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TRANSCRIPT

"BUILDING INCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES: PRACTICAL AND LOCAL INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE MIGRANT INTEGRATION"

A Conversation With Simon Woolley, Jonathan Portes, Alan Broadbent, Dan Silver, Karen Bellamy, Andrew Boff, Ratna Omidvar and Cynthia Masiyiwa

Moderator: Rob Berkley

ANNOUNCER:

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ROB BERKLEY:

My name's Rob Berkley, I'm director of the Runnymede Trust. I'm one of the organizations-- that's come together to put on this event along with (UNINTEL PHRASE) and the Open Society Foundations. So, I'm-- without further ado, I wanna hand over to Simon Woolley. He's director of the opera-- of Operation Black Vote. Welcome.

SIMON WOOLLEY:

Thank you. Thank you-- thank you very much. Good-- good afternoon, everyone. Actually, I have the impossible task of replacing the irreplaceable. I'm replacing Nazia Hussain who is the director of At Home in Europe here at the Open Society Foundation. My role here, with the foundation, is the chair of At Home in Europe. And we want to warmly welcome to our establishment, to our premises, and to this program which we think is vitally important.

We are very happy to be partners, but not least because we think that working

together is best, it ensures that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. We learn from each other. We support each other. And-- we achieve a great deal more-- together. As you can see, we've got-- a great array of very great, qualified-- qualified speakers. I'm sure Rob will-- introduce you, but I-- I'm now going to hand over to the-- chair of (UNINTEL).

ALAN BROADBENT:

Thank you. (APPLAUSE) Well, thank you very much. My name's Alan Broadbent. I am the chair of Maytree and-- and I want to join in the welcome today on behalf of my colleagues at Maytree. Maytree is-- a Canadian foundation and building inclusive communities. It's really at the heart of our work and has been for the last three decades.

Our stor-- our work started with anti-poverty, and actually, that's an issue that still lies at the heart of our mission. But in a city like Toronto which is characterized as is (UNINTEL) by hyper-diversity, almost any issue ends up being engaged with diversity and inclusion. Our urban region in-- in Toronto is about 50% foreign born and about 50% visible minority.

So, it's with particular pleasure for us today to join with you in-- in taking this work forward. I want to talk to a little-- briefly about the approach that we take to our work at Maytree. We aren't a very big foundation by Canadian standards, and certainly not by U.K. standards.

We fund the work of Maytree from our businesses at Avana Capital Corporation which runs out of the same office as Maytree. And we have a saying that we make the money in the morning, and we give it away in the afternoon. (LAUGHTER) So, we know we have to be practical and efficient at Maytree. And we do that in a number of ways.

First, we're solution seeking. That may sound very obvious. But we've found that many organizations spend most of their time in what I call the culture of complaint. They spend their time describing problems and assigning blame. To us, that's a very expensive occupation. Of course, it is important to define problems so we know what we're dealing with, but in our view, more important to design solutions and to implement them.

Secondly, we value evidence. That again may sound obvious, but in Canada today, our national government is bent on eliminating vital data sources at Statistics Canada and other agencies, a process our partner organization, the Caledon Institute of Social Policy has termed data-cide. Recently, even the *New York Times* called out our prime minister for his aggressive anti-evidence activity.

Third, we recognize that cities are the modern laboratories of change, and that making our cities work for everyone is critical. And fourth, we employ an approach we call relentless incrementalism. Incrementalism is our nod to the difficulty of dramatic change. And that our systems are best geared to achieving the next

achievable step.

The telling word is relentless which signals that once we reach that next ati-- achievable step, we'll press on for the next and the next one after that. Relentless incrementalism helps insulate us from magical thinking or waiting for a miraculous alignment with external forces.

There are three lessons we've learned from our work in diversity and inclusion. The first is that nations have choices to make about how they treat immigrants. They can treat them as liabilities or assets. If they treat them as liabilities, they'll attempt to put limits around them and constrain the effect they have on society. They'll limit their employment opportunities, their ability to participate in the life of the community, and the prospects of becoming contributing citizens.

If on the other hand, they treat them as assets, they'll invest in them like a smart business person will invest in a promising venture. They'll do whatever (NOISE) they can to make the immigrant succeed. They'll find-- help them find the jobs for which they have experience and training. They'll help them settle securely in a neighborhood. They'll support their kids in school. And they'll accelerate their becoming contributing members of the community.

They'll realize that nobody wins when immigrants don't succeed. So, the choice, in our mind, is a simple one. Will we give immigrants shackles or will we give them wings? The second-- lesson we've learned is about what we call the three I's: intentionality, instruments and investments. Giving immigrants wings is being intentional about immigrant success and building inclusive communities. It is about intending to create-- success at work, home and in the community and neighborhood and as citizens.

Instruments is about creating the effective mechanisms to give those intentions traction. It is through the-- the design of instruments that we go beyond mere aspiration. And here are some examples from Toronto. The Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council, (NOISE) a Maytree initiative, developed two instruments for integrating skilled-- immigrants into the labor market.

The first was a mentoring program that pairs an immigrant with a Canadian in a job appropriate way. So, a civil engineer with a civil engineer or a pharmacist with a pharmacist, both to communicate job culture, but also to involve the immigrant in the Canadian's network of affiliation, a critical asset in job search.

And the second instrument is a human resource practice for (NOISE) corporations so they can gain a competitive edge in engaging immigrant power. Other instruments by other organizations include the Toronto District School Board which uses the instrument of a student census to find out who comprises the student population, what they and their fam-- families want and value so they can design proper and effective responses.

They combine the census with two other instruments, the faith and community walks where teachers go into the community to meet families where they congregate, in community centers, high streets and places of worship. The Toronto Police Service

has developed an instrument to recruit police officers from diverse communities in order to be more effective in serving those communities. They drop out-- height, weight and appearance requirements in order to include a more representative group of officers which has helped in both building trust in communities and in dealing with crime.

And the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, our public broadcasters, deliberately set out changing the radio-- offerings in Toronto to appeal to the diverse community. They changed who their hosts were, what was talked about and who was interviewed. And the results have been high ratings and increased credibility. In our view, instruments are critically important and they're one of the things that are the most often neglected in-- in (NOISE) trying to achieve our aspirations.

And the final I, investment. Of course, financial investment will drive success, but so will investing political will by our leaders. And so will all of us investing our energy hopefully relentlessly. And the third lesson we've learned is somewhat more sobering that-- and that is that we won't treat newcomers any better than we treat each other.

If in our societies were divided on class, (NOISE) race, or gender, if we tolerate low wages and bad work, bad housing or transit (UNINTEL)-- if we tolerate hopeless ghettos, we won't treat newcomers any better. Because after all, immigrants only really desire what we all (NOISE) desire, to be part of a fair and functioning community. I think we'll all take our chances with that.

In Canada, we have a problem with how we treat our aboriginal communities. We have issues with income distribution. As we work to make immigrant settlement and inclusion (COUGH) we also need to deal with these long-standing national issues in order to-- dramatically raise the floor for all of us. And I won't presume to identify for you the issues in your country, but I'm sure you can all identify them yourselves.

I will end with a more cheerful note, and that is our cities of migration project because I think this is a wonderfully optimistic opportunity for us all. I talked earlier about how we-- we reject the culture of complaint. Cities of migration is exactly the opposite. It's about catching people doing something right, which I find a very refreshing approach.

Much of our work in Maytree is based in our belief in the power of communities to find solutions to the issue they face. We have faith in their self-knowledge and their determination. But sometimes, they need (NOISE) or a hint. And Cities of Migration is exactly those things.

It's a sharing of good practice and-- and hooking people up so good ideas can travel. Indeed, those good ideas can take wing. So, I'm very much looking forward to the rest of the afternoon and the panel discussion because I think we'll hear a lot of those-- wonderful-- examples-- of good practice. So, thank you very much.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thanks very much, Alan. So, the format for this eve-- for this afternoon is that-- we'll have-- a speech from Jonathan Portes followed by-- some responses from the panel. And then, there's an opportunity for-- the audience to ask questions but also give their views as well. And-- so, we're very lucky to have-- Jonathan-- with us.

Jonathan's director of NIESR-- the grandfather of independent research facilities in the U.K. Jonathan got a long, successful track record of working in politics and economics. And-- was previously chief economist at the cabinet office-- advising Cabinet Secretary Gus O'Donnell and worked in Ten Downing Street. So-- Jonathan.

JONATHAN PORTES:

Thanks-- thanks very much-- Rob, for inviting me-- and-- and to others. I do feel-- here slightly under false pretenses-- because-- looking-- and-- and I said this to-- to (UNINTEL) and Rob when I was invited, looking at the-- the title, practical and local-- initiatives to promote migrant integration-- well, I'm an economist-- who's worked a lot on immigration.

I know something about integration at the theoretical level, but-- I know absolutely nothing-- at a prac-- the practical level that most people in this room work at. And when Alan says that we'll hear some great examples of that practical initiatives to promote integration at a local level, I'm-- I'm sure you will, but you won't be hearing them from me because-- that's not something I know anything about.

So-- you know, I will talk about what I know about, and hope that is-- some useful context. What do I know about? I know about the-- what the-- economic and social science evidence tells us about-- immigration, and to some extent-- a rather more complex and multidisciplinary subject of-- of integration-- in the U.K.-- particularly over the last 15 years.

So, I will start by-- outlining-- I-- I think the way I'll try and talk about this is start-- by outlining some of what we know, what we think we know, what the (NOISE) says, what the consensus is among researchers, say a bit about what the public perceptions and political perceptions are around some of those issues and why-- or how those may differ from reality. And then-- without pretending to have any great expertise or answer because I'm not-- I'm not-- a communication specialist either, but I'll say a bit about how one might think about addressing the disjuncture between perception and reality-- around some of these-- these issues and-- and what local actions might contribute to that without, as I said, trying to say what I think those local actions are since-- that isn't something I know a great deal about.

And-- I should say since-- (UNINTEL) are one of the sponsors here, that-- that some of-- of this work has-- is-- building on-- research that-- we are doing-- that has been-- funded by (UNINTEL) Cadbury and-- also the-- the dissemination of which has been funded by Unbound Philanthropy and the Changing Minds program, which again,

many people in this room will be familiar with and-- and-- we at least here are grateful for that.

And-- and we do see ourselves as having a role not in either advocating-- (NOISE) particular political solutions nor-- implementing local initiatives, but in trying to get from where we are now to a somewhat more informed-- public debate on some of those issues.

So-- what do we know after 15 years? So-- I mean, it is-- yeah, I do tend to send these things with a little bit of reminiscence. I started thinking about-- immigration when I was working in-- in the-- number ten policy unit-- strategy-- back in 1999-- when it first became apparent-- two things became apparent. First of all, there were-- had been-- there was a sudden-- an unexpected upsurge in levels of immigration to the U.K.-- which largely went below the radar at that point. And second, that there was absolutely (NOISE) nobody in government-- who'd done the slightest bit of serious thinking or analysis about what this meant-- for the economic and social impact (?) with the U.K.

And moreover, because government had, as a deliberate matter of policy, not been interested-- in the economic and social impact of immigration-- in the U.K. for the previous 20 years-- there was almost no one in the research community doing any work on this either. So, we kicked off a program of research within government and we-- later spread outside of government on-- on some of the economic and social impacts.

