Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

Governance arrangements and initiatives in Antwerp, Belgium

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1   Introduction

This report provides an overview and an analysis of governance arrangements and initiatives concerning urban diversity in Antwerp. With regard to urban diversity policies in Antwerp, we have seen that in recent years the initial multicultural policies have made way for a neo-assimilationist regime (Saeys et al., 2014). From 2007 onwards, urban diversity policies moved away from a specific focus on ethnocultural diversity and extended their scope to include not only ethnic differences, but also age, gender and socio-economic differences. With the coming to power of the Flemish nationalist party N-VA in 2013, neo-assimilationism was reinforced and became the dominant approach to diversity in Antwerp. In order to create social cohesion in the city, the municipality expects everyone who settles in Antwerp to learn the Dutch language, at risk of sanctions for those who refuse to do the effort to learn Dutch. To achieve upward social mobility and to contribute to the economic performance of the city, current policy-makers in Antwerp point to the individual responsibility of migrants and disadvantaged people without questioning structural inequalities.

With these urban policies in mind, this report looks at governance arrangements and initiatives coming from public as well as private actors. These governance arrangements and initiatives can be described as 'arrangements in which public as well as private actors aim at solving societal problems or create societal opportunities' (Kooiman, 2000: 139). Governance is here understood as the interaction between state and civil society in the mobilisation of resources to achieve collective projects. Exploring public as well as private initiatives, we discover different discourses and approaches towards diversity. Besides governance arrangements that support neo-assimilationist integration practices, there are also bottom-up initiatives in Antwerp that deal with social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in more innovative ways. To get a better understanding of the differences between the arrangements, we chose similar initiatives that are either initiated by the municipality or by private and civil society organisations.

In what follows, we have selected ten governance arrangements and initiatives in Antwerp on the basis of their focus on diversity. In line with the emphasis of urban policies in Antwerp, most of the initiatives discussed here deal with ethnocultural diversity, even if most also pay attention to socio-economic and socio-demographic diversity. With few exceptions, most of the selected initiatives are geographically situated in or have an impact on the diverse but socio-economically deprived case-study area of Antwerpen Noord, Borgerhout and Deurne Noord.

We investigate firstly how diversity is conceptualised within several governance arrangements and initiatives. Secondly, we examine which are the main factors leading to the success or failure of these arrangements and initiatives. Finally, by analysing these initiatives we aim to identify innovative ways of creating social opportunities.

We structured this report by classifying the ten initiatives into three clusters according to their primary goals: social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance. As initiatives can have more than one goal, this categorisation should not be seen as mutually exclusive. Methodologically, the descriptions of the governance arrangements and initiatives are based on interviews with organisers and participants, supplemented with information from other documents. The interviews were carried out between February and May 2014.

After discussing the ten governance arrangements and initiatives, we make a synthesis and an analysis across all investigated projects. We will answer the main research questions: how is (hyper-)diversity conceptualised in the selected governance arrangements and initiatives? Which are the main factors influencing success or failure of the initiatives? What are the most innovative

practices that can be learned from the initiatives? Finally, we will conclude with a discussion on the relation between public policies and the initiatives in the city.

2 Governance arrangements

2.1 Arrangements targeting social cohesion

Opsinjoren

Strategy, focus and organisation

Opsinjoren gives neighbours who want to organise a neighbourhood activity financial and organisational support. To counter the widespread negative discourse about the city, the organisers of the initiative wanted to do something positive by showing the people of Antwerp how they can have an impact on their neighbourhood and make the city a better place to live. Opsinjoren started in 1997 in Antwerp and was inspired by the 'Opzoomeren[1]' project in Rotterdam. Like 'Opzoomeren' the initiative to organise activities lies with the residents themselves. The term Opsinjoren is invented by the city of Antwerp and comes from the term Sinjoor. Sinjoor is a nickname for people who, just like their parents and grandparents, were born in Antwerp. The most important purpose of the project is to increase local social cohesion, so as to reduce the anonymity in the city and to increase social control and therefore the feelings of safety amongst inhabitants. Hence, the target audience are all the people living in Antwerp. Nevertheless, the project has recently come to pay more attention to ethnocultural diversity.

Opsinjoren offers neighbours standardised activities in three categories. The first category is festivities. Festivities are organised by at least five neighbours and every neighbour is invited. Once a year, Opsinjoren organises 'Neighbours' Day' (Burendag) on the last Friday of May. The idea is that in as many streets as possible neighbours organise a drink and have a chat, so that people in Antwerp get to know their neighbours better. Last year, 322 streets of the 3,379 streets of Antwerp joined 'Neighbours' Day.' The second category of activities is concerned with playing. The most important activity format in this category is the 'playing street': streets are blocked for car traffic for maximum 14 days to turn them into a place for children to play together. The third and last category of activities is 'cleaning and planting'. The most known and popular activity in this category is the 'Spring cleaning' (Lentepoets). Like 'Neighbours' day', 'Spring Cleaning' is organised once a year by the city. During this last weekend of April everywhere in Antwerp people clean their streets together. In return for the cleaning, the neighbours receive a flower tub to make their street more attractive. In 2013, 522 streets in Antwerp participated.

The project is funded by the Flemish City Fund (Stedenfonds). Opsinjoren is run by the 'Residential Environment' department of the municipal 'Living together' unit, but other city departments also support the activities. No less than 18 employees at the department 'Residential Environment' work for the Opsinjoren programme.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Because Antwerp is a very diverse city, Opsinjoren is automatically confronted with diversity, not only in ethnocultural terms, but also with respect to age for example. In this sense, the demographic reality of the city forces the initiative to work on diversity. The head of the department of

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[1] The term Opzoomeren comes from the name of the first street where people decided to clean and recover their street, the Opzoomerstreet in Rotterdam. This street is called after the philosopher C.W. Opzoomer. Nowadays the term Opzoomeren is in the Dutch dictionary. Opzoomeren means: cleaning the public space on its own initiative.

Opsinjoren told us that they are confronted with diversity in general in three different ways. A first challenge is to teach active neighbours how to deal with diversity. Interestingly, the focus here lies on negative aspects of diversity, where people experience nuisance that are purportedly caused by ethnic-cultural minorities:

> *"Opsinjoren is a positive story, we sensitise, we start positive initiatives, but sometimes we mention that our street volunteers are confronted with negligence and real nuisance and illegal dumping. (…) So, supporting our clients in dealing with diversity is one of our main concerns."*

The second challenge is to reach out to a diverse public to become active participants. However, for people who do not speak Dutch it can be very hard to organise an activity since all the communication is in Dutch (Synovate, 2011). Finally, Opsinjoren works with a diverse team at the department, with people of different backgrounds.

However, as Loopmans (2006) has shown, white middle-class people were most involved and the initiative is struggling to reach and to include a more diverse public. In reaction, the Antwerp municipal government decided that Opsinjoren should put a greater emphasis on diversity to reach a diverse public. Nowadays, if active participants do not succeed in reaching their neighbours with an immigrant background, the employees of Opsinjoren will inform them how to include a diverse public (e.g. ring the bells to invite neighbours, separate alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks, use separate barbecues for halal meat, fish and vegetarian food).

In 2011, Opsinjoren was evaluated by the coordinators of the Opsinjoren programme and the municipal Office for Diversity Management. The purposes of this evaluation was to see who participated in the project and to investigate which factors are important for people to organise or to participate in an activity. In three streets, a total of 104 interviews with neighbours were held. The conclusion was that there was no remarkable difference in participation between people with and without a migration background. Nevertheless, the participation degree of people with a migration background differed in each street. In general, differences in participation had more to do with social status: home-owners, highly educated people and people with a job are more willing to participate (Stad Antwerpen, 2011). However, it remains one of the main challenges to include all neighbours. A participant told us it took her 10 years to include her non-Belgian neighbours.

Main factors influencing success or failure
The financial and organisational support of the city is one of the most important external success factors, which makes that streets where the neighbours do not have a lot of resources can also participate. The personal contact between the active participants and the employees of Opsinjoren is an important internal factor of the success. For example, when someone participated every year in the Spring Cleaning and Opsinjoren did not receive a subscription, the employees of Opsinjoren will contact the neighbour to ask why they did not receive a subscription and if they needed help.

One of the most important internal difficulties is that Opsinjoren can create a distinction between active and passive citizens. One of the main strategies of the project is to make people feel responsible for their neighbourhood. However, in (almost) every activity there are people who do not participate. *'The core element is that when you become an Opsinjoor, you attain a special position; you enter into a special relation with your city'* (Loopmans, 2006). Sometimes, instead of promoting social cohesion, this distinction between active and passive citizens creates tensions between neighbours because some active residents are disappointed in neighbours who are not active, while residents who choose not to participate can get annoyed because active residents seem to claim the neigh-

bourhood for themselves. The head of the department of Opsinjoren agrees that sometimes problems arise between active and non-active residents. Mostly, conflicts can be solved by agreeing on strict rules, like on what time the activity should end and where the activity should take place. When the Opsinjoren officials themselves are not able to solve a conflict, they ask for neighbourhood mediation. However, the possibility of conflict is inherent to the project.

Conclusion

Opsinjoren brings people together and increases social cohesion, although it may also undermine social cohesion by creating a division between active and non-active citizens. The innovative character of the project lies in the fact the neighbours themselves have to take the initiative, while the city only offers a supportive logistical, financial and conflict-mediating framework. Although it is a bottom-up project the current concept of Opsinjoren is relatively strict: people can organise several activities within the agreed categories of the initiative, but there is no place for 'crazy ideas', as the head of the Opsinjoren department called it. Therefore the head of the departments would like to get the possibility to support other activities that neighbours propose themselves. Furthermore, since the project is organised by the municipality of Antwerp it can be questioned how 'bottom-up' this project is.

