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Intercultural Governance Index: an exploratory study on Spanish cities

by Ricard Zapata-Barrero*

Introduction¹: the debate surrounding intercultural governance

Though there is a recent debate on interculturalism, most of the academic discussion is basically policy oriented and some recent is normative driven (see the next edited book by Meer, Modood and Zapata-Barrero, eds., 2016); less is done at the empirical level, trying to theorise current practices (Zapata-Barrero, ed. 2015). The nexus between the discourse and the policy needs to be addressed to prevent the gap increases, which is being the focus of most of its critics². It is at this point that I will frame this article, and following a governance approach already existing in some recent literature on diversity policies in multi-level States (Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero, eds., 2014) and also at local level³. Though the topic of intercultural governance is in the title of the Intercultural cities programme of the Council of Europe, we must recognise that this notion remains unexplored and little defined in its documents, even in studies dealing with the

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2. See the strong criticism formulated by Kymlicka, against the “political rhetoric” of the intercultural/multicultural contrast in a coming edited book dealing with the dividing lines between multiculturalism and interculturalism (2016).
3. See, among the seminal works, Penninx *et al.*, 2004; Zincone and Caponio, 2006; Caponio and Borkert, 2010; Scholten, 2013.

intercultural approach that already drives the debate⁴. In this framework, we seek to propose and apply an *Intercultural Governance Index (Igi)*, categorizing a minimal set of standards, which can allow us to infer an ideal type, in addition to highlighting significant variables and hypotheses. We seek not only to deepen the debate surrounding intercultural policies, offering a framework for study centred on governance, but also to offer points of reflection (and of inspiration) at the city level, where most of the studies on interculturalism are deployed.

This exploratory study has been carried out in nine cities of the Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities (*Red Española de Ciudades Interculturales, Recí*): Barcelona, Bilbao, Cartagena, Fuenlabrada, Getxo, Parla, Sabadell, San Sebastian, Tenerife. In accordance with a participative methodology following various rounds of discussion, the cities have also contributed to the identification and definition of minimum standards. We will see that these standards are centred as much in the structures as in the processes that purport to deploy a series of mechanisms and actions in order to assure a framework of governance. By comparing actual practices of the cities, we can methodologically identify stages of the process, propose an ideal type of governance, which – though it will also be subject to contextual variables – can help deepen the academic debate. This comparison also allows us to highlight certain hypotheses concerning the objective differences among the cities, which could suggest why some develop different mechanisms for governance, or why they maintain different rates of these phases of the process.

However, the first fundamental question is: *How can a focus on governance contribute to the incipient debate regarding intercultural policies?* We argue that it will reinforce the legitimacy of intercultural discourse that it seeks to promote through policies. The study of governance will allow us, then, to analyse the conditions of intercultural policies. The premise is that in order to achieve an intercultural city, it is necessary that cities make the first step and establish governance mechanisms necessary not only to promote intercultural policies, but moreover to influence structural change un-

4. The texts from the Intercultural cities programme can be found on the web: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/Index/default_en.asp [April 2014]. We are largely drawing from two foundations: *Paso a Paso [Step by Step]*, and the Icc (Intercultural Cities Index). Regarding the seminal texts in the debate, see: Gunadara and Jacobs, eds., 2000; Wood, 2004; Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2004; Sandercock, 2004; Sze and Powell, eds. 2004; Brecknock, 2006; Khan, 2006; Barn, 2011; Rene and Guidikova, eds. 2010; Clarijs, Guidikova, Malmberg, 2011; Emerson ed. 2011; Bouchard, 2011; Cante, 2008 and 2012; Farrar *et al.*, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, ed. 2015.

til transforming interculturalism into a logic of institutional action for the government.

This interest in intercultural governance comes initially from a reflection of the bases – in addition to the limits – of the proposal of the Intercultural Cities Index, developed by the Council of Europe in 2008 (Section 1). This first discussion will allow me to design an interpretive framework for intercultural governance in the second section, which will help lay the groundwork for the methodology and the index that I will present in Section 3. After tracing the concrete objectives of the study, I will present the initial results in Section 4 (the considerations of experts and a description of profiles of the cities) and in Section 5 (the ranking and results of the cities). Finally, I will conclude with some general considerations that are significant for highlighting the principal hypotheses that were identified, along with the potential next steps for applying the Igi.

1. The bases and limits of the Intercultural Cities Index of the Council of Europe

Governance belongs to one of the dimensions of the Intercultural Cities Index (Icc) proposed by the Council of Europe. In its application, it can be clearly noted that it is the most visible and constant dimension requiring improvement for most of the intercultural cities involved in the programme. If we consider the initial results, the overall average of the governance indicator is very low (30%), and among the cities in the Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities (*Red Española de Ciudades Interculturales*, Recí), the total average is 20%⁵.

If we look at how intercultural governance is defined, we note first that if Intercultural cities speaks well of “governance and policies for diverse communities”, it does it in a rather quite broad and abstract form. In general terms, intercultural governance is used to influence how the city’s government and the general programming for strategic management evolve in order to incorporate diversity. It deals with the representation of minorities, participation, and intercultural competence of public officials, with an ac-

5. See the Intercultural Cities website: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-cities-charts.php> and Pinyol (2013). Recí is the Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities ([www. www.ciudadesinterculturales.com](http://www.ciudadesinterculturales.com)), constituted in Spain by the Gritim-Upf in 2011 as a national action of the Intercultural cities programme of the Council of Europe. The founding cities are: Barcelona, Bilbao, Cartagena, Getxo, Fuenlabrada, Jerez de la Frontera, Parla, Sabadell, San Sebastian, and the Council of Tenerife.

tual level of influence of migrants as elected members and employees. It includes the established procedures for being able to listen to initiatives and experiences of immigrants. By definition, it focuses on incorporating the reality of diversity into the tasks of city government. Let us review some references and their treatment.