And so-- well, you know, rather a lot more-- a lot (NOISE) has happened since then, and in particular-- what we predicted then at the time-- in the paper that I wrote then, which was that this would not be a flash in the pan but that there would be a sustained-- very large immigrant-- immigration to the U.K. for reasons to do with both domestic and ec-- and international economic developments.

This was something that was going to happen-- would, by and large, be economically beneficial and that the government should try and work with-- but not-- ig-- but try and manage rather than ignore all-- all of these things did indeed come to pass. And we do know rather a lot more than we-- we did then.

So, what do we know? Well, we know that-- the most research and most knowledge is about the labor market impacts of immigration. And we know that these are surprisingly-- certainly surprisingly to me as a labor market economist, these are surprisingly small-- as regards to the-- the native population. There is-- been-- quite a large number of-- of studies on the impact of immigration on unemployment for natives, and they've basically all failed to find anything, which really is quite a surprise to those of us who thought that there would-- be at least some transitory impact. And we were wrong.

The British labor market has adapted remarkably well to a very large inflow of immigrants. There is like probably some rather small negative impact on worker's wages at the (SIREN) lower end of the income distribution, but this really is pretty small, and it's dwarfed by-- a number of other things, positive and negative going on

at the same time. In particular, globalization, the impact of trade, the impact of technological change, the impact of the introduction of a national minimum wage and so on. (NOISE)

Public services, again-- I think the surprising thing here is how well on the whole U.K. public services have adapted to quite large population changes. It's been significant in some areas, but generally, rather exaggerated. And on the whole-- local authorities have quite reasonably complained very loudly about-- not having enough money and not be-- the government figures being-- outdated and-- inaccurate.

And-- they're usually right about that list to some extent. But on the whole, public services have adapted quite well. And-- the impacts have generally been-- you know, that-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) have been rather exaggerated. We know, certainly, what the-- impact has been on the benefit system which is very small.

Immigrants, on the whole, are much less likely than-- than natives to claim benefits. So, overall, the fiscal-- as a consequence, the overall fiscal impact, the impact on tax-- the-- public finances in general-- is pretty clearly positive. And we-- we've known for some time that was true in the short run. It follows pretty directly from the fact that immigrants are, on the whole, younger and healthier-- 'cause they're younger-- and with more recent immigrants, more likely to be in work than-- than natives.

As a consequence, they're inevitably-- net contribution in the short run-- the-- recent fiscal sustainability report published by the office of budget responsibility though tells us something we didn't know which is about the-- the impact on the public finances in the long run and show, again somewhat to my surprise, that this-- this positive impact is likely to be (NOISE) sustained for a very long period that was-- as far ahead as the OBR look, which is half a century to 2060.

We still see immigration having quite a significant beneficial impact on the public finances. I do always say that that did not mean one should drop to the-- jump to the conclusion that we need immigration to pay our pensions or we need immigration because otherwise there's a demographic train wreck hitting us.

That is an exaggeration. Immigration is beneficial-- to the public finances. And we want to push back against people who say-- that-- oh, it's-- you know, it may be okay for the short run, but we're storing up long-run problems. That is not true. But equally, it's not true that immigration is a panacea for adjusting to demographic change. One way or another, the country will have to adjust to demographic change whether or not-- immigration is the case.

So, then-- what however is the public perception? Well, the public perception is rather the-- the opposite of all this. The public perception, as demonstrated-- not only by what the political parties say, and I think we have to recognize that the parties are following public opinion rather than leading it for the most part in this. And that even the-- the-- the tabloid press exaggerate as may-- as it may be is probably-- following public opinion to a large extent, rather than leading it.

They think that those immigrants are responsible for-- the public perception-- responsible for-- for increasing unemployment, that there are not-- a

disproportionate burden on the system-- and so on. So-- you know, we know that. So, what is the-- what are the-- the responses to that? Well, my response from an evidence point of view-- tends to be-- at a very high level, the following.

Which is that this country has some very serious structural problems which predated the recession-- in-- education, skill system and the labor market. Those problems relate to a very large extent-- to the fact that we do not have a very good system for helping succeed in the labor market tho-- that proportion-- the-- those people who do not go to university. The 50% of kids who do not go into university are not very well served-- in later stages of compulsory education in the transition to the labor market, or if they become unemployed, in-- in getting back into the labor market.

Blaming immigration for this has very little evidential support. Well, that statement in itself doesn't-- doesn't convince anybody. What I think is more effective is to point very clearly at those air-- you know, we know-- the areas where these problems are worse. We know-- there are eight local authorities in the country where fewer than half of kids who speak English as a first language.

In other words, (UNINTEL) kids, native English speakers as it were, where fewer than 50% get five good GCSEs including English and maths. Those global authorities are Blackpool, Knowsley, Barnsley, Hartlepool, Nottingham, Middlesboro, Hull and-- slightly ironically, the Isle of White. (LAUGH)

Of those-- and the-- they are-- the Isle of White matters actually-- because it's emblematic of-- a more general problem which is actually the-- the-- often the places in the country where-- where poor kids, especially poor white or poor working class kids do worse are areas that actually appear to be relatively prosperous at some respects. That's not true of the other places on these-- (COUGH) that I've just mentioned, which are mostly generally depressed.

But the key point here, obviously, is that of those, only Nottingham has a very substantial immigrant population. The others have-- generally low levels of immigration. And in the case of-- of Knowsley, for example, Knowsley has about the highest-- level of-- of people who are born in this country-- in the country, more than 98%. And Knowsley has probably the worst education outcomes and the worst labor market in the country as well.

So, I do think-- you know, so there's-- at a very basic level, the story doesn't add up. And similarly-- the story-- the immigration story doesn't add up in London. In London-- about 52% of kids on free school meals get five good GCSEs. In the southwest of the country, not a poor area-- and not on the whole an immigration heavy area, only 30% of kids on free school meals get five good GCSEs.

So, we know that geographically this story doesn't add up. But that in itself doesn't-- you know, I think that in itself, people find it different to argue with that-- that one head on. I-- so, I-- so, for me, that is the-- the starting point in this discussion which is (NOISE) why shouldn't we blame immigration for these problems? Why do I feel quite confident even when-- though I don't like to make directly political statements to say that politicians who blame immigration for the problems of the education

system, problems of youth unemployment are-- are scapegoating, and I use that word advisedly.

I don't use it to refer to people who are being-- you know, as-- as a code for saying you are a racist. People-- (UNINTEL) who scapegoat immigrants or immigrations, these problems are not necessarily racist. But they are using immigration as a scapegoat for problems which they are failing to tackle themselves-- problems which are more deep rooted.

And I think that is the first important to make. The second important to make is-- is the optimistic one. And I-- you know, transition that off that-- this is-- and this is-- is the experience of London in one partic-- very particular area which is-- is education over the last ten years, and it is something which-- I think we should talk a lot more about.

That-- that they did not-- generally recognized in the policy debate as it should be by a long way. So, London is-- now, (COUGH) as far as I know, the only capital city in the world-- where kids outperform the country as a whole. And-- that is-- actually, if the-- some-- some of the numbers on this are actually quite astonishing. You see kids on free school meals in some boroughs in London performing at the national average.

There is nowhere else in the country that comes remotely close to that. London schools have gone from being roughly average-- ten or 12 years ago to being far ahead-- particularly for poor kids in (NOISE) closing the achievement gap and overall achievement. That is quite an astonishing achievement. For anyone who hasn't read various articles both data heavy and more anecdotal by Chris Cook, the *Financial Times*-- (COUGH) correspondent, I do highly recommend them.

This is a remarkable achievement. And this, I think, is the way you come onto the positive thing. What is it that we could do that would actually address some of these deep rooted problems, and in doing so, allay some of the concerns that-- that people 'round the country legitimately have over the-- the prospects particularly of young people, particularly of unskilled.

The-- the simple thing is replicate what is lon-- London has done-- what has been done in London by a combination of political will, national-- political will and local political will, leadership within schools, refusal to accept second best for our kids, replicate that in (NOISE) Knowsley, Hull, Hartlepool and the Isle of White. If we did that, I think a lot of these concerns would-- would-- would drop away. And so, on that optimistic note, I will finish. There's a lot more I could say-- (APPLAUSE)

ROB BERKLEY:

And-- and Jonathan will stay on the panel so-- an opportunity to-- ask questions-- and to follow up later on. I should introduce the rest of our-- of our panel. So, to my left-- I don't know my left from my right-- long-term stor-- long-term problem-- is Dan Silver, he's director of the Social Action and Research Foundation.

Next to him is Andrew Boff. He's a London assembly member. Andrew's been a counselor in Hindon and Hackney. Next to-- yep-- next to Andrew is-- is Cynthia Masiyiwa-- from Active Horizons. And-- Cynthia-- I last saw winning an award, that's right, isn't it? So, Cynthia, a young migrant woman of the-- migrant woman of the year.

Next-- we have-- Ratna Omidvar who is president of the Maytree Foundation. And Jonathan, you've heard from already. And Counselor Karen Bellamy who's junior league member for Couple and Family Poverty at Waltham Forest Council. So, Dan, would you like to-- to start?

DAN SILVER:

One of the questions I was asked to think about or to talk about was the north-south divide. I thought I'd start with a quote from George Orwell. He said, "When you go north, you begin to encounter the real ugliness of industrialization. (UNINTEL PHRASE) that you're obliged to come to terms with it. (LAUGHTER)

And I thought-- George Orwell's probably a bit wrong there, and things have changed a lot-- despite the-- I think there's someone in the House of Lords who said the north was a very desolate place, and-- which caused all sorts of anger. But I think the-- the effects of the industrialization on the north have-- a long-term impact, so a lot of the manufacturing jobs that left haven't come back. A lotta people find themselves in low-paid and insecure working-- industries.

And there's a lotta barriers that are struggling-- despite quite a lot of-- (UNINTEL) from the new labor government through neighborhood renewal and all the-- all these different policies. And that's mani-- manifested in a range of different ways. So, educational outcomes-- with health, health inequalities. Someone from the north is 20% less likely to live to 75 than is one from the south. And that's the widest gap in seven-- in 40 years. So, it's getting worse.

The government-- when the government came in their spending review in 2010-- financial settlements there, the amount of money going to councils-- seven out of ten of the worst hit areas were in the north. And so, Knowsley, I know for sure, was quite out there. And that when you take a lot of the northern cities and-- and urban areas, London's like a totally different world.

So, the economic outlook, the financial sector in London is bigger than the outpour of the whole of the northeast. About this-- but then, it becomes a bit more complicated 'cause three out of the then were (UNINTEL PHRASE) so I think that paints a real picture that it's inequalities within cities. So, we-- we have the north-south divide, and there's obvious things (NOISE) but it's inequalities within cities that are just as important.

So, describing areas in the north-- areas struggling in the south, and I think part of-- part of this program and the work we're doing is to look at the inequalities within cities. So, we-- even within the city of Manchester-- the life expectancy can drop by

ten if you just go-- five-- five miles up the road.