Neighbourhood Treasures (Buurtschatten)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The primary purpose of Neighbourhood Treasures is to bring people together on the basis of what they can do, realise and experience together. Neighbours propose activities themselves and Neighbourhood Treasures gives them the financial and organisational support to realise them. Furthermore, they try to involve business organisations based in the neighbourhood to help the neighbours realising their projects. The project aims to increase social cohesion. It combines the Asset Based Community Development (ACBD) method with the Can Do method. Both methods are based on the competences of the neighbours instead of the problems the neighbours experience. Community Development[2] (Samenlevingsopbouw) Antwerp introduced these methods in Antwerp. One of the strengths of Community Development is to improve the citizen's competences of dealing with diversity. By implementing the ABCD and Can Do methods, community workers started Neighbourhood Treasures in three neighbourhoods (Antwerpen Noord, 't Kiel and Linkeroever) in Antwerp. While Community Development used to offer standardised activities, in this project the neighbours have to arrange the activities themselves.

The project started in 2005 by making a map of competences in the neighbourhood. Community development workers went into the neighbourhood to talk to the inhabitants in order to find out which competences were present to let neighbours organise activities themselves to improve the living environment. When somebody has a good idea he/she can ask the Neighbourhood Treasure Fund for financial support. Inhabitants of the neighbourhood manage this fund and decide on the basis of a few criteria, developed by the neighbours themselves, if a project or activity will receive financial support. One of the criteria is that the activity needs to strengthen the competence of dealing with diversity. It is also important that the activity creates possibilities for networking and that vulnerable people can also participate. You can get a maximum of € 1,500 to organise a project or an activity. It can be for example a one-off activity, a long-term project or a local action, for example against financial cuts on public transport. Examples of other activities

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[2] Community Development (Samenlevingsopbouw) is a Flemish non-profit organisation that stands up for vulnerable people in society. They are funded amongst others by the Flemish government, municipalities and private foundations.

are a sewing studio, a computer course and the creation of a vegetable garden. As a result of the limited resources Neighbourhood Treasures cannot give financial support on a long term. Therefore, they look for private businesses and organisations that can support the projects in the long run. A good example of a project that survived due to financial support from other actors is the project of boatman Guido. He had the dream to sail with youth who have had a hard time to let them experience sailing. With the support from Neighbourhood Treasures, Guido had the possibility to hire a ship to try out his idea. Because of the success, he received funding from different organisations. Nowadays, Guido is sailing with youth through his own non-profit organisation.

At the start of the project in 2005, the Neighbourhood Treasures Fund mainly received financial resources from two foundations, the Evens Foundation (Evens Stichting)[3] and the Porticus Foundation (Stichting Porticus)[4], but it also received resources from the organisation Community Development (Samenlevingsopbouw), which is funded amongst others by the Flemish government, municipalities and private foundations. The first three years, the Fund received € 30,000 each year. However, the fund is currently running out of resources. At the moment, Community Development (Samenlevingsopbouw) is exploring the possibilities to organise a crowdfunding and crowdsourcing platform to gain enough resources to continue Neighbourhood Treasures.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
Diversity is mainly understood as ethnocultural diversity, but also as socio-economic diversity, diversity in age and in level of education. According to the coordinator of the project, it is very important to work on the intercultural competences of the participants, since it is not self-evident to let people who are different from each other collaborate and create social cohesion and solidarity. Community workers want to avoid exclusion and want to bring people together. However, some tensions between different groups remain. It is not always easy to overcome the tensions between the rich and the poor because the differences are not only based on perception, but also on real deprivation of some groups. It can be difficult to create solidarity between these groups, because one group may have a better social position than the other (Loos et al., 2009). Hence, diversity is also seen as a potential obstacle for generating social cohesion. This is why Neighbourhood Treasures brings people together on the basis of what they have in common in order to create solidarity and cohesion. As the coordinator of the project stated:

> *"Diversity is being experienced in the activity (…), and it may or may not be discussed. On the basis of what they can do together, what they realise, they learn to experience each other's being different."*

Main factors influencing success or failure
One of the most important internal success factors is that inhabitants themselves take the lead and responsibility in organising the activities. The community development workers only support the projects. The bottom-up approach contributes to engage people of diverse backgrounds by paying attention to their needs and interests. Another important internal success factor is the diversity of the projects and activities Neighbourhood Treasures offer, since they therefore succeed in letting different groups participate. Furthermore, an important factor influencing the success is that the project is strongly related with a well-known community centre (Centrum De Wijk), which makes the project more accessible.

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[3] www.evensfoundation.be/en (for more information)
[4] www.porticus.com/en (for more information)

Nevertheless, it is not always easy to reach all inhabitants to take the initiatives to organise a project or activity themselves. This is an important internal problem. When the project started in 2005, the ambition was to be a bottom-up project. However, the community development workers observed that some groups, like the poor, people who are not proficient in Dutch and youngsters, take less initiative to organise activities than other groups, like the middle class. To counter this problem the community development workers from Neighbourhood Treasures decided to contact these groups actively to ask what they would like to organise in their neighbourhood. Although the participation of these groups increased, they are still underrepresented when it comes to take the initiative to organise a project. A questionnaire among some initiators shows the inequalities in participation according to age, socio-economic status and linguistic capabilities (Loos et al., 2009). Although inhabitants collaborate very well within the project, they barely have contact outside the project. Hence, the project created in general only weak ties inside and outside the project.

Although the community development workers are not taking the lead, the importance of their role should not be underestimated. The lack of community development workers is an important internal factor of failure. The project Neighbourhood Treasures was terminated in the neighbourhood called Linkeroever, because there was not sufficient community development work to support the project. Furthermore, a youth project in Antwerpen Noord ended because the community development worker who supported the project started to work in another neighbourhood. Another difficulty is the lack of infrastructure to create a place for every single activity. It is not always possible to facilitate all the different projects. Therefore, it is important that people can also arrange activities at other places, not only within the community centre.

Conclusion
Neighbourhood Treasures is a project where neighbours themselves organise activities and projects that have a positive influence on the social cohesion. Innovative in this project is the broad range of activities and projects that follow from Neighbourhood Treasures. The project is very flexible and open to all kinds of different ideas. Furthermore, Neighbourhood Treasures can be called innovative because it looks for alternative ways of funding like crowdsourcing. It is not yet clear, however, to what extent the crowdsourcing will be successful, since it just started. Moreover, Neighbourhood Treasures stimulates cooperation with local organisations to finance successful projects on the long term.

City Talk (Stadsklap)
Strategy, focus and organisation
The purpose of City Talk is that people from different cultures get to know each other and their cultures and to create mutual respect amongst each other. Furthermore, another aim is to show immigrants how things work in Belgium. Hence, the project works on social cohesion and the social mobility of immigrant newcomers. The method used is a conversation of about three hours between long-time Belgian residents (mostly from Antwerp) and immigrant newcomers. The topics of the conversations vary. They can discuss differences between the culture of their home country and Belgium, but also how to use public transport in Antwerp. According to two volunteers of the project, City Talk should be about how we can live together in diversity.

City Talk started in 2004 because they noticed a lot of immigrants had questions about the Flemish society. Immigrant newcomers encountered difficulties getting into contact with native residents from Antwerp. Furthermore, the organisation that helps the immigrants with the integration trajectory (Onthaalbureau) noticed that a lot of people from Antwerp were confronted with the increasing diversity in the city and that they were curious who those new people were. There-

fore, it was decided to start City Talk. The amount of City Talks increased every year since they were first organised in 2004, but in 2013 it decreased for the first time, because of the decline of the inflow of immigrants.

City Talk is part of the 'integration trajectory', which is obliged for non-European Union immigrants (and optional for other immigrants). Participants in the integration trajectory mostly do one City Talk session as part of their 'societal orientation' course. Since most of the immigrants who participate in City Talk arrived only recently in Antwerp, the immigrant speaks mostly in his or her mother language, with an interpreter present to assist with the translation. However, there are also some City Talks in which the language of communication is English, French or Dutch. Nevertheless, City Talk is not primarily about language, but is meant to be a personalised introduction to Belgian society and to create contacts between immigrants and Belgian residents. In this sense, integration is seen as a two-way process, where Belgian residents can learn from newcomers. The emphasis, however, is on the newcomers who can learn from the Belgian residents. Although City Talk is compulsory for most of the immigrants who participate, they are very positive about the project. Because the demand for projects where immigrants can practice the Dutch language is high, there are several other projects, where people can practice their language skills by talking with Flemish people. One of these projects is Language*eaR (see next project).

Long-term Belgian residents can participate in City Talk as individuals or as a group. A lot of students participate in the group sessions of City Talk, since more and more students are obliged by their school to participate in a project concerning diversity. A roughly estimated 90% of the long-term Belgian residents who participate in City Talk are college students. The individual participations count only for a very small amount of all the City Talks. All together there are around 200 City Talks each year (Onthaalbureau Inburgering Antwerpen, 2012). Most of the volunteers are highly educated people from Antwerp and surroundings.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
The project is primarily confronted with ethnocultural diversity, since it brings people with and without a migration history together. According to an employee of City Talk, diversity is about:

> *"getting to know each other's world and to deal with it in a normal way and to be open to each other regardless of religion or cultural background".*

The project is also confronted with other forms of diversity like differences in educational level. Since there are major differences in education among the immigrants, separate groups for highly and lowly educated people are organised for the largest language groups (like Arabic, Dutch, French or English). Volunteers who participated in the City Talk told us that the largest difference they encountered during the City Talks was not of an ethnocultural nature, but between different educational levels.