First, in the Intercultural Cities Index, Question 10 addresses governance⁶. It is defined from different angles, which we can group together into two basic categories: representation and participation (in terms of decision-making processes)⁷. In the first place, producing governance depends on immigrants being able to vote, with some objective criteria regarding time of residence in the municipality (Question 67). Later, representation becomes a fundamental theme, in which there should be a correspondence between the composition of diversity in the city and those who exercise local government (Question 68). Next, the school system receives place of importance, especially regarding centres of representation and decision-making (Question 70). Last but not least, they ask if initiatives exist to promote immigrants' participation in political life, and what these are (Question 71).

Second, within the document *Intercultural Strategy*, governance is included in the reference terms as follows: "The influence of intercultural governability – including voting rights, migrants' engagement in elected institutions, administration and services, the cultural competence of civil servants and bodies that initiate participation and self-management plans for the neighborhood – on the effectiveness of policies and city services, perceptions and community cohesion". We can see here the reinforcement of the previous dimensions, but with the incorporation of an additional one: namely, the conditions that enable and the means that facilitate interaction. That is, it discusses the need for municipal officials to possess intercultural competence, and that a municipal organ provide facilities and tools to those neighborhoods so that they can become self-sufficient in promoting interaction.

In one of the first studies investigating correlations with intercultural policies, Bakbasel Economics (Nov. 2011) establishes that when good gov-

6. It is described in the following way: "Probably the most powerful and far-reaching measures that a city can take in order to be more intercultural are: decision-making processes and democratic representation. Obviously, some of these measures are taken at a national level but a City Council can do much to influence how different groups interact and collaborate in the allocation of power and resources".

7. The questions can be accessed at: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-cities.php> (September 2015).

ernance is used as an independent variable, it indicates that the city with a good index of government tends to be much more committed to the project of interculturalism and is more economically successful (see also A. Wagner, 2015). That is, when a city council attends to standards of representation, of participation, and of engagement of its local officials and neighbourhoods (minimum premises), it tends to promote more interaction in the city and to have more opportunities for economic initiatives and innovation.

Finally, the reference document for all cities, *Step by Step* discusses structures and processes of governance. It emphasizes, accordingly, the importance of the relation between actors and managers, and of creating new agents for managing intercultural governance⁸. The relationships that the city council establishes, with the associative network in particular, and with the set of civil society entities in general, are granted importance, to say the least. We should accordingly include them as minimal conditions for defining intercultural governance. Here, we are trying to discover if interculturalism is working with the visible complicity of the associative network and of the city's civil society, which can contribute to attaining the stated objectives of interculturalism.

Perhaps the most effective and transcendental measures that can be applied to ascertain that a city is intercultural are the processes of democratic representation and of making decisions. Evidently, some can be determined by nationality, but a city council can do much to influence the mode in which diverse groups interrelate and collaborate through the assignation of power and resources. Through this prism, the document *Step by Step* recognizes that inevitably the initiative will raise the theme of representation of immigrants in the city's governmental structures, and this can generate tension and conflict. This subject would not have to be avoided, but could be used creatively to evaluate how to include the various new dynamics of diversity in the key structures of decision-making.

At this point, direct questions inevitably emerge. For example: Does the city have a coordinating body that represents the different expressions of diversity and that is independent from the local authority? In addition, at the level of putting policies into practice, does the local authority have an interdepartmental body to supervise the implementation of intercultural

8. Specifically, it speaks of "establishing intercultural governance processes in order to promote the trans-cultural decision-making both at social society organizations and public institutions; supporting the emergence of new political and social Readers from diverse origins and assuring that these current leader are competent and expert in terms of culture".

policy of the city? Is the improvement of intercultural relations taken into account, as well, when they are designed and implemented through public consultation? Are actions (such as forums for public management) encouraged, in which neighbours of distinct ethnic or cultural origins can participate together to develop their surroundings? Governance transcends the narrow scope of the administration and allows a plurality of actors, including the associative immigrant world and nongovernmental organizations, to influence government bodies and to participate in decision-making processes (section 2 below). What remains clear from all of what is displayed here is the importance of representative institutions, democratic values and mechanisms of participation for managing diversity with an intercultural perspective, and obtaining favourable results in terms of cohesion and development (section 3).

2. What do we mean by intercultural governance, as applied to local management of diversity?

We will use as a point of departure a simple notion of governance as *the body of instruments and devices of the government (including the administration and public and social actors) necessary to develop intercultural policies*. Governance is a category that implies objectives and means for obtaining them. Concretely, it describes as much the exercise of decision-making as the capacity it has to act, taking into account the available institutional means. The concept is a useful descriptor of decision-making processes that involve the simultaneous mobilization of public authorities at different jurisdictional levels as well as that of non-governmental organizations and social movements⁹.

Let us propose the conventional sense of “governance” as the body of government actions, but we want to incite as well its institutional capacity to incorporate diversity. This implies having to confront politically and to respond to the challenges that emerge with the incorporation of actions, routines and new structures, thus facilitating an adequate governance environment for the development of the intercultural strategy at the level of public policy. Following World Bank definitions and the standards of governance it proposes, we recognise from this conventional sense the defini-

9. I follow the definitions as provided by the governance literature. See, among others, Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Piattoni, 2010. See also an application in immigration studies at Zapata-Barrero and Barker, 2014.

tion of governance as «the use of institutional resources for the management of problems and issues of society» and as «the capacity of the government to formulate and implement policies, as well as the use of institutions and the capacity to create a context of collaboration to distribute resources and to coordinate activity of the government (World Bank, 1991)». In terms no longer of *means* (as the capacity to manage the intercultural approach), but of *ends*, intercultural governance is related to the objectives that intercultural policy pursues: stability, cohesion, and the development of cultural capacities of its population (Zapata-Barrero, 2015). Definitively, it enters into the objectives that seek to promote the “advantages of diversity¹⁰”.