So, we've been working for-- I shoulda said at the start, but we've been working with the Open Society Foundations At Home in Europe projects. We're doing research on white working class communities in north Manchester-- which has been absolutely fascinating, if sometimes a bit depressing-- but with bits of hope at the end. So, what we found out was quite resilient communities that are based on family connections, people in the community-- that-- managing to survive sometimes thrive despite there being economic concerns.

And see, people in-- low-pay, no-pay cycle of-- they're comin' in and out of work. And even when they're in work, it's-- it's bad. Living standards are getting worse. Health is getting worse. Depression, mental health, the amount of suicide since the recession has gone up in Manchester-- quite significantly. So, we found-- we found a lot of that. (NOISE) The things that are challengin' at the area in terms of migration is that you've got these really strong community support networks.

So, then when people see outsiders who they perceive as immigrants, or there not everyone is an immigrant even if they've lived for their whole life down the road, but if they have a different skin color, they're described as immigrants by most of the residents we spoke to-- is that they-- they see them threatening the-- the-- this little that they have.

So, in terms of housing-- if people are moving in and they see families gettin' evicted, that that's really a motive for people-- jobs-- all-- all the sort of things that you-- you've go to pay a lot about this really-- it becomes more pronounced in areas of deprivation-- times are gettin' more hard.

And I think the economic arguments saying not much has changed-- there's not been that much of an impact, wouldn't have much effect on some of the people we've been speaking to who've got these fears. And I think when we've-- when we've tried to challenge back through the research process, we've heard the term do-gooders come up several times.

So, they like-- I think we-- we would pass as do-gooders. I think most people here would be cast as do-gooders who don't know that they sly-- they-- they don't know what it's like. And if you say, well-- you know, it's good for the economy, then it's not good for that-- that-- people haven't seen an improved economy even during the boom years.

So, then when you say migration's good, then that-- that really gets challenging do-gooders came quite a lot. Also, the sense that the (UNINTEL) communities would use the race card-- that this was a really strong-- oh, they'd get the housing because they played the race card. And even if you challenge, it-- it's just so strong within communities.

And I think I've been working for-- before we set up the Social Action Research Foundation working-- on rents equality issues, so it's different, come from a totally different angle. And it-- it has been quite-- eye opening. In terms of solutions, to be quite quick, we-- we think from the research we've been doing is looking around

addressing wider grievances that people have so-- addressing living standards, addressing housing issues-- jobs-- or secure jobs because the-- the thing that we've heard constantly, and it's come up quite a lot, is people say that they're not racist, they just resent-- and I think that was quite strong.

I think some people are a bit racist (MIC NOISE) and that-- that they have become-- and I won't vent some of the stories yet, but-- yeah, I think-- so, to look at some of the wider social and economic issues as a pre-factor-- pre-factor as a phrase, as a pre-issue before-- looking at integration, really.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thanks, Dan. Andrew.

ANDREW BOFF:

Thanks. I-- I-- hoping to say much-- because I-- I think you said a lot. What I wanted to say-- sent me if you-- you know, if you're a London politician, you know that if-- if we can't get it working here, we can't get it working anywhere in the world. It is the most diverse city in the world. Don't let anybody tell you any other city is, the city's London-- (LAUGHTER)

(OVERTALK)

MALE VOICE:

Manchester-- Manchester has more linguistic diversity than London--

ANDREW BOFF:

Oh, well, you know-- in terms of total diversity, you can't beat London. But you've gotta realize the subtleties of the debate, and I do. I mean, the most-- I've knocked on an awful lot of doors-- as a politician and-- always, the one I knocked on the door-- I-- I-- when I knocked on the door in Hawkstone when I heard the most out-- the loudest criticism of immigration policies of my party and all the other parties-- about how we're letting them all in, we're giving them all-- (THROAT CLEARING) their jobs-- we're handing them the jobs and giving them the houses.

And all said in the richest Jamaican accent you've ever heard in your life. So, it's-- (LAUGHTER) it's a lot more subtle-- the-- the prejudice that we have. Only the other day, I heard of-- the criticisms of Polish immigrants coming from Asian-- from-- from-- effectively, Hindu Indians-- because actually-- actually, we are part-- we were part of the commonwealth, they aren't. They were never part of common-- we came over here to-- save your health service. They didn't, they just come over here and

taken our jobs. I've heard all this.

And so, it's a much more complicated-- and at-- some point, we're gonna find a politician who is brave enough to get up on a public soapbox and say that the criticisms of immigration are bullshit because they are. They are absolute rubbish. They are not based in fact.

Sometimes, it's not who you know or what you know but how you know. How do people come to the conclusion that all their homes have been taken by immigrants? How did they get that information is because there's so many people around willing to peddle that information. I remember hearing so many accusations as a counselor both in Hillingdon and Hackney about such and such got it because they were-- I mean, Hillindon, it was typically because they were Sikhs or because they were Hindus or whatever.

They got house because of-- in Hackney, it's because they were Turkish or because they were black or the rest there. And I did research on all of these ones. And in no cases I've ever heard of has there ever, ever been-- a race bias. I haven't seen it, and I've seen no evidence ever of it.

And therefore, I-- I-- I've got to conclude, as I said, bullshit. And-- but the-- the-- unfortunately, nobody will say this. Nobody will stand up and say this. Now, in London, we have to engage with community. We have to do it because otherwise we wouldn't survive as a city. I'm constantly surprised by the criticisms I hear of the way in which both London mayors and previous-- the local authorities in-- the previous-- predecessor or authority is the great-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) the-- the way in which London engages with migrant communities.

We're told from the rest of the country-- you know, it's-- it's an awful mix in London, and we're all (UNINTEL PHRASE) we're terribly poor. We're terribly-- and we-- and it's a real problem dealing with migration. Well, yes, it is-- a problem dealing with migration. But then again, if there'd been no migrants over the past 20 years, if you look at the house building records of both flavors of government, we'd still have had housing crisis.

We'd still have had a housing crisis if there were no immigration because the governments weren't building enough houses. So, it's not good enough to say that the immigrants have got the houses. Somebody's got to challenge this. And challenge it publically.

And unfortunately, politicians-- now, I think in every single party seem to be going along this line. Fortunately, you have people with common sense. I do actually think, you know, that the mayor of London has-- has common sense on this issue. I think his predecessor was common-- common sense on this issue.

We accept the only change that Boris has brought about-- particularly in London is-- is there is a slight change of emphasis of-- of-- in-- in these-- in the-- in the celebration of London's diversity. The slight change is rather than-- and this might sound not much ado-- it's not so much the value of the culture you came from, which is about reinforcing the culture you came from. The emphasis now is about what you

bring, what your culture brings to London. And we think that's a much more inclusive emphasis.

It's not saying the former was bad-- is a much more inclusive emphasis to say what everybody does bring to London, what-- we value it. And if-- if that means-- if that does mean holding celebration, it does mean an expenditure of money, it's all-- an expenditure of money to bring people on board.

But I would do-- I'm sorry, I've gone on a bit too long. Just one-- one second-- one second more. I would, first of all, say-- you've got-- I've got to fire a warning shot about some things that have been happening recently. It's absolute truism that everybody should learn English. We know that. It would be so much easier if everybody learned English. And we all accept that.

They're not going to. There were some people who are not going to English-- or they're not going to learn it in the time frame that we want to learn-- that we want them to know it. Therefore, stones, such as in Newham, where the-- the mayor of Newham has said that he is completely cutting back on translation services in Newham-- on-- on the basis that that will foster more integration is an extremely dangerous stunt.

He's actually saying that people in abusive relationships, people who have been trafficked into the U.K., people who are in need of public health advice will not receive it in Newham because of an ideological statement about translation services and how everybody should speak English. It's a very dangerous step to take. And before we start making those public statements-- and I hope other local authorities don't follow-- Newham's example.

Before we stop doing it, we've got to really look at what the impact of what we're doing is not on our consciences, not on our planning, but what-- inference has on individuals out in our communities in London. I've gone on much too long and I am sorry.

ROB BERKLEY:

No-- no problem. Thank you, Andrew. (APPLAUSE) You next. Cynthia, coming to you next.

KAREN BELLAMY:

One of the questions that I was asked was how-- what were taking a proactive approach to supporting immigration. As a local authority, we are-- sixth most deprived borough in London. We-- at the last count across the country, we were 15th. We think at the next figures, we're gonna probably be between 11 and nine. So, there are great levels of deprivation.

There are also great areas where it's very affluent in our borough. However, in-- in

nice areas, we've-- we've notice over the past three years that they are creeping up in the indices of deprivation. Now, you've got areas-- and the area I'm talking about in particular is in (UNINTEL) where some of the houses-- along Ranger's Road and places like that are in the millions. It's mad. It's totally mad.

But when we look at the indices, you see that there is pockets of deprivation there. And that is basically because we're gettin' houses of multiple occupation. So, people are movin' out, and they're rentin' the houses out. And they are now becoming very, very dangerous places because you've got two, three, four families living in those houses. And nobody really knows what's going on in there because they're in private rentals (?).

So, that's one of the things that we're-- we're tryin' to do to support-- because most of the people that are going into those houses are migrants. It's not the indigenous population, it's the migrant population. And they are being, I think, exploited by private landlords. So, we're lookin' at a private-- landlord situation and guiding along the line of a license-- to protect (UNINTEL) people.

As a borough, we do lots around diversity. We have-- a multi (UNINTEL) that basically goes 'round-- they call them faith walks-- for peace. And they will go to all the different religious venues, temples-- synagogues, mosques, churches. And-- this is a regular thing that we do which is supported by the council.

We've got our interfaith group which is supported by Waltham Forest Council. We have-- every year, we have a (UNINTEL PHRASE) we have a African carnival-- not as big-- not in-- not in hill carnival, unfortunately, but we hope to get there one day. We do Sikh events. We go to temple. And we spend quite a lot of money on doing that. And we also give quite a lot of grants to community groups.

However, going forward, the worry is that we have all been squeezed. You know, since 2010, we have lost in Waltham Forest, $64 million. By the time we get to 2016, we estimate that our budget is gonna be down by over $100 million. And it then becomes a really stark choice between where do we go with the money?

Are we gonna deliver frontline services? Or are we gonna support migrant groups and different ethnic groups? And are we gonna support individual events? I don't know where we're gonna go with that. Personally, I-- I'm a child of-- of migrant parents to this country. And although I don't look like that it would happen, I have experienced, as a child, racism-- because we-- I-- I'm a child of Irish parents.

And during the-- the '60s, 1969, we had-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) we had Irish bastards painted on our door and dog excrement put through the letter box. So, I have experienced it. No blacks, no Irish, no dogs. My parents experienced that. I think that at the moment, we're in a pretty dangerous situation because there are a lotta people out there that are struggling, a lot of indigenous people that are struggling.

And as you say, they see people movin' into houses, and they think that it's some form of favoritism. When you knock on the door as a politician and they stand there and say, "Well, they got a house. Why did they get a house? You gave them a house." No, it's actually a private rented house. And what you'll find is they're either paying

rent or they are claiming some sort of benefit. Highly unlikely that they're gonna get benefit. They're probably working together to pay the rent.