Main factors influencing success or failure
One of the internal success factors is the use of a lot of different conversation techniques to improve the quality of the project. They are very reflexive and always try new techniques. Sometimes a conversation is started in couples and the participants have to get to know as much as possible about each other. This can be very challenging, because the participants speak other languages. This technique is used to create a good atmosphere before the start of the group conversation. Another example is the use of theatre, where people play how things work in their country, for example by acting how a funeral is done in their home country. A critique on this approach is that it may give a stereotypical view on different cultures.

When City Talk started in 2004, the people who worked at City Talk did the monitoring. Nowadays the teachers of the 'societal orientation' course monitor the conversations. This improves the quality of the project and is therefore a success factor. Another success factor is a good preparation and motivation for the conversation. The volunteers as well as the newcomers do have to know why they are at City Talk and what they can expect. For example, some college students know that City Talk is part of the 'integration trajectory' and know what this means, while others have no idea.

The level of preparation varies a lot by groups of college students and the lack of preparation is seen as an internal problem. In general, the volunteers who participate regularly at the City Talks are much better prepared than them and are more experienced. To keep the quality of the conversation high City Talk refuses some schools, for example when the students are too young. Furthermore, they approach the school when students are not well prepared to tell them they should prepare the students better in future. Although the student are obliged to participate and this can cause some difficulties it is very important for the project that these students participate, because the amount of Flemish people who participate voluntary is too small to organise City Talk for all new immigrants who follow the 'societal orientation' course.

Conclusion

City Talk brings long-time Belgian residents and immigrant newcomers together in order to allow long-time residents to get to know immigrant newcomers and let migrant newcomers get to know long-time residents and learn about Flemish society. On the one hand, City Talk is used as an instrument for the obliged 'integration trajectory', which can be seen as an assimilationist governance arrangement. On the other hand, the organisers and the participants also have an alternative goal, namely to learn to respect each other while living in diversity. The project wants to help the immigrants with their integration, but it is also meant to build bridges between different groups. In this sense, the project works on social cohesion and tries to see integration more as a two-way process. Innovative in this project is that it looks within the assimilationist policies to create a more open approach towards diversity. Nevertheless, the emphasis remains mainly on the integration of immigrants.

Language*eaR (Taal*ooR)

Strategy, focus and organisation

Language*eaR is a conversation group in which volunteers who speak Dutch and migrant newcomers who want to improve their language skills talk together in a group. The three purposes of Language*eaR are: to develop a basic competence in the Dutch language, to learn how to deal with diversity and to broaden social networks and finally to increase participation and social involvement. It is important to emphasise that it is not a language or conversation lesson. According to the Vision statement of Language*eaR:

> *'It is a nice way for neighbours to meet and to get to know each other. (…) Language*eaR builds bridges between people of diverse groups and cultures and is therefore working on social cohesion and networking' (Taal*oo*R: 1)[5].

In contrast to City Talk, people formally already need to have a basic knowledge of the Dutch language in order to be allowed to participate. In practice however, people who do not have the required basic knowledge are also accepted. The basic concept of the project is very simple. A

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[5] www.riso-antwerpen.be/uploads/documenten/visie_taaloor.pdf

group of people comes together every week to have a conversation. How the project works in practice differs from place to place. Mostly, the volunteers monitor the conversation and they can choose to start the conversation by bringing up some specific themes, while others use a more open approach, where people just start a chat about what the participants want.

Like Neighbourhood Treasures, Language*eaR has been initiated by Community Building (Samenlevingsopbouw) Antwerp. The project is financed with resources from Community Building. Since its start in 2003, Language*eaR expanded to different areas of Antwerp. In 2009 the project covered the areas of Borgerhout, Antwerpen Noord, Deurne Noord, Kiel, Berchem and Deurne Zuid. The first three areas are part of our case study area.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
Like City Talk, the project is primarily confronted with ethnocultural diversity, since it creates meetings between people with and without a migration background. Given that one of the aims of the project is to learn how to deal with diversity, living together in cultural diversity is not seen as self-evident. Nevertheless, diversity is explicitly approached in a positive way as enriching society. The idea is that when people with different cultural backgrounds meet each other, they can learn from each other and broaden their social network.

The organisers of the project in Deurne Noord noticed a large diversity among the participants. People with a migration background come from all over the world, have different migration stories, other educational levels and also their proficiency in Dutch differs. The diversity within the group of participants is so varied that we can no longer talk about one homogeneous group of immigrants. Therefore, the project does not only create exchanges between people with and without a migration background, but also between migrants with different ethnocultural backgrounds. This super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) is very important, as one of the employees of Language*eaR in Deurne Noord stated:

> *"There are a lot of different nationalities, which makes it more open to other people. (…) When you enter as a black African a room with only Moroccan people it is much harder than when there is a great diversity among the people."*

The reason for this super-diversity is that the concept of Language*eaR is simple and the conversation groups are very accessible. The project is also known by other organisations for its diversity, and therefore the organisers receive sometimes requests from other organisations that want to reach a diverse public.

Among the volunteers there are sometimes also people with a migration background. Nevertheless, the volunteers are in general people without a migration history. The reason for this might be that people with a migration background are insecure about their knowledge of the language.

Main factors influencing success or failure
Language*eaR reaches a very broad target audience. The fact that the project is free and therefore easily accessible for everyone is an important internal success factor. Moreover, it tries to take all different cultures and lifestyles into account. For example, some places offer women-only sessions, sessions are organised at different times of the day and sometimes there is even childcare available.

One of the three aims of the project is to increase participation and social involvement. Because the conversation groups are part of the community work and take place in the community centre the project also functions as a first introduction to community work, where people can ask for

other help when they need it. Hence, the local implementation of the project in the neighbourhood is one of the success factors.

The fact that the project reaches a broad public also causes some difficulties. One of the problems is the knowledge of the Dutch language. Officially, there is a basic level required to participate, but the people who do not have the required knowledge are often people who have nowhere else to go for language courses, like older people and undocumented migrants. Therefore, in Deurne Noord it was decided to accept these people in the sessions. However, the huge differences between the levels of proficiency in Dutch resulted in different groups according to the level of proficiency. As a result, the conversations in the groups with the lowest levels of proficiency seem sometimes more like language lessons, while this is explicitly not the intention of the project. Hence, retaining the original concept is one of the challenges for the project.

Unlike City Talk, Language*eaR chooses not to cooperate with colleges to find volunteers. Since the college students are obliged to participate the organisation of Language*eaR thinks this would have a negative influence on the quality of the project. However, by choosing not to work with 'obliged volunteers' they face another problem, namely the lack of volunteers.

One of the other difficulties is the fact that the Public Centre for Social Welfare (OCMW in Dutch) asked the participants to let Language*eaR register their presences. As the project is on a voluntary basis, Language*eaR does not agree to sign these forms. Nevertheless, they do not have a choice, because people who receive a 'minimum income' from the OCMW have to show they are willing to learn the language in order not to lose their 'minimum income'. Not signing these forms can therefore have consequences for the 'minimum income' of the participants. Registering the participants, however, undermines the voluntary nature of the project.

Conclusion
Language*eaR organises conversation groups that bring people of different backgrounds together while improving at the same time their knowledge of the Dutch language. The first objective may have a positive influence on social cohesion and the second on social mobility. Language*eaR sees integration in this sense as a two-way process, which is innovative in a city where the idea of integration as a one-way process seems to be dominant. This project shows the tensions that some projects experience with the assimiliationist policies of the municipality. On the one hand the organisers agree on the importance of the Dutch language, but on the other hand they do not want to register people in order to safeguard the voluntary nature of the project.

2.2   Arrangements targeting social mobility

Let's Go Urban!
Strategy, focus and organisation
Let's Go Urban! (LGU) is a socio-cultural project that offers youngsters between 6 and 30 years old a yearlong training programme in urban dance, sports, music and choir in the cities of Antwerp, Boom and Hasselt. Observing that the conventional school system was not adapted to the needs and interests of the urban youth, Sihame El Kaouakibi, an elementary school teacher of Moroccan parentage, launched in 2009 this urban arts and street culture school[6]. The primary goal of LGU is not just to offer recreational pastimes, but also to employ these activities as tools of youth empowerment. Through activities that are popular among young people, LGU aims to

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[6] www.letsgourban.be

help urban youngsters of diverse backgrounds to take control of their lives and to develop their talents. With more than 30 weekly workshops on five locations, LGU is training around 800 participants every week. Moreover, LGU has gained a high visibility in the media through the participation of its dancers in spectacles like Night of the Proms and the Flemish Opera, and through the many awards its founder Sihame El Kaouakibi received from public institutions.

LGU aims to be not just an urban arts school but also a community that supports youngsters in their personal lives. Although LGU is not targeting disadvantaged youth in particular, the organisation takes care of school dropouts and youngsters with problems at school and at home. The identification of youngsters with the urban culture scene is used as a lever to create a community and to encourage the youngsters to build up social capital and networks. By making the youngsters feel part of a family that believes in them, LGU aims at fostering social cohesion. Through this community, the LGU team wants to transmit not only artistic skills and techniques but also social values like punctuality, discipline and responsibility. These attitudes are considered important with regards to the social mobility of the youngsters in school and in the labour market.

