member, THE person with a handicap, THE elderly. Experiences, chances and opportunities in society are not determined through one single difference, but through a mix of factors. (GA, 1999, p. 8)	Diversity recognizes that people do not exist in neat and clearly definable groups and most people identify with more than one equality strand at a time. (LCC, 2006, p. 5) I think it is really hard to work in silos (…) you know, like I could fit into anything. I could fit into woman, I could fit into BME, disabled, lesbian, everything. You know, I can't say I look at my needs separately. (Interview B5 181)

involved in the early days of diversity policy in 1999 recalls a shift in perception between 1999 and 2011 toward acknowledgment of the positive value of difference:

> Thus we started to brainstorm and then we arrived at the diversity policy and the most important points of it. And one of them is celebrating the strength of diversity. It is not all about grief and agony, it is not only misery, but it is also a lot about what diversity adds to the city. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

This positive potential of diversity is also emphasized in Antwerp's policy text: *'Difference has quite a few advantages. People who are different look differently at problems and tackle them in their own way. A range of services thus becomes richer and more creative.'* (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 14). Likewise, Leeds commits itself to a positive approach: *'We want to make sure that we take equality and diversity into account, in a positive way, at every stage of our work'* (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 48). The literature noticed this emphasis on the positive effects of plurality as a departure from previous policies with their emphasis on the rights of migrants or minorities (Faist, 2009, p. 177). Taking a positive approach thus permits a shift from focusing on target groups as lacking cultural recognition and lacking an equal position in society, to emphasizing their potential.

Some diversity officers personally identified with this positive approach, whereas others were rather critical. Some officials who were of migrant origin interpreted a positive approach as empowering individuals who start from a difficult societal position. Others saw the idea of a positive approach reflected in the marketing strategy of politicians. They would interpret a positive approach as communicating the dynamism of the city by showing off pictures and testimonies of mixity, for example, by showing coloured people next to white people. Other diversity officers criticized the misleading softness of an emphasis on the positive potentials of diversity.

This brings us to the third common characteristic of diversity-policy texts across the three cities: the 'profitable' aspect of diversity. Diversity is seen as profitable for business, or as Antwerp's policy text puts it: *'Dealing with diversity might not always be easy, but diversity for a city like Antwerp can also be an asset'* (Stad Antwerpen, 2008, p. 14). The language of profit and business can also be found in Amsterdam's policy text: *'The diversity in backgrounds, orientations and talents of Amsterdam's residents forms the human capital of the city. And this capital can be made much better use of than it is now.'* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 7; 18). Leeds also sees its equality and diversity policy as increasing the *'skills and productivity…and the need to recruit, retain and motivate the talent necessary for business growth.'* (City of Leeds, 2006a, p. 12). This idea of diversity as profitable was also discussed in the existing literature. According to Thomas Faist, diversity policy treats individuals as potentially profitable for society or

the organization, and thus emphasizes their talents or competencies and their use for intercultural dialogue and exchange (Faist, 2009, p. 175). He observes that the state is reorienting its attention to the resources of the citizens themselves and is recognizing the resources of solidarity and trust as important ingredients for a democratic civic sphere (Faist, 2009, p. 187). What precisely makes diversity economically beneficial in the cities' policies remains obscure, and evidence for the concrete effects of raising efficiency, for example, is lacking in the literature.

One of the few concrete ways in which the economic benefits of diversity policies were tangible was in the merger of departments dedicated to working on different categories of difference, thus helping to economize existing resources.[36] For instance, Leeds had previously looked at the issue of fear of crime separately from the angle of women, ethno-cultural minorities, people who identify as LGBT, and so forth. By merging separate departments under the header of 'equality and diversity', the city had introduced a general framework for assessing fear of crime amongst minorities, one diversity officer said.

An economic spirit was also reflected in the cities' strategies of diversifying municipal organizations, which was a central activity in all three cities from the very beginning of diversity policies. The concrete goals were to arrive at a workforce that reflects the diversity of the city's population and to have all directorates, departments, and officials institutionalize diversity as part of everything they do. Central to this activity was an aspired 'culture shift' in the municipal organization from seeing citizens as service users to seeing them as customers:

> If Amazon didn't understand its customers, they wouldn't sell as many books or whatever else they sell. I think the Council[37] now has realized that

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[36] However, none of my interviewees mentioned such an economic rationale in their interviews, and there was no official documentation of municipalities' decision-making on restructuring existing departments. Interviewees have mentioned several other possible reasons, such as the aim of creating an identification of officers with the new diversity policy, the aim of addressing the negative reputation of existing departments, the belief in organizational-change theories and their assumption of frequent reorganization as increasing efficiency (Interview A7 546), and the symbolic effect for the broader public of having a diversity department.

[37] In England, a municipal council is the local government of a municipality, which is both a legal and executive body. For relevant legislation see Local Government Act 2000 (Government of the

if you understand the people who are using your services, it will provide better services and it will have more service users. So I think that's been a culture shift. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

The business argument was also depicted as strengthening the position of the diversity department, as it makes the department appear more credible. As one diversity officer in Leeds pointed out, the business language *'makes more sense to people'* and thus puts the department in a better position to communicate equality to the public. This officer further explained that equality is usually seen as being very *'left-wing'*, whereas a diversity approach would be more common-sensical and demonstrate that equality can be an asset for everyone. Here, the difference between diversity and multiculturalism, which I have discussed in Chap. 1, is implied. The latter was often seen as promoting altruistic aims of tolerance and conviviality, and was often equated with the goal of equality.

Structures and Agents for Implementing Diversity Policy

With the introduction of new ideas, based on the evolution of diversity in the US corporate and university sectors, which I discussed in Chap. 1, came the adaptation of existing structures and the emergence of new actors. Local administrations in all three cities created dedicated departments and officials for implementing their local diversity policies. The following section provides an outline of the structural adaptations and the creation of new positions of 'diversity officers'.

Merging Preceding Departments

'Diversity departments' were established in Antwerp's municipal organization in 2007-088, in Amsterdam in the 1990s, and in Leeds in 2004-05.

United Kingdom, 2000).

New officers were recruited to work in these departments in order to implement diversity policies, and I will henceforth refer to them as 'diversity officers'. The diversity departments often were preceded by the parallel existence of 'integration departments', 'gender offices', and 'disability departments', which had originally been established in the 1970s and 1980s, when local governments felt the need to react to the arrival of colonial migrants or guest workers, to feminist and gay movements, and an increasing acceptance of the rights of disabled people. When diversity policies were decided upon, these departments were dismantled and reorganized as 'diversity departments' (see Table 5.2 below). The aim was to create an 'institutional reminder', as one officer explained, as an institutionalized structure would be needed to make other people aware of the new 'diversity' concept and gain attention for the idea (Interview B8 33).

In Antwerp, separate departments had worked on the issues of disabled people, newly arrived migrants, people living in poverty, women, and ethno-cultural minorities in the past. They were merged into a general directorate of 'living together in diversity' in 2007, with the two foci of maintaining contacts with different population groups (the external dimension) and introducing diversity management in the municipal organization (the internal dimension). Each focus was the responsibility of one department, the latter being dealt with by the newly created 'Office for diversity management'.[38]

Leeds had an equality department with three categorically defined subteams working on race, disability, and gender since 1983. These subteams were dismantled and the department reestablished with the new self-understanding of providing more general support on equality and diversity, rather than challenging the municipal organization and taking more of a business-oriented approach.

In Amsterdam, two departments, one working on ethno-cultural differences and one working on women and LGBT emancipation, were dis-

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[38] 'Bureau voor diversiteitsmanagement': I also conducted several interviews with the department focused on the external dimension, but the latter department was where I carried out my fieldwork and spent the most time.

Table 5.2 Reorganising categorically defined departments as diversity departments

	Departments responsible for implementing policies to address difference that preceded the establishment of the diversity department	Department responsible for implementing policies to address difference at the time of my research
Amsterdam	Ethnic minorities Women & LGBT	Department 'Burgerschap en diversiteit'
Antwerp	Disability Newly arrived migrants Poverty Women Ethno-cultural minorities	Department 'Diversiteitsmanagement'
Leeds	Race/BME Disability Gender	'Equality and diversity' department

mantled (Essed & De Graaff, 2002, p. 23), and a new 'Department for diversity and integration' created (Table 5.2).[39]

The merger of these categorically defined departments and their reorganization under the heading of 'diversity' was meant to do away with the approach of different categories of difference in parallel. By merging categorically defined departments and establishing diversity departments, the municipalities created the structural preconditions for considering multiple categories at the same time and to pay attention to issues of migrants, women, LGBT people, and disabled people in a combined way (Table 5.2).

The Location of Diversity Departments

Entering the city-council building in Leeds on the first day of my research traineeship in the equality and diversity department, it was hard not to be impressed by the sheer immensity of the building with its clock tower. A product of the Victorian era, when Leeds's industrial development

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[39] 'Afdeling voor diversiteit en integratie': It was later renamed 'Afdeling Burgerschap en diversiteit'.

flourished due to wool and cloth production, the thickness of the local council building's stone walls is impressive and intimidating. This building lives and breathes confidence in state power and representation. It provided a stark contrast to the thin walls of the house in which I rented a room, just as it must have contrasted with the housing of working classes in nineteenth-century Leeds. Taking the side entrance, I found myself at a reception and being passed a greeting that was incomprehensible to me. I would only later come to identify the thick Yorkshire accent in the receptionist's speech and learn how to imitate a Yorkshire greeting of sorts. After entering a dark subterranean corridor, a sign next to the first door to the right says 'equality and diversity department'. I enter an open-plan office of about 100 m^2 with windows facing north, of which half are subterranean. Entering this room, there is a somewhat chaotic but charming assemblage of a dozen desks dating from the 1970s or 1980s, from which some diversity officers are now looking up, as I am welcomed by the department secretary. One-third of the desks are vacant, due to the loss of several team members in the past year, and I am allocated one of them. One corner is dedicated as a 'cake and tea corner' with two fridges and a kettle. Tea is usually prepared by one team member who considers the very precise individual likes and dislikes of brewing time and amounts of milk and sugar. Only the head of department has a small separate office adjacent to the open-plan office (Picture **5.1**).

This description of the spatial environment of the diversity department matters because it illustrates the power that is not only socially but spatially ascribed to diversity departments within municipal organizations. To date, much of the immigration and immigrant-integration literature has a largely abstracted conception of state activities. It conceives of the power of the state often without specifying the location in which and from which state actors operate, the ways in which state officials entertain relations, and how state officials' positions are subject to changes over time. As space is always stratified, spatial location serves as an entry point to a discussion of institutional structure and the location and practices of diversity officers, in terms of their position in municipal organizations and in the evolution of local immigrant policies, as well as in terms of their implementation of diversity policies.

Picture 5.1   Den Bell building with the offices for the 'department of diversity management', Antwerp

The locality and materiality in which and through which diversity departments operate is relevant, as it informs officials' self-perceptions. In Leeds, the stately stone walls from which officials operate and which they enter and exit day in and out provide them with legitimacy. Diversity departments in all three cities were located in open-plan offices, symbolizing the envisaged cross-cutting and open spirit of these departments. In Antwerp, the imperative of interacting as a diversity department with the rest of the local administration was reflected in the organization of the office space. The newly renovated 'Den Bell' building in Antwerp, an iconic complex originally built as a telephone factory in the industrialization era of the 1880s was organized as flexible office space for 2000 local administrators. Each morning, every worker chose a desk depending on task or need, bringing their laptops in the provided laptop backpack or trolley and storing their jackets and so forth in their personal lockers. Coffee happened around high tables offering free fruit and newspapers. All of these spatial arrangements provided an imperative for continued

Picture 5.2   City Council building with offices of the 'equality and diversity department', Leeds

interaction and shifting collaboration into everyday spatial arrangements. Erasing niches and informing other departments of the diversity concept was already inscribed into the spatial ordering of the offices in which diversity departments operated.

In 2010–11, when I carried out my research traineeships, the three diversity departments had existed for several though different numbers of years. Since their establishment, the departments have experienced a change in their hierarchical and spatial positions within the municipal organization. In Amsterdam, for instance, the department was first part of the 'Bestuursdienst', which is the part of the local administration working closest with the local parliament. It is located in the city hall adjacent to the national opera in the very center of Amsterdam, and provides political assistance to the aldermen. This central position, according to one

of my informants, was decisive for 'putting the [diversity] policy on the map'. After some years, the department became embedded into one of the directorates,[40] implying less power to bring problems directly to the attention of decision-makers. Many officials lamented the increased distance between decision-makers and the diversity department. This move in organizational hierarchy also implied a spatial move of offices from the central city-council building to a less representative office building. These changes in position were important, as diversity officers ascribed them a central role in increasing or declining their visibility and power.

A similar account was given by officers who were integrated in the diversity department in 2010. For them, becoming part of one of the directorates meant becoming a more easily disposable part of the municipal organization and its activities than in more strategic positions with shorter lines to the top management and political levels (Picture **5.3**).

Also Antwerp's office for diversity management experienced a change in position when another hierarchical layer was introduced by way of merging the directorate 'Living together in diversity'[41] with the directorate of 'Integral safety'[42] in 2009. While the department initially worked closely with local councilors and the mayor's office, it became positioned at a more distant location, which reduced the direct relationship and communication with these political decision-makers. This distance became even larger in 2011, as the department was integrated with the department of 'meeting each other', introducing another level of management. However, reorganizations can work both ways, as they can offer new, more influential mandates (Interview C12 24, A7 552) and new opportunities for collaboration (Interview B6 163, C1 164, C3 158, C12 61), just as they can weaken the department and drain individual officers by having them change tasks and positions (Interview B4, 501, C4 245, A14 87, A10 91, C11 41).

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[40] It was embedded in the 'Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling' ('Directorate for Societal Development').

[41] 'Samenleven in diversiteit'.

[42] 'Integrale Veiligheid'.

Picture 5.3 Building of the 'Service for Societal Development' (DMO) with offices of the department for 'civic citizenship and diversity', Amsterdam

In Leeds, the equality and diversity department is in a somewhat more strategic position, as it is located in the directorate for Corporate and Central Functions, which advises and supports the other four, more thematic directorates. However, despite this maybe more privileged position in the organizational structure, in the case of Leeds the equality department over time has also lost some of its more direct links with the highest management levels. When the department was initially installed, it came directly under the leadership of the chief executive, but by the 1990s it was embedded in the directorate for Corporate and Central Functions, and had to report via the head of this directorate to the assistant chief executive of the city council. The shift produced uproar within the team, as diversity officers perceived it as a decline in the team's importance.