And I think when we get into the situations we're in at the moment when services are being squeezed, jobs are being lost-- it does get quite scary on the doorstep because you just think-- if you got back to the '30s in places like that, when people feel vulnerable, they need to look and find somebody to blame. And it's not usually the government because they're too far away. They're gonna look to whoever is closest and who may be different.

And that's what I'm finding at the doorstep. And I think that's scary. However, having done some work with the Open Society Foundation around-- migrants in Europe, what we did in Waltham Forest was we went out and we talked to, basically, white working class-- population in my world, which as I said is one of the deprived. We've done it across age groups. And-- we've got varying degrees of-- feedback.

We didn't experience too much racism, which to be honest, surprised me. Then, we went into the Asian community and did the same thing. And then the idea was to bring the two groups together and just to see what happens. I was quite nervous about that because it is-- it could be quite a volatile situation because it's like you haven't got-- and you haven't got, but actually, you might have more-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) because a lot of what we heard from the white working class they've all got money-- you know, the Asian community is full of people that have got big cars, big houses.

They've got all the-- shops. They do this. They do that. And actually, it's-- obviously, it's not the case. When we put the two groups together, what we found and-- was the similarities that they were experiencing on the ground because it was poor Asian people and, as I said, white working class. It was an interesting project to be involved in, and I hope we can take it forward actually within Waltham Forest.

And what we found was that when you bring people together, the differences fall away. And actually, similarities come to the surface. And that's what we found working with the groups. And it-- it was really-- I found it quite heartwarming. We had-- a couple of women in the group-- the white working class group-- who I would never have said would have done this. We had a group of Asian women that do-- they provide lunches and stuff during the day.

And at the end of the project, two of our white working class women asked if they could go volunteer at the Asian women's group to provide lunches for Asian elders. And that was just a joy. And I think that what we've got to do, instead of maybe doing different events, it's about bringing people together and letting people see that, actually, although we are all different, there are huge similarities. And-- that's what I would hope for in the future.

ROB BERKLEY:

(APPLAUSE) Cynthia, how's your recollection?

CYNTHIA MASIYIWA:

Yes. Well, I'll start to talk about my experience of being a migrant in-- in this country. And-- I was just sittin' on the computer today trying to find figures-- you know, trying to figure why the people are doing better, and I thought, you know, what-- what-- what better way is there for me to talk about the positive contribution people like me make this country than my actual story.

So, I came from Zimbabwe in 2005. And-- it wasn't my decision to come. I was 15 at that time, it was my parents-- who made the choice for me to come here. And when I moved here, I was in year nine. About three months after I started school, I lost my mom-- 'cause I left my parents in Zimbabwe. And now, this is me grieving. And I was the only black student in my class. And I faced a lot of racism.

During-- sports time, instead of having a football, I became the football to everyone. And you-- it was that hard. But it took-- one day when we had this speaking and listening exercise in class. And the question was talk about anything. You can talk about your role model, talk about your pet, talk about your parents, anything you wanted to talk about.

And-- at that time, I was quite shy and very-- insecure about my accent 'cause I had a very strong African accent. And I stood in front of the class and I told the class why I'd moved to the country, which is-- flee-- fleeing away from the political violence in Zimbabwe. And I told them that I was actually the Kent Championship for long jump, 100 meter sprinting, also, the-- the captain for the volleyball team in southeast London, for basketball team-- all these things that I was contributing to and none of them had a clear idea who I am.

I opened up to them and told them, you know what, I want to be a doctor some day, even (UNINTEL PHRASE) now, but-- then I wanted to be a doctor. And just trying to make them understand that I'm just the same as each one of them in that class, a young person just trying to pursue something, just trying to succeed and make something out of themselves.

After that exercise, everybody came to me and said, "You know what, Cynthia, we're really sorry for the way that we treated you." Now, I asked them so why-- why did you guys treat me that way? Why did you-- you never-- you don't even-- most of them didn't even know me. And there were responses about-- some of them clearly just came from families that lacked anybody that has got-- a different skin color is just a no-no.

Some of them talked about what media says about us. Some of them, it was just-- copying what my friend does 'cause my friend doesn't like you, I'm not gonna like you. But then, since that day, you know, anybody that tried to do anything to me, my class was right behind me. They would say, "Don't even try to go anywhere near Cynthia." Now, after that, when I turned 18-- my temporary immigration status expired, and I could not go to university. I'd done well with my GCSEs, about 12 GCSEs, done my A levels. Could not go to university. Could not get a job. Could not

do anything.

Now, at 18, that's when you're saying now I'm a woman, I can do what I want. I can get married, do all these things, you know. But (LAUGH) I couldn't do any of those things. Now, it's come-- from that point, it's-- that is what made me want to get involved in community participation and act on the issues that are (UNINTEL). I said I had to work on issues like racism or even like-- (COUGH) young people thought I'd achieved so much but couldn't have that access to higher education or couldn't go anywhere forward.

Working with young people in-- in my community, kind of making them realize that, you know, if you are affected by something or if you got something wrong in your life, it starts with you, empowering them. Now, there are certain things that I couldn't have learned if I had not came to this country. I come from a background where women are not supposed to say anything, even in church, you're not supposed to say anything.

But then being in this country, understanding, you know, that we are all equal-- now, you can imagine if I was still in Zimbabwe, you can imagine what sort of person would I be because back then I was even shy. I would walk in this room and sit right at the back. But now, I'm that person that is able to speak out. I'm able other succeed in anything because I believe I can do it.

And this is something-- I'm just trying to talk about the things that I've learned from this country as well. And even the opportunities, the opportunities in this country and working with young people here in Africa, we believe about even a child can be raised by a community. Working with young people in my community to actually make them realize that it's about (COUGH) us working together, whether you're from the mosque, you're from the church, whether you're from the temple.

Whether you-- wherever you are, you can actually work together and achieve something. So-- now, this is the last story. But just to end on a not about-- the importance of the community working together, I believe that we are taught that it's really important in life to put-- focus on the positives about yourself as an individual. And I hope that even as a community, we'll work like that.

Look at the positive contribution that the next person to you contributes. I'm not saying you should ignore the negatives 'cause there is negative-- in real life, there is negatives, but the positives is what makes us be together and, kind of, realize the benefits about us integrating, us coming together as different communities. That-- that's about it.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thank you. (APPLAUSE) Ratna?

RATNA OMIDVAR:

Well, as-- as-- as I've listened to all of you, it's inevitable that I'm struck with what I see are similarities and what I see as the differences. And as Jonathan was speaking-- speaking on the-- on the basis of evidence, the evidence in Canada, too-- and I suspect in one-- many other jurisdictions is very similar. The impact of immigration on the economy, the labor market, the uptick on public services, the adaptation of public-- of public services, it's all relatively the same narrative.

But where we differ significantly is on-- on a few-- points, and I'd like to just, sort of, make the points before I go onto-- talking about some of the great-- points of light that we have discovered-- in local-- councils in the U.K. So, first of all, our-- our demographic imperative is really evidence-based.

We are a very large country with a population of 35 million people. And without immigration, we will fall into-- negative population growth by 2031. And this is, sort of, universally now accepted in Canada that we need immi-- immigrants to grow our economy, to build our nation. The second-- difference, I think, and I observe this as I read your-- tabloid press-- is that-- there is no politician who wants to get elected who will actually stand up and say-- anything negative about immigration because the immigrant vote-- vote matters hugely in Canada.

Our-- our ruling party in Ottawa, conservative party, has flipped around its support from-- immigrant communities to actually gain a majority in Canada. And-- and the third difference, I think, is one of public opinion. By and large, the majority of Canadians support the general construct of immigration, multiculturalism, call it what you may.

And in polls on multiculturalism, without quite understanding what it is, most Canadians, and I'll give you a rough figure, 67% depending on the poll, 67% to a high of 80%, most Canadians will say-- multiculturalism is part of our identity just the same way-- you know, think of the other Canadian symbols, hockey, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police-- Wayne Gretzky and multiculturalism, pretty-- pretty far up the line as a symbol of who Canada thinks it is.

And-- and again, I-- I think-- the difference is in how we address our issues. And of course, we have them, too. Is-- is also quite stark for me-- in Canada, our biggest challenge is-- ensuring that immigrants are successful within the first ten years. And the peer-- the-- this gap in-- in timing is-- is growing. It's not contracting.

And the work that-- Alan invests in when he talks about relentless incrementalism, he has to understand he's making me relentless, too. So-- we invest a lot of our resources in collapsing-- these expanding timeframes of settlement integration-- because we-- we believe in this, as I said, shared by many Canadians, that the success of immigrants is, in fact, the success of Canada, and one can't happen without the other.

Here, it seems to me your bigger challenges are in the second and third generation. The whole issue of British identity seems to raise its-- its-- its head-- quite often. We-

- like you, we use-- we have used different strategies which I-- I don't personally agree with what our government is doing in-- in reducing inflows of refugees, let's say, from eastern Europe.

We've taken out advertisements-- in Hungary, for instance, until we were stopped from doing so-- to stop the inflow of (UNINTEL) refugees to Canada. You use bus hoardings-- I-- I understand-- so, we-- we-- we-- we have similar challenges in different ways, and we use similar-- instruments-- as well.

But I think the greatest difference in our two jurisdiction is that we-- we think-- you know, you've buried multiculturalism from what I can understand. You're actively looking for a new construct to-- help you figure out identity, social cohesion. You're quite-- quite-- by and large, satisfied with the construct of multiculturalism which doesn't mean that we won't look to what you're doing within. (COUGH)

Alan spoke about Cities of Migration, and I just want to expand a little bit on that. And why do we do this? And when we started Cities of Migration, and when we consulted with our national and international partners, the challenge that was thrown to us was you cannot speak about this in terms of replication and replicating good ideas because national context is so very different. What works in Canada will not work in the United States, will not work in Germany.

And we, sort of, defied that trend and went out actively found-- finding as Alan has said, points of light that can travel nimbly. And as you were speaking-- counselor, I was wanting very much to show you a good practice from Barcelona which is called the anti-rumor campaign. And the-- the council-- the-- the-- the city council in Barcelona supports an anti-rumor campaign precisely to-- dispel-- the-- the narrative-- the negative narrative that you were talking about.

And as we do our work, we've found that national policies, national media, national sentiment notwithstanding, cities can march to their own tune. And when we went out and looked in the last year at practices coming out from local governments in U.K., Spain, Germany, Canada, the U.K., the U.S. and New Zealand, we found some really interesting ideas from the U.K. as well which we've documented in a special U.K. publication. And I'll just give you a taste of what we think you're doing in-- at the local level that is worth shouting out about so that Canada can learn from you. Canadian cities, U.S. cities can learn from you.

So, in Cardiff, for instance, which has received in the last ten years-- I understand, a significant number of refugees, the police force has-- has inserted itself as a language trainer in order to build trust. And ten years later, their police force has much more trust from refugee communities, and refugee communities traditionally do not trust the police, for obvious reasons. They've turned that around. In-- and forgive me if I pronounce these-- not quite right. In Herefordshire, or Herefordshire-- how do I say it--

(OVERTALK)

RATNA OMIDVAR:

Herefordshire, whatever. (LAUGHTER) Herefordshire, again, the police chief-- facing-- a significant influx of Polish immigrants into-- into the council-- was-- was informed that there wasn't any public space where the Polish immigrants could meet. And he offered up the local fire station, that would be illegal in Canada, we couldn't do that.