Following a structural and institutional approach toward governance, it is interesting, as well, to identify the restrictions that can be found with respect to the local government’s ability to develop its *capacity to govern interculturalism*. The identification of restrictions is an important position that can have direct influence over how the process of intercultural governance develops, and helps us to understand, among other things, why the rhythm of the process differs according to municipalities and why there is also variation in satisfaction regarding standards that we give. At the same time, we must take into account that every category and dimension that we will later propose has an economic and legal dimension that undoubtedly influences the process. We can group restrictions into three categories:

- *Structural restrictions*: This is due to the system of municipal competencies that establishes what the local administration can and cannot do. For example, let us suppose that the possibility for *immigrants* to have access to public office is restricted by the Spanish legal system, which only offers this possibility to Spanish citizens.
- *Economic restrictions*: Some dimensions are more costly than others. Let us suppose, for example, the opening of a new structure within the city council, such as an anti-discrimination office, or the leadership dimension presupposes the contracting of new personnel with high qualifications.
- *Subjective restrictions*: Although we know that these restrictions are less objetivable than the previous ones, we include here those that are not economic or structural. Rather, these depend, as well, on the will of

10. See, among others, Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998; Zachary, 2003; Sze and Powell, eds. 2004; Wood, 2004; Festenstein, 2005; Hussain *et al.*, 2006; Page, 2007; Wood and Landry, 2008. Also, Zapata-Barrero, 2013.

the rulers, the motivation of experts, and include the ideological interpretation or argumentation for a diagnosis or action, etc.

These three types of restrictions force us to consider the conception of governance in a local context as something that affects the system in general, and not the needs of citizens in particular. From a public policy point of view, we remain at the input phase, and within the “black box” of policy design, but we do not contemplate the results or the impacts of the policies that are carried out. This approach toward governance is fundamental for understanding the orientation of the standards that are being proposed. We try to identify some minimum standards that are capable of obtaining objective information – verifiable because it can be made publicly accessible – that influence the structures and the processes of intercultural governance, which we will promptly see.

3. Methodological foundations and proposal of Index

To operationalize this dimension of governance, we strive to articulate a series of minimal standards. This methodological instrument is useful for analysing and comparing processes such as governance. It consists in the creation of a specific reference point that serves for measurement, for making comparisons, and thus for fostering the improvement of its own initial objective. As far as I know, it has been transferred from the business sector to public policy on immigration by the *Migration Policy Group*, with support from the European Commission, as a standard by which one can measure or judge. The well-known and influential Mipex is a methodological example¹¹. According to our reading, it is a group of questions that serve as standards for identifying stages of the process (calibrating the use of certain institutional resources), for elaborating an ideal reference framework for intercultural governance, and for identifying significant hypotheses. The questions that are raised tend to be qualitative and can be responded with yes/no (with objective empirical evidence).

Besides the practical utility of this methodology, in this article I am interested in developing its generative capacity of an ideal type (analysing the order in which certain actions unfold, while also comparing cities so that we can trace stages and formulate a ranking), while also formulating significant hypotheses regarding intercultural governance, which can contrib-

11. See <http://www.mipex.eu/> (April 2014).

ute to defining an approach to the debate initiated by the Council of Europe. We attempt in this sense to propose a minimum series of standards that will help establish a “snapshot” of measuring the process¹². Let us look with more detail at a) the function and typology of the standards, and b) the methodological procedure for identifying and weighing them.

a. *Function and typology of standards*

The basic idea is to identify a series of minimal standards that will help define actions carried out by the city council for the promotion of an institutional, political, and social environment of intercultural governance. These standards will constitute what we will call the *Intercultural Governance Index (Igi)*, and will attempt to interpret governance as a process in which certain governmental actions are deployed at various rates and in various orders. The Igi will allow us from the beginning to know at what moment each city is within the process. To carry out these functions, in the first place, we must lay out the criteria for selecting these standards. The set of standards Mipex, for example, responds to EU legislative framework. The standards are set out in legislation, are identifiable and result of European consensus, and the averages were used as marker (*benchmarking*), but the final result is determined by the rules. These would ideally be relevant for the policy makers who are supposed to design and implement intercultural policies, always based on objective information (events, data, facts that can be directly observed and verified through documentation or other institutional and/or reliable support, without needing to produce information) that can be compared across space and time. We can thus highlight two types of standards:

b. *Structural standards*

These reflect the ratification and adoption of political and legal instruments, along with the existence of institutional mechanisms that aim to facilitate the execution of intercultural policies. They apprehend political and social liabilities. Examples would include the opening of an anti-discrimination observatory or neighbourhood mediation services.

c. *Procedural standards*

These offer instruments for fostering intercultural policies and strategies. They are the channels providing content for the strategies. Examples of this would include the internal, intercultural training of function-

12. For the use of this score system for establishing political recommendations, see the full study in: http://www.upf.edu/gritim/_pdf/igigrim.pdf (September 2015).

aries, the use of intercultural criteria for public announcements, promotional programmes, and participation in the districts, etc.

d. *Methodological procedure for identifying and weighing the standards*

An original feature of this study is that the identification and definition of the standards have been executed through a process of participation with the cities that are objects of the study. We processed the information received and submitted the results to a selection of experts, before drawing conclusions with the proposed framework.

I propose a minimal structure and logic; that is, we identify the necessary components, without which we could not talk about intercultural governance. We can identify two previous descriptive categories of the city (using a technical sheet and a general profile of the city) and three categories of governance (Table 1)¹³.