Local administrations are overall still organized mainly in functional ways. That means that municipal organizations are compartmentalized into different directorates, similar to national ministries, responsible for economic affairs, education, waste management, city maintenance, building construction, and the like. The number and range of directorates differ from city to city, as does the position of diversity departments within those structures (see Table 5.3). In Amsterdam and Antwerp, 'diversity departments' were located in the directorate of social affairs of the local administration, whereas in Leeds the 'equality and diversity department' was part of a more strategic directorate (Table **5.3**).

Table 5.3 Position of the 'diversity department' within municipal structures

	Leeds	Antwerp	Amsterdam
Departments of the city administration	Central and corporate functions	District and counter services	Government service
	Adult social services	Finance	Housing, care and living together
	Childrens'services	Personnel management	Work and income
	Environment and neighborhoods	Culture sport and youth	Economic affairs
		Living together	Advice and research
		Marketing and communication	Basic information services
		Cultural heritage maintenance	City development
		Governance affairs	Societal development
		City development	Infrastructure and (public) transport
		City and neighborhood maintenance	Facility management
			Environment and construction control
			Spatial organization
			City control
			…

Creating a Team

With the merger of different departments, each focused on one particular category of difference, a new official profile was also created. In all three cities, new people were recruited, both internally and externally, and some of the officers who had worked in earlier departments were integrated into newly established diversity departments. Diversity officers were meant to implement diversity more widely within the municipal organization and/or in city, and they were recruited by municipal governments as 'experts', 'consultants', or 'coaches' on the topic of integration and diversity.

In Antwerp, the team in the diversity department had grown from the two integration officers in 1998 to 14 full-time staff in 2010.[43] Since 2001, one staff member of the integration service[44] was meant to focus on keeping contact with the different municipal departments, and to consult with them on the inclusion of diversity in their policies and activities (Stad Antwerpen, 2001, p. 21). Consultancy with other municipal departments and the 'mainstreaming' of diversity across the municipal organization had by 2010 become the department's main focus.

The diversity department in Amsterdam started out with two officers in the 1990s, and soon grew to a small team of six. Initially located within the 'Bestuursdienst',[45] in 2006 it was integrated into one of the directorates, the 'Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling' (DMO).[46, 47] In 2007, the 're-orientation of Amsterdam's integration policy' resulted in a new team of eight staff.[48] The 'diversity and integration policy' of Amsterdam was understood as a 'facet policy', which means that it aimed to coordinate the implementation of diversity policy across the city and

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[43] About 30 staff members worked in the external department, which was called 'Meeting each other'

[44] 'Dienst Integratie Antwerpen' (DIA).

[45] The service which provides political assistance to the aldermen and which is located in the central townhall.

[46] 'Directorate for Societal Development'.

[47] Only one officer remained in the 'Bestuursdienst'. This was in the function of 'political advisor' responsible for bridging policy-making and implementation, as well as the two different locations. This strict delineation, however, no longer held in practice, one diversity officer said, as the delineation of policy advisors and diversity officers was sometimes blurred.

[48] PPT 'De kunst van het verbinden: Start van de Unit diversiteit en integratie in 2007, DMO'.

in urban districts,[49] which have their own administrative structures and staff resources for working on diversity issues.[50] The composition of the department significantly changed again when the independent PAS bureau and the Programme for Caribbean residents of Amsterdam was merged with the department, with in total five new team members joining and a change of the head of department.[51] The department that emerged was called 'Burgerschap, Integratie, Diversiteit' (BIND!). Its approach was described as a combination of problem-solving, as it was developed after the murder of Van Gogh, and acknowledging the added value of diversity.[52] At the time of my field research, the department counted 15 members, with one head of department, one administrative support, one strategic-process manager, one funding-scheme manager, eight policy advisors, and three programme managers.[53] In 2011, the department was called 'Afdeling Burgerschap en diversiteit' (B&D). It had a wide range of activities, such as providing advice to the alderwoman on diversity, developing policy, administrating a funding scheme, administrating different advisory bodies, and co-ordinating projects in the department's five thematic programmes.

The equality team in Leeds was created in 1983 in response to the introduction of certain anti-discrimination legislation on race, disability, and gender. Over time, it has experienced substantial reorganization and shifts of personnel. The staff working directly on equality in the Leeds

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[49] 'Stadsdelen'.

[50] PPT 'De kunst van het verbinden: Start van de Unit diversiteit en integratie in 2007, DMO'.

[51] The central manager of PAS (the 'regisseur sociale cohesie') and several other team members of PAS have left in the process.

[52] The concept of diversity was evaluated as giving less idea of what the department aimed to do, as it would now just refer to a fact without providing any target in itself. The core elements of the department's activities are thus purportedly given more concrete terms, such as emancipation and participation, prevention of radicalization, strengthening of social cohesion, stimulating inclusive 'burgerschap', and so forth. Each of these core elements was organized along a 'programmatic organizational approach' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010b) A 'programme' was defined by the prominent consulting firm Twynstra Gudde for the municipality of Amsterdam as 'a combination of temporary, linked and dynamic targets, investments and resources, which in a specified environment and in view of restricted resources require to be managed, so that the targets are pursued' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010c).

[53] This count excludes several trainees, one freelance team member who was on sick leave due to a serious health condition, and one temporary head of department who was going to take over the tasks of the current head of department, who was about to go on maternity leave, for a short period.

city council had shrunk from around 40 people in the three sub-teams to nine team members in the equality and diversity team at the time of my research. Today, there is one head of department, one administrator, five senior officials, and two junior officials. Three officers recently left the department as part of spending cuts, and one more official was determined to leave soon. In Leeds, the recession and the austerity measures were concretely referred to by diversity officers, and, in comparison to Amsterdam and Antwerp, their anticipated effects were most tangible. During the time of my research stay in the department, the head of department was involved in talks about a potential re-structuring, and as one officer mentioned, these considerations were expected to continue for the next two years[54]. The activities of the equality and diversity department in Leeds span internal work on equality and diversity, as part of the municipal organization and its activities, and external work with the different communities of the city's population.

Comparing the overall number of officers in the diversity team at the time of my research (left column in the Table 5.4 below) and the number of officers from previous departments still working in the diversity team (right column in the Table 5.4 below), I find that only a small number of officials has stayed on. As one officer from Leeds observed:

> Some of those people just left, you know certainly some individuals who would work in a particular way, in a very professional way, but their personal views were very strong, very anti-certain issues. (…) And for some people it was: this is an interesting challenge and we are up for this, this is the right thing to do, not quite sure how to do it, we are going to have to work together and let's work together to do it. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

So those with a strong conviction about their way of working or the particular category of difference they had been working on were more likely to leave, whereas others were more flexible in committing to a 'diversity'

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[54] Notes from team meeting 13/9/2011. External recruitment in Leeds was frozen at the time of my research and only in exceptional circumstances might exceptions be made, and these would need to be signed off by the director. Also, within the department. there was hardly any prospect for junior offices moving up the hierarchy. According to one diversity officer, any position that became vacant was most likely not going to be replaced.

perspective. In view of the frustration of some team members and their lack of identification with the new policy framework, entirely renewing the team was also a possible strategy in order to get a team that is open to a new diversity policy:

> We also have recruited a lot of people within a short period of time. And that also meant that through the new input people could directly start out with a broad perspective of the diversity department. You felt that through the diversity of people that came to the team we collectively stimulated and people stimulated each other to create a team around the more inclusive [in the sense of including all categories] approach. (Interview C8 97)

Since then, Leeds's diversity department has completely replaced the staff from previous departments. Also, Amsterdam's diversity department is made up of team members who nearly all were recruited after the diversity department was put in place. Only Antwerp still has a larger share of team members who had worked in preceding categorized departments (Table **5.4**).

This reorganization and consequent recruitment provided an opportunity to 'create a diverse team', which involved reviewing traditional recruitment strategies. In Antwerp, for example, the recruitment strategy was to invite applications from non-native speakers and people who had less formal education. The idea was to reach candidates who usually would not apply for a job in a municipal organization, by, for instance, publishing the call for applications not only in the traditional media of the municipality, but also in the publications of civil-society organizations. The job descriptions and requirements were written in simple and undemanding terms, so that individuals would not be discouraged from applying from the outset. This was meant to reach potentially interesting candidates who otherwise wouldn't consider themselves for a public-official job or were not aware of employment opportunities within the municipal organization. The aim was to decrease the barriers for migrant candidates, as migrants and their offspring often lack an awareness of work opportunities in municipal administration. The officers in Antwerp aimed to recruit individuals of migrant origin, and they chose to invest a conscious effort towards this aim.

Table 5.4 From categorical departments to diversity teams: taking over officials

	Total number of officials working in diversity departments at the time of my research	Officers directly taken over from preceding departments and still working in diversity departments at the time of my research
Amsterdam	14 officials	1 official from ethnic minorities department No officials from women and LGBT department
Antwerp	14 officials	No officials from disability department 2 officials from department for newly arrived migrants 3 officials from department working on poverty No officials from women's department No officials from ethno-cultural minorities department
Leeds	8 officials	No officials from race/BME department No officials from disability department No officials from gender department

Although it would not change the picture substantially, I should note that some transfers of staff to the new diversity department are not represented in the above table. These are individuals who left the preceding departments before they were dismantled and later joined the diversity teams and individuals who transferred to the diversity departments but quit before my research. In the case of Amsterdam separate departments targeted at ethnic minorities and at women and LGBT were dismantled already over a longer period in the 1990s. So many officers have left over the years, explaining why only a few officers have been taken over directly. A small number of these officers, who had been working at some point in categorically defined departments in the past, after many years of working in different parts of the organization, now work again in the diversity department. To my knowledge, this applies to two officers in Amsterdam

Relationships with Politicians

Politicians are often described as determining policy, and politicians are depicted as the 'pilots' and officials as the 'co-pilots' of public policy-making (Zincone, 2011, p. 406). Hardly any research exists on the roles

and relationships of politicians and officials in the governance of diversity. In Leeds, a strict protocol regulated the interaction and collaboration between politicians and diversity officers, which made their relationship a rather formal and hierarchical affair. After my arrival, the head of department in Leeds gave me a tour of the local council building. She advised me never to approach local councilors, the mayor, or the chief councilor by using their first names, as one could with other officials, including the head of administration ('chief executive'), but always by using their official titles. For policies that will go to the council to be decided upon, the agreement of the leader of the council, who has the lead role among councillors and is the head of the executive board of the municipal organization, must first be obtained.

In Amsterdam, one diversity officer criticized a certain elitism on the part of those working on the political level vis-à-vis officials. After having been a policy advisor in the past, the officer contrasted the work of politicians from that of public officials as follows:

> I am now learning just much more where policy comes from, on what policy texts are based, with which people they are in contact with. I am also building up a much larger network with the city than before. There you sit in your ivory tower; you sit on a much higher, abstract level. Here, if you are for example working on women's emancipation, you just go and organize an expert meeting on labour market participation. If that doesn't bring you enough information, you go and talk with people from the field, talk to women, write a piece of advice. These are the different strategies you can take up. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

According to several diversity officers, politicians do not want to be told in an authoritative way what they should be doing, as this would reverse the ascribed roles in the hierarchy. They want to determine the direction of policy and see diversity officers as mainly doing preparatory and implementation work. Some diversity officers called for a space for critical exchange between officials and politicians, which, particularly in a reactive and hectic atmosphere, might not be there from the outset. According to some of my informants, critical questions allow an interaction about policy ideas and allow politicians to specify what they want

or mean, and officials to identify with the policy they need to implement. As one diversity officer mentioned, it is also the responsibility of the diversity officers themselves to bring up such critical questions, rather than accepting a politician's ideas without further debate. Being critical is an important prerequisite for the success of a policy, one diversity officer claimed, as it allows pre-empting the criticism one can expect from the broader public in the long run. The most intensive collaborations with politicians recalled by diversity officers were when they were working on new policy texts. As one diversity officer explained, it makes no sense to invent a nice policy without taking the wishes and ideas of the politician who is in charge of immigrant policy into consideration. If he/she does not want your policy, there is no way it will get passed. By way of collaboration, one can ensure that both diversity officers and politicians identify with a policy text once it is finished, some diversity officers said. The intensive collaboration for writing the policy also attracted attention to the diversity department and, according to my informants, *'put it on the map'*. When politicians and officials had worked closely together in developing or implementing a policy, this also provided the basis for continuing to collaborate. Officers emphasized that they can give input and influence policy decisions with their in-depth knowledge (Interviews A10 293, A12 62, A4 162, B8 77, A14 244):

> You really have to determine the course. I find that you are a good policy advisor [the title of most diversity officers in this city was 'policy advisor for diversity'] if you are the one that steers the alderwoman. And not that you ask her 'how do you want it?' That is too obedient. It is you who is the advisor. You know who are the key players in the city. And from there you say, now those three options are there and then you certainly do ask her for her opinion. Then you are a good advisor. And if the alderwoman says that is all not possible, or that is all brilliant, or why actually did you write point one, then you get a discussion, a conversation. And then you can do something, that's the nice thing about it. Especially with this topic where it is a lot about opinions. (Diversity Officer Amsterdam)

Advising politicians and *'becoming sort of partners'*, as one of the diversity officers said, sometimes only works more indirectly and with certain

topics. This is especially true if politicians have a strong opinion about something, as one officer in Antwerp said. Political-party background and overall municipal policy plans might determine a direction. An awareness of politicians' realities and political sensibilities and consciousness, in diversity officers' perspectives, are prerequisites for building working relationships. Good relationships with political representatives and bonds of trust between policy-makers and diversity officers are in their view decisive for having the ideas of both reflected in the policy:

> These personal relationships are important, you have to build up a relationship of respect and trust, I think, because it makes it easier. Sometimes councillors can be very cynical about council officers, they think all we're trying to do is to get in their way and if you do build up good interpersonal relationships, then they will trust you. And they will trust that you understand where they are coming from. (Diversity Officer in Leeds)

Overall, I have shown how local bureaucrats negotiate and strategically mediate their relationships with politicians, which are characterized by hierarchy, but which also can involve close co-operation. In Bourdieu's view, institutions are interlinked and comprised of different and competing actors with various forms of capital, which thereby create a field of power (Wacquant, 2005, p. 16). Bourdieu conceives of the state in this context as a central bank of symbolic capital, guaranteeing all acts of authority, but he breaks with the idea of the state as an organizational monolith and rather looks at its internal divisions and struggles (Wacquant, p. 17). Bourdieu's notion of a 'field of forces' and a 'field of struggles' is instructive here, as it conceives of officials as competing amongst each other and with other actors, within both the government and broader society (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 171).