So, here's a story that couldn't travel. But here's the-- here's the opportunity. He offered up a local public space-- as a convening ground for Polish immigrants. And so-- significly-- significantly amplified-- electoral participation.

In Wolverhampton, again, if I'm pronouncing that correct-- apparently, a council made up of significant numbers of Indians, the local council reached to business connections in India through-- the-- the common bonds of football and cricket, so much so that there is now-- a bank from India doing business and-- and driving business in that community.

So, why do we do this? You know, I-- I think someone said winning hearts and minds. I think, Jonathan, you did, winning hearts and minds seems to be the biggest challenge on this fight regardless of where you are. And-- and we do this in order to, sort of, replace those stories of fear and anxiety with stories of hope and success.

And I-- I leave you with-- with-- with some reflections on what we have found-- based on our work. Firstly-- that cities have more levers of instrument and power than maybe they-- they give themselves credit to-- credit for. And they have significant instruments which they can deploy-- in this file.

Secondly-- local-- (UNINTEL) voiced matters of great-- we spoke about Boris Johnson. We've heard about Ken Livingston. I can tell you stories of how Rahm Emanuel in Chicago has significantly moved that jurisdiction as has-- Mayor Bloomberg.

Thirdly, that when cities act in concert with local NGOs and other public service institutions like school boards, like libraries, like the fire chief, like the police chief, they can amplify their impact many times over. And finally, this is a conclusion I make, that in cities like London, in cities like New York or Toronto-- migration issues are universal issues.

At dinner last night with Para who's sitting here-- he asked me a question, and I had to think about that. Which city-- which major urban city is prosperous (NOISE) and-- and does not have a significant presence of-- of immigrants? And that's true. I thought about it, New York, London, Toronto, Miami, Houston-- many other places. So, we have to insert-- we have to refrain from using migration as a silo issue and-- and imbed it vertically and horizontally-- into other local planning and, in fact, national policy conversations. I'll stop. (APPLAUSE)

ROB BERKLEY:

Thank you, Ratna. We've got-- about 45 minutes to-- hear from the audience. Comments, questions-- it strikes me that we've-- we've heard-- a really broad range of-- of issues raised, and Jonathan talked about the gap between perception and reality. Dan talked about the context of inequality-- and-- and the nice phrase, not racist but resentful.

And-- Andrew talked about political leadership and-- and-- and the bravery that it will take politicians to-- to engage. Karen talked-- about the dangers of exploitation as well as the-- the possibilities of building-- solidarity. Cynthia reminded us that migrants have a leadership role as well-- an important role in terms of leadership. And Ratna, a useful reminder again it doesn't have to be this way, it's just a result of the choices that-- that we make. And-- and also, to rethink about the kinda units we talk about.

We talk about the nation. It might be worth thinking about the city and the locality as well. So, over to you. If you have-- a question, if you could introduce yourself-- that would be helpful if you-- are from a particular organization. And if you've got a question for a particular speaker-- say so. But we're interested in your-- in your comments and your thoughts. There's a great deal of expertise in this room as well. So.

SUSIE SIMES:

Hi, I'm Susie Simes and I (UNINTEL PHRASE) here in London, which is actually the first one ever to be founded in Europe. And I wanted to pick up on what you were saying about Waltham Forest actually, and the power of bringing communities together. I'd say communities. I'd also say groups. I'd also say individuals, you know.

There's a danger in lumping all individuals together and at the community (UNINTEL)-- but particularly want to pick up given where I'm coming from, the role that cultural institutions have in encouraging both civic engagement and in being-- if you like safe spaces, almost politics-free spaces for people to come together.

I know that there's a lot of work of this kind that's gone on in various cities. I think of Pier 21 in-- in Halifax, in Canada. The Tenement Museum in New York-- and-- and the-- of course, South (UNINTEL PHRASE) we learned a lot in our case from the peace and reconciliation process in South Africa, the bringing together or at least attempts at bringing together Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

The-- there's quite a lot of work and there's far more that could be done. I also talked to a local organization not by focusing on particular communities, but actually by providing these safe spaces for people to talk with each other, to engage with each other, and to engage with these common narratives. You know, the common narrative of migration and it speaks of the places where we live.

(OVERTALK)

DON:

Don (UNINTEL)-- possibly picking up on Susie's point, but developing a bit fairly 'cause it seems to me it's not just about having safe places to talk, but actually, safe places to affect the balance of power in our local communities. And Alan made very interesting points at the beginning when he (MIC NOISE) talked about the power to bring about incremental change-- on a day-by-day basis, actually to see things getting better.

And my-- from where I stand, I think the problem is that that's actually been stripped away from us. We still got our-- our-- our, you know, occasional examples, and perhaps Cardiff or the Hampton might be examples of that, but by and large, in the-- the key areas which I think Dan alluded to in-- in areas of housing policy, in areas of health policy, in the labor market-- what you see is that there is less and less-- power to-- to-- to bring about real changes.

And maybe-- the counter-example of that, Jonathan was talking about is in education-- where there is still-- precisely because there still is the capacity on the (UNINTEL) a group of parents in a lit-- a local community who are absolutely determined to influence the policy of that local school. It actually can bring about changes.

Where is the comparable power when it comes to housing policy? How do, you know, ordinary people living in working class communities, black and white, get together in an east London-- in order to be able to change housing policy? How do they approach our local health authorities which are a constant bureaucratic mess of reorganization and change and-- budget cuts and-- and one sort or another.

Yet, these are all the-- the absolute bedrock issues. If we look for progress towards integration, these are exactly the areas where we would except-- expect to see progress. My-- I think my question for the panel isn't-- shouldn't we-- shouldn't we be consciously presenting integration-- the-- the move-- the demand for integration as a democratic demand nowadays? Shouldn't we be saying that our capacity to bring about change is in the areas of equality, access to basic services, the right to make progress in your life is a matter of rebuilding the democracy which, frankly, has been battered into pieces over the space of the last three decades or so.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thanks, Don. And there was-- a gentleman in the back.

FEMALE VOICE:

And I'm from-- (MIC NOISE) Open Society Foundations in which context like Don and-- research about access to citizenship law, though mainly in Africa rather than in Europe, and I wonder if the panel could comment on the issues around access to legal citizenship and paths to citizenship for migrants and the role that they see that playing in terms of the-- the-- the-- integration of communities, and in particular, their access to political-- power.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thanks. Should we-- should we take those, and then, come for another round? Cynthia has apologized, she's got to go to another meeting. Thanks a lot, Cynthia, for your-- for your contribution. (APPLAUSE)

(OVERTALK)

ROB BERKLEY:

So, I guess, Karen-- to you first, the point around-- around cultural institutions--

KAREN BELLAMY:

Culture. I mean-- William Morris Gallery just won museum of the year. And we are doing a lot to bring culture from other countries into-- that gallery and get people talking about art from other areas. We've-- we've got something called Apex Arts. We've got the Waltham Forest Arts Trail which is a really diverse-- group of people that get together.

So, I think there-- there-- there are real-- pluses in doing that. And also, about civic space, as you said-- our chamber-- which is-- we-- we have a very grand 1930s built-- town hall which is beautiful and a very leather clad and wood chamber. That is opened up to-- the community. People can come in and use that to have-- meetings. They can-- they can come in and have concerts.

I was lucky enough-- about six weeks ago to go to a concert there that was-- around-- all Bulgarian music and culture. So, we are very keen to bring people into our what is considered political space. But I don't see it as that. It's-- it's our town hall. It's our community space.

And I think that-- I would say that during the riots to-- after-- Mark Duggan was shot-- basically, we had-- one shop in our whole borough that was vandalized. And you know, you've got Tottenham which is just, you know, five minutes up the road from our high street. They didn't touch us. One shop.

And I think that is because we work hard to bring communities together. We've got

community cohesion group. We work hard with police. The police works hard with the various communities. As I said, our town hall is open to everybody. And I think that it's not singling out different cultures. It's actually bringing them together.

And I think as (NOISE) we are hugely multicultural. And I feel that we are, as a borough, enriched by that, you know. It's-- it's a really vibrant place with all-- you know, you walk up our high streets and all the different-- food shops and clothes shops, it's-- it's a really good place to live.

So, I think that we're-- that it is vital that we continue to do what we do-- however, I did say going forward how we do that, because if the budget constraints (NOISE) it's gonna be-- you know, it's-- it's gonna be a hard-- decision to make. But we still wanna get-- we still wanna-- keep our-- our communities tight. We also have a very-- we-- we have a traveler's site in our borough. So, we've got-- quite a lot of roamin' gypsy people-- and particularly in my world.

And it's-- they actually get vilified more as a community-- and they have-- we've actually had roamin' gypsy in my world for 150 years. But they get vilified more than any other community when you-- when-- when people talk. And I think there's still a lot of work to be done about changing people's perception. But as long as we've got the rhetoric that we hear in the tabloids about, you know, what gypsies and eastern Europeans and God knows what else goes on. But I think as politicians-- as community groups, we all need to fight back against that. And--

ROB BERKLEY:

So-- so, let me--

(OVERTALK)

ROB BERKLEY:

--just about when the-- that Don was making which is-- great that there are these spaces, but do they-- do they create a kind of political change where people actually get a chance to meet--

KAREN BELLAMY:

Yes.

MALE VOICE:

I'm-- I'm not so sure. But I know-- I think my-- my personal opinion would be that you can't really have successful integration without wider social justice. So, the work Runnymede-- published a couple of days ago and-- employment and the labor market

and (UNINTEL PHRASE) to the labor market-- that that's gonna leave people low paid and insecure while also you've got-- white working class communities who are poorly paid, insecure work.

And that I think-- we-- we did-- why in (UNINTEL PHRASE) the people that don't have rights on the table-- food on the table, they're not gonna wanna go and integrate because they're so worried about themselves. So, I'm not sure-- I think things like that are nice as well, but I think-- and are very useful at a local level, but I think they're must be massive change nationally on the, sort of, city level.

And I think-- in greater Manchester, the city deals-- which means there's more power that they can do things with big money locally. So, that might be-- that might be an answer. And-- and to integrate in terms around race, (COUGH) gender-- migration into wider economic and social concerns as well.

DAN SILVER:

I think-- I think we've gotta be careful. I disagree with Karen on this. I-- I-- I-- the-- the-- the-- our view of migration, sort of, adopts everything that's bad and says that's got something to do with migration. I think the riots had almost nothing to do with migration. Absolutely nothing to do with migration. They were to do a with much more wider malaise than immigration. I-- I-- I-- I was-- I was-- I was there in those riots. I thought it was my duty to go along. I wasn't one of those-- (LAUGHTER)

(ROB BERKLEY: UNINTEL)

DAN SILVER:

I wasn't one of those-- I wasn't one of those riot tourists which I saw so many going along. I thought, you know, it's my job to hold the metropolitan police to account. I'm gonna go along and look at the riots. So, I went along, and I must say, the ones I saw in Hackney are similarly diverse (UNINTEL) nothing to do with race whatsoever. They-- there was nothing you could say about-- I mean, mostly, I saw some pretty middle class people wanting to provoke the police into-- a convenient snap that they could then-- twitter around the-- the blogosphere.