We also need to explain the weighting system followed. At the methodological level, we start from the premise that these distinct dimensions can have different levels of importance, so that prior weights have been applied to the total calculation of the index. When we speak of “importance”, we mean that as an entire process, the implementation of intercultural governance follows an order of actions (not all progress at the same time). Because of this, we asked a total of seven experts, who were associated with the Diversity Project and the Intercultural cities programme of the Council of Europe, to order, on a scale from 15 to 1, the dimensions of the 3 categories of governance already definitively identified, based on their capacity to illustrate a city’s intercultural governance. We understood 15 to equal the maximum importance, with 1 signifying the least importance. Based on these results, we calculated the factors of evaluation and, finally, the evaluations. Thus, the result of every dimension corresponds to the product of the score established in function of the answers and the weights. The formula utilized, which follows the pattern of the Intercultural City Index, is the following:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Factor of Weight} &= (\text{Average dimension} - \text{average ranking}) * 100 \\ \text{Weight} &= \text{Factor of evaluation} / \text{Total factors of weight} \end{aligned}$$

13. The details of the submitted poll and of the records and general profile of the city can be found in the aforementioned full study.

Table 1 - Main standard, by category

<p><i>Data about the City</i> We highlight the general city information, its progress in terms of intercultural plans and programmes, and its ideological and governmental composition</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Date of first intercultural plan - Number of plans following this and years - Successive governments and majorities - Composition of current municipal plenary
<p><i>General City Profile</i> We highlight general city information in terms of its population and other socio-demographic variables, which are likely to have an explanatory value</p>	<p>Demographic dimension (population, % of immigrants, principal nationalities, age groups)</p> <p>Socioeconomic dimension (Gdp per capita, unemployment rate)</p>
<p><i>Intercultural Political Activities (PA)</i> We highlight the minimal political activities that the city council should have to show its commitment to interculturalism</p>	<p>Political dimension: Has a large majority endorsed that the city recognise its diversity and be committed to interculturalism?</p>
	<p><i>Planning Dimension:</i> Does there exist, within the active programme, a timeline for execution, and an annual budget, with items related to defined actions? Does it have a system for evaluation?</p>
	<p><i>Communicative Dimension:</i> Is reference often made to interculturalism in public discourses and in communications from city representatives? Does the city have a special website to communicate its intercultural plan, programme, and strategies?</p>
	<p><i>Interdepartmental Dimension:</i> Do there exist programmes in different sectors and areas of the city that make explicit mention of following an intercultural strategy?</p>
	<p><i>Dimension of Information and Knowledge Transfer:</i> Does there exist a structure for observing interculturalism, for identifying best practices, for collecting information, and for promoting these studies, among other actions?</p>

<p><i>Representation of the City's Diversity (R)</i> We highlight minimal empirical evidence that can show the grade of the city's commitment to representation of diversity</p>	<p><i>Leadership Dimension:</i> Does there exist a coordinating figure for interculturalism with the capacity to perform in all of the city council?</p>
	<p><i>Dimension of Internal Labour:</i> Is there representation of persons of diverse origins in government bodies?</p>
	<p><i>Dimension of Internal Trainings:</i> Are internal training activities on interculturalism deployed?</p>
	<p><i>Social Dimension:</i> Is there an immigrant presence in general neighbourhood associations?</p>
	<p><i>Dimension of Presence in Consultative Bodies:</i> Is there an immigrant presence in general consultative city bodies?</p>
<p><i>Processes of Participation in the City's Diversity (P)</i> We highlight the minimum empirical evidence that shows the degree of commitment of the city for assuming intercultural participation</p>	<p><i>Dimension of Consultation:</i> Are there channels of consultation or advice about participation that permit the discussion of basic topics on the municipal agenda surrounding themes of diversity?</p>
	<p><i>Dimension of Promoting Participation:</i> Are there city council initiatives that motivate immigrants to be active agents and participants in city issues (public, political, or of another nature)?</p>
	<p><i>Dimension Related to Pubic Announcements:</i> In city public announcements, does interculturalism tend to be used as a criterion in the assignment of subsidies to associations and initiatives?</p>
	<p><i>Human Rights and Discrimination Dimension:</i> Do there exist explicit mechanisms that deal with complaints of diversity-related discrimination?</p>
	<p><i>Territorial Dimension:</i> Do there exist programs or initiatives promoting interaction and applied to the various districts of the city?</p>

The final result of the weights made by the seven experts, however, will also play a relevant role in the analysis. It will then allow us to compare how the experts rank the standards against how these are carried out in practice (the actual prioritization that the cities are following). This comparison will allow me to highlight some hypotheses and relevant arguments, especially when the distance between the two results is very large. We will have the opportunity to enter into an unexpected reflection, allowing us to frame the debate between the expert and the policy maker (the research/policy nexus so nicely framed by Scholten *et al.* eds., 2015). There exists a certain tension between the perception of experts regarding the priorities of the process (the *expert's reality*) with the empirical evidence that shows how each city establishes its priorities in practice (the *local reality*).

Incorporating this nexus into the framework, I propose a double objective.

1. In the first place, we wish to establish an evaluation of the process by means of the voice of experts and an ideal order of the process, establishing various stages of implementation. These results can be useful for considering the answers we received in each of the cities, as well as for contrasting them later with the realities of the process.
2. In the second place, with the aid of the general results of the participating Reci cities, and by comparing the actual results with the ideals established by experts, we intend to establish an ideal model of the process, highlighting stages of the process and identifying significant hypotheses, in conclusion.

Needless to say, this study has an exploratory status. It tries to propose a methodology. We know that we are before a nonlinear process, and that because of this very characteristic many subjective factors intervene that are difficult to objectify. For example, the very motivation of the policy makers, with their business competences and initiative capacities, could come to decide the final result.