Diversity officers are embedded in the hierarchies of the municipal organization which they at the same time represent. Understanding chains of command as well as the unwritten rules and codes of communication within the local administration allowed me to grasp the relationships of diversity officers with local politicians. These hierarchies are also clearly reflected in the spatial ordering of the city-council building in Leeds. Only by climbing up the stairs to the brighter offices when given a tour

of the city-council building by the head of department did I arrive at the offices of the managers of the directorate. It is by stepping on red carpets instead of bare stone that we enter the precincts of the political leaders of the city. The crucial question is how structures in which speakers are embedded give them the authority to speak (Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 7–8). This power is 'magical' (Bourdieu, p. 170), not in the sense of being based on the random use of force, but on the use of language. Thus, an ability is acquired to mobilize and to stimulate change through the quality of the relationship and communications between those who speak and those who listen (Bourdieu, p. 192). Having outlined the specific structural and spatial conditions allowing as well as circumscribing their ability to deploy 'acts of authority' and 'authorized acts' (Bourdieu, p. 111), the following section will look more in-depth into the ways in which diversity officers use their 'authority' to speak about and implement diversity policies.

Practices of Implementation

So far, I have provided some details to answer what are diversity policies about, what diversity departments and diversity officers are, and what their position within the municipal organization and vis-à-vis local politicians is. Drawing on Bourdieu's outline of a theory of practice, this section engages with the 'mode of production' of diversity policies. It seeks to make sense of the 'function of the practical mastery' of diversity officers (1977, p. 4). I look at diversity policy as something that is interpreted and becomes meaningful in diversity officers' practice, and how this relates to the structures that at the same time provide the framework of what they do and how these structures are being informed, (re-)defined, and constituted through their activity (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 7).

The guiding question is how the ideas designated in official diversity policies are actually interpreted in practice. In my fieldwork, I participated in the different activities of diversity departments, with some of these activities being similar across the three cities and some more city-specific.

In Antwerp, the main task of the department, which included 14 team members, was to consult other departments of the municipal organization

(10 team members) on how to incorporate diversity policy in their activities. Next to the 10 consultants, one staff member focused on training, one on coaching consultants and provision of methodologies, one was responsible for strategic-policy development and steering the translation of concepts into practice, one was a part-time administrative support, and one was the head of department. Next to specific thematic fields of consulting different directorates, several officers also had a specific minority expertise ascribed to their posts.[55] The external dimension of maintaining contact with different organizations of minority groups in the city was not part of the department's work profile, as this was managed by the more externally directed department of 'Meeting each other'.[56]

In Amsterdam, the main activity was the management of thematic projects, which were organized in five thematic clusters: anti-discrimination, emancipation of women/girls, emancipation of homosexuals, 'civic citizenship', and social cohesion (i.e., prevention of radicalization/polarization). Most of the team members worked as project managers in one of these five clusters. In the thematic project cluster on 'anti-discrimination' at the time of my research, a new two-year policy was being developed under the label 'Amsterdam is over it [discrimination]'.[57] It focused on the fight against aggression and violence through police training, discrimination in public spaces and night life, and discrimination in schools and the workplace. The city also subsidizes a hotline/registration point for incidents of discrimination.[58] The project cluster on 'social cohesion'[59] has developed from the programme 'We, the people of Amsterdam', that was set up in response to the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004. In 2007, it became institutionalized as a separate department entitled 'Programme Amsterdam Samen'[60] (PAS), which was merged with the department for

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[55] Some of the team members were 'experts' on ethno-cultural minorities, highly educated allochtonous, gender, disability, gay, poor, young, and older people.

[56] The work profile however was about to be changed at the time of my research traineeship, and since then the department has substantially reduced its consultation activities vis-à-vis the rest of the municipal organization to focus more on the implementation of projects with external relevance (Stad Antwerpen, 2011).

[57] 'Amsterdam is er klaar mee: Beleidsbrief discriminatie 2011–12'.

[58] 'Meldpunt Discriminatie', see website: http://www.mdra.nl

[59] 'sociale binding'.

[60] 'Programme Amsterdam Together'.

'burgerschap & diversiteit'[61] in 2010. It then became the separate project cluster for 'social cohesion'. The programme was under review during my research and it was envisaged that in the future it would be broadened to look at all kinds of polarization in the city.[62] The thematic project cluster on the emancipation of women was carried out in cooperation with other directorates of the municipality and was considered a theme successfully mainstreamed across the municipal organization. These projects pursued five priorities for the emancipation of women for the policy period of 2011–14: economic independence, self-determination, raising young women to be self-confident, emancipation of fathers, and visibility of lesbian women (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011d). The thematic project cluster on the emancipation of homosexuals included activities such as the campaign 'Amsterdam Gay Capital' and the yearly 'Gay Pride' parade (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011e). 'Civic citizenship'[63] was the most recently developed thematic project cluster of the department. The notion of 'civic citizenship' was also incorporated into the name of the department, which is now called department for 'civic citizenship and diversity'.[64] The policy text on 'civic citizenship'[65] was finalized and approved during the time of my research. It promoted 'hoffelijkheid'[66] as a civic virtue of Amsterdam's residents when dealing with each other in the city. Concrete activities in the area of sport, transport, education, and in the urban districts[67] were developed (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011f). Another project cluster was targeted at Caribbean Amsterdammers ('Programma Caribische Amsterdammers 2010–13'). It was based on a

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[61] Back then the department was called 'diversiteit en integratie'.

[62] With this reconceptualization of the agenda, the city also envisaged a redistribution of responsibilites for the prevention of polarization. The department 'Burgerschap & diversiteit' would focus more on the preventative aspects, whereas the more repressive aspects would be dealt with by the directorate for public order and safety ('Directie Openbare Orde en Veiligheid').

[63] 'Burgerschap'.

[64] 'Burgerschap en diversiteit'.

[65] 'burgerschap'.

[66] 'courtesy'.

[67] 'Stadsdelen'.

particular national funding stream and was operational until the end of 2013.[68]

The department in Leeds organized its activities into five key areas: consultation, policy development, communication and information, performance improvement, and partnerships (City of Leeds, 2006b). Consultation with the city council's directorates was the largest share of the departments' activities,[69] with each of four senior officers being responsible for one of the directorates. Next to this main activity the department also develops the city's policy on equality in line with national guidelines, for which one senior officer was responsible. The department also monitored the service provision of the city council in terms of how it addressed equality in so-called 'Equality impact assessments'.[70] The Equality and Diversity department kept track of the different impact assessments, although by 2011, due to the austerity measures, department resources had become too restricted to quality-assure and publish all the 'Equality impact assessments' (EIAs) of the entire organization.[71] The department provided administrative support to the so-called corporate staff networks for staff identifying as women, BME (Black and Minority Ethnic), disabled, and LGBT to represent their interests within the council. The Equality and Diversity department also commissioned an external organization to provide training for the city council and its officers on equality and diversity. Also, some LGBT awareness training was

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[68] The department further works together with the municipal directorate for research and statistics for the development of the 'Integration and diversity monitor' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011c) and the yearly report on the 'State of the city' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011h) publications, which provide statistical data and data from the city's resident surveys. The department also managed its own funding scheme for minority initiatives and organizations, the so-called 'Subsidieverordening Integratie en Participatie' (SIP). The SIP regulation focuses on voluntary activities that span different urban districts, whereas the individual urban districts have additional funding provisions in place which target initiatives on the neighbourhood level. Over the years, the city of Amsterdam has moved from giving structural subsidies to migrant associations, to more project-related subsidies for all voluntary organizations, to again providing some periodic funding to selected organizations. These were made conditional on collaboration with other organizations and on linking different groups of Amsterdam's residents with one another.

[69] These directorates are 'Adult Social Care', 'Children's Services', 'City Development', and 'Environment and Neighbourhoods'.

[70] For a discussion of methodology, see the section on the UK's equality legislation in Chap. 4.

[71] Proposal for quality assurance of 'giving due regard', presented at Equality and Diversity Board, 8/9/2011.

made available through the LGBT staff network. They ran an Equalities Assembly, a sort of citizen assembly, which invited local communities to have their say on decisions by the local authority.

As we now have some overview of the activities carried out in each individual city, the following sections shed light on the concrete practices I observed in the everyday work of local diversity officers. Consultancy with other departments in the municipal organization and project activities were the two most prominent activities of diversity departments in the three cities and I focus on these two activities in the remainder of this chapter. Other activities were the organisation of migrant councils and the administration of funding schemes.

Consultancy: Institutional Position and Position vis-à-vis Politicians

One of the core activities of diversity departments was consultancy with other departments in the municipal organization. The goal was to make other departments consider diversity in their activities, i.e., to consider social differentiations on the basis of ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability in their work (Interviews B3 230, B6 14, C1 31).[72] According to my informants, this involved making a policy known across the organization (Interview A6 95) and ensuring rather than simply assuming the acknowledgement and recognition of the diversity concept (Interview C6 199). Importantly, the diversity department's advice was an elective and a non-binding offer to other departments, so it required creating a certain commitment and agreement. I could observe the consultancy activity directly in Antwerp and Leeds, and I will draw on these observations in the following discussion. I participated in trainings and individual meetings and interviewed officials from other departments who had been consulted by the diversity department. Similar activities were carried out in the first years of the 'diversity department' in Amsterdam, but no longer were a core activity at the time of my research.

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[72] Consultancy claimed the lion's share of the department's human resources, with 10 of 14 team members working on consultancy in Antwerp and five out of ten team members working on consultancy in Leeds, three of whom dedicated their full time and two part of their time to this task.

The 'diversity team' in Antwerp, according to several 'diversity officers', was not in a position to impose their understanding of 'diversity' on other departments, as they were themselves just one department within a directorate (Interview C6 224, C3 158, C8 505). They therefore relied on a soft approach, stimulating a change of other departments' actions by showing some empathy to the department's situation and by accompanying this with a learning process. One officer metaphorically illustrated the practice involved as follows:

> We [the diversity department] see things and say 'you [another municipal service] shouldn't sell brooms anymore because people don't need them any longer'. And they say: 'But we thought maybe we could sell brooms with nice flowers on them'. [The diversity department:] 'Well, this is not going to help, because they are still brooms.' This is sometimes difficult and my strategy is you have to go a little bit with them to be able to let them experience themselves along the way that maybe brooms are no longer really needed. The other way would be to tell them: 'No, if you are working on brooms, we cannot do anything for you.'… Thus you again and again have to search for ways of entrance to put diversity on the agenda and to make an appeal to their responsibility and to some extent provide them with support.' (Diversity Officer in Antwerp)

Trying to convince other departments was an incremental process, and diversity departments essentially depended on the willingness of other departments to take up their advice, as this diversity officer's statement illustrates. While some departments were open to this advice and allowed diversity departments to have some success in their work, other departments simply rejected their advice or interpreted diversity as they saw fit. For instance, the department for construction and building management in Antwerp wanted to work on equal access for people with a disability, but they were less interested in working on equal access in relation to gender, ethnicity, or religion. This partial appropriation of the diversity concept illustrates how consulted departments had an important role in defining the meaning of diversity.

This mismatch between the diversity policy implemented by the departments and the insistence of the consulted department on its own

definition of diversity is due to the diversity departments' position in the organizational hierarchy.

The institutional position of 'diversity departments' was clearly significant in determining the extent to which it could set the terms of cooperation with consulted departments. The meaning of 'diversity' thus was contingent on the position it was ascribed within institutional hierarchies. Consulted departments in Antwerp were not obliged taking the advice of the diversity department on board and the diversity department only had the power of persuasion at its disposal. The diversity department's position within the structures of the local administration was significant in controlling the consistent implementation of diversity policy. The move away from positions high up in the institutional hierarchy and further away from political representatives was significant, as it implied a loss of the power to impose the diversity concept on other departments in the municipal organizations, and thus to implement the policy successfully.

Consulting different city directorates[73] was also a core task of the equality department in Leeds, next to policy development, communication and information, performance improvement, and partnerships (City of Leeds, 2006b). Each of the four senior officials was responsible for consulting one of the directorates. Contrary to Antwerp, the consultation in Leeds was not without obligation. The directorates had to report through so-called Equality Impact Assessments how they had considered equality and diversity in their policy decisions. The diversity department collected these and evaluated whether the directorates were doing enough for the local council to fulfill its duties in view of national anti-discrimination laws. The national legal framework in the case of Leeds provided a crucial imperative for local directorates to consider the advice of the equality and diversity department. In comparison to the Antwerp case, the legal framework allowed for a more powerful position of the equality and diversity department. Furthermore, it is important to note that the chief executive in Leeds was highly committed to the diversity agenda. There

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[73] These directorates at the time of my research were organized along four themes: 'Adult Social Care', 'Children's Services', 'City Development', and 'Environment and Neighborhoods'.

is also a cross-organizational group of senior officers from all directorates who discuss and follow up equality and diversity in the 'Equality and Diversity Board' chaired by the head of the equality and diversity department. Participating in one of the board meetings allowed me to get the feeling that the equality policy was fairly well established as an aspect of the municipal organization's activities, and that there is a fairly responsive and responsible network of representatives from all the sections of the city council involved in following up on equality and diversity. In this case, the relationship to national-level legislation was more significant than the internal hierarchies of the municipal organization.