So, I don't think the riots had anything to do with migration. I think, however, one thing we've got to do if we want-- there-- there's something that migrants have to do, and that is that migrants themselves must engage. And if you look at some of the institutions, migrants find it very difficult when they come to a new country. It's very difficult to come out and-- and just be part of everything.

But it's a journey we've got to help them with. If you take, for example, the journey that the East London Mosque has taken-- over-- it-- it used to have a very isolationist agenda because it-- it pretty much was-- felt vulnerable. It feared-- there was a little bit of fear of the commun-- you know, the area or worse.

Then, there was a radical change in there, and they-- they-- they switched from being quite isolationist to actually we're going to engage with the local community. We're going to join up to the political parties. We're going to join-- you know, we are-- we're actually gonna get out in the community. We're gonna open our doors. We're gonna welcome-- the rest of the community in to come and see us pray, to say-- show that we're-- we're not these frightening-- people that-- and now-- it's-- it's a great institution, the East London Mosque. I-- I recommend you go along there.

So, those organizations gotta-- they-- they've got to engage as well. And organizations like London Citizens, especially are fantastically good at getting the most important institutions to engage amongst-- amongst migrant communities. And I speak as a devout atheist, but the-- I-- the faith institutions, they absolutely have to-- you have to engage with faith institutions-- of-- of migrant to ensure that they're-- they're coming forward. There's so much more I-- I could say--

ROB BERKLEY:

I know. There'll be another opportunity-- there'll be another opportunity. I just-- it's worth noting that-- today there was a bomb scare at the East London Mosque--

DAN SILVER:

Yes, there was.

ROB BERKLEY:

--which is evacuated.

DAN SILVER:

Because people don't like the way it faces out into the community.

ROB BERKLEY:

Well, we don't-- we don't know why-- why it happened yet, but-- what-- we're bearing that in mind. Ratna?

RATNA OMIDVAR:

Yeah. I-- this is-- just from the outside, I-- I would say that I agree with you, Dan, that the guarantee of basic rights is the foundation of integration. So, when I hear about the question about access to citizenship, without citizenship-- you can't have

ownership. And without ownership, you won't have engagement.

So, I do think that's a basic right that-- that might-- you know, that societies of immigration must pay attention to. On the issue of cultural space, you know, I'm-- I'm a huge believer that-- public space is a great equalizer. Everybody can meet there regardless of who they are, where they come from. We just have to imagine the use of public space differently.

I gave you the example of the fire station or-- or even a public library or a school, or we've all seen those YouTube-- tube videos of railway stations in Europe being used as dance floors for flash mobs. You know, how fantastic is that? They then become instead of a place of passing through, they become a place where people integrate. There are so-- I mean, I went for this amazing walk in-- in London today, there are so many fantastic public spaces in this city that could be, sort of, reimagined as places of engagement and democracy. So-- I'll just stop there.

ROB BERKLEY:

Cool. There's a question about citizenship that-- nobody's addressed. Do you-- do you have--

MALE VOICE:

Well, the mayor of London and these priests-- have committed themselves-- made themselves very unpopular in their own parties for saying that we must address the problem of-- of-- not just asylum-seekers but-- illegal immigrants and-- and-- and paths into citizenship. It's got to happen.

It's-- it's-- it's got to happen. And you only-- it's one of those issues where you only have to spend five minutes with it, and you realize we have to normalize-- the status of those people who are in this country illegally. We-- we have to do it. And-- it takes London polit-- it would have to be a London politician to be at the forefront of that. And I know Boris Johnson is very, very committed--

ROB BERKLEY:

Yeah, fantastic.

RATNA OMIDVAR:

So, let me just give you an example from the city of Copenhagen-- where the cid-- local government has declared that Copenhageners, that all migrants who live in the city of Copenhagen will be declared Copenhageners-- in spite of the fact that Denmark as a regressive citizenship and integration policy. So, cities again, so think

about what does London citizenship mean.

ROB BERKLEY:

There's some people who wanna-- wanna come in. So, there's about six people who-- I've already got on my-- on my list. If people could be-- brief and similarly with the panel. So-- gentleman.

STEVEN:

Steven (UNINTEL) from Preface One. We're an incubator for interfaith, intercultural programs. Actually, my-- my question is for those on the panel from Canada, my own home and native land. The-- the-- the trends going on in Quebec and the effects on-- on-- religious communities-- the (COUGH) supposed-- I guess assimilation movements there-- what do you respond to that? And can-- can this really happen-- across the world as provinces get more power or regions get more power, move away from the national narratives?

(OVERTALK)

ROB BERKLEY:

Thank you. Liz, you want to?

LIZ FEKETE:

First of all-- this is Liz from the Institute of Race Relations. And I'd just like to thank the panel because I really thought it was about-- (NOISE) everybody gave us-- a lot of food for thought. Just two questions and-- (NOISE) a little short comment. The first question follows on from the last.

Because right now, I think-- your presentation is very interesting, but I wonder whether actually Canada and multiculturalism is the question of the hijab and the veil becoming-- an issue in Canada. And I just-- the second question I wanted to thank Counselor Bellamy for-- for mentioning the gypsies and travelers 'cause I think that's often overlooked at forums like this.

And-- it's a question about the roamer because-- there's more and more settled roaming now coming from the Czech Republic and from Slovakia. And this ties up with the thing about data-cide and evidence. And what we're finding is that-- our government is actually not collecting data on our new populations, and because of that, we're actually not accessing alien money for the integration of the roamer. So, a comment on that-- a question on that.

And finally, a comment about the riots. Because-- I do think that you can't generalize

(MIC NOISE) about the riots. And just because there were middle class people in Hackney doesn't mean that there weren't race issues in other parts of the countries. And I think the family of Mark Duggan actually think the shooting of Mark Duggan was in a long line of black deaths in custody and was a race issue. So, I think we should be wary of generalizations.

ROB BERKLEY:

Gentleman in the gray shirt.

RICHARD:

Richard Soundsen from Migration Work-- just a small NGO-- public consultancy working on immigration and integration. Until 2008, I led work for the mayor of London on the immigration and (UNINTEL) policy. And-- so, apparently, I guess I'm thinking back to that-- seems to me there's-- there's a theme emerging about agency, about people becoming active and being allowed to be active.

I-- in fact, just-- just-- if I may just comment in reply to something Andrew said-- the mayor of London, in fact, I think both mayor of London very much emphasized the contribution that migrants make to London-- the mayor of London-- the draft that we developed was called London Enriched, and that's now published-- under the same title by the new mayor. And that's sort of I think been the perspective.

But I think-- I think what-- a point emerging is-- is to say about people being active and maybe-- if Karen wouldn't mind, I would refer to the-- the example of the Irish community. I-- I may have heard you say before the great immigration-- flows of the first part of the 20th century into the U.K., the Jewish and Irish immigration presences, both demonstrated the pivotal importance of political engagement, really becoming politically, civically involved as, kind of, a real turning point in integration, in both cases.

And-- and I think-- the same really has emerged under-- in both cases originally began in quite a defensive way in-- as-- as with the example of the East London Mosque. And this connects, I think, with Don's comment about the destruction of forms of democracy, democratic control over many of our major services, and how that is a blockage, really, for integration.

And is there a possibility-- again, this connects with the sort of thing Karen was mentioning about-- people who step forward in solidarity with migrant groups and want to get involved in helping them. And similarly, with the Barcelona anti-rumors campaign and those who present them-- emphasize that, it's not simply that NGOs radical the city of-- of Barcelona get involved in tackling misconceptions about-- about-- about immigration.

But in the process, (NOISE) they become really committed to integration. They become active participason-- participants in the process. I wonder is there something

here about enlisting, about enabling migrant groups alongside others to tackle some of these key questions, about what's happening to health service, about the fact the education system is being broken up, so that even if people at the borough level who might have a view about how education-- how access still-- and education can be supported. They can't actually absolutely 'cause-- because the schools are fragmented.

Just a final point is-- is just something from the work we've been doing in Europe. I mean, this kind of initiative and-- somebody just-- actually, (UNINTEL PHRASE) the Institute for Race Relations just mentioned data-cide. And we all, I think, agree that recognizing the identity of-- of-- of migrant groups is not inconsistent with building links between them, the kind of solidarity work I've just mentioned-- others have referred to.

But there is, I think, a big threat looming, and it's led especially up say-- by the Netherlands. But these things circulate very rapidly, even more rapidly than we can transfer with practice through our databases and so on. They circulate among national governments-- which is to airbrush out migration from policy debate.

I mean, we're working now with two major cities. You can probably guess, but I won't mention. Two major cities in the Netherlands-- both of which now say we don't want to talk about integration anymore. We're post-integration. Both of which-- there's only one case-- I think both of them, say we don't talk about migrants anymore.

And this is after publishing a major report which shows consistent serious differential in social and economic outcomes for the big-- migrant or migrant background communities. There is this trend to stop talking about migration. And-- and I think it's dangerous. I know-- in the U.K. we've got a couple of years of good data from the census, but the risk is we'll-- we'll lose track of all these issues again because, you know, for obvious ideological reasons, people don't want to talk about it.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thanks, Richard. Quickly, Simon, and then-- one more. Simon--

SIMON:

Sure, sure. I get worried that these-- these-- at time-- (MIC NOISE) 'cause I think those-- I look around the room and I see-- in my mind, people-- I think that-- I think that we all agree, we're all positive about multiculturalism. And-- we all hold-- a set of values very similar, which is fine-- which is-- which is great.

Out-- out there, there is a maelstrom, a (UNINTEL) actually, waiting to be unleashed. In fact, in some areas, it's already unleashed, in Greece and in other countries. And we haven't said a word. We-- in this meeting, we haven't said one single word how we are going to confront the-- this monster that will be unleashed upon us in the

European election.

Central-- central to the European election debate will be immigration. One way or another, the-- U.K.-- U.K. out there-- the far right (MIC NOISE) for the U.K. said that they'll win huge amounts of votes right across-- right across the country. So, the question for me is this, and I think-- Jonathan alluded to it, you know, the perception of how we deal with it is one, how do we begin to hold the line? How do we begin to defend what we value?

How do we begin to even push back? Don talked about the-- the-- the democratic process. What are we doing to use the democratic process, the vote, empowering black people to-- to exercise their franchise. How are we using our media-- media tools-- (COUGH) to-- to use the lines to the information that Jonathan talked about.

What are we going to do? Are we going to be-- are we going to be linny-livered liberals-- who talk-- who talk amongst ourselves whilst Rome is burning? Or do we use this space to plot and plan and kick back-- and kick back? And finally-- and finally-- Liz, you are right about the-- the-- the-- the riots in 2011-- there were key racial aspects to those riots.

There were-- there-- let me say, Andrew-- let me say-- let's try not to this-- articulate as well is that there were contributing factors-- contributing factors-- to-- to those disturbances. And if we ignore them, then we're staring at other riots that will come down the pike. There weren't-- there weren't the race riots of the '80s--

ANDREW BOFF:

No.

SIMON:

But there were key--

(OVERTALK)

ROB BERKLEY:

And the final.