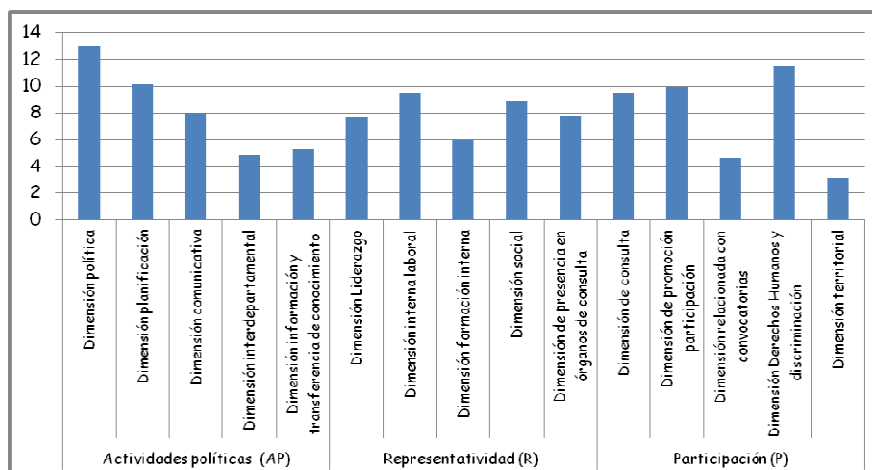
4. Results: The evaluation of experts and the profiles of the cities

In Table 2 we indicate the results obtained. We group them into four classifications.

Table 2 - Ranking of Standards of Governance

		Average	Weight
<i>Political Activities (PA)</i>	Political Dimension	13	0,070
	Planning Dimension	10,16	0,068
	Communicative Dimension	8	0,067
	Interdepartmental Dimension	4,83	0,065
	Dimension of Information and Knowledge Transfer	5,33	0,065
<i>Representation (R)</i>	Leadership Dimension	7,66	0,066
	Dimension of Internal Labour	9,5	0,068
	Dimension of Internal Trainings	6	0,065
	Social Dimension	8,83	0,067
	Dimension of Presence in Consultative Bodies	7,83	0,067
<i>Participation (P)</i>	Dimension of Consultation	9,5	0,068
	Dimension of Promoting Participation	10	0,068
	Dimension Related to public Announcements	4,66	0,064
	Human Rights and Discrimination Dimension	11,5	0,069
	<i>Territorial Dimension</i>	3,16	0,063

Graph 1 - Standards of Governance Ranking (average, max. 15)



We can immediately see that Representation is what receives the least points in general, in contrast to Political Activity and Participation. This

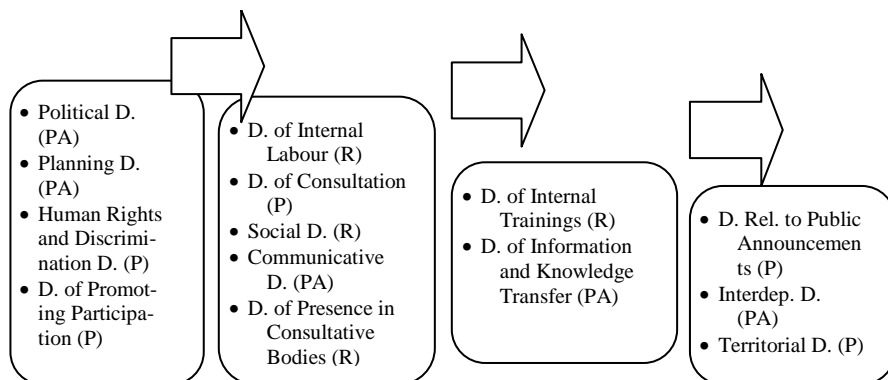
does not mean that it is not important for intercultural governance, but rather that it is not as highly prioritised as the other two. According to the ranking, there are 4 standards (2 in PA, 2 in P, none in R) that surpassed 10, 6 standards that were between 7 and 9.9 (1 in PA, 1 in R, 1 in P), 2 that were between 5 and 6.9 (1 in PA, 1 in R, none in P), and, finally, 3 standards that were situated in the ranking with fewer than 5 (1 in PA, 2 in P, none in R).

The four standards that received greater than ten points can be interpreted as the minimum requirements for initiating intercultural governance. Stated in this way, we can say that in order to assure intercultural governance, according to the consulted experts, the following are required:

- I. an explicit recognition on the part of the political majority that the city is diverse and that it is committed to interculturalism (Political Dimension);
- II. a programme with a clear calendar and budget, along with a system for evaluation (Planning Dimension);
- III. the deployment of explicit mechanisms that deal with complaints of discrimination (Human Rights and Discrimination Dimension);
- IV. the development, as well, of initiatives that motivate immigrants to be active agents and participants in the city's issues (Dimension of Promoting Participation).

Other actions of governance come after this, which we can represent in stages in the following form (Graph 2):

Graph 2 - The process of intercultural governance, according to the experts



If we examine Graph 2, we can see that the categories – Political Activity (PA), Representation (R), and Participation (P) – can move at different rates, with Representation being the slowest.

If we look at the category of Representation, we see that inside this ranking are the internal labour and social dimensions. Both are considered, thus, important to begin in the process of Representation.

Surely, with the results of the cities, this ranking will be reproduced, and we can already conjecture that, for the total of the Reci cities, Representation will be least developed; moreover, the cities where it is most developed will be those that are the most advanced in the intercultural process overall (and will be those have invested the most time into inter-culturalism). It is also surprising that the Interdepartmental Dimension appears only at the end of the process, whereas we would have hypothesised it to come among the first. Surely, this is due to the fact that the experts have prioritised the most external dimensions over the most internal of the city council.