Another form of consultancy activity was the advice provided to local politicians, especially the local alderwoman, which was an important part of the diversity team's work in Amsterdam. When arriving in the diversity department in Amsterdam, I was immediately confronted by an overwhelming atmosphere of high stress and reactivity to demands for writing speeches and delivering information to the alderwoman, which was an important part of the diversity team's work. According to some of my informants, this atmosphere can only be understood through the historical context, as a more mediatized and reactive atmosphere has evolved since the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a Muslim extremist in 2004. Politicians have increasingly demanded to be consulted by the diversity department, as they wanted to leave a mark and appear in the media (Interview A14 186, A9 199). The concept of 'management by speech' was introduced as a new imperative for politicians' presence in the local and national media in reaction to events in the city. It would involve not only getting attention from the media, but also 'just to be there,[74] about 'being closer to what is happening and being willing to explain things'.[75] According to my informants, a shift in political culture has taken place and politicians want to take a more proactive role in determining where diversity is going (Interview A9 461). Such a change in political culture involved, according to one officer, a tangible shift from a politics which emphasized expertise to a politics which puts the emphasis on political authority:

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[74] City of Amsterdam, memo 27 May 2011 from diversity officer to alderwoman Van Es.
[75] (Schop, 2015)

> And I realize, having worked for [an earlier mayor] how much value that had for me to work for someone like this, who was moderate and gave a lot of attention for substance and expert knowledge, and who was trying to do good things. Well, this has changed, there is less attention for substance and expertise, it is much more about the political power position. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

Diversity officers clearly perceived this change of political culture as detrimental to the implementation of the diversity policy, and that it also reflected their subordinated position vis-à-vis local politicians. For some officers who strongly disagreed with the mayor or alderwoman, their subordinate power position resulted in a painful choice: either they accepted letting go of their own ambitions and ideals, or they had to leave. The account of one diversity officer describes her strategy as 'chugging along'[76]:

> It is just chugging along, in fact. It remains to take opportunities in a context in which you are embedded, and the context is one of these times with this climate with these politicians and this municipal organization, and these budgets. Thus these are all restrictions. And within that every once in a while an opportunity comes by. And then you need to make someone warm to take this opportunity. That's a bit my conviction. And to try to give all these people that are active in the city—there are so many driven, engaged, warm people, who do their best for other people, with whom they are in a network—appreciation. I think this is the most important. That they don't get money and that this has political reasons, this is something they know as well. But the appreciation is the most important, I think. (Diversity Officer in Amsterdam)

The consultancy of local politicians in Amsterdam thus reflects the significance of the role ascribed to officials vis-à-vis politicians.

Also in Leeds, I could observe some initial meetings with a selected number of local councillors from different political parties in order to consult them on promoting a more informed discussion of diversity in the city council. They were meant to become so-called 'equality champions'.

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[76] 'gewoon schipperen'.

In the context of Leeds, politicians did not very proactively demand advice regarding equality and diversity from the local administration. Rather, it was the officials who tried to stimulate more activity from the councillors.

We find some differences across the three cities regarding diversity departments' power to consistently implement diversity policies in their consultation activities. The strategic positioning of the 'Equality and Diversity' department within the institutional hierarchy in Leeds, together with the strong national legal framework in the UK, put the 'diversity officers' in a better position for implementing 'diversity policy' than their colleagues in Antwerp, for example. The streamlined position of the 'diversity department' within the municipal organization in Antwerp, and the lack of a legal framework as leverage vis-à-vis other departments, put them in a weaker position to implement 'diversity policies' consistently. In Amsterdam, increasing demands from politicians for writing speeches filled much of diversity officers' time, creating a difficult position for the team in finding time for the projects they had developed for implementing diversity policy. The position of the diversity department within organizational hierarchies, national legislation, and the relationship of bureaucrats with politicians were thus three decisive factors for defining how diversity was shaped in practice.

Overall, the institutional position of a department, national legislation, and the position and relationship of diversity officers vis-à-vis politicians in the different cities had an important effect on the interpretation of diversity.

Project Work: Categorical Foci as Intrinsic to the Governmental Way of Working

Project work is another way in which diversity policies were implemented. They often were carried out in collaboration with or assigned to civil society organizations, cultural institutions, corporate actors, or other departments in the municipal organization. Analyzing the implementation of these projects in practice can shed light on the question and how diversity is interpreted in the implementation of diversity policies. Do they accept heterogeneity as a characteristic feature of the whole society, and do they

conceive of difference as something positive and profitable, focused on the individual and taking into account different layers of diversity?

Project work was the main activity in Amsterdam, and it was to become the main form of activity of the diversity department in Antwerp, and it is therefore these cities I will focus on in this section.[77] In Leeds, the establishment and running of the 'Equalities Assembly' could be qualified as the department's main project, next to its consultancy activities and strategic policy management.

In Amsterdam, projects were organized in the five thematic clusters of 'fostering civility', 'social cohesion', 'prevention of radicalization and polarization', 'anti-discrimination', and 'emancipation & participation' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010a), as outlined earlier, and in Antwerp around 'fostering talents', 'creating a sense of togetherness', and 'securing basic liberties in families' (Stad Antwerpen, 2008). Taking a closer look at the specific activities carried out, some attempted to broaden the scope from a focus on immigrants to taking into account the perspective that diversity concerns the whole society and involves a number of different variables. For instance, in Amsterdam's strategy of 'civic citizenship',[78] which was integrated as a new element of the diversity policy in 2011, many envisaged activities did not focus on any particular category of people. They included media campaigns and flash mob interventions on the local metro, which were meant to promote the importance of 'hoffelijkheid' (courtesy) and to create awareness about and acceptance of 'hoffelijkheid' as a public value. These campaigns promoted the acceptance of diversity as an intrinsic fact and reality of contemporary cities, which does not target one particular group, but addresses all kinds of residents. However, most activities carried out by diversity departments took a more limited focus. A project for training immigrant women for instance was targeted at Turkish women. Other projects were aimed at Muslim or poor youngsters, for instance, a project for countering Muslim youngsters' radicalization in Amsterdam and a 'weekend school' project

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[77] In Amsterdam, 10 of the 14 team members were involved in implementing the department's different work programmes. In Antwerp, most of the 10 team members who consulted other departments were selected for carrying out project work in the future, as it had been decided that consultancy activities were to be reduced at the time of my research.

[78] 'burgerschap'.

targeted at youngsters from sensitive neighborhoods in Antwerp. Also, the Equalities Assembly in Leeds in a way took a more targeted approach. While it officially pursued the broader aim of involving all kinds of residents in the local policy decision-making process, it was in practice organized in separate, categorically defined hubs. Having a voice in the Equalities Assembly thus required one to decide in which category one wanted to have a say. By carving out specific population groups, such as 'migrant women' or 'Muslim youngsters', the focus of 'diversity departments' was often narrowed down from the 'whole society', as set out in policy goals, to specific 'problem groups'. Contradicting the combined approach outlined in these cities' diversity policies, these activities construed even more narrowly defined target groups based on combining two categories.

There are different possible ways of explaining such a practice. One possible explanation foregrounds officials' individual profiles and positioning. Having a migrant background themselves, or having specialized on questions of gender, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, officials can be more inclined to work on and invest in some population groups than others. Projects targeting particular 'problem groups' often were managed by officials who themselves had contacts with or a particular knowledge of that particular group, sometimes by having a similar background themselves. As one may argue, officials' individual profiles and positioning are therefore one possible explanation for a practice which concentrates on particular groups instead of addressing the whole population. Another possible explanation foregrounds the path-dependency of institutions. A continued focus on specific groups in a project can be interpreted as a path-dependent effect of previous policies of multiculturalism. As we know from institutional research, it generally takes a long time to change institutional logic and ways of working. It thus isn't surprising if bureaucratic practice lags behind official policy declarations. My observation of the Equality Assembly in Leeds would support such an explanation, as hubs created for 'traditional' equality strands of ethnicity or disability were particularly strong and vocal, whereas newer strands of age or religion and belief were more difficult for local 'diversity officers' to get off the ground. The continued relevance of 'categorical' knowledge and contacts with pre-

ceding departments supports explaining the Equality Assemblies' ways of working as 'path-dependent'. Also, Amsterdam's project of countering the radicalization of Muslim youngsters could be interpreted as following on from a particular attention to religion and radicalization of youngsters after the murder of Theo van Gogh. A third possible explanation takes a more macro-level sociological approach, interpreting the focus on problem groups as an expression of the more general logic of government. According to Foucault, the 'art of government' (Foucault, 1991), also referred to as 'governmentality', operates by creating specific categories and using them to regulate and control populations. According to Dean (2010):

> such categories arise from and are necessary to, particular regimes of practices concerning the provision of welfare. They are not simply components of ideology. These are first of all governmental categories that are produced within specific practices and with attendant forms of knowledge and expertise. Such categories—and related forms of knowledge—are necessary to the processes of the distribution of welfare benefits and other social services in liberal democracies.

And indeed, thinking through the actual tools of government officials in their work, it becomes clear that developing an activity or project on a particular topic requires defining who is being targeted with the activity or project, i.e., defining a 'target group'. Sometimes, the target group can be the whole population, but often activities will target a circumscribed section of the local population.

To sum up my findings on the practices of diversity officers in project work, I found that project activities often focus on specific target groups, breaking down the broad notion of diversity into more specific foci. I provided different possible explanations, including individual preference or choice, institutional path-dependency, and the logic of governmentality. None of these explanatory perspectives on its own provides an encompassing explanation, as we have seen in the examples given. Therefore, I conclude by arguing for taking into account the combined effect of individual dispositions, institutional dynamics, and the logic of government, and to consider them complementary explanatory factors.

An Implementation Gap

In this chapter, I have shed light on some of the elements at play in the interaction of institutional structures and agency when diversity is interpreted in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds. Institutional hierarchies (which informed diversity officers' position vis-à-vis both other departments and politicians), rules (legislation), path-dependency and logics of working (governmentality), and individual preferences of officers informed the practice of implementing diversity policies. Their capacity to determine the interpretation of diversity in consultancy activities, as well as their ability to implement the ideas ascribed to diversity in official policies through their project work, were limited.

In order to interpret these findings, let me reiterate the core ideas pursued by diversity policies in the three cities: They acknowledge 'diversity' as a general characteristic of society, alluding to the demographic changes that have taken place due to migration and the pluralization of lifestyles and household forms. They define 'diversity' as a positive approach to social differentiation, countering negative representations of immigration and the resulting pluralization of the population. Diversity is also seen as productive for the city, as something which potentially can be made into a benefit, although it is often unclear precisely how this benefit comes about. These policies promote an individual and broad approach to society, and take into account a number of categories (ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, (dis-)ability, and religious belief), thus going beyond targeting ethnic groups, which is seen as a defining characteristic of multicultural policies.

Comparing the practice of diversity departments and official policy proclamations, we find a gap between what local administrations say about diversity and what they do. The cities had the idea of approaching differentiation on an individual basis, which takes various categories into account at the same time. Yet in their activities, they often singled out target groups. In consultancy work, the meaning of 'diversity' was shrunk to looking at particular categories, such as disability, and confined to a 'reactive politics', with politicians prioritizing saying something rather than promoting policy. They envisaged a positive and productive approach to 'diversity', but often problematized social differentiation through their practices. Different projects usually focused on so-defined 'problem groups'. Activities for implementing 'diversity policies' diverged from the

goals formulated in the policies. Contrary to what 'diversity policies' said, activities of carrying out consultancy and project work, as well as managing an Equality Assembly, did not go beyond the problematization of social differentiation. This is inconsistent with the ideas of approaching differentiation as positive and of taking into account multiple categories.

Having identified an 'implementation gap'[79] at the local level allows a more nuanced assessment of the 'diversity' concept and differentiating between what is being said and what is being done. The ways in which 'diversity departments' were set up and diversity officers recruited in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds reflected a combined and positive approach to differentiation, whereas implemented activities reflected some of the problematic potential pointed to by scholars. This confirms that ideas are important, but need to be considered in conjunction with the institutions and actors involved in interpreting them.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyzed the organizational structures, agents, and practices involved in the implementation of local diversity policies. Diversity departments were created by merging previous departments which had looked separately at specific categories of difference. The diversity department's position in the structures of the municipal organization has changed over the past several years and has lost some of its strategic position. Also, the profile of officials has changed, as previous staff had been thoroughly replaced by new officers, who sometimes were migrants or LGBT or gender activists themselves. In the practices of implementing diversity policies, the importance of these organizational structures and profiles of diversity officers in the actual work of diversity officers becomes evident. The limited institutional power of diversity departments and the fact that they are exposed to politicians and their ideological preferences and political styles partly explain the striking gap between the initial ideas of diversity policies and actual practices for implementing these policies.

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[79] The notion of 'implementation gap' has been developed by Lahav and Guiraudon (2006), amongst others, who applied it to their analysis of the policy area of immigration control by national governments.

At the same time, the individual discretion of officials and the bureaucratic logic of governmentality contribute to this gap, as is reflected in the continued attention on target groups and the emphasis of one category of difference over others under the header of diversity.

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6

Paradigmatic pragmatism:
The Character of Local Responses
to Difference

In the preceding chapters I started out from the idea that local policy responses to difference are constituted by the interaction of a set of ideas, organisational structures and cultures and the agency of the individuals involved in creating and implementing these policies. I traced the underlying ideas of diversity, contextualising their evolution and their relationship to ideas of multiculturalism. I analysed the changes in the local administrations and the introduction of expectations of entrepreneurialism and authenticity in diversity officials' profiles. I furthermore contextualised local-level policy making and assessed the influence of the national level, of local level specificities as well as city networks. Based on my empirical findings I pointed out the gap between the ideas that are promoted in official diversity policies and the actual activities carried out. In this final chapter, I now will further engage with the identified mismatch between official policy declarations and actual practice. I introduce the notion of 'paradigmatic pragmatism' to capture the practice of combining ideas of multiculturalism, assimilation and diversity under the header of 'diversity'.

Local diversity policies thus represent not only a change of title from earlier multicultural 'minorities' or 'equality' policies, but also an actual change in some of the ideas on how to approach mobilizations of difference. However, the ideas promoted under the header of diversity are not straightforward, as I argue in this chapter. Rather than continuing with the same policies under a new label or wholeheartedly replacing earlier politics with a new approach, we find that 'diversity' is a container concept for promoting different approaches to difference simultaneously. Different activities reflect a range of policy ideas and are inspired by paradigms of multiculturalism, assimilation, and an emerging paradigm of diversity. By developing the concept of paradigmatic pragmatism, this chapter crystallizes what kind of politics can be found under the header of diversity in European cities, and thereby answers this study's central question.