With an initial subsidy of € 20,000 from the Antwerp Municipal Department of Youth, Sihame El Kaouakibi launched in April 2009 a series of dance workshops that soon attracted 184 participants in one year time. In order to keep up with this success, Sihame needed extra instructors. The unique strategy that Sihame used was to train the best participants within the LGU community to become teachers themselves. While more than a hundred young people joined the first workshops, a dozen of them were selected to become instructors themselves and to give workshops to a next group of apprentices. This way, LGU not only stimulated the social cohesion but also the social mobility of the youngsters. The most talented youngsters have been prepared for a professional career as instructors or performers. Since 2013, LGU receives an annual subsidy of € 145,000 from the Antwerp city council. This allows the organisation to have three salaried employees. Around them, there is a core group of 30 semi-professional volunteers, mostly alumni, who offer every week workshops. Besides this, there are even more volunteers who prepare and organise repetitions, performances and productions.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
Through urban youth culture, LGU attracts a very diverse audience between 6 and 30 years old. Due to the low tuition fees, LGU is also accessible to young people of all socio-economic backgrounds. The founder, Sihame El Kaoukibi, stated:

> '*We are not here for a certain class, ethnic group, gender or colour, but we are open to everyone. We bring together people around passion*' (Coussens, 2012).

According to the President of the LGU Board, "*the international origins of urban culture make it attractive for people of diverse ethnic backgrounds*". Despite the socio-economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the participants in the workshops, urban culture provides a common point of identification, a common lifestyle, a common language that brings youngsters together without any conflicts. In this sense, urban culture is not just a subculture, but also a lifestyle that can attract people from all layers of society. LGU proves this by successfully by introducing hip-hop dancers in classical music venues. As urban culture is more than hip-hop, LGU offers other dance styles. Regarding urban policies, Sihame El Kaoukibi argued during her TEDx Flanders lecture 'De Kracht van Verschil' on 21 May 2012 in Antwerp:

> "*I don't believe diversity can be the responsibility of one person, one councillor, one department. I believe it has to be the responsibility of the whole city council and all the organisations that are subsidised for this*".

In this sense, LGU shows that diversity is not limited to one specialised sector, but an omnipresent part of urban culture.

Main factors influencing success or failure
LGU's success is evident from the rapidly growing number of participants and the many awards that its founder has received. External factors like the media attention for the LGU dancers during spectacles and the public recognition given to the founder certainly contributed to the initial success of the project. We can also identify several internal success factors. LGU successfully mobilised urban culture in order to attract young people. Sihame stated:

> *"In the first place, we have a programme that appeals directly to young people. Secondly, we can count on a successful marketing, which is largely based on word-of-mouth advertising. Last but not least, our team believes in what we do, we all stand for more than 100% behind our approach"*
> (Cited in: Vanderstraeten, 2012).

The fact that LGU offers its students the possibility of becoming instructors increases their motivation and makes them loyal. According to the President of the LGU Board, *"the power of the organisation is that we always work with our own people"*. Former students do not simply disappear, but remain loyal to the LGU community. They safeguard the values of the community and pass on their experiences to the next generation.

An internal factor that might negatively impact on the LGU project is the dispersal of the workshops over five locations, mainly rented from youth centres. As this dispersal hinders the accessibility and the communication of the organisation, the LGU Board is actively looking to centralise their activities into one single Urban Arts Centre. An external barrier is the fragmentation of subsidies among the municipal departments of youth, culture, sports and social affairs, each led by a different politician. This division complicates the way an urban project like LGU has to ask for funding as LGU cannot be reduced to one of these departments. Even if LGU did not suffer yet from budget cuts by the municipality, the organisation does not want to depend too much on public subsidies. Therefore, LGU is actively looking for private sponsors, also in their quest for a single location to establish their Urban Arts Centre. Finally, another internal problem is that the organisation depends too much on the founder Sihame El Kaoukibi. If she disappears, the future of the project will likely become uncertain.

Conclusion
LGU is an urban arts school that stimulates social cohesion and social mobility by bringing together youngsters of diverse backgrounds and by teaching them not only dance, music and sports skills, but also social values like punctuality, discipline and responsibility that are required in school as well as in the labour market. The innovative potential of this project lies in its empowering system in which participants can become tutors, leading to a growing community that remains connected over time. Another innovative aspect is the multidisciplinary offer of urban arts workshops that appeals to young people of diverse origins.

Kif Kif Awards

Strategy, focus and organisation
The Kif Kif Awards was an intercultural talent show organised between 2008 and 2011 by Kif Kif, an Antwerp-based socio-cultural organisation that fights against discrimination and inequality. The idea behind this initiative was that there was not enough diversity in the Flemish cultural sector. The primary goal of the Kif Kif Awards was to bring young talented people with an ethnic minority background to the attention of established cultural institutions. Therefore, Kif Kif

launched a call for youngsters to participate in an 'intercultural talent contest'. After the auditions, Kif Kif offered a selected group of candidates the possibility to train their skills several months with professional coaches. Finally, the contestants were to perform in a renowned cultural venue in Antwerp, where a jury would appoint a winner in each artistic discipline: music, dance, literature, spoken word, slam poetry, etc. In the format of a talent contest, the Kif Kif Awards provided the selected finalists media attention, professional coaching and financial support. In this way, the Kif Kif Awards aimed at stimulating the social mobility of young people with an ethnic minority background in the cultural sector.

While the Kif Kif Awards only lasted for four years, the organisation behind this project has a longer history. Kif Kif was founded in 2001 by a group of young people that were dissatisfied by the mainstream approach of diversity and multiculturalism in Flemish society. It started off as a website but soon became a socio-cultural organisation. Besides publishing texts on its website, Kif Kif established in 2004 'Colour the Arts!' (Kleur de Kunst!), an annual writing contest directed especially but not exclusively at aspiring authors from ethnic minorities. Kif Kif published an anthology with short stories by Flemish authors of diverse ethnic origins, under the title 'Kif Kif: New voices from Flanders' (2006). After 2007, 'Colour the Arts!' was transformed into the 'Kif Kif Awards' with the aim to include disciplines like music, dance and spoken word. At the same time, the contest became more focused on 'urban culture'.

In order to organise the first edition of the Kif Kif Awards in 2008, Kif Kif received a subsidy from the European Commission in the framework of the European Year of the Intercultural Dialogue (€ 52,660) and from the Flemish Minister of Culture in the context of its Action Plan Interculturalisation (Actieplan Interculturaliseren) (€ 55,000). According to Kif Kif, the main reason why young people of ethnic minorities were underrepresented in the cultural field was because they lacked the financial means to professionalise their creative work. For this reason, Kif Kif decided to give more than half of the subsidy directly to the artists: each of the 12 finalists received a grant of € 5,000. In return, the finalists had to make a plan how to use this budget to the benefit of their artistic career. As it was felt that the finalists could need some more guidance, Kif Kif appointed professional coaches to prepare them for a live performance. According to organiser Patrick N'Siala Kiese, most of the finalists used their budget in a good way and the final performances were successful.

In the following years, the Kif Kif Awards could no longer offer such large financial budgets to its finalists. This was mainly due to the fact that the European funding in 2008 was a one-off subsidy. In 2009, the Kif Kif Awards only received funding from the Flemish Government. As the Kif Kif Awards received less and less support, the financial rewards for the finalists diminished. In 2011, the winners of the Kif Kif Awards no longer received any financial prizes but were only offered training sessions and stage opportunities. After the cultural venue where the organiser of the Kif Kif Awards was working went bankrupt in 2012, the Kif Kif Awards ceased to exist.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
The aim of the Kif Kif Awards was to bring more diversity in the Flemish cultural landscape, understood as making young people of ethnic minorities more visible in cultural events. In its call for applications, however, the organisation was rather ambivalent about their target group. Kif Kif did not want to take foreign origins or skin colour as a condition to participate. The aim was that the jury would reward people because of their talent and not because of their ethnic origins or colour. Organiser Patrick N'Siala Kiese stated: "*We wanted to show that the contest is about talent and not about colour*". Therefore, the Kif Kif Awards were presented as an 'intercultural contest'. According to the organisers: "*Intercultural means that you do not stay within your own community, but that*

there is an exchange of cultural values". This idea implied that all people, also non-migrants, could participate in the contest, as long as their creative work involved an exchange between different cultures. With categories like music, dance, spoken word and slam poetry, Kif Kif targeted a young audience between 15 and 30 years old. Given the fact that many people of ethnic minorities live in poverty, the Kif Kif Awards also attracted disadvantaged young people, even if this was not an explicit aim.

Main factors influencing success or failure
The Kif Kif Awards have helped to launch the careers of several young artists with an ethnic minority background. An external success factor for the Kif Kif Awards was the large budget from the EU and Flanders in 2008. This opened many opportunities for the organisation and for the selected candidates. In addition, the support of the Flemish Minister of Culture and a jury of famous artists led to much media attention for the Kif Kif Awards. An internal success factor of the Kif Kif Awards was the structural support from an existing organisation like Kif Kif and the format of a talent show that attracted applicants that would otherwise not participate in such an event. The wide range of artistic disciplines over the years – including not only music, dance and literature but also spoken word, slam poetry, digital storytelling, short films, parcours and fashion – brought to the fore new urban art forms and attracted new audiences.