MATTHEW RATES:

Matthew Rates from British Future. Just two very (MIC NOISE) questions-- first one to Andrew-- how-- politicians making statements, you know, the empirical evidence for-- for-- for migration is-- is-- is clear that we shouldn't be worried about it as a country. What do you-- what-- what do you-- what do you-- no, but you said they

should say it's--

(OVERTALK)

MATTHEW RATES:

--effectively rubbish. What-- what do you think-- what do you think the effect--

(OVERTALK)

MATTHEW RATES:

--or David Cameron standing up and saying that would actually be? And just the panel-- question to the panel-- which I've already asked in one setting this week, to Chris Branch at other immigrations-- Vince Cable, about a week ago-- at another conference said that he believed that public opinion-- British public opinion on migration is absolutely toxic. Do you agree with that?

ANDREW BOFF:

If I-- if I may, I-- I absolutely agree. I mean, all the parties have got problem. I mean, Chris Brown on the famous day when he, sort of, rewrote his press release-- as he was speaking, I-- I-- I mean the whole-- the whole reaction to it was on-- on basically, an anti-- started as anti-immigrant-- press release.

My own party, they-- they-- they think there's votes in speaking up against immigrants. It's-- you know, and whereas-- conserv-- you know, members of my party, African members of my party were outraged by those lorries going 'round with-- the-- the-- the man's going around saying-- because it wasn't so much that he said-- or one that was made to me by-- one of our-- Nigerian members was-- was-- he said it's not-- it's not-- obviously, the message was if people are outstaying their welcome should go home, that's fine. But why drive 'em outside my house.

You know, which is-- why choose the route that they did? You might just as well-- he said you might just as well choose-- send vans around Surrey saying why don't you pay all your taxes because that's the-- (APPLAUSE) that would be equally focused, you know. (LAUGHTER) So-- so-- it-- it's-- it's a battle we've got to have in all the parties.

We've all been cowardly about the-- about the immigration issue. We're being-- in-- in all the parties, we're saying-- actually, the pic-- British public have got a point. No, they haven't. Actually, it's prejudice. It's based upon a lack of information. And when the British public have a look at the facts, they'll realize they're actually wrong. And they also-- if you say to the British public-- heard it so many-- so many times on doorsteps, "I can't stand the immigrants that are moving in and taking all the house."

I say what? You mean like your next door neighbor? Oh, no, not Allie, he's all right.

I mean, it's the others. It's the other ones. Oh, the Turkish guy up the road? Oh, no, no, he's fine. It's the one further up. If you noticed-- since there will never be-- we had threats for example at the BNP-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) a borough I've just moved into, incidentally. And-- the BNP almost won control of that council a few years back. They'll never do it again. They'll never do it again.

One, because-- because the BNP only-- gets seats in areas which are close to where there's a lot of immigration. It's actually not where there is a lot of immigration. Because when the British public actually experience immigration they realize, you know, it's not so bad after all. Actually, it is good. It-- it is.

May I say one last appeal-- because he only mentioned it, and I wanted you to say it, and nobody has. It's about-- covered a little earlier. It's about the expectations of-- about education. That is the most important thing. And I want everybody to go 'round to Mossbourne Academy in Hackney, which is in an area which will be a sinker state-- normally thought of as a sinker state. And you go around that school and you realize that right in front of you, lives are being changed and history is being rewritten. Outcomes are being rewritten because none of those kids at that school, irrespective of their immigration status, get an easy ride.

None of 'em who go to that school-- there's no expect-- ah, he's an immigrant kid, we'll take it easy for him. That is never used as an excuse. The expectations are high. And those kids coming out of Mossbourne Academy are the ones who are gonna rewrite the-- the-- the story of migrants in this country. And it's because-- through the education system. That's just an invite, Mossbourne Academy, go there.

ROB BERKLEY:

It's-- it's-- Jonathan, question about data and retreat from data-- I never-- and it's talked about-- about whether government is retreating from data, whether, for example, not counting-- the Roma effectively--

JONATHAN PORTES:

Ah, well-- I mean, you know-- I-- I-- well, that must have-- long and boring evidence about the centers and so on at some point as I'm part of (UNINTEL) committee, but you know-- to be fair to the government, I don't think there's any intention on the part of the government to-- retreat from the long and proud tradition we have-- in this country of-- being pretty good about our social science research data.

And David Willits is actually absolutely brilliant on it. So, I-- you know, I do-- I do have-- you know, we can always do better, but I'm not too worried about that. I-- I mean, I-- I think there is something about-- you know, it's quite-- and we didn't quite answer-- Matthew's question about-- what would happen if David Cameron and Theresa May-- stood up and said things because-- Matthew knows the answer which is unfortunately-- and certainly this is what I suspect David Cameron-- would tell you

if you asked him. He'd say, well, if they-- if I stood up and told the country, you know, immigration's great, you know, we know everything-- my economist tell me-- tells me that-- that probably the population would think-- another fucking liar politician.

ROB BERKLEY:

They wouldn't believe him.

JONATHAN PORTES:

They wouldn't believe him. And-- any more than they believe me when I get up and-- (LAUGHTER) and you know, and I have-- you know, I'm not a politician but I do go on television quite a lot and I do say these things. And-- and-- probably the vast majority of the population don't believe me.

But I do think that doesn't mean-- that doesn't mean for me retreating from the facts or not saying the facts clearly doesn't. I would-- for anybody who hasn't seen it, I suspect most people in this room have seen-- our Hollie McNish's-- video-- on-- you know, which I-- which is called *Mathematics*, but isn't actually mathematics, it's economics.

And it is-- the reason the-- I like it is not because it's-- this-- it's a spoken word, two and a half minute poem about immigration. The reason I like it is not because it's-- funny and-- and clever and emotional, which it is all of those things, but because it does actually get the economics right. It is a proper, economically rigorous explanation by somebody who I'm fairly sure has an economic training of the lump of labor fallacy and what-- Hollie McNish is it?

GROUP:

Yes.

JONATHAN PORTES:

McNish-- of the lump of labor fallacy, and why actually-- when you have immigrants, yes, they take jobs, but they also create jobs. And overall, it's probably on the whole-- the same number of jobs for the rest of us, but more prosperity for the rest of us. And it is a good, properly-- found on economic principles explanation of why that's the case. And it's had-- about 1.2 million hits on-- on YouTube so far, at the last time I looked-- was a lot more than anything I've ever done has. (LAUGHTER)

But-- you know, I-- I do think that-- there is a lot more that one could do in that way. We-- (UNINTEL) produced earlier this week-- a video on a completely different

subject, but we're doing research on-- the economics of Scottish independence-- which is an animation. But it is an animation of one of our research papers-- of a very complicated technical research paper turned into animation that's designed not to appeal necessarily to-- you know, everybody, but at least to an intelligent GCSE student.

I recommend it. You should watch it. If you're interested in whether Scotland should be independent, what currency they would use. But you know, our next project, I hope, will be to do something similar on immigration. I don't expect we'll get a million hits, but maybe we'll get a hundred thousand school kids that are watching it, and that will be something worth-- worth doing.

So, I think there is-- you know, there is-- you know, there-- there are things you-- we don't have to either say, well, we've just got to beat the public over the head with statistics until they succumb to rationality. That ain't gonna work. But equally, we don't have to retreat and say, oh, no, the public around all a bunch of-- you know, the Vince Cable, the public around just toxic and there's absolutely nothing we can do. There is somewhere in between.

ROB BERKLEY:

Is that-- how do we respond to the challenge from Simon-- that this is-- a nice conversation which we have amongst friends? There are-- I know there are colleagues here from around the rest of Europe who might also-- that want to contribute. I wanna find a chair-- you know, he's here as well. Do you think it's just--

MALE VOICE:

No, I think-- I think in terms of-- I'll quote both your research. I will-- the research operation about-- on the importance of the ME voters and (MIC NOISE) constituencies-- is one aspect that needs to be done more about. The other as well is-- and going back to Don's point, over the last 30 years, a lot of working class communities have seen jobs go and not come back.

They've seen inequality rise. And they're dissolute-- they're disillusioned. But then, you've got a whole-- range of young people who have no idea or they're not interested in that. That provides a potential for populist parties to come in or someone charismatic to say what-- what you're thinking, that's right, that's fine, that's legitimate that you have these thoughts. And that that could then provide somewhat even worse, perhaps a new (UNINTEL)-- so, I think there needs to be a lot of things done in the communities.

First of all, to get the-- the BME voters to have that impact. Also, to-- to really engage young people in the political (COUGH) process 'cause if they're not-- I mean, in-- Manchester, Manchester Central Constituency have-- a bi-election and it was a 10% turnout which is the worst since the Second World War. And I don't know how

many. So, there's all these young people, but also a lot of people not voting. And then, that provides more space for extremism.

JONATHAN PORTES:

Actually, that's not-- that's strictly about migration, but just yesterday, the-- the BBC won-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) published a poll which said 28% of young people would prefer Muslims not to be in this country. I think-- I think that's recognizing--

(OVERTALK)

MALE VOICE:

On the positive side, though, I wanna make this point, 'cause somebody mentioned the hijab. You know, we had a week ago a concerted attempt by a few politicians and a few newspapers to say we must have a debate in this country about the hijab. And they made a big push. And what was the response of the country to being told we must have a debate? It was frankly, I think, you know, it was just to sorta shrug our-- the-- most of the country shrugged its collective shoulders and said, yeah, actually, you know, what's on the other side. Can we watch (UNINTEL) come dancing or something? You know, this is not a federally-- you know, whatever you think, it's not a central problem. And actually, the British public today's reasonably good sense on this.

(OVERTALK)

CLAUDIA:

I'm from Germany from the foundation called (UNINTEL) my name Claudia Viter in Cities of Migration. Listening to your very interesting debate, and a lot of points sound very familiar-- to me. So, I-- well, I will not mention everything, just one point-- one short comment to-- what Jonathan Portes-- said at the beginning.

Thank you for underlining the relevance of education, education system. What-- what should-- it's not only a migration question but-- a question of inclusive-- education. But I want to make one remark when you said-- London is the capital-- what-- goes-- mostly down or does not-- has the biggest difference, I could replace the word London through Berlin and-- other capitals as-- as well. So, this is--

JONATHAN PORTES:

What-- what were you-- what are you saying? I didn't understand that. Berlin what?

CLAUDIA:

Oh, okay. No, you said like-- something like London is the capital where the difference between migrant people, students and the education system and-- others is so big--

JONATHAN PORTES:

Now, had London was the only capital in the world which outperforms the rest of the country.

CLAUDIA:

Well, you could replace with London through Berlin.

JONATHAN PORTES:

What Berlin's school results are better than Germany as a whole? Don't believe it. (LAUGH)

MALE VOICE:

London is the only place.

JONATHAN PORTES:

Yeah, I know.

CLAUDIA:

Okay, okay.

JONATHAN PORTES:

Berlin-- you know, most capitals have concentrations of deprivation. They don't do very well. They-- that's true of Berlin.