Diversity: A New Politics of Difference

In current academic debates about the development of different reponses to difference, the notion of diversity has been referred to as the most recent of several approaches to such accommodation, including multiculturalism, assimilation, and interculturalism. In view of the waning of older approaches, it is not always clear how we can classify emerging concepts such as diversity. Does diversity introduce a new paradigm that goes beyond assimilation and multiculturalism? Or is it just a symbolic shift, with the same activities continuing under a new name? Starting out from the question 'how is diversity defined in theory and practice', I have explored in the preceding chapters how the notion of diversity has been coined, delineated, stretched, and refined. I found very similar delineations of diversity in cities' policy texts, introducing an acceptance of diversity as a demographic fact, taking various categories of difference into consideration, and emphasizing the profitability and potential benefits of diversity. At the same time, interviews with diversity officers and my observations of their activities also revealed a continued attention to target groups. as well as a problem-centred approach to difference under the aegis of diversity. Most diversity officers upheld the continued importance of measures for achieving equality, but felt there was limited space to work on equality in practice. In light of

these empirical findings, this chapter will challenge the idea that diversity is only 'old wine in a new bottle', and analyze the mixture of ideas currently promoted in cities such as Amsterdam, Leeds, and Antwerp.

Diversity in the first instance served as an important symbol. It communicated to the public that the city is moving on from earlier multicultural approaches. Diversity thus provided a new label for immigrant policy. However, this does not necessarily mean diversity is only symbolic in nature. I will argue that diversity also involves new 'substance'. It introduces new ideas which are in practice combined with ideas from previous policies. Diversity indeed allows the continuation of some previous ideas on the accommodation of difference, but combines these with other, more recent, or even older ideas. The main point of this chapter will be to explore why we can define diversity in practice as combining different, older, and newer ideas under a new label. This entails making 'diversity' a policy label which is politically more acceptable than previous ones, and beneath which, for example, anti-discrimination programmes and recruitment programmes for diversifying the municipal staff are combined. I will assess whether these different elements are compatible and evaluate the effect of the symbolic use of diversity on its substance.

Diversity as a New Label

In the past 15 years, many cities in Europe changed their policy responses to difference to react to a perceived crisis of multiculturalism. The 2001 riots in Leeds, ongoing debates and local events in Amsterdam, and the increasing pressure of the political right in Antwerp epitomized this discourse about a crisis of multiculturalism at the local level, and created an imperative for a paradigm shift. Many cities replaced local policies which were more multicultural in character and introduced 'diversity' policies instead. Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds are three cases in point, as they are all located in national and regional contexts where the notion of multiculturalism was contested in public discourse, as triggered by the riots in northern UK cities in 2001 and the London bombings of 2005 (Eade, Barrett, Flood, & Race, 2008), public debates on a 'failure of multiculturalism' instigated by Pim Fortuyn, Paul Scheffer, and Geert Wilders

in the Netherlands (Entzinger, 2003; Penninx, Garces-Mascarenas, & Scholten, 2005; Vasta, 2007), and the change in the composition of the regional government in Flanders (Adam, 2011; Gsir, 2009; Motmans & Cortier, 2009). The murder of Theo van Gogh was another turning point for the diversity policy in Amsterdam. All these events were interpreted in public debate as culminations of the failure of multiculturalism, which was made responsible for the creation of terrorism, segregation, and the rise of the political right. An officer in Amsterdam said:

> I still remember on the day that Van Gogh was murdered we were sitting in the meeting and everyone was totally mixed up. And we were agreeing that well, this really puts a bomb under everything we are doing. And how are we going to deal with that? (Diversity Officer Amsterdam)

Politicians in these national and regional contexts subsequently avoided the term 'multiculturalism', erasing it from their vocabulary (Interview B1 506, B2 438, B6 29), and introduced local 'diversity' policies instead. Diversity was the dominant label in all cities, whereas such concepts as equality or civic citizenship were sometimes used to complement this label.

By changing the label of policies, 'diversity' symbolized a change from what had come to be seen as a problematic multicultural politics. In Antwerp, diversity policy was used to signal the proactivity and productivity of the municipality after the landslide victory of the far right in the elections in 2000. In Leeds, the municipality wanted to redefine the city's approach to equality and introduce new concepts after the riots in 2001. In Amsterdam, diversity was used to symbolize the overturning of the previous minorities policy, which had become discredited in public debates over the years.

Diversity thus came to be used as an official policy label because of its symbolic value in signaling a turn away from, or as complementing terms such as, 'minorities policy' or 'equality policy'. However, stating this symbolic use of diversity doesn't mean that diversity is nothing but a symbol in times of public anxiety. I disagree here with authors who posit that diversity represents only 'old wine in a new bottle' (Faist, 2009; Lentin & Titley, 2008). As I will show in the following discussion, the new policy label of diversity implied a change of underlying

ideas and structures by way, for example, of campaigns targeting the whole society through the newly established 'diversity departments'. The introduction of new policy concepts can lead to the reorganization of the diversity department's structures, which I discussed in Chap. 3. This reorganization can make the department more visible or approachable, and provide a position that allows it to get out of the niche of ethnic relations. A new label does have an impact on defining the response to difference, and might imply a new prioritization in the department's work, as one diversity officer said. Other diversity officers mentioned that it might also change the roles of individual diversity officers, allow access to additional staff resources and budget, and trigger a collective redefinition of organizing different work areas within the team. How new policy concepts and ideas are linked will be further explored in the following section.

Diversity as a New Paradigm?

Often a new concept emerges first as a marker and conceptual container, but can then be filled with meaning. A new label can thus allow the development of new substance. This was most clearly expressed in reference to Amsterdam's 'burgerschap' policy, developed to complement the city's diversity policy in 2010:

> The alderwoman naturally needed to come up with something, well, this is what it became. Now that she had that, she can go forward. Thus her marker point[1] is accomplished and now the alderwoman can go on and we thus too. Only now one can really give it substance and one doesn't need any more all these governmental decisions and all that. There is a budget, a common denominator, within which you can do things. (Diversity Officer, Amsterdam)

Diversity was not only a new label, but a concept that also provided distinct ideas on the adequate response to differentiation and hetero-

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[1] 'piketpaaltje.'

geneity. Diversity thus can be interpreted as a new locally adopted 'paradigm', that is a system of ideas which reflect a certain vision or 'taken-for-granted world view' (Campbell, 2002).

Ideas of Diversity

The diversity policy texts in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Leeds put the emphasis on accepting diversity as a fact, as something positive and beneficial. They focused on the individual, instead of the group as in multicultural approaches, and on various categories of difference addressing ethnicity, gender, age, disability, and religion. These ideas were reflected for instance in the Equality Assembly in Leeds, which invited people to have a voice on questions of ethnicity, gender, disability, and so forth. They differ from the ideas that had been promoted in previous policies, and in conjunction with one another they have some paradigmatic quality.

Activities carried out in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds reflected these distinct ideas for responding to difference. Yet, they also combined these new ideas with earlier ones under the label of 'diversity'. A change of label did not necessarily mean that all of the ideas and activities of previous policies were abandoned, but some elements of preceding policies were continued despite the devaluation of the policy label. As one officer in Amsterdam put it *'you already have quite some things that are happening, but it is about putting them in a new jacket'*. Diversity policy, in other words, allowed continuing activities which reflect the ideas of earlier immigrant incorporation paradigms. As Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010, p. 18) argue, a seismic shift of policies away from multiculturalism has failed to appear. Thus, the introduction of a new idea may well go hand in hand with continuing some existing multicultural ideas, as my empirical data confirms.

Ideas of Multiculturalism

Diversity policies in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds often incorporated earlier ideas on the accommodation of difference as they were continued in some of the activities of municipal diversity departments. Manifestations of a multiculturalism paradigm, for example, were still present in the context of these local diversity policies. There are numer-

ous definitions of multiculturalism, but two key ideas can be defined to be at multiculturalism's core: cultural recognition, and social equality and participation (Vasta, 2007, p. 7). Multiculturalism bestows value on cultural pluralism and emphasizes the rights of migrants to hold on to their cultural heritage. The state is meant to ensure that cultural groups are recognized (Faist, 2009, p. 176). In local practice, this was often implemented by identifying 'target groups' that received specific attention or funds by state institutions. In the cities under research, activities targeted at specific groups or to tackle discrimination were still implemented. In Amsterdam, for instance, there was still a programme for people of Caribbean origin and one particularly targeted at lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people in 2010, 10 years after diversity policy was introduced there.

Ideas of Assimilation

Also, some ideas of assimilation were present in the practices of officials. Assimilation is depicted in the literature as a process of absorption or becoming similar (Vasta, 2007, p. 4), of adopting the rules and values of the dominant society and the denial of any relevance to diversity (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010). It starts out from the idea that migrants gradually orient themselves towards the host societies' culture and thereby give up their 'cultural baggage' (Faist, 2009, p. 176). This process is either seen as linear (Rumbaut, 1997, p. 927) or as more subtle and unconscious (Rumbaut, 1997, p. 944), and happening naturally (Gordon, 1964, p. 81), as involving seduction or coercion (Rumbaut, 1997, p. 953), or as compulsion, and also as involving different definitions of the roles of majority and minority groups (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 864). In the first decade of the new millennium, violent incidents (such as the riots in Leeds and murder of Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam) and the rise of neo-nationalist populism (such as Vlaams Belang in Antwerp and Geert Wilders in the Netherlands) on the local and national levels, and also global events and developments (the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington and the war in Iraq) have been crucial for the introduction of activities reflecting an assimilation paradigm, including ideas of security, cohesion, and civic virtues.

Such assimilationist ideas became manifest in Leeds's community-cohesion policy plan, Amsterdam's anti-radicalization and anti-polarization programme, as well as its more recent programme of 'civic citizenship' ('burgerschap').[2] None of these activities were planned as part of the diversity policy at its outset, but became incorporated into the diversity department's responsibility in those two cities and seen as only a temporary element of the policy. Diversity officers in Leeds for instance depicted the notion of community cohesion,[3] which was introduced after the London bombings of 2004 and the identification of two of the bombers as then-residents of Leeds, as an interim step in the development of an equality-and-diversity policy. According to one officer, they simply had to introduce 'community cohesion', and promote it as a separate policy element for some time, in order to 'play the game'. The diversity officers expected it to lose its currency and eventually become integrated into their other activities, resulting in a more comprehensive and substantive view of 'equality and diversity'. The concept was seen as useful in strengthening the conceptual framework of diversity, and also in bolstering the structures available for working on diversity. According to my informants, it served to expand the responsibilities of individual diversity officers, allowed access to additional staff resources and budget, and triggered a collective redefinition of the team's tasks.

Ideas of assimilation are also reflected in the programmes of 'anti-radicalization' and 'civic citizenship' ('burgerschap') in Amsterdam, and these programmes can illustrate the evolution and adaptation of ideas of assimilation over time. In response to public debates about the multicultural drama instigated by Paul Scheffer, these programmes were introduced to complement the existing diversity policy. They were based on the policy document on 'Belonging and taking part' ('Erbij horen en meedoen'), which was published by the city of Amsterdam in 2003.

It addressed the absorption capacity of the city and identified a possible conflict with national policy provisions. It further emphasized the need to link Amsterdam's residents through the creation of a more cohe-

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[2] In Antwerp, securitization activities were introduced and carried out by a separate and recently installed department of 'integral safety '('integrale veiligheid'), not by the diversity department.

[3] This was reflected in the separate policy document on 'Cohesion and Integration Priorities 2008–11'.

sive society. To address these issues, integration was defined as seeking belonging and participating in society (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2003a, p. 2). This policy document led to the establishment of the programme called *'Wij Amsterdammers' ('We, the people of Amsterdam')* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2003b), which aimed *'to find adequate municipal responses to new societal risks of terrorism, radicalization and polarization'* Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009, p. 3). In the first phase of the programme from 2004 to 2006, when it focused its activities on Muslims, the *'threat of terror'* was seen as involving the need to take immediate action (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009, p. 11). In retrospect, the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004 was depicted as a shock which *'opened the eyes to the possible conflict potential in the city, for tensions between groups of people and possible negative aspects of urban diversity'* (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 13). In a second phase of the programme (2006–2009), its focus was expanded to include strengthening social cohesion in Amsterdam. Its activities aimed at creating links between people, creating resilience against polarization, and fighting radicalization (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 12). The broadening of the focus was deliberately chosen to dissociate the label 'Wij Amsterdammers' from the murder of Theo van Gogh, and to link it with the city's broader social policy priorities (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 39). At that time a 'programme office' called 'Platform Amsterdam Together' ('Platform Amsterdam Samen'—PAS) was installed, including a 'director of social cohesion' ('regisseur sociale cohesie') (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 12) and six employees, who were structurally positioned in a fairly independent position next to the general services of the municipal organization (Gemeente Amsterdam, p. 37).

This 'programme office' addressed securitization by combining a 'soft', preventative approach to diversity with a 'harder', more repressive approach. It both invested in people and addressed what was seen as *'intolerable behaviour'*. The softer approach led to the financial support of various activities and initiatives to strengthen Amsterdam's social cohesion.[4] The harder approach was strongly focused on the Muslim community (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009, p. 14) and contrasted with the

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[4] The funding scheme that was put in place was called 'Announcement Point for Good Ideas' ('Meldpunt Goede Ideen')(Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009, p. 14).

broader diversity policy addressing different categories. Diversity policy explicitly targeted the whole of Amsterdam and aimed to make it a place *'where everyone would feel safe and at home, could develop and would feel responsible for himself, each other and for the community, where everyone is accepted' (*Gemeente Amsterdam, 2006*)*. In 2010, the PAS department and the diversity department were, however, merged, and anti-radicalization became a separate programme within the diversity department. At the time, the repression of radicalization was outsourced to a different service, whereas the preventative aspects continued under the heading prevention of radicalization and anti-polarization ('preventie radicalisering en anti-polarisatie') to better fit the whole-society approach to diversity.

All three cities had thus created structures and policy texts in the first decade of the millennium that addressed the aspect of securitization in light of an assumed threat of radicalization and a lack of cohesion in the city's population. Over time, specially created structures and policies for this new aspect were combined and streamlined with existing diversity departments, which were seen as having had a softer social-welfare approach until then. Amsterdam has streamlined the specific department for radicalization and polarization within the general diversity department. Antwerp has merged directorates addressing the securitization aspect of society and the 'softer' aspect of social affairs. Leeds has discontinued its separate community-cohesion policy and integrated community-cohesion objectives into its equality and diversity policy. Securitization and cohesion became redefined over time to better align with ideas of addressing the whole society and combining attention on a range of categories.