In accordance with the general profile of each city, we can establish the following descriptions¹⁴.

If we examine the dates of initiation, we note that Barcelona is the first city to introduce an intercultural plan, together with Parla (1997), and that San Sebastian is the most recent (2014). We would suppose, therefore, that Barcelona and Parla would be more advanced in the process than San Sebastian. However, the date of initiation is clearly not the only factor that can explain the rate of the process. We suppose, as well, that other factors can accelerate or slow the process, such as subjective (ideological) or economic factors. This is what could explain why Sabadell, which introduced its first plan very recently (2007) is more advanced in the process of governance, according to the general index of governance.

What are these potential contextual factors? We can again summarise the three most explanatory restrictions:

- *Legal limits*: We refer to whether or not there exists a municipal capacity for advancing some dimension of the process. Here, we are thinking especially of the legal limits that any municipal government has to hiring immigrant personnel as public officials.
- *Economic limits*: We understand that the development of a dimension can require more budgetary considerations than others, or that it could even require the creation of a new administrative structure.
- *Political limits*: We can highlight three axes:

14. Details are found in the aforementioned full study's web-side.

- Left-Right/Centre-Periphery: what political colour and which government party is most representative
- Continuity: Whether or not there has been continuity regarding government political colour
- Political system: Whether or not there exists a government of (absolute) majority that can deploy the process more easily than a minority government

In accordance with the results of the profiles of each city, we can venture some arguments related to ideological factors:

- *The axes of left-right/centre-periphery:* We see that neither the left-right nor the centre-periphery axes are significant. We note however that social-democratic governments tend to be more invested in interculturalism, though not necessarily: liberal-conservative governments of the People's Party have also been incorporated, as is the case of Cartagena. We also note that there is no motive for thinking that governments constituted by political nationalists are more intercultural than local governments ruled by state-oriented political parties.
- *Continuity:* We see that this factor is not significant, either. For example, in Barcelona a change in the political colour of government has been produced and the process has continued, as has been the case in San Sebastian, initially under the Psv and later governed by Bildu (a separatist political coalition).
- *Political balance:* This is not significant, either. There exist coalitions, simple majorities and absolute majorities, and all deploy intercultural policies.

As a first conclusion, we can say that strictly political factors are not significant for understanding the models of deployment of the process of governance.

Following the results of the profiles of each city, we can enumerate the most noteworthy comparative results.

- 1) *Population:* We note that the demographic size of the municipality is not a significant factor that influences the model of development of intercultural governance.
- 2) *Immigrants:* Barcelona and Tenerife have the highest percentage at 20%. The lowest are the three Basque Recí cities: San Sebastian, Bilbao, and Getxo.

- 3) *Principal nationalities*: There exists great variety of nationalities in the cities, without any predetermined model. Surely this fact is determinant, that we should suppose that a city with a dominant foreign nationality greater than 40% would not require an intercultural focus.
- 4) *Age groups*: In general, immigrant populations are at an active age, surpassing 70% of the total immigrant population in all of the cities.
- 5) *Gdp*: Surpassing a Gdp of 30 million Euros are, in order: Barcelona, San Sebastian, and Bilbao. Those with the lowest are Parla, Fuenlabrada, and Getxo.
- 6) *Unemployment rate*: The highest unemployment rates can be found in Tenerife (more than 30%) and Sabadell (with almost 30%). Those with the lowest are San Sebastian and Getxo.

Again, we reach a *second conclusion* that these variables are not significant, in that they do not identify a model that allows us to determine why a city decides to commit to interculturalism.

Let us next look at the results of the Intercultural Governance Index that we have applied.

5. Indices of Cities' Governance

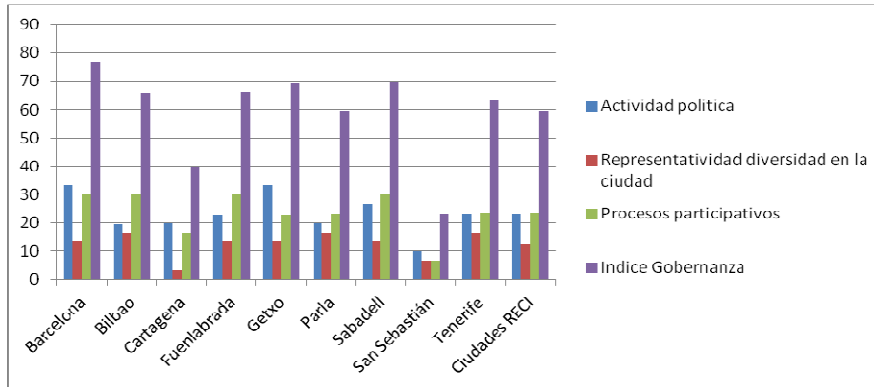
The application of the questionnaires to the cities has given the following general results (Table 4).

Table 4 - General Data by Dimension: Index of Governance

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Barcelona</i>	<i>Bilbao</i>	<i>Cartagena</i>	<i>Fuenlabrada</i>	<i>Getxo</i>	<i>Parla</i>	<i>Sabadell</i>	<i>San Sebastian</i>	<i>Tenerife</i>	<i>Reici Cities</i>
<i>Political Activity</i>	33	20	20	23	33	20	26	10	23	23
<i>Representation of Diversity in the City</i>	13	17	3	13	13	17	13	7	17	12
<i>Participatory Processes</i>	30	30	17	30	23	23	30	7	24	24
<i>Governance Index</i>	77	66	40	66	70	60	70	23	63	59

Graph 3, below, shows the following primary general data.