CLAUDIA:

Berlin is-- doing very (UNINTEL)-- but yeah, okay. So, maybe I-- I misunderstood

you--

JONATHAN PORTES:

I think you may have--

CLAUDIA:

Okay, sorry. But what I want to say-- just-- the-- the-- most issues are so similar of those situation is-- is very different, of course, but-- therefore, we-- we were inspired, for example, by this Toronto District School Board, a model-- at the beginning-- Alan Broadbent mentioned and a lot of things also from education lead or are also good practice from-- from U.K. and-- so, that this one point-- or I think it's important to learn from each other.

(OVERTALK)

FEMALE VOICE:

A gentleman over there was talking about-- people that come from-- ethnic minorities that come from politicized backgrounds, obviously, coming from Irish immigrants and coming from quite-- politicized backgrounds and politics were talked about 'round the dinner table quite often. I think it's rightly important that-- political parties tap into that because we actively-- I mean, like a party-- counselor-- we actively seek to make sure that we represent the colors of our community right across the borough.

And I think that's very important for all political parties to do that. And-- I don't care what the color the political party is, it is their responsibility to do that. You were talking about, you know, U.K. and what we're gonna do. I think there is a push back. We've got to have a push back.

We recently have had quite a lot of interest from the EDL-- they came to me and they demonstrated and they've been threatening to come back to us. We actually-- went for a judicial review to ban them from-- demonstrating in our borough. And it was only, I think, the second time that we-- that that had been done and we won. And we are quite clear as a borough, as a city-- it's-- it's a very close-knit borough.

You will go 'round-- although it's urban, you will go 'round and because people are tightly together, it almost has a village feel. And-- people from outside have said that it's-- it's-- a really good place to live. We are clear that we are not gonna be dictated to by any fascist or racist that wants to come to our borough. And I think that's-- that's the sorta thing. And we've got quite a lot of feedback from people that you wouldn't imagine that said this is-- you know, you've done really well.

And-- I think that if-- if-- if the EDL keep pushing, we're just gonna keep pushing

back. But there is, I think, a threat. And I think you're right to say that what is-- as some people would say, what are you minded liberals gonna do out on the street? And I think that as a borough, we've done that.

MALE VOICE:

Cool. Thank you very much.

ROB BERKLEY:

Sorry, (UNINTEL)--

SARAH:

I feel compelled to say at least, you know, one or two points as-- as the chair of-- of the European Network Against Racism which is-- and your wide network of anti-racist organizations across Europe. And I wanna see the points that Simon-- made really resonate with-- with me. And-- and I think there are-- very two-- two quick observations.

First of all, I-- what we are seeing across our membership is the urgency that you mentioned, the problem that we have is-- is the level of violence which we are now facing, that migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers and-- minority space, and that's-- you know, that's a challenge that needs to be addressed-- you know, as you say, outside of this room.

Because we're facing, you know, daily struggle to actually tackle violence directed towards these-- these people as we've seen in Greece recently. And-- and the second point is-- is relating to European elections, and obviously-- as Dan mentioned, the problem is that-- is the apathy and the fact that we're not very successful.

We've not been successful in making the European elections important enough for people to go out and vote. And that is something-- and-- and obviously, this is one of the reasons why-- extreme right parties manage-- or far right parties manage so well in the European elections. So, there really needs to be that push, not just that local and, you know, regional elections or national elections. But we need to make that message and pass that message across that it's really important to go and vote for the European elections. So-- yeah.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thanks, Sarah. There's-- some point-- (UNINTEL PHRASE) we're going five minutes past it.

MALE VOICE:

Okay. Thank you. My name is (UNINTEL PHRASE) foundation in Germany in Berlin. Berlin was briefly mentioned in small, complicated and has been discussed here because Germany has a very-- federal-- educational system. It's not centralized like many other European countries. So, very complicated. Just we'll leave it there.

Just one more quickly, Mark, because-- we are-- we're talking about inclusive-- communities and societies, and I think-- language is part of that. And I'm not very familiar with the-- words gypsy, how we use it, in which context here, but-- it may seem in Germany very offensive. So, that's-- official terminology we use is (UNINTEL) Roma. So, I just leave it there because I'm not very familiar here. But-- that's just quick remark.

The other one is-- on the issue of-- political participation, we're talking about inclusion, inclusive society. And I think the issue of power and power sharing and the age of democracy has been mentioned here, is one very relevant issue in that context when we talk about inclusion, how do we-- how do we secure the political participation of minorities and immigrants in the political process?

We conducted in Germany-- a very detailed research in 77 German cities-- about the inclusion of minorities and immigrants in the city's parliaments, the degree of participation and representation. And-- I can tell you the findings are diversity-- we expected that anyway, but we need empirical (UNINTEL). So, I'm very much-- and I'm keen to know about the situation in the U.K. How is the degree of representation in those power houses in the-- in the parliaments, how-- how is that here in the U.K.?

ROB BERKLEY:

Can I-- can I direct you to Simon who-- who will-- who will know the-- know that story particularly well. It's not-- it's not good enough, I think, is-- is probably our-- kinda short response. Crunch-- crunched for time, so I'm gonna-- might pick up another couple questions about-- (COUGH) (MIC NOISE) give the panel a chance to say a final word after mine.

I suppose-- well, I've-- well, I've taken-- and it's been such a rich conversation and-- and really great to-- see such a wealth of expertise in this room-- it's the importance of learning from each other, looking up every now and again and looking around. 'Cause I know we do sometimes get very stuck into our own-- into our own policies and our own-- into our own-- civic situations.

I think there's some really important lessons to learn-- from all sorts of spaces. And just sometimes the hope that there's a different kind of possibility-- that-- that can come out of-- people's will to change. I mean, take on board the-- the particular challenge about communicating beyond this room and how we-- how we do that more effectively with those people who-- who are-- at first lines (UNINTEL) and those who might be actually against some of the things-- viscerally that have been

talked about-- in this room.

And-- and I'm hopeful that we might be able to reframe discussions about integration-- as progressive, as about creating the kind of change and social justice that we require rather than something that is-- similar to-- and-- and-- and somehow-- backwards looking. That would-- for me, be a really great set of outcomes from-- from these conversations.

These conversations will continue. We will-- share a podcast of-- of these discussions-- online so we can-- we can encourage other people to engage in some of the ideas here as well. I should also-- mention that-- very directly-- this afternoon, he brought up an issue of context. And-- that Runnymede focuses on-- hopefully, (UNINTEL) and-- as well as incrementally-- is-- is addressing racism.

And this-- and earlier this week, we launched a campaign called End Racism This Generation-- which I would encourage you to all go onto the-- End-Racism.org website and have a look at. And what we're-- what we're asking people to do is pledge to do something where they are-- to address racism so we can get this back on the agenda and get people talking about it, not just on-- again, on-- on the national level, but very much at the local level, in people's workplaces, communities-- at schools and other places. I think that's given people-- on the panel a chance to think of their-- their final comment. Andrew, let me start with you.

ANDREW BOFF:

When organizations like-- the BNP have Jewish members and the EDL have Caribbean members, it makes you realize that hatred is a very shifting thing-- (NOISE) it's-- it's-- it's-- it's-- a particular-- it's a particular political-- cowardice in order to get votes that means that you blame whoever is the most honorable in society at that time.

At the moment, we blame the Polish people, we blame Muslims. But it doesn't stop the fact that the-- the-- it-- it's the wrong kind of thought processes that bring us to the point of hating a particular-- part of our community. It was interesting the question you said earlier about political participation.

The only-- the parties have got to work hard to engage and make themselves available-- to immigrant communities. They-- we have got to show ourselves to be welcoming. We have got to show ourselves to be inclusive. And we'll only do that when-- in our terminology, we'll-- we stop talking about immigrant communities as them and start talking to-- about immigrant communities as us. 'Cause that's what they are.

KAREN BELLAMY:

Well, I would-- say that as I said earlier, we-- as a party, reach out to-- and the local authority reach out right across the board. And we are very-- if you like, Nigel said--

to see that we are making sure that all these different communities-- are represented-- on a lot of-- (UNINTEL) that we've got voluntary sector and-- (UNINTEL) but particularly, I think politically, if you're-- if-- if you are, as I am, a politician, I think that it's vitally important that we do reach out to BME community.

Because that-- they need to have a much bigger voice than they've got at the moment. We have-- a large influx of-- eastern European people into Waltham Forest. And we are actually-- now, doing stuff with them because they're going to represent-- they're fairly known. And we need to make sure that there is as much representation as possible for them. (NOISE) And I think our job as politicians is-- not to talk about it, it's actually to get out there and do it.

ROB BERKLEY:

I think-- Dan.

DAN SILVER:

Yeah, well, I guess it's really the Open Society Foundation's office should just say that-- we-- really look at research on how many (UNINTEL PHRASE)-- and I think have an open and frank discussions about wider social issues which immigration is pretty vital-- across communities because if people can't air their grievances which might be difficult to hear at times, then they're just gonna become bottled up.

And they'll-- they'll be, sort of, taken on by someone who legitimates what they say-- with more-- far right tendencies. So, yeah, I think just-- it's important to have open discussions about it and perhaps not judge people straight away because actually, what we found, it's-- people might start off with that, but when peel that all away, it's about-- it's about wider social issues that then cut across all race, all gender.

ROB BERKLEY:

That's-- Jonathan.

JONATHAN PORTES:

Very briefly. I agree with what both politicians just said. And-- but more broadly, you know, I'm still basically optimistic. You know, sometimes, making this argument is like beating your head against a brick wall, but most of the-- you know, most of the abuse I get online or in email or whatever is, frankly, from people who feel resentful, as Dan quite rightly said, more than racist. And they're resentful because they think that actually history-- or economics or politics is in the long run-- on-- my side, not theirs. And I think they're right. (LAUGH)

RATNA OMIDVAR:

My big takeaway from-- from this is an observation that one actually makes again and again, but it's been reinforced today that there's a real gap between the evidence and the narrative on the street as our counselor-- outlined. And this is not-- something that is unique to the U.K. It's an international phenomena.

And-- and so, I just think that being relentlessly optimistic, to some extent, without being naive and putting out the-- the-- the examples of the educa-- the-- the school system in London that does-- and why does it do well-- the stories about-- your council is-- is something we need to continue to do. So, that-- that feeling of resentment-- and I really like that, it's not racism, but possibly resentment. That-- that resentment gets turned around into what we would like to call is and what Open Society also calls shared prosperity.

ROB BERKLEY:

Thank you. The-- there's some thanks to-- to share as well. So-- I'd just like to thank the foundation for the use of their office, but also-- for their support in putting this event together in particular. And then-- Nazia and-- and Simon, for welcoming us. For colleagues at (UNINTEL) trust, Sarah and Claire-- thanks a lot for your help and support and getting this together.

For those who come-- are probably the furthest-- from Maytree, particularly-- particularly Kim and thanks Alan for your-- words at the start. And-- and to my colleagues at-- at Runnymede. So, Florence and-- and Ed and (UNINTEL) been tweeting away furiously. Thanks again for all your-- for your support.

So-- there's an opportunity now to have an conversation, and some canapés and a drink. So, let's-- thank-- thank you, obviously, for your contribution. But also our panel, Andrew, Dan, Ratna, (NOISE) Jonathan-- Karen and Cynthia in her-- her absence. Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

* * *END OF TRANSCRIPT* * *