Comparing the experiences of the different strategies of incorporating securitization policies into a diversity policy, we can see the following similarities and differences. First of all, securitization was anchored through structural resources (Antwerp, Amsterdam) and through a policy document (Leeds, Amsterdam). Second, the securitization policy element eventually became combined in all cities with the diversity policy, and had to be reconciled with it. Third, the securitization policy was eventually broadened from a focus on a specific group and a reactive stance, to a focus on the whole society and a preventative stance.

The idea of assimilation can also be found in more recent attempts to engineer social interactions within the city. By looking at the whole society, the opposition of majorities and minorities commonly ascribed to multicultural policies becomes redundant. Activities emphasize commonalities of majorities and minorities, conceiving diversity as a shared urban project. It is in such an interpretation that diversity policies are reminiscent of some of the ideas developed in more recent strands of the assimilation debate (see, e.g., Alba & Nee, 1997).

In my research, I have identified two assimilationist strategies of engineering interactions in a diverse society. One strategy focused on recognizing new forms of civil society as they are emerging 'out there' and emphasized the use of positive energy and of people's potentials. Some examples of citizen initiatives reflecting this approach are the creation of virtual networks, public expressions of solidarity, and organizations that link and empower different groups of the population. The other strategy focused on defining norms for society and creating a framework to stimulate the civic virtues of the population. The recently developed 'civic citizenship' ('burgerschap') policy in Amsterdam exemplifies this strategy.

The development of the 'burgerschap' policy in 2010 started from an assumed hardening of everyday interactions in the public space and a lack of clarity about the respective responsibilities of government and urban citizens. These were two of the core starting points of the diversity officers' initial assignment to draft a policy document. 'Burgerschap' was depicted as being *useful to work out new norms for the way in which the government and citizens should relate to each other'* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010b, p. 2). In the first drafts of the policy, the concept of 'hoffelijkheid', an interpretation of Rawls's notion of 'civility', was added to complement the idea of 'burgerschap'.[5] Diversity in the context of a new 'civic citizenship'('burgerschap') policy was thus defined as providing a challenge for people to find new ways to deal with each other and with differences in the city (Ramesar, 2011), which required norms (i.e., 'hoffelijkheid') on how to face that challenge. The alderwoman's proposi-

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[5] In later version of the policy draft the notion of 'hoffelijkheid' received an even more prominent position, and it was eventually featured in the final policy text's title: 'Civic citizenship and diversity: no civic citizenship without civility' ('Burgerschap en diversiteit: geen burgerschap zonder hoffelijkheid').

tion that interactions in Amsterdam were becoming rougher[6] and that there was a need to address this was widely shared in media discussions (Logtenberg, 2011; Van Dijk, 2011), and also by some diversity officers. The media also reported that making citizens responsible for themselves would involve a changed role for the municipality. It would be facilitating rather than implementing activities in the future, and self-organisation would have a more important role in partnerships with the municipality (Ramesar, 2011).

The three cities all had introduced activities reflecting an assimilation paradigm, which eventually became embedded in the work of diversity departments. More recent activities of these departments, such as the promotion of civic virtues, also illustrate the combination of diversity and assimilation ideas.

Combinations of Ideas of Diversity, Multiculturalism, and Assimilation

The reasons for combining different ideas for responding to difference are manifold. The combination might be rather random, one diversity officer said. Sometimes an element might survive as a remnant of earlier structures that have been combined with structures for diversity in the framework of reorganising the department. As Hambleton and Gross remind us, municipal organizations are sometimes slow-moving bureaucratic structures (Hambleton & Gross, 2007), and it simply takes more time to change the ways of working and ongoing activities than it does to change an overarching policy. Changing a policy concept does not necessarily go hand-in-hand with an encompassing replacement of the structures in place for implementing these policies, and staff who previously worked in a different policy regime may not immediately identify with new concepts and ideas. Transforming the activities and ways of working of so-called diversity teams and team members to reflect a new policy, then, is a lengthy and slow process. It may be resisted and challenged, particularly by those team members who identified with a previ-

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[6] 'verruwing.'

ous policy paradigm. In Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds, the existing teams were not entirely dismantled when diversity was introduced as a new policy label, although eventually there was a thorough change of officers. Some staff members from previous departments have left, some stayed, and some new members joined. Previously separate teams working on categories such as gender, ethnicity, class, ability, or sexual orientation were merged and officials from these different teams suddenly had to collaborate. Officials had often strongly identified with their particular policy category and did not necessarily find it desirable or easy to switch to a diversity framework. This was the case with a department focusing on poverty in Antwerp which became integrated in the new diversity department. The specific attention for poverty in the framework of diversity in Antwerp was a remnant of earlier structures, which some officers continued to work on. Merging structures to create a diversity department did not therefore automatically change local officials' entire way of thinking and working.

Proceeding with established ideas can also be more deliberate, as the foundational policy document for diversity policy in Amsterdam explains: '*Building blocks of the new diversity policy can be found in the policies in the area of women's emancipation, homo-emancipation and minorities policy*' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999, p. 13*)*. Some methods that municipal organizations have developed in the context of multicultural policies were considered still useful, even if the idea of recognizing culture or fostering equality is no longer pursued. Maintaining contacts with ethnic minorities, as mentioned earlier, was in fact of continued relevance in Amsterdam and Leeds, where some officials were in charge of maintaining those links.

Combining different policy elements can also represent a strategy to keep alive a policy element which has been structurally erased as a separate policy but on which one wants to somehow continue working under the umbrella term of 'diversity'. This was, for example, the case with activities to tackle poverty in the city of Antwerp. We thus cannot claim a simple replacement of a multicultural paradigm by a diversity paradigm, but find a more complex picture of combined paradigms.

Paradigmatic Pragmatism

The combination of different policy paradigms which I observed in the three cities leaves us with a puzzle to be explained. What is the character of local policy responses for accommodating social differentiation in complex social environments today? And to what degree can we speak of a new paradigm emerging at the city level? The most common explanation for the particular character of local policy responses to difference in the literature is an assumed local pragmatism. According to Poppelaars & Scholten (2008), policies on the local level differ from those on the national level because of their different 'institutional logics'. We would find a more instrumental or pragmatic logic at the local level, oriented towards 'coping with concrete problems', whereas policy-making on the national level would be more abstract or idealist, oriented towards creating a larger ideational policy framework (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 160; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008).[7]

What exactly Scholten means in using the concept of pragmatism, and how pragmatism can be expected to inform the development and implementation of policies at the local level, still, however, leaves room for discussion. In the Oxford English Dictionary online, pragmatism is defined as:

> The doctrine that an idea can be understood in terms of its practical consequences…. The theory that social and political problems should be dealt with primarily by practical methods adapted to the existing circumstances, rather than by methods which have been conformed to some ideology. (Oxford English Dictionary)

Applied to the local level of policy responses to difference, pragmatism refers to formulating policies by keeping existing circumstances and available techniques in mind. It implies giving more weight to the means that a state finds possible and practical, and the immediate effects of these policies, rather than adhering to existing paradigms. In a strict interpre-

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[7] Poppelaars and Scholten (2008) also argued that the national level would be more strongly subject to pressures from the electorate.

tation of this definition, a pragmatic policy, then, also does not strictly follow a certain paradigm on the adequate response to difference; it is non-paradigmatic. Such a pragmatist practice of policy-making has been theorized in a particular school of thought in political science, that of pragmatism.[8]

One example that is frequently given to substantiate the 'local pragmatism' hypothesis is the use of contacts with ethnic community organizations in post-multicultural policy settings. Many local governments continue to address ethnic minorities as collectives, although targeting ethnic groups is seen as a thing of the past, as it pertains to a paradigm of multiculturalism. The reason is that local officials need contact with minority communities in order to identify and address social disadvantages. This means that members of minority groups are singled out from practical considerations, and paradigmatic considerations are put on hold (Caponio, 2010, p. 180; Jorgensen, 2012, p. 273).

There are several reasons why local policies may indeed be pragmatic at times. If we assume that Penninx and Martiniello (2004) are right in postulating that local politicians and officials are often in very close contact with the local population, and have to resolve more immediate and concrete issues than the national level, pragmatism appears as a useful disposition. Yet, I am not entirely convinced that there is a clear division between national and local levels in terms of the closeness vs. distance of politicians and the population and the abstract vs. concrete character of policy problems. Are local level policies necessarily and at all times pragmatic, while national level policies are informed by one or the other paradigm? Maybe there is a higher likelihood that local politicians are more often in direct contact with their constituency and that the problems are more concrete, but I am sceptical this is a valid idea across the board.

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[8] Pragmatism was introduced by Peirce, Dewey, and James and further developed as 'symbolic interactionism' by Herbert Blumer. According to James, pragmatism is an epistemology which does not intend to define concepts but to observe their concrete use (James, 1995). In Blumer's conception, the meaning of concepts emanates from the interaction of human beings. He says: *'most of the improper usage of the concept in science comes when the concept is set apart from the world of experience, when it is divorced from the perception from which it has arisen and into which it ordinarily tiles. Detached from the experience which brought it into existence, it is almost certain to become indefinite and metaphysical' (*Blumer, 1986, p. 168*).*

Based on the analysis of activities in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds under the heading of 'diversity', we can see that diversity policies are at the same time paradigmatic *and* pragmatic. The fact that cities came up with distinctly new ideas on accommodating social differentiation under the header of diversity indicates that cities have become more self-confident in devising their own ideas. At the same time, they are fairly pragmatic in combining these ideas with other, previous ideas on sameness and difference under the label of 'diversity'.

The paradigms of diversity, multiculturalism, and assimilation were reflected in activities carried out under the header of 'diversity' in all three cities, and each of them involved a specific set of activities. Consultancy within the municipal organization is the most prominent activity and clearly reflects the diversity paradigm. Giving advice involved a diversity officer working closely with another department, usually starting by identifying the particular question or issues at hand and agreeing on the form of advice provided by the diversity department. This was the main activity of the diversity departments in Antwerp and Leeds, and had been an important activity in Amsterdam in the past.

Another central activity was the management of thematic projects, which was the core activity of the diversity department in Amsterdam and was about to become a central activity in Antwerp. The projects took a more thematic focus and pursued a range of ideas, reflecting different paradigms of multiculturalism, diversity, and assimilation. The themes included 'fostering civility', 'social cohesion', 'prevention of radicalization and polarization', 'anti-discrimination', and 'emancipation and participation' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2010a), or 'fostering talents', 'creating a sense of togetherness', and 'securing basic liberties in families' (Stad Antwerpen, 2008).

At the same time, some diversity officers in the three cities were responsible for maintaining contacts with different minority groups, which reflected a more multicultural paradigm.

Furthermore, I found some projects countering the alienation of Muslim youngsters and Muslim-dominated neighbourhoods, as well as campaigns to promote a civil way of interacting in the public space. These activities clearly reflected an assimilationist stance, pursuing the related ideas of securitization and responsibilization. They were intro-

duced in reaction to terrorist events and the rise of neo-nationalist parties, and have existed in parallel with or as an element of the diversity label, despite their apparent contradiction with the diversity policy's approach to difference as positive and profitable. They were promoted through the 'anti-radicalization' and 'civic citizenship' programmes in Amsterdam, 'integral safety' in Antwerp (which, however, was implemented not by the diversity but another department), and 'community cohesion' in Leeds.[9] Activities reflecting such an assimilationist stance can be differentiated into more preventative (responsibilization) and more repressive (securitization) tracks. These activities were only emerging at the time of my research, thus complementing already existing activities implemented under the header of diversity. Drawing on ideas of assimilation was a striking and relevant aspect of the ways in which diversity became conceived. This became particularly evident in Amsterdam, where the new label of civic virtues ('burgerschap') would potentially replace the label of diversity (Table **6.1**).

What we thus see happening is that cities are using 'diversity' as a new label to refer to their policy responses to difference. The politics under this term often reflect a pragmatic confluence of paradigms of multiculturalism and assimilation, and an emerging paradigm of diversity. These are reflected in a range of activities, some of which remain from previous, more multicultural policies, some of which have been newly introduced, and some of which have recently been established and reflect a more assimilationist stance. From my empirical investigations, it was common practice to continue with the activities of one policy in the framework of a new policy text and action plan, or to have several policy texts and action plans parallel to each other. Underlying these paradigms and their respective activities are particular ideas about how differentiation can best be responded to these are presented in (Fig. **6.1**), where they provide the link between the larger paradigm and the concrete activities carried out.

If we combine the elements of policy labels, paradigms, ideas, and activities, we arrive at the following picture (Fig. **6.2**). I contest that cities are 'only' pragmatic, but argue that cities consciously combine a variety

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[9] See my explorations in the chapter on developing diversity policy (Chap. 5).

Table 6.1 Policy activities under the header of diversity (at the time of my research)

	Diversity element	Multiculturalism element	Assimilation element
Activities in Leeds	Consultancy of different directorates of municipal organization (equality impact assessments)	Consultation of minority groups (e.g. equality hubs and assembly)	'Community cohesion' has been an important idea, which was the basis for several new activities in 2008; but since 2011 no longer any specific activites
Activities in Amsterdam	In the past consultancy of other departments and change of recruitment[a]; Programmes for the empowerment of women/girls, and of people identifying as lgbt	Anti-discrimination programme; programme targeting Antillean youngsters	Programme social cohesion (prevention of radicalization and polarization); Programme of civic citizenship[b]
Activities in Antwerp	Consultancy and trainings of the municipal organization; Project work on specific issues	Specific attention for poverty and collaboration with NGOs working on poverty	Several projects reflecting an assimilationist stance were carried out in Antwerp, however these were in the remit of other departments (Integral safety[c]), Neighborhood watch,[d] meeting each other[e]

[a]Today there is no longer a specific work programme on 'diversity' in the department
[b]'burgerschap'
[c]'integrale veiligheid'
[d]'Buurtonderhoud'
[e]'Ontmoeten'

of policy paradigms and their respective activities as they see fit. This is to some degree pragmatic, taking into account the institutional capacities of managing change as well as the desire to address a wide range of issues at the same time. I therefore refer to this pragmatic combination of

Difference as positive, profitable, individual and complex

Diversity

- Introducing a more positive representation of difference
- Recruiting and retaining a diverse workforce
- Training and counseling staff to accommodate diversity

Difference as based on culture and (in)equality

Multiculturalism

- Counseling services for specific minority groups
- Subsidies for minority organizations
- Including spokespersons in decision-making

Difference as a threat to security, cohesion, and civic virtues

Assimilation

- Repression and control of radizalisation and polarization
- Support of citizen initiatives which foster civic virtues

Fig. 6.1   Policy paradigms and their core ideas on difference

Policy Label	Policy Paradigm	Policy Ideas	Policy Action
'Diversity'	Diversity	• Positive approach to difference • Profitability of difference • Complexity of difference • Value of individuality	• Introducing a more positive representation of difference • Recruiting a diverse workforce • Training and counseling staff to accommodate diversity
	Multiculturalism	• Desirability of equality • Social relevance of culture	• Counseling services for specific languages/groups • Subsidies for community organizations • Including spokespersons in decision-making
	Assimilation	• Desirability of similarity • Security and cohesion • Civic virtues/Active citizenship	• Citizenship classes, tests and contracts • Repression and control of undesired behavior • Incentives or support for individual citizen initiatives

Fig. 6.2   The new politics of difference

paradigms, which currently can be observed at the local level, as a 'paradigmatic pragmatism' (Schiller, 2015).