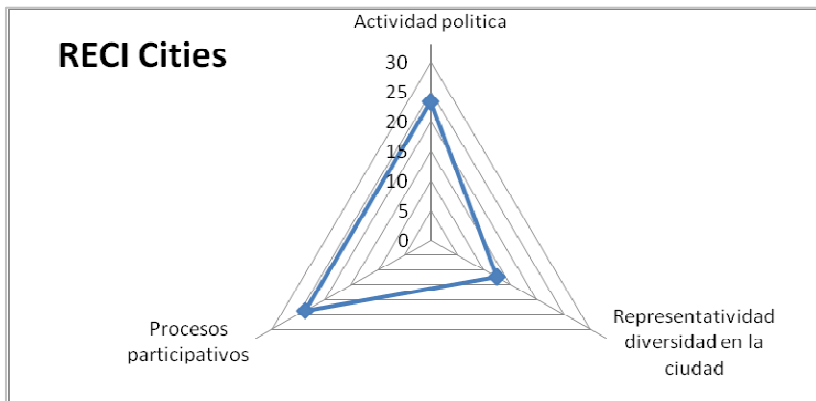
Graph 3 - Index of Governance of Every City, in General and by Category



- At the Recí level, we see that the process is in the middle, surely due to the data from San Sebastian. Without San Sebastian, the governance index would be 64, instead of 59.
- We can also state that Barcelona, Getxo, and Sabadell are leaders, followed closely by Bilbao, Fuenlabrada, Parla, and Tenerife.
- Below the median, we find Cartagena and San Sebastian. For San Sebastian, we could venture that this is principally due to its just having initiated the process in 2014. However, this argument is not applicable to Cartagena, which began the process in 2009 and has a general index of 40. The difference between Cartagena and the other cities is that the government party in power is the People’s Party, and at least in this sense, we could hypothesise that the political colour of the city can have an influence on the general index after all, when the date of initiation is indeterminate. But it would be very risky to assert this, with this being a solitary case. We can, however, maintain it as a hypothesis to be tested – whether political affiliation slows the process.
- Equally remarkable is that both San Sebastian and Cartagena had a very low index in the category of Representation, which directly influenced the overall result. This also confirms the general hypothesis that Representation is what will come last in the process. Thus, the argument regarding timing could be significant here.

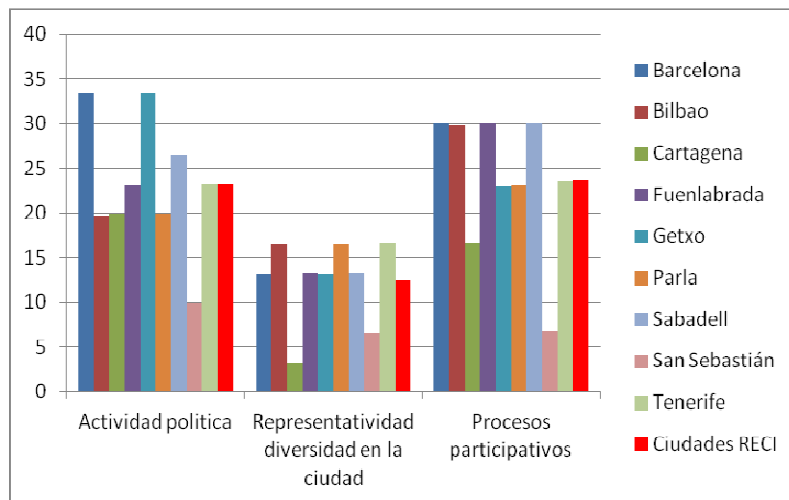
If we now compare the general ReCI results by category, it confirms that Representation is what determines the results, as it is less than 50¹⁵.

Graph 4 - Results of Categories of ReCI Cities



Equally, if we take all of the cities, the general picture is confirmed with perhaps more sharpness:

Graph 5 - Position of ReCI cities by Intercultural Governance Categories

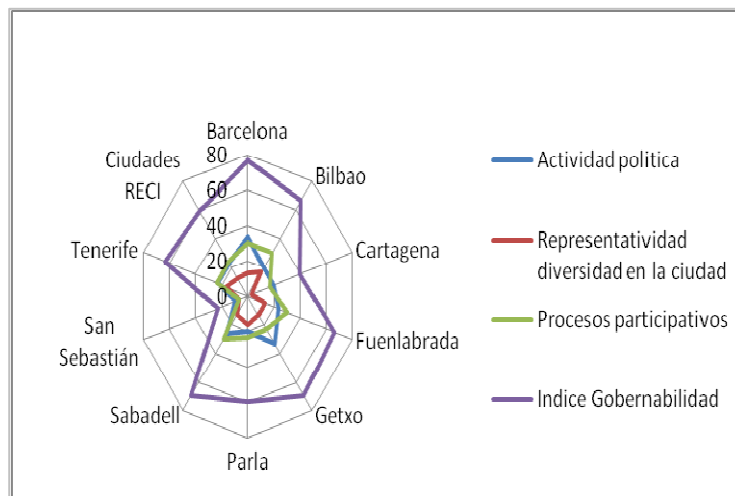


15. For information on each city, see the results by city of each category of Intercultural Governance in the report already cited.

Graph 5 also clearly shows that if we take governance as a process that follows different rates in different cities, the first to reach the median of 30 is that of Political Activity, followed almost in parallel by the Participative processes, and finally by those of Representation, which continues to demonstrate itself as the lowest of them all.

Equally meaningful is the following general Graph 6, where the predominance of Political Activity can easily be seen, well above the other dimensions in all cases, including in San Sebastian and Cartagena.

Graph 6 - Grouping of Recí Cities and Categories of Intercultural Governance



We are also interested in seeing the position of each dimension (table 6).