The Kif Kif Awards, however, came to an end after 2011. The external factor leading to the end of the initiative was the lack of subsidies to continue the Kif Kif Awards. Although the Kif Kif Awards received project subsidies from 2008 to 2010, the talent contest never became structurally embedded in a cultural institution and therefore remained a temporary event. Without structural funding, it was not possible for the organisers to continue the project. An internal factor leading to the end of the Kif Kif Awards might be the fact that the contest format did not imply a long-term strategy to bring diversity into the cultural sector. The organisers argued that the contest could only launch talented people from diverse backgrounds, but it was up to the established cultural institutions to offer them further opportunities and employment. Winning a talent contest has not been a guarantee for a successful career in the cultural sector.

Conclusion
The Kif Kif Awards was an intercultural talent show of which four editions took place between 2008 and 2011. Its main objective was to stimulate the social mobility of young people of diverse backgrounds active in music, dance, spoken word and other artistic disciplines in order to bring more diversity into the Flemish cultural sector. The innovative potential of this project lies in its format as a talent contest and its multidisciplinary range of urban art forms. Besides the final talent show, the selected candidates received during several months coaching sessions by professional artists. Although the initiative started with large project subsidies and lots of media attention during the European Year of the Intercultural Dialogue in 2008, the Kif Kif Awards never received structural subsidies in the following years. Due to a lack of structural financial resources and a long-term strategy to bring diversity into the cultural sector, the Kif Kif Awards failed to become a long-term project.

'Nuff Said ('said enough')
Strategy, focus and organisation
'Nuff Said is a cultural programme where people of diverse backgrounds get the possibility to perform on stage. The event takes place seven evenings a year in a cultural centre in Antwerp. The performances include amongst others comedy, poetry and music from national and international artists of diverse ethnic origins. In January 2014, some highlights of 'Nuff Said were shown

four times on Flemish television. According to the organiser Mourad Bekkour, the project can be described as a *"neat and colourful mix of words, figures, music and comedy"*.

'Nuff Said started in 2008. Instead of talking about diversity, 'Nuff Said claims that '*it does diversity*'. Mourad Bekkour, himself of Moroccan origin, experienced in his former jobs how hard it was to work on the theme of diversity. While he worked at Kif Kif, an intercultural movement against racism, he noticed that they only reached the people who were already convinced of the importance of equality. Later, he worked at the public broadcasting company and had problems with the restrictions of journalism. At the news service, he had to be objective and therefore he did not have the possibility to bring his own story. For this reason, Bekkour developed the concept of 'Nuff Said. 'Nuff Said simply wants to offer the audience a good night by showing high quality performances by culturally diverse performers without making too many big statements about diversity itself. Exactly this strategy of depoliticising diversity is innovative and is probably the most important success factor, as we will describe below.

Some artists also give workshops about the performances in which the participants can learn about culture. This inspires migrant youths to become active within the cultural sector, which is not always evident for people with a migration background. Most people of migrant origin choose a study with good chances for a job. 'Nuff Said makes culture accessible to a migrant audience not only through the workshops, but also by programming people of very diverse ethnic backgrounds. By providing a platform for artists of diverse origins and by making ethnocultural diversity more visible, 'Nuff Said indirectly strengthen social mobility of ethnic minorities.

'Nuff Said takes place in cultural centre Berchem. The financial resources come from their ticket sales, the Flemish City Fund (Stedenfonds), the Book Fund (Boekenfonds) and the Literature Fund (Fonds Letteren). The project runs on approximately 30 permanent volunteers.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
Diversity is mainly seen here as ethnocultural diversity. According to the founder of 'Nuff Said, people talk too much about diversity, but all too often they do not turn this into practice. Although ethnocultural diversity is visible on the streets, it is not visible in a lot of professions. According to Mourad Bekkour: *We need more writers, bus drivers and policemen with a culturally diverse background, because visibility in all sections of society would change a lot'* (Knack, 2014). 'Nuff Said makes this diversity visible on stage. The project claims to bring diversity into practice as its organisational team consists of people of diverse origins:

> *"The group that organises the event is very diverse. (…) It was never forced; it started very natural. We never presented it as a multicultural festival, because that attracts the wrong people."*

According to Bekkour, these 'wrong people' are the people who only come to the performances because they like multiculturalism as something exotic, while diversity is simply a part of our society. Nevertheless, diversity is not visible enough in the cultural sector and 'Nuff Said tries to increase this visibility. The organiser believes it is important for the festival to programme people with culturally diverse backgrounds, because seeing diversity will change people's minds. Making ethnocultural diversity more visible on stage can therefore have a positive influence on the image and the social mobility of people with a migration background.

Not only the artists but also the performances in 'Nuff Said are very diverse. The comedians all have different styles and there is also music and poetry, which creates a diverse mix. Bekkour stated: *'Sometimes I do it deliberately: first I let a Palestinian express himself for 20 minutes and afterwards I let a Jew perform'* (Humo, 2014). So, the diversity among the performers can have a positive effect on the quality of the festival, by playing with the tensions between different cultural expressions. The

diversity in the programme also results in diversity in the audience. Poetry slam for example brings in another audience than jazz music.

Hence, although 'Nuff Said explicitly claims not to be a multicultural event, the project succeeds in programming very diverse performers and reaching a very diverse public. As said, this diversity is mainly ethnocultural diversity. It is not known if 'Nuff Said also reaches a broad public in the terms of socio-economic diversity. Nevertheless, it is not the aim of the project to attract socio-economic or other forms of diversity.

Main factors influencing success or failure
The line-up of the festival is definitely one of the most important internal success factors, both in terms of the quality of the performers, the ethnic diversity of their backgrounds and the diversity of cultural practices. Not only national, but also a lot of international artists (e.g. people from the United States, United Kingdom, New Zealand and the Netherlands) perform at the festival. The organisers sometimes even get requests from international artists who want to perform at the festival. For the organisers, quality is important. This way, diversity comes in naturally. Since the project does not present itself as a multicultural event, it has a great emancipatory potential, which has a positive impact on the social mobility of people with an immigrant background. Multiculturalism is not presented as something exceptional, but as something that is normal today.

Furthermore the festival has an exclusive character, because it takes place only seven times a year in a relatively small venue. Due to the small scale of the event, there is an open atmosphere and little distance between the artist and the audience, which also may contribute to the success of the project.

One of the most important internal problems is that the founder of the project has a very central role, but it is not sure if he wants to continue. Everything is voluntary and it takes a lot of time to organise the event. Moreover, the whole event is organised by volunteers, it is not sure if these volunteers will still continue with 'Nuff Said in the long run. Therefore, the project is very vulnerable.

Conclusion
'Nuff Said is a cultural event with a diverse range of performances. The project aims to 'normalise' and 'depoliticise' diversity. In this sense, it is not so much aimed at improving social mobility and social cohesion through direct actions on a micro-level as is the case in several initiatives described above, but it innovatively fosters social mobility and social cohesion on a macro-level by improving the general image of ethnocultural minorities in society. In this sense, the project struggles with the tension between the aim to depoliticise diversity on the one hand and its own activism to improve the image of ethnocultural minorities on the other hand.

2.3   Arrangements targeting economic performance

BorgerRio

Strategy, focus and organisation
BorgerRio is a multicultural street festival organised every year at the Turnhoutsebaan, one of the busiest traffic lanes in the ethnically diverse Borgerhout district. During the event, the motorised traffic in the street is halted for one day in order to create space for a street market, stages with musicians, sports and many other activities. The highlight of the festival is the visually spectacular parade in the afternoon when hundreds of colourful performers of diverse nationalities, like

samba dancers, street bands and stilt walkers, march through the street. In recent years, the free-entrance festival attracted around 35,000 visitors in one day (Het Nieuwsblad, 2012).

The primary goal of the festival is to create a positive image of the neighbourhood. The festival is expected to enhance the economic performance of the local entrepreneurs by attracting more visitors to the shops in the street. On the other hand, the festival also aims to improve the social cohesion by bringing the diverse groups in the neighbourhood together one day a year. Rather than expressing the vision of one organisation, BorgerRio is the result of a collaboration between various actors that wanted to improve the image of their neighbourhood. BorgerRio originated from the combination of two private initiatives: the 'Environmental Festival' organised by the Ecological House and the 'Holiday Street Fair' organised by the local trade association. For ten years, the environmental service of the Antwerp municipality had been organising annually in June an 'Environmental Festival' with a cultural and an environmental-educational programme[7]. The idea to organise a big multicultural street parade, however, was launched in 2006 by the local trade association *Voorstad*. The trade association had their annual 'Holiday Street Fair' in June, when local vendors put up stands on the street to sell their goods. The street fair, however, did not attract many people. The Turnhoutsebaan had a bad reputation as this street was often depicted in the media as the scene of urban riots and decay. In addition, the trade association noticed that most shopkeepers of immigrant origin did not participate in the street fair. Therefore, the trade association launched the idea to organise a multicultural parade as a way to counter the negative image of the neighbourhood and as a way to involve shopkeepers of diverse origins in the street fair. With this proposal, the local trade association won a € 2,500 subsidy in a public contest organised by the Antwerp municipality in 2006. At the time, the trade association stated:

> '*We would like to create an added value to our traditional Holiday Street Fair. Something with many colours, just like the people of Borgerhout. Besides a street fair, a joyful parade will march through the streets. We are looking for Moroccan, South American, African and other groups that can bring exotic music and dance*' (Gazet van Antwerpen, 2006).