Incompatible Combinations and a Contradictory Politics

In my observations, I found that different policy paradigms can be combined in practice for some time, but their underlying ideas may form an explosive mixture. As these paradimgs' ideas differ, the policy and activities pursued in the implementation of these policies might turn out to be contradictory. While some ideas of diversity, multiculturalism, and assimilation may be compatible, others may conflict. For instance, the emphasis on civic virtues and cohesion (as part of an assimilation paradigm) diverges from the idea of the profitability of difference (as part of a diversity paradigm). These two policy ideas start with contrasting evaluations of difference, one emphasizing the negative potential of difference and aiming to control behaviour, the other stressing the positive value of difference and fostering diversity. Another example of a challenging relationship can be observed between the ideas of difference being profitable (diversity paradigm) and equality (multiculturalism paradigm). In these ideas, we can detect a contrast between an economically based rationale and a rationale that orients itself to ideas of social equality. They may not necessarily conflict, but their relationship is not an easy one. A third conflict-prone relationship comes to the fore when an assimilation paradigm combines with diversity and/or multiculturalism paradigms. The idea of the desirability of similarity (assimilation paradigm) contrasts with both the ideas of difference as profitable (diversity paradigm) and of culture as needing to be recognized (multiculturalism paradigm). While the former idea favours differences being levelled out, the ideas adhering to diversity and multiculturalism accept difference as a permanent and valuable aspect of social reality. Fourth, the combination of ideas of civic virtues (assimilation paradigm) and equality (multiculturalism paradigm) clearly contradict each other. One assigns the responsibility for accommodating difference to the individual, while the other focuses on the state and 'communities'.

When activities reflecting different policy paradigms are pursued in parallel, we can expect some trouble. However, diversity officers themselves saw multiculturalism and diversity paradigms and related ideas mostly as compatible. Targeting particular groups is essential to work on diversity, as one of Antwerp's diversity officers said:

> You have to choose, for example when it is about the topic of health and diabetes, which groups have more diabetes than the average citizen. And these groups you then have to work on, I find…choosing to work on a specific target group is, if you ask me, beneficial for diversity. (Interview C12 249)

Also in the city of Leeds, diversity officers represented a fairly relaxed attitude towards combining the paradigms of multiculturalism and diversity. This was also legitimized by the policy text, which referred to accepting diversity as a fact and working towards equality as complementary.

> Equality and diversity sit side by side, because obviously equality is about equality of access and equal opportunity. Diversity is about recognising that everyone's different. So people often see them as clashing, but equality is not about giving everyone the same thing, because not everyone wants the same thing, men and women might have different needs in service provision, different communities or residents of different ethnic origin might have different needs. The equality aspect of it is whether they both have an equal chance of getting what they want. (Interview B2 369)

In Amsterdam, the work programme of the department of diversity also clearly reflected a pursuit of different policy paradigms simultaneously. Under the label of 'civic citizenship and diversity' ('burgerschap en diversiteit') five programmes were clustered, encompassing 'civility', 'women's emancipation', LGBT emancipation, prevention of radicalization and anti-polarization, and anti-discrimination (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013).[10]

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[10] In its 'Development strategy Civic citizenship and Diversity', the municipality emphasized that different programmes should not lead to separate but rather integrated policy activities, and therefore intended to further strengthen the label of 'burgerschap and diversity'.

Table 6.2 Reflection of different ideas in Amsterdam's work programmes

Policy 'programmes' of Amsterdam's diversity department (2011)	Reflected policy idea	Reflected policy paradigms
Civility	Civic virtues	Assimilation
Women's emancipation	Empowerment of women	Diversity
LGBT emancipation	Empowerment of people who identify as lgbt	Diversity
Prevention of radicalization and anti-polarization	Security and cohesion	Assimilation
Anti-discrimination	Equality	Multiculturalism

These five programmes clearly pursued different ideas simultaneously, as illustrated in the following table (Table **6.2**).

Civility and anti-discrimination, for instance, respectively reflect paradigms of assimilation and multiculturalism which are often seen as contradictory. Yet, these policy programmes were pursued in parallel in Amsterdam. As one diversity officer said

> You have to work on two tracks. On the one hand, how can you facilitate encounters, how can you create a better understanding of people for each other, how can you emphasize diversity in a positive manner? And at the same time: how can you work on the integration of groups that lag behind? Thus a policy that is addressing deficits is still necessary, and how can you work on the difficult issues. Thus these were all elements that came back in that. (Interview A6 162)

In some instances, however, the contradictions of activities being pursued come to the fore. This was particularly the case in Amsterdam and Antwerp, where targeted attention to specific ethnic groups or poor people was increasingly side-lined within diversity departments, when diversity had a strong symbolic value, so as to signal a shift away from previous policies. Addressing particular group specificities was conceived as contradicting an individualist approach and one emphasizing the profitability of difference. As attention to target groups is associated with those previous policies, there was no official endorsement of identifying particular collectives to work on in a diversity framework.

The Symbolic Use of Diversity and the Neglect of Equality

One explanation for this particular conflict regarding combining multiculturalism and diversity in Antwerp and Amsterdam could be the symbolic value of the diversity policy in these cities, in contrast to the seemingly unproblematic combination of equality and diversity in Leeds. Diversity, as I discussed earlier, was not only a variety of new ideas, but also a new label of sometimes significant symbolic value to politicians. The diversity policy served local politicians as a symbol of preventing radicalization and the rise of nationalist parties. They wanted to communicate a pro-active stance on questions of migration and diversification in order to challenge the monopolistic use of this topic by the nationalist party. Due to this symbolic usage, officers in these cities were rather anxious about the legitimacy of combining a focus on the individual with targeted attention to some groups. While Leeds was pragmatic in combining paradigms of multiculturalism and diversity, and also openly combined ideas of equality and difference as a positive aspect of local policy, the combination of multiculturalism and diversity was instead delineated as parallel or contradictory in Amsterdam and Antwerp. Antwerp's approach to complementing the individual approach of diversity with some attention and action targeted to specific groups can be characterized as relatively nervous. Some officers felt rather insecure as to whether it was legitimate for them to reconcile, for instance, 'broad diversity' with 'temporary measures for particular target groups'. The legitimacy of focusing more on a target group would be in a 'constant tension' with the broader diversity label, as one officer said (Interview C10 380). This tension was also reflected in the job description of diversity officers. They were unclear how much time they were meant to allocate to specific group-based activities, such as maintaining contacts with ethnically defined associations, in relation to their other tasks in managing diversity. Some officers in Amsterdam and Antwerp said this created a complex and contradictory work package. There was insufficient time to build up contacts with civil-society associations and develop their expertise and contacts with specific ethnically defined groups (Interview C9 179, C5 271). In one officer's view, local politicians in Antwerp interpreted diversity as failing

to address inequality and diversity policy therefore potentially excludes disadvantaged residents. She made clear that there was a conflict between the idea of equality, which was firmly anchored in the local policy text on diversity, and the use of diversity policy as a symbol for an economically thriving city. Involving different groups would often only represent a marketing strategy for the city, but would not actually aim at achieving equality (Interview C9 191). Diversity would therefore clash with the promoted aim of creating a city for everyone (Interview C6 169):

> And actually everything that the city does is targeted at the middle class.… This is where the entire budget is going to. They do want to work on diversity…but if then ethnic minority people suddenly come, if poor people come, suddenly the atmosphere is changing. And actually they don't want it [that they come], because the middle class is sensitive to that. Ethnic minority people may come, as long as they belong also to the middle class, workers may come, but they have to fit into our middle class pattern… everyone may come, but we don't change our concept. Because we middle class want that everything stays as it was. And sometimes I would really wish that it [diversity policy] was for everyone. (Interview C6 169)

The representation of diversity policy as failing to address social class differences in Antwerp contradicts the city's commitment to equality in its policy text, and can only be explained by the use of diversity as an important symbol for the mayor and his lack of commitment to ideas remaining from earlier paradigms.

Also in Amsterdam, diversity had the strong symbolic value of communicating a departure from the previous, devalued multicultural approach, especially since the murder of Theo van Gogh. The combination of multiculturalist and diversity paradigms provided similar challenges as in Antwerp, and an ambivalent situation for diversity officers here. While anti-discrimination was one of the five work programmes of the diversity department, it was clearly trumped by an emphasis on 'civility' in the department's communications to the public. Also, the attention of individual officers on maintaining contacts with specific groups was eroded in an extremely hectic atmosphere within the team, where the department was less and less able to determine the agenda and as much of their time resources were taken over by writing speeches for and providing input to the alderwoman.

I thus argue that the highly symbolic value of diversity policy, as is seen in Amsterdam and Antwerp, can further complicate the pragmatic combination of diversity with equality policy elements. Despite differing degrees of ease about doing so, in each of the three cities we have to some extent seen a combination of an individual approach to difference and a recognition of specific target groups in diversity officers' work on translating a politics of diversity into practice. Although diversity officers were fairly relaxed about combining diversity and equality, their scope for implementing concrete activities in reaching this goal largely depended on the symbolic value ascribed to the diversity policy by politicians. The three case studies show that the symbolic currency of a diversity policy can also stand in the way of or complicate a pragmatic combination of diversity with older elements of immigrant policies (Table **6.3**).

Table 6.3 The impact of the symbolic use of a policy

Context	Symbolic use of the policy	Effects on diversity in practice
UK Leeds	Not so much symbolic use, national legislation on equality as stable normative framework, diversity as additional local element	The combination of diversity and equality was seen as common-sensical
NL Amsterdam	Symbolic use of diversity policy to signal a response to a public backlash against multiculturalism	Diversity officers were working in a very reactive work environment and their relationship between the alderwoman and the team had deteriorated; the continued attention for specific groups in some of their programmes was sidelined to give more prominence to campaigns on civic virtues
FL Antwerp	Sybmolic use of diversity policy to signal proactivity to (potential) national right voters	Nervousness of diversity officers of combining an individual and collective approach, although equality work was part of the official policy, anti-discrimination were marginalized due to the emphasis of the politicians for drawing a positive image of diversity to the outside

From empirical practice, I can therefore confirm that different policy paradigms are pragmatically combined in the three cities under research. Only limited generalizations can be made from three case studies, but a 'paradigmatic pragmatism' may well be a general characteristic of contemporary local-level policies. Yet these combinations do not always go without insecurities or tensions. Sometimes, diversity officers pursue contradictory policy ideas in parallel, but at other times, these combinations were challenged. Contrary to the assumption that local policy responses to difference are characterized by pragmatism, I have shown how local governments draw on old and new paradigms which they combine.

Conclusion

Having discussed in previous chapters the ways in which diversity is being defined, I have returned in this chapter to the larger question of how diversity compares or relates to multiculturalism. I found that diversity policies serve a number of purposes. They provide a new label and thus allow a symbolic shift from previous policies. They introduce profoundly new ideas of accommodating social differentiation that involve a more positive, individual, and profit-oriented stance. And they combine ideas from preceding paradigms, as is reflected in the activities carried out by cities, a pattern that can be characterized as paradigmatic pragmatist reponse to difference. This pattern contradicts the dominant argument about the pragmatism of the local level. Cities are not simply pragmatic, but they are more self-reliant today in defining their own paradigms, and they may pragmatically combine them with already-existing paradigms. This characterization, as well as the observation of the contradictory politics which can result from pragmatic combinations of different ideas, invites future research. To date, we know little about cities' immediate and long-term reactions to identified contradictions.

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7

Conclusion

In this study—involving in-depth empirical fieldwork in municipal diversity departments—I investigated the question: How do diversity officers interpret diversity in their everyday practices? Are they reproducing or adapting the meanings suggested by local diversity policies? Are they incorporating or abandoning ideas of multiculturalism? The objective of this book was to come up with an empirically based definition of diversity. How is diversity defined in practice? And how does diversity compare to notions of multiculturalism? These questions were based on the observation that cities in Europe had introduced policies of diversity in the context of a purported shift away from multiculturalism. These new policies resulted in the creation of new structures to implement these policies, and of new activities, interactions, and co-operation between public officials, politicians, and civil society.

My explorations were based on a number of premises. First, I started out with the local level as providing a relevant sphere for observing the development and implementation of policies. Taking into account the role of national-level legislation and resources, as well as international networks, I was interested whether we find a distinct local policy response to addressing diversification. Second, I assumed that official

policy declarations only provide us with intentional statements, but cannot give us any information on the actual ways in which these policies acquire meaning over time. In other words, this research took the implementation of diversity policies as playing an important part in defining diversity policies. Third, diversity policies may not have entirely displaced ideas of multiculturalism at the local level, but they may rather be complementary, and may only incrementally change their ideas over time. Fourth, despite the uncontested importance of differentiating analytically between policy and academic ideas, I was convinced that we can profit from analyzing the ways in which diversity already is being conceptualized, interpreted, and negotiated 'out there' in order to further develop the ideas underlying the notion of diversity in our scholarly work. Combining an in-depth empirical approach with careful analysis of theoretical implications has allowed me to develop a set of arguments that I will now summarize.

Similarities and Differences Across Cities and the Character of Local Policy-Making

Comparing the three case studies of Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Leeds, I identified similarities and differences in the three cities' definitions of diversity policy and can draw some modest generalizations about a shared pattern of local policy-making in response to urban diversification.