The City District of Borgerhout played an important role in bringing together these different bottom-up initiatives around a common objective. In particular, the Cultural Antenna of the Borgerhout District sought to create a unity among the divergent initiatives and to reduce the empty spots in the festival. With project subsidies, the district organised cultural events and provided stages with performing artists to fill the spatial gaps in the street festival. The Borgerhout District soon became the most important financer of the festival as it increased its support from € 3,000 to € 22,000 over a timespan of eight years. Since the festival not only had environmental aims but also deals with culture, youth, sport, diversity and development, the district decided to provide a budget to support the events related to these different departments. For 2014 edition, the total budget for the BorgerRio festival was estimated around € 65,000. Besides the € 22,000 of the district, the trade association contributes around € 17,000 of their own means. The contribution from the municipality of Antwerp, however, diminished from € 15,000 in 2013 to € 7,500 in 2014 due to budget cuts.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
BorgerRio attempts to mobilise the existing ethnocultural diversity in the neighbourhood as an asset to turn around the negative news reports that often depict the busy traffic lane with its many immigrant inhabitants as a dangerous zone marred by crime and riots. The festival promotes a positive image of ethnocultural diversity through a visually spectacular parade with per-

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[7] For the ecologists who co-founded BorgerRio, the name of the festival not only referred to the colourful Rio carnival but also to the Earth Summit, which took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

formers from different ethnic traditions. The idea of diversity promoted by the festival, however, can be criticised as a form of exoticism. By showcasing stereotypical elements of separate ethnocultural traditions, ethnocultural groups are represented as fixed and discrete units. The initiative for the festival came from Flemish organisations with few migrants among their members. In 2013, the local trade association was renamed as *BOHO 2140* and actively sought to include more migrant entrepreneurs in its activities. At BorgerRio, an 'Arabic oasis' was set up for the Moroccan community in the street. Despite the use of stereotypical representations, the festival succeeded in attracting several migrant organisations to participate in the festival. As the president of the trade associations stated:

> *"There are people of more than a hundred nationalities in this district. Every culture has to feel involved in this event".*

Besides bringing together people of diverse ethnocultural backgrounds, people from all kinds of socio-economic backgrounds are able to join due to the fact that the festival has a free entry.

Main factors influencing success or failure

A bottom-up approach and the collaboration between different actors can be seen as the major internal success factors of the festival. BorgerRio started as a joint project of a local trade association, an environmentalist organisation and other local groups. In addition to the many volunteers from local organisations, an external success factor is that the City District of Borgerhout and the Antwerp municipality came to support the event with annual project subsidies and coordination. The public coordinator from the Borgerhout District believed that a bottom-up organisation was the major internal success factor of the event:

> *"The biggest success factor in my eyes comes from organising the event not 'for' them but 'with' them. An organiser should not decide what has to be programmed. [...] I really believe in the demand, not in the supply. [...] If half of the shopkeepers do not participate in this festival, you should not continue it. It only works if they participate. That is the success factor."*

A problem that arose was the fact that not all inhabitants of the area were in favour of the festival. In 2012, a radical Islamist group called Sharia4Belgium demonstrated against the parade, which was in their eyes immoral because of the scantily clad dancers. The further development of the initiative depends heavily on the foreseen budgets. Our interviewees fear further budget cuts because the festival is no longer 'new' or 'fashionable' enough for politicians. It also has been suggested that the organisers should look more for private investors.

Conclusion

BorgerRio is a visually spectacular festival that mobilises exotic images of ethnocultural diversity in order to counter the negative reputation of a deprived neighbourhood. The festival is aimed at improving the economic performance of the local shops as well as enhancing the social cohesion between the migrant and non-migrant inhabitants living around this busy traffic lane. By creating a positive image of ethnocultural diversity, the festival highlights the advantages of living in this area and attracts more customers to the shops in this street, thus contributing to the economic performance of the local entrepreneurs Nevertheless, the festival tends towards exoticism in its portrayal of other cultures. The innovative potential of the project seems to be situated in the decentralised and bottom-up approach of the festival. The public district coordinator gives the different private organisations the freedom and the responsibility to fill in their part of the festival as they want.

Tour of the North (Toer de Nord)
Strategy, focus and organisation
Tour of the North (Toer de Nord) is a street fair organised annually in the ethnically diverse but economically deprived Antwerpen Noord. The primary goal of Tour of the North is to stimulate the economic performance of the entrepreneurs in this area by convincing people from all over the city to visit the local shopping streets. Despite its relatively high poverty rate, Antwerpen Noord is a neighbourhood with a wide range of shops selling exotic food, colourful clothes and various products from all over the world. Besides promoting the local businesses, Tour of the North also provides a cultural programme with live music, animation, theatre, dance, fashion and design exhibitions. Even if the main objective remains to attract potential customers to the shops in this neighbourhood, the street fair also offers a stage to promote local cultural organisations and artists. According to the organisers, the event attracts around 20,000 visitors each year.

The organisation and the target audience of Tour of the North have changed significantly over the years. Tour of the North started as an annual street party organised by the local neighbourhood association 'De Bilzen', a group of elderly Flemish residents who were worried about the changing social composition and deprivation of their neighbourhood. In order to revive their neighbourhood, they launched in 1994 the annual 'Bilzen street parties' (Bilzen Wijkfeesten)[8]. These street parties were mainly oriented towards a small group of Flemish residents nostalgic for a past and culturally homogenous community.

By 2004, the Antwerp municipality took over the organisation of an annual street event in the neighbourhood by launching 'The Shopping North' ('t Winkelend Noord). Organised by the Work and Economy Department of the Antwerp municipality, this initiative aimed to boost the economic performance of local shopkeepers by organising an annual street market with a culinary tour along the ethnically diverse food shops and restaurants in the neighbourhood.

As a street market, 'The Shopping North' was almost exclusively focused on the economic performance of the local entrepreneurs. In order to make 'The Shopping North' a neighbourhood celebration, it was renamed and transformed into 'Tour of the North' in 2010. More than in the previous years, the municipal coordinator wanted to increase the collaboration between the entrepreneurs and other organisations in the area. By involving also cultural organisations and neighbourhood associations, the street festival became more embedded in the local environment, making use of the strengths and opportunities of Antwerpen Noord.

In financial terms, Tour of the North has been funded since 2010 with a budget of around € 50,000, mainly provided by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), although the Antwerp municipality and the Flemish government also contributed. In 2013, however, the European funding came to an end and only the city continued to fund the event. From 2014 onwards, the new municipal government decided that the entrepreneurs had to organise the festival by themselves, while the municipality would contribute a maximum of € 4,000.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
Compared to the earlier street parties in the neighbourhood, Tour of the North developed a more inclusive approach towards the diversity of people living in Antwerpen Noord. Even if the initiative is more focused on the socio-economic situation of the neighbourhood, both The Shopping North and then Tour of the North made use of ethnocultural diversity to enhance economic performance of the neighbourhood with the promotion of exotic food and other

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[8] http://www.actiegroepdebilzen.be/de-bilzen/

products. The Tour of the North coordinator, however, stressed that the street festival does not target only the immigrant groups living in this area. In fact, the primary goal of Tour of the North is to attract young families living in wealthier parts of the city to discover the shopping streets in the diverse but deprived Antwerpen Noord. In this sense, the festival aims to stimulate the interaction between different population groups. According to the coordinator of the festival, *"the interaction between all the cultures, inhabitants and entrepreneurs of different backgrounds made it a great food and music festival."* As there are more than 170 different nationalities living in Antwerpen Noord, the festival has to be broad and diverse, without neglecting the local Flemish population.

Main factors influencing success or failure
The coordinator of Tour of the North considered the event successful when sufficient people from outside the local neighbourhood came to the festival. One of the external success factors in the previous years was that Tour of the North was not a self-contained event but part of a wider urban development programme. Through terrain management, the Work and Economy Department of the Antwerp municipality helped to develop the commercial zones of Antwerpen Noord with renovation and establishment grants, the promotion of the neighbourhood and the encouragement of collaborations. The initial European funding and the support by the municipal services were crucial in the development of the neighbourhood.

An external barrier is the lack of structural subsidies after the European funding ended and the municipality reduced its financial support. The idea was that the local trade associations should take up their responsibility to organise the street festival. According to the municipal coordinator of Tour of the North, however, an internal obstacle is the lack of unity among the diverse entrepreneurs in Antwerpen Noord. Their trade association is not very well organised and seems not ready to take over the organisation of the festival. Another internal problem is the fact that the festival is only supported by the Work and Economy Department. No other municipal services (like Culture or Social Affairs) have been involved in Tour of the North. This economic focus has led for example to problems with cultural organisations in Antwerpen Noord who no longer wanted to participate because they felt that the street fair audience was not really interested in their arts.

Conclusion
Tour of the North is a street fair that plays out the ethnocultural diversity of entrepreneurs in Antwerpen Noord in order to attract new customers from all over the city to this area. Initiated by the Work and Economy Department of the Antwerp municipality and financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the primary goal of the street fair is to improve the economic performance of the local entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, the organisers of the event also tried to increase the social cohesion in the area by involving cultural and neighbourhood associations in Tour of the North. The project is considered innovative because it created an identity for a neglected neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the lack of a strong trade association and the loss of subsidies jeopardise the further development of the event. As the new municipal government decided to reduce the municipal support for the event, the future of Tour of the North lies now in the hands of the local entrepreneurs, who have to organise the event now with much less means.

Are & Are
Strategy, focus and organisation
Are & Are is an ethno-marketing agency that investigates to what extent public institutions or private companies reach diverse audiences. Through fieldwork, Are & Are screens the image that companies or institutions have among ethnic minorities. After developing strategies to reach a diverse audience, Are & Are designs graphic, audio-visual or textual communication means that

fit the target groups. For the implementation, Are & Are selects the best communication channel to reach the target groups. Although it is a private company, Are & Are has a social aim by making public institutions and private companies more aware of ethnocultural diversity.

Are & Are was created in 2012 by Rachid Lamrabat. This Flemish photographer of Moroccan origin felt that the conventional communication strategies of public and private institutions in Antwerp did not reach ethnic minorities efficiently or did not address them in a good way. When Rachid and his brother started a photography company in 2008, the Antwerp municipality and other organisations commissioned them to shoot 'multicultural photos' to be used in leaflets and posters. Through this experience, Rachid learnt that shooting 'multicultural photos' was not enough to reach ethnic minorities. The municipality and other organisations would also have to adapt their communication strategies to get their message to these specific target groups. In response to this demand, the photographers created the ethno-communication agency Are & Are, together with five freelancers.

The primary goal of Are & Are is to advise institutions and companies about the commercial demands of ethnic minorities and the best channels through which these groups can be reached. By using marketing and communication strategies that are adapted to the consumer behaviour of ethnic minorities, Are & Are aims to improve the efficiency of public institutions and the economic performance of private companies.

From their experience in the public and private sectors, Are & Are sees ethnocultural diversity as a business opportunity and offers its services to organisations that want to reach ethnocultural minorities. In the first years, the team helped with the communication about diversity for a trade union, an Antwerp public library, an Antwerp newspaper and a cultural centre. Rather than launching its own projects, Are & Are offers the tools and the know-how to deal with diversity. Recently, Are & Are has been focusing more on market research about consumer behaviour among ethnic minorities. As very few marketing researchers pay attention to ethnic minorities, Are & Are wants to fill this gap in the market.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity
Are & Are sees diversity as a business opportunity and as a resource that can improve the efficiency of organisations. Drawing on their own experience as members of an ethnic minority, the Are & Are members advise organisations about the sensibilities and desires of ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities are seen as potential customers. From an ethno-marketing perspective, diversity is defined in terms of target groups. According to the founder of Are & Are, the major difference between ethnic minorities and native Flemish people is that they have a different history and different cultural references. Because of this, ethnic minorities would have a different perspective on things. As a marketing agency, Are & Are mainly looks at the largest ethnic minorities in the city like the Moroccans and Turks, as these are commercially the most profitable. Smaller ethnic groups are less interesting because they do not represent a large market segment. Are & Are also does not target closed ethnic communities like the Jews because these would be difficult to reach. Mainly focused on ethnic minorities, Are & Are pays limited attention to other forms of diversity like age and gender.

Main factors influencing success or failure
For Rachid Lamrabat, ethno-marketing is successful if it reaches people that conventional communication channels would not have reached: "*If people who absolutely do not watch TV, who do not read newspapers, where the average traditional marketing does not work, if those people are aware of something, I believe that the communication strategy was successful.*" According to the founder of Are & Are, the major success factor in ethno-marketing is ethnocultural know-how. This means to know how eth-

nic minorities think and what are their frames of reference. Any marketing or communication strategy needs to start from the frame of reference of the people you want to reach. As most Flemish marketing agencies do not have this frame of reference, the Are & Are team has a competitive advantage over them.

As major internal obstacle to successful ethno-marketing, the founder of Are & Are mentioned 'the rusty integration story'. This is a stereotypical idea that some people hold about what the integration of ethnic minorities should be like. As ethno-marketing requires a clear delineation of the target groups, this might lead to a sharp 'us-them distinction'. In addition, many diversity managers in public institutions seem to hold fixed ideas about how to deal with ethnic minorities. This makes it difficult for the team of Are & Are to change the old communication strategies. An external problem mentioned was the fact that many institutions do not want to spend much money on diversity. Are & Are has often been asked to do their work for free, even if public institutions often receive budgets to spend on diversity.

Conclusion

Are & Are looks at diversity squarely from an economic perspective. As an ethno-marketing agency, Are & Are sees diversity as a business opportunity and as a resource that can improve the efficiency of organisations. Its primary goal is to advise public institutions and private companies how to reach and how to address ethnic minorities. Drawing on their own ethnocultural know-how, Are & Are offers other organisations the know-how about dealing with the largest minority groups in Antwerp. Besides this, Are & Are also engages in market research about consumer behaviour among ethnic minorities. As very few marketing researchers pay attention to ethnic minorities, Are & Are wants to fill this gap in the market and to sell its know-how in order to improve the economic performance of companies targeting diverse audiences.

3   Synthesis and analysis of the results

Synthesis of the investigated governance arrangements

In this section, we synthesise and analyse the results of the ten case studies dealing with urban diversity that we selected for the purposes of this research. In the preceding part, we have put the initiatives together into three clusters according to their primary goals: four initiatives were seen as primarily improving social cohesion, three initiatives were considered as mainly encouraging social mobility and the last three initiatives were understood as above all enhancing economic performance. Most initiatives, however, appear to have more than one goal (see table 1).

Governance arrangements	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Opsinjoren	***		
Neighbourhood Treasures	***		
City Talk	***	**	
Language*eaR	***	**	
Let's Go Urban	*	***	
Kif Kif Awards		***	
'Nuff Said	*	**	
BorgerRio	**		***
Tour of the North	**		***
Are & Are			***

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

Table 1: Contribution of the governance arrangements towards the three main objectives

With few exceptions, most of the initiatives we discussed above deal with social cohesion in one way or another, even if this was not always the primary objective of the project. The first two governance arrangements, one (Opsinjoren) organised by the City of Antwerp, the other (Neighbourhood Treasures) by Community Development (Samenlevingsopbouw), state that improving the social cohesion in the city is their primary aim. Both these governance arrangements stimulate residents to organise their own small initiatives and encourage living together in diversity. Two other governance arrangements, one (City Talk) organised by the City of Antwerp, the other (Language*eaR) by Community Development (Samenlevingsopbouw), also contribute to the social cohesion in the city through the organisation of conversation groups. Although both initiatives stimulate social cohesion in the city by bringing together long-time residents and diverse newcomers, they may also contribute to social mobility because they help newcomers to learn the local language. In line with the official urban integration policies, it is argued that a good knowledge of the Dutch language may ameliorate the socio-economic position of immigrants, as they will learn to find their own way in the host society and to establish contacts that can open up better employment opportunities for them. It stands out how similar these projects are, although some are organised by the municipality and others by Community Building (Samenlevingsopbouw). An important difference is that there seems to be more flexibility within the projects of Community Building than in those organised by the municipality. Furthermore, we have seen among the language initiatives how the voluntary character was very important for the project of Community Building (Samenlevingsopbouw), while in the municipal project participation was obliged.

Regarding initiatives with social mobility as their primary aim, we selected three projects that deal more or less explicitly with diversity. It is remarkable that we found all of our social mobility initiatives dealing with diversity in the cultural sector. The cultural sector seems to be more open to diversity than other sectors of the labour market. We discussed how an urban arts school (Let's Go Urban!) successfully attracted disadvantaged youngsters to develop their skills and talents within a solid community. In line with this, we saw how an intercultural talent show (Kif Kif Awards) launched the careers of young artists of diverse origins. Finally, we noticed how a cultural programme with high-quality performers of diverse origins ('Nuff Said) made ethnic diversity visible and popular on stage and accessible to diverse audiences. While we framed these initiatives as projects aimed at improving social mobility, they can also be seen as contributing to the social cohesion and, to a lesser extent, as contributing to the economic performance of the cultural sector.

In the third section, we reviewed governance arrangements and initiatives aimed at enhancing the economic performance of the city. Looking for initiatives that explicitly link diversity with economic performance, it has to be said that we did not find many of them in Antwerp. Nevertheless, we came across two area-based projects, one of these projects (BorgerRio) originated from a bottom-up collaboration between different local organisations, while the other initiative (Tour of the North) was a rather top-down project initiated by the Work and Economy Department of the Antwerp municipality. From a private ethno-marketing perspective (Are & Are), we saw how diversity can be used as a business opportunity when ethnic minorities are seen as potential customers.

In what follows, we will answer the three main research questions that recurred throughout the ten case studies discussed above. First, we will look at how diversity is conceptualised in the selected governance arrangements and initiatives. Then, we will examine the main factors influencing success or failure of the initiatives. Finally, we will identify the most innovative practices.

Conceptualisation of diversity

In accordance with the urban policies on diversity in Antwerp, the governance arrangements and initiatives we selected here are mainly concerned with ethnocultural diversity, although we noticed the importance of other forms of diversity like socio-economic, educational differences and diverse lifestyles. In line with the idea of a broad diversity policy at the urban level, we saw that diversity could not be reduced to only ethnocultural aspects because of the diversity within ethnic groups. City Talk and Language*eaR had such a vast diversity among their participants in terms of migration history, educational and cultural background that these projects can be seen as examples of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007). Differences in educational level proved to be a bigger obstacle to the communication between the participants than ethnic differences in some initiatives. This shows that not all issues can be explained by ethnocultural differences and that we have to be aware of the broader existing diversity.

Contrary to the political discourses that frame ethnocultural diversity as a problem or even as a threat to social cohesion and the welfare state, we focused on governance arrangements and initiatives that recognise the positive aspects of diversity. Although diversity is seen as something positive within the projects that stimulate social cohesion, the main idea in projects like Opsinjoren and Neighbourhood Treasures is that people have to learn how to live together in diversity, because social cohesion and solidarity between different groups is not always evident.