From my analysis, the most obvious similarity across the three cities was the resemblance of the ideas promoted in diversity-policy texts. Diversity policies generally start out from an acceptance of diversity as a demographic fact. They focus on the individual instead of the collective group, taking various categories of difference into consideration, and thus taking into their purview differentiation based on race/ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, and mental/physical ability. Diversity policies also emphasized the profitability and potential benefits of diversity. Despite this very similar definition of diversity in the cities' official policies, the implementation of these policies in all three cities revealed a gap between what was being said and done. The activities of diversity

officers reflected ideas which were not necessarily part of the official policy. This implementation gap was the second main similarity across cities. As a third main similarity, I identified a shared pattern of pragmatic combinations of different paradigms under the header of diversity. Although rarely explicitly announced in diversity policies, these policies in fact brought together a multitude of normative ideas and applied them as needed to different situations.

Adding to these findings, there were also several differences between cities and their interpretation of diversity. The three cities differed in the degree to which diversity was linked with a politics of equality and the range of categories of difference being taken into consideration. This finding clearly reflects the impact of national judicial norms of equality, which were stronger in the UK than Belgium and the Netherlands. The range of categories of difference which were taken into consideration differed. All three cities' diversity policies first and foremost attended to migration-related diversification. Leeds also paid particular attention to disability, Amsterdam had a strong programme on LGBT and women's empowerment, and Antwerp's diversity department placed attention on a particularly broad range of categories.

The local level, the national level, and international exchanges between cities informed local policy development to differing degrees. The scope of each of the cities in determining the character of their local policies was therefore different. In all three cities, I found a confluence of factors from the national and local levels, as well as from international exchanges informing local diversity policies, but the weight of these different levels differed substantially across cities. In Leeds, the relevance of national-level legislation cannot be underestimated, whereas in the other cities, two local factors, namely the leadership style and political priorities of the alderwoman in Amsterdam, and the local pressure of nationalist-party opposition in Antwerp, were more dominant. Although all three cities had been members of international city networks in the past, they did not necessarily rely on these networks for developing their local diversity policies. Amsterdam particularly emphasized its role as an innovator and role model in international city networks, but some diversity officers in the city also raised doubts about the relevance of network participation

for the city. Leeds and Antwerp, by the time of my research, had ended their memberships, based on financial and managerial considerations.

Overall, the importance of local-level events and changes in the political constituency of the city council, in conjunction with binding national-level legislation, cannot be underestimated. They leave an imprint on local responses to urban diversification. International networks of cities, though experienced as stimulating by some of the officers who had participated, were not decisive for the concepts being used in the cities I studied.

A Backlash Against Diversity?

When mentioning that my research was interested in local diversity policies, I often encountered scepticism. Isn't diversity just old wine in new bottles? How long are these policies here to stay? What is the relevance of these policies for the lives of local populations? Indeed, one has to remind oneself that the politicians who decide on and the public officials who implement a certain policy may be prone to overstate its importance. At the same time, it is not true that public policies do not matter to or affect people. The demise of the funding of immigrant organizations in the context of a backlash against multiculturalism had a profound effect on the landscape of civil-society organizations (Schiller, 2010; Uitermark, 2010). Put differently, public policies have a sometimes deliberate, sometimes inadvertent symbolic and material effect on the quality of urban lives and social relationships in a city, and diversity policies are therefore relevant.

In the past, we have experienced that inconsistencies between official policy declarations and policy implementation can be picked up in the backlash against a policy and its related ideas. Such a backlash is often triggered by certain unpredictable events, and the critique of a policy is not necessarily based on correct portrayal (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010, p. 4). We have witnessed such a dynamic with the concept of multiculturalism. The interpretation of ideas of socio-economic equality and cultural recognition in policy practice, in the view of critics, has exploited the welfare system and created 'parallel societies'. These policies pursued

ideas of multiculturalism either officially or 'avant la lettre'. The ways in which policies have been implemented were thus not irrelevant to the critique of multiculturalism, and were easily picked on by multiculturalism's opponents.

Next to the occurrence of unpredictable events, it is the implementation of the ideas pursued by a policy which defines its relevance and lifespan. In my study, I revealed how the limited institutional power of diversity departments and the profound ways in which diversity officers depend on the political priorities and leadership styles of aldermen and alderwomen affect the interpretation of diversity. Other structural determinants include the recruitment and selection criteria of the officers meant to implement the policy, and the logic of governmentality that leads public officials to target particular population groups. These weaknesses in institutional design and cleavages between different actors have ramifications for the interpretation of a policy and are picked up by those interested in creating a backlash against diversity. While local events often are difficult to predict and circumvent, structural factors can easily be addressed in an attempt to sustain the durability of a diversity policy.

Developing Diversity Against the Background of Multiculturalism

Comparing diversity with multiculturalism is inherently unfair, but not extraneous. Multiculturalism has been thoroughly developed as a theoretical concept and used as a policy concept for several decades. The notion of diversity has been only recently revived, and its related ideas are less theoretically elaborated. Furthermore, its recent application as a policy concept is as yet under-studied. By comparing diversity to multiculturalism, much can be learned from its ideas and the backlash against multiculturalism. Identifying the ways in which the ideas associated with the notion of diversity depart from the ideas associated with multiculturalism, both in scholarly debates and policy practice, can strengthen our definition of the ideas we want to pursue under the heading of diversity.

In the literature, we find, on the one hand, scholars who argue for retaining multiculturalism, and, on the other, scholars who discuss and

develop ideas associated with notions of diversity and interculturalism. The notions of diversity and interculturalism refer to less 'groupist' approaches which target a stronger sense of the whole society. To date, these literatures operate mostly separately from each other. I argued in this study for thinking about multiculturalism and diversity in conjunction, and investigated the potentials and limits of pragmatic combinations of different paradigms. My research has shown that ideas of multiculturalism are still being in use out there, but in combination with new ideas and under the new header of 'diversity'. At the same time, diversity policies depart substantially from multicultural policies. As I showed from my fieldwork, diversity takes an additive approach to defining self and other, taking account of no more than two or three different axes of difference at a time. The recognition of culture, one of the cornerstones of multicultural policies, has not entirely been abandoned, but cultural expressions have been moved to the back stage and are no longer openly endorsed by policy-makers. In practice, we find an ambivalent stance of diversity policies vis-à-vis another core principle of multiculturalism, namely the commitment to equality. While diversity policies officially endorse equality, in practice I identified a more contradictory picture. A number of officers lamented the limited commitment of politicians to achieving equality as a part of diversity policy.

So we can say that diversity in some ways goes beyond multiculturalism, in taking into account a broader range of differences than cultural or migration-related ones. This is reflected in the merger of a range of departments under the header of diversity. Leeds has merged its former departments working on race/BME, disability, and gender under the header of diversity; Amsterdam has merged two departments which had been working on ethnic minorities, and on women and LGBT; and Antwerp has merged a larger number of departments, including departments working on disability, newly arrived migrants, poverty, women, and ethno-cultural minorities. The combination of a number of differences can result also in a narrower focus, for example on migrant women or Muslim youth, as I have illustrated in instances of the concrete projects carried out by diversity officers. Such a focus has the potential of stigmatization, as well as of losing sight of broader population groups. Displacing culture onto the back stage is meant to signal a more encompassing approach to the

whole society, and that negotiations of difference are a normal aspect of social relations. Yet, it also provides a negative symbol to minorities and denies them recognition which can sometimes be important still. Lastly, but maybe most significantly, limited consistency in pursuing equality is clearly disputable. It reverberates with concerns about diversity's alliance with neoliberal politics, as outlined in Chap. 1.

In sum, this research identified an incorporation of multicultural ideas under the header of diversity, but also identified several ways in which diversity departs from some of the core principles of multiculturalism. Diversity is not merely a new buzzword or 'old wine in new bottles'. Instead, the notion of diversity is associated with a number of ideas which inform the practices of diversity officers. We need to challenge, engage with, criticize, and further develop these ideas if we want to arrive at a better elaborated ideational base for diversity.

Against the background of the strong consensus in the literature about separating academic debate and policy practice, I have shown in this study that it can be fruitful to use insights from policy practice to further develop theoretical ideas appertaining to the notion of diversity, and vice versa. As I show in terms of my empirical findings, diversity is used in ways which incorporate ideas and principles from multiculturalism as well as assimilation, sometimes in response to ad-hoc events, such as the emphasis in Leeds on securitization and community cohesion after the London bombings. This practice of pragmatically combining different paradigms also challenges scholars to compare literatures on assimilation, multiculturalism, and recent contributions on diversity and its core ideas, in order to substantiate further what we mean when talking about diversity.

Towards a Refined Conceptualization of Diversity

This book contributes to existing research on three main counts. In the following, I reiterate each of these contributions and develop how they can serve to expand existing and develop new research. I will then also address ways in which future research may address some remaining gaps and expand on the present study.

In this study, I propose a novel understanding of the local level, its position vis-à-vis other levels, and the different factors at play here. Having illustrated the relevance of local social and political transformations and events, as well as national legislation, this study points towards a research agenda that emphasizes the connectedness of local, national, and global processes, and which understands these complex interrelationships in terms of in-depth empirical investigations of highly localized and context-specific phenomena. I build here on extensive past work on translocality (Appadurai, 1995), transnational urbanism (Smith, 2001) and transnationalism (Hannerz, 2002; Vertovec, 1999), on the global city (Sassen, 2013) as well as on the city as a scale (Glick-Schiller & Caglar, 2010); and on the city as embedded in multi-level governance interactions (Scholten & Penninx, 2016).

I furthermore suggest a new emphasis on the role and power of the state in governing the social order of difference, which requires a better understanding of state organizations and bureaucrats' practices. While scholars have often been critical of the state, there are surprisingly few ethnographic studies which analyze the ways in which the state exercises its power and exerts control. Analyzing the content of policy documents does not sufficiently capture the normative choices of the state, and we need more research that captures officials' interpretations and translations of policies into concrete activities.

Lastly, this study provides an empirically grounded theorization of diversity which does not ignore but engages with and compares itself to established paradigms of assimilation and multiculturalism. Diversity policies in practice are very inconsistent in their pursuit of equality. They further often reflect limited complexity in their conceptions of difference, combining two or three categories of difference to create even more narrowly defined 'problem groups'. Observing the pragmatic combination of different paradigms in practice can provide an impetus for reconsidering how older paradigms can be expanded or emerging ideas could become elaborated in developing a coherent system of ideas. Based on my findings, we need to ask: How can we account for complexity, that is, cases where potentially more than two or three axes of difference are meaningful, or when the relevant categories shift from situation to situation? How can we conceive of the ways in which differences intersect, rather than thinking of them simply as additive?

This study innovates on a number of lines based on its analytical and methodological framework. In the following, I want to outline how future research could build on this. Choosing three cities in three different countries as a sample, my study allowed some modest generalizations about the ways in which diversity was interpreted in different cities which previously had a more multicultural policy. Future studies could expand the sample of cities, including both more countries and more cities within each country under study. Investigating cities which did not have a multicultural policy in the past would allow analyzing the character of local policies there. Would we find a similar pattern of pragmatically combined paradigms?

In this study, I have focused at the local level, demonstrating the concrete practices at hand when cities implement their diversity policies. Comparing my insights from the local level with insights from an empirical investigation of officials' practices at the national level would allow testing whether the local level is indeed so specific in the ways it pragmatically combines different paradigms, or whether this is a more general pattern.

In terms of the scope of the methodology used, the research-traineeship method provided me with an excellent window of opportunity for doing participant-observation with diversity officers. I was also able to conduct some interviews with politicians, municipal managers, and NGOs in the three cities, which allowed me to access different, sometimes contradictory, perspectives from those of diversity officers. Future studies could systematically engage with the interactions among a specific network of actors in order to systematically compare the perspectives of different kinds of such actors, as well as to carry out a systematic comparison of different governance networks across cities.

In my research, I was able to collect insights into the internal organization of information and knowledge in electronic folders, and analyze the development of policies in terms of different versions of, for example, draft policy documents. Some information was not available in electronic folders, such as diversity-departments budgets, as well as such budgets' development over time. It was interesting to learn that diversity officers often had limited access to some of this information themselves. Future research could systematically aim at accessing such information, to provide a fuller picture how the budgets for policy activities in response to difference have evolved over time.

Having interviewed a few diversity officers who had left the diversity department before my research provided me with fascinating insights on the development of the department over time, and the genesis of some of the cleavages within the team. Future research could try to gain systematic access to officials who have left the municipal organization in the past.

Archives of city administrations are currently being digitalized, yet documents and policies dating back more than one or two decades are often not yet digitally accessible. Future research could dedicate itself to carrying out systematic archival research, in order to bring into view the evolution of municipal structures and policies over an extended, historical period of time.

The present study provides a radically new understanding of diversity and of local policy-making. Its contributions are ground-breaking in three ways:

First, it profoundly revises our understanding of bureaucrats and their mode of operating. Neither are bureaucrats mere technocrats, nor do they in most cases work on the streets. Their new self-understanding as authentic and entrepreneurial urban managers transforms their ways of working and their relationship with other actors, as I have demonstrated in this study. It also informs their interpretation of diversity, as some of them emphasized knowledge and understanding of specific groups, whereas others highlighted an entrepreneurial spirit in driving institutional change.

Second, it has taken an innovative angle on the local state. Instead of taking for granted proclamations by policy-makers and in official policies, this study has contributed an anthropological perspective on policies as products of interactions within the state and between state and non-state actors, and as involving the negotiation of institutions and ideas. Having politicians prioritize gender equality over other issues, as was the case in Amsterdam, or becoming downgraded within the hierarchies of municipal organizations, as I observed across cities, has affected the power of officials to implement diversity policies. The local state, therefore, cannot be understood as a monolith, but is a complex system of different interests characterized by an unequal distribution of power.

The local state, however, also reflects more general logics of governmentality, which is the exercise of control by way of targeting specific categories of people for social-welfare benefits.

Last, but not least, this study spearheads a new research programme on diversity, which takes seriously the practical difficulties of addressing complexity in response to difference, and takes some lessons away from the inconsistent pursuit of equality. For the future development of diversity, both as policy and as a system of ideas, it is in my view crucial to come to terms with the practical difficulties of addressing difference in its complexity and to incorporate a strong commitment to equality, as well as to sort out which other ideas are compatible enough, and which too contradictory, to become integrated under the heading of diversity. The challenge of bolstering the notion of diversity by developing its attendant ideas is yet to be tackled.

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Erratum: European Cities, Municipal Organizations and Diversity

The affiliation of the author Maria Schiller has been replaced with the below one.

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The updated original online version for this book can be found at

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