Different strategies have been used to show people how to live in diversity and to emphasise the positive aspects of living in diversity. In several initiatives the organisers pursued what Lamont (2000) has called 'universalising strategies'. People are brought together on the basis of what they have in common; this can be by evoking universal values and membership of the human family. Some initiatives put forward new urban lifestyles, attitudes and activities. This could be seen as a form of hyper-diversity. Rather than focusing on traditional ethnocultural differences, initiatives like Let's Go Urban, the Kif Kif Awards and 'Nuff Said promoted a modern 'urban culture' that accommodates different lifestyles. These initiatives go beyond the classical understanding of diversity in terms of ethnocultural differences. Although these initiatives deal with different lifestyles, attitudes and activities, we cannot say that hyper-diversity is their objective. Instead of emphasising differences, they rather look for what people have in common.

In some projects, however, cultural differences were highlighted and this can be seen as a more particularistic approach towards diversity. Area-based initiatives like BorgerRio and Tour of the North imagine an identity for the neighbourhood that is visualised as inclusive of ethnocultural and other types of diversity by emphasising specific positive aspects of different cultures. On the one hand, a critique on the universalising strategy is that it ignores differences and therefore the identities of different ethnocultural groups. On the other hand, the particularistic approach can be criticised for showcasing stereotypical elements of different cultures.

Localisation of the main factors influencing success or failure

Among the main factors leading to success or failure of the governance arrangements, we distinguished between external and internal factors. Starting with the external success factors, we can say that financial resources are often crucial to the success of a project. In order not to depend too much on temporary subsidies, however, we have seen that initiatives need to become structurally embedded in institutions. To support a project in the long run, a structural collaboration between public institutions and private partners is important. Another external factor that might help to achieve success is receiving media attention or word-of-mouth publicity as this makes a project better known to a broad public.

Important internal success factors are the accessibility of projects and a bottom-up organisation. The accessibility of projects is important to reach people of diverse backgrounds. Free entrance or low inscription fees are ways to keep projects accessible, but also embedding projects structurally in a community centre or other institutions is a good strategy to increase the accessibility. Projects also need to be flexible in order to anticipate unexpected situations and to be open to new participants. Rather than following top-down programmes, a bottom-up organisation where different partners have the opportunity to launch their own ideas is crucial to the success of some initiatives. Giving responsibility to the participants is an important success factor because they know best what are the needs and the interests of the target group. Moreover, when people have a sense of ownership for a project, they feel responsible and want the project to be successful.

Most governance arrangements and initiatives also face some important external barriers and problems. Initiatives that lack a structural embeddedness often have to cope with uncertainty about their funding and infrastructure. Furthermore, several organisations complained about the fragmentation of subsidies for their initiatives. Many urban diversity projects do not fit precisely in one of the administrative niches of the city as projects are often situated at the interface of integration, community work, culture, youth and sports. These administrative divisions impede an efficient public coordination and structural funding of some private initiatives. An inadequate institutional framework is therefore a recurrent external problem for many initiatives.

Among the most important internal problems faced by the governance arrangements and initiatives, we can mention the difficulty to recruit volunteers and participants that are representative of the diverse urban population. In general, initiatives deal with a lack of volunteers. At the same time, many initiatives are coordinated by white middle class people and struggle to include immigrants and poor people. This holds particularly true for the governance arrangements launched by the municipality. A lack of collaboration with other partners in the area can lead to tensions or even to conflicts. In order to achieve a better representation of the diverse population in projects, a bottom-up approach seems to work better than a top-down implementation of urban policies.

Identification of new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts

Which new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts can be identified in the initiatives discussed above? Most governance arrangements and initiatives distinguish themselves from urban policies by their bottom-up approach with regards to diversity. By letting people undertake initiatives themselves, they are made responsible for the success of the projects. Nevertheless, it is important that an organisation is also aware of the exclusion and underrepresentation of certain groups in the project. Having people of diverse backgrounds in the organisation of an initiative seems to be a crucial factor in attempts to reach a diverse audience. Knowing the needs and sensitivities of the diverse urban population can help to develop adequate diversity policies and governance arrangements. Moreover, depoliticising diversity is an innovative strategy to reach a diverse group. By accepting diversity as a fact of life, project organisers and participants counter the idea that diversity needs to be controlled by politics. Furthermore, ethno-marketing can be seen as an innovative approach that sees ethnic minorities as commercial target groups.

An innovative concept that has been largely absent in the municipal policy discourses is the idea of 'urban culture' as an inclusive paradigm accommodating diversity. Promoting a lifestyle that attracts people from diverse ethnic origins and all layers of society, urban cultural expressions like hip-hop and breakdance have become popular in cities around the globe. Visual spectacles, dance and music are accessible to people even if they do not master the local language. Although urban culture is a global phenomenon, its local implementation remains important. Area-based cultural projects can help to construct an inclusive identity for the neighbourhood that people are proud

of. This positive image can attract other organisations and companies to participate in the project and to invest in the neighbourhood.

4   Conclusions

In this report, we have investigated how ten governance arrangements and initiatives deal with ethnocultural diversity in Antwerp. Despite the ideological tendency towards assimilationism in the policies of the city council, we have seen that the initiatives allow a more positive approach towards ethnocultural diversity and help to create more opportunities for ethnically diverse groups in the city. In accordance with the neoliberal social policies of the city council, however, many initiatives also emphasised the importance of individual responsibility to achieve social mobility. In this conclusion, we reflect on how urban policy-makers can learn from the governance arrangements and initiatives discussed above.

In the first place, the municipal policies in Antwerp focus on the idea that everybody has to speak the local Dutch language in order to achieve social cohesion and social mobility. In some governance arrangements that are closely related to the public integration services, learning the Dutch language is still an explicit aim. However, even in these projects cultural and linguistic diversity are experienced as enriching for the participants. With regards to diversity, the Antwerp municipal policies have mainly been concerned with safeguarding a 'harmonious city' and promoting social cohesion. In contrast to political discourses that frame ethnocultural diversity as a cause of social conflicts and tensions that need to be resolved by assimilationist or even repressive measures, most initiatives show how living together in diversity is possible. By demonstrating to people how to deal with diversity, the practices of most initiatives significantly differ from the one-directional assimilationist paradigm in which immigrants have to adapt to the host society.

Secondly, with regards to concepts of diversity the initiatives demonstrate that diversity cannot be understood only in terms of ethnocultural differences. Although some initiatives still treat ethnocultural minorities as categorical target groups, there exist innovative projects that use more fluid and hybrid notions of diversity. More than the municipal policies, the initiatives are aware of this broad diversity and pay attention to differences between and within different ethnocultural groups. In this sense, ethnocultural differences are seen together with other forms of diversity like age, gender and socio-economic status. Even if initiatives put up a positive image of diversity, they sometimes had difficulties to include diverse participants in their organisation and/or audience. A bottom-up approach, however, proved to be successful in engaging people of diverse backgrounds by paying attention to their specific needs and interests.

Finally, innovative projects succeeded in bringing people of diverse backgrounds together by using 'universalising strategies' that overcome ethnic boundaries. Urban culture and activities like visual spectacles, dance and music, that are less dependent on the knowledge of the local language, have a more inclusive potential for people of diverse backgrounds. Rather than approaching diversity as a challenge to social cohesion, several initiatives have shown how people from diverse backgrounds can bring in innovative ideas and how attention to diversity can create new business opportunities by attracting new customers and reaching underserved markets.

While the urban policies underline the individual responsibility of people, this idea is also present in some projects that stimulate participants to undertake their own initiatives, to learn the language, to develop their own talents and to contribute to the economic performance of the city. Urban policy-makers can learn from the initiatives we discussed here by seeing diversity as a potential advantage for social mobility and economic performance.

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6   Appendix

List of the interviewed persons

- Joost Sierens, President Trade Association BOHO 2140, BorgerRio, 10 March 2014
- Stijn Van Bouwel, Cultural Antenna District Borgerhout, BorgerRio, 19 March 2014
- Véronique De Bruyne, City of Antwerp, Coordinator Tour of the North, 27 March 2014
- Rachid Lamrabet, Director Are & Are, 5 May 2014
- Patrick N'Siala Kiese, Organiser Kif Kif Awards, 24 March 2014
- Ludovic Nyamabo, Winner Kif Kif Awards 2008, 22 April 2014
- Dirk Bicker, President Let's Go Urban Board, 7 May 2014
- Mourad Bekkour, Organiser 'Nuff Said, 22 March 2014
- Marc Bolsens, City Talk Employee, 14 April 2014
- Alan & Joke, City Talk Volunteers, 28 April 2014
- Katrien Segers, City of Antwerp, Head Opsinjoren Department, 6 March 2014
- Regina Verstraeten, Participant Opsinjoren, 13 march 2014
- Walter Busschots, Team Coordinator Neighbourhood Treasures, 31 March 2014
- Jesse Lemmens, Coordinator Language*eaR Deurne Noord, 12 May 2014
- Hafida Dalaa, Former Volunteer and Former Coordinator Language*eaR, 12 May 2014

List of the participants of the round-table talk

Date: July 3, 2014
Place: University of Antwerp, Belgium

- Dirk Bicker
- Marc Bolsens
- Véronique De Bruyne
- Ludovic Nyamabo
- Rik Pinxten
- Katrien Segers
- Patrick Schuerwegh
- Joost Sierens
- Stijn Van Bouwel
- Patrick Vinck
- Joke & Alan Woo