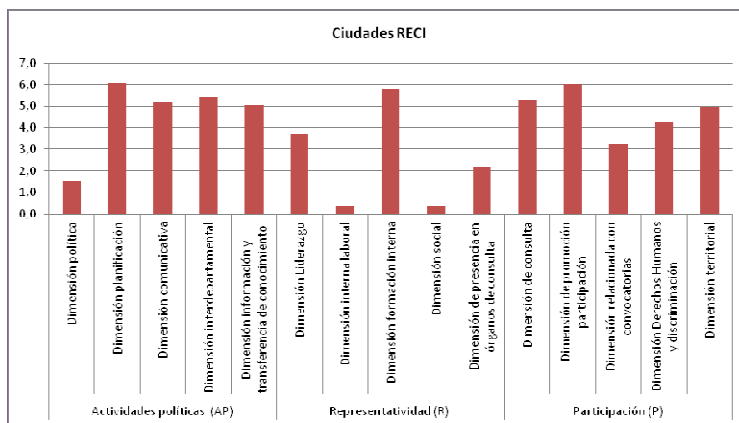
What we see here is that among the Recí cities overall, we have four groups. Those that received a rating under 2 (1 AP, 2 R), those that are between 2.1 and 4 (2 R, 1 P), those that receive between 4.1 and 5 (1 AP, 2 P), and those that are greater than 5.1 (3 AP, 1 R, 2 P).

Again we can see that, interpreted as a process, intercultural governance activates the three categories at different rates – PA being the first, followed by P, and then R, which is from internal training. The three slowest categories, or considered the lowest priorities, are one PA (Political Dimension) and two R (Social Dimension and Dimension of Internal Labour).

Table 6 - Results of Reci Cities by Categories and Dimensions (out of 10)

		<i>Reci Cities</i>
<i>Political Activities (PA)</i>	Political Dimension	1.6
	Planning Dimension	6.1
	Communicative Dimension	5.2
	Interdepartmental Dimension	5.4
	Dimension of Information and Knowledge Transfer	5.0
	Leadership Dimension	3.7
<i>Representation (R)</i>	Dimension of Internal Labour	0.4
	Dimension of Internal Trainings	5.8
	Social Dimension	0.4
	Dimension of Presence in Consultative Bodies	2.2
	Dimension of Consultation	5.3
<i>Participation (P)</i>	Dimension of Promoting Participation	6.0
	Dimension Related to public Announcements	3.2
	Human Rights and Discrimination Dimension	4.2
	<i>Territorial Dimension</i>	4.9

Graph 7 - Results of Reci Cities by Category and Dimension



Thus, we find:

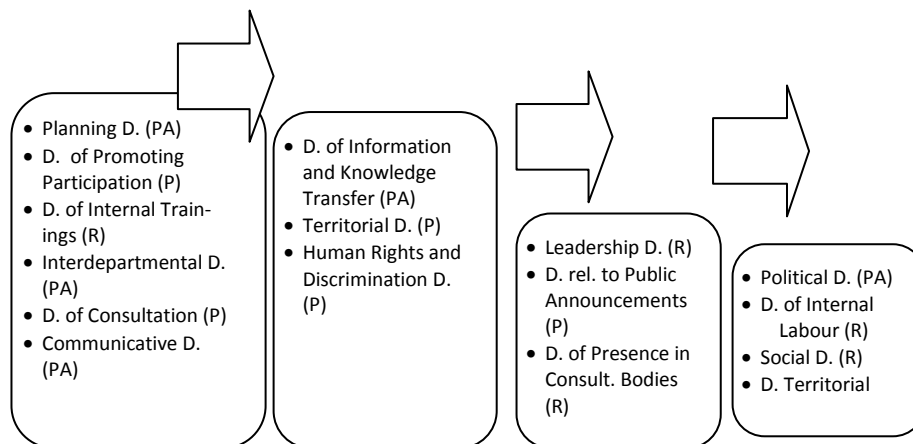
- The highest group (+5.1): Planning Dimension, Dimension of Promoting Participation, Dimension of Internal Trainings, Interdepartmental Dimension, Dimension of Consultation, Communicative Dimension;
- Group between 4.5 and 5: Dimension of Information and Knowledge Transfer, Territorial Dimension, Human Rights and Discrimination Dimension;
- Group between 2.1 and 4: Leadership Dimension, Dimension Related to Public Announcements, Dimension of Presence in Consultative Bodies;
- Group less than 2.1: Political Dimension, Dimension of Internal Labour, Social Dimension.

According to how the Reci cities develop in practice, we can establish an *ideal model*, signalling the six basic priorities for putting into motion a system of intercultural governance in a city. These are, in order of the results:

1. Have a plan with a clear timeframe and budget, along with an evaluation system (Planning Dimension).
2. Deploy initiatives that motivate immigrants to be active agents and participants in the city's affairs (Dimension of Promoting Participation).
3. Promote and carry out internal training activities on inter-culturalism (Dimension of Internal Trainings).
4. Design programmes in different sectors and areas of the city that make explicit mention of following an intercultural strategy (Interdepartmental Dimension).
5. Develop channels of consultation or advice that permit the discussion of basic topics on the municipal agenda regarding diversity (Dimension of Consultation).
6. Promote habitual reference to inter-culturalism in public discourse and in communications by city representatives, and/or design a special website for communicating their plan/programme and intercultural strategies (Communicative Dimension).

One unexpected result of this study, however, is perhaps the ways it diverges from the vision of the experts, who perceived the priorities of the process differently. In relation to Graph 2 (The Process of Intercultural Governance as Viewed by the Experts), we have a reality that indicates that the process is different (Graph 9, below).

Graph 8 - The Process of Intercultural Governance, according to Reci Cities' Practices



If we compare the results of Graph 2 (The Process of Intercultural Governance as Viewed by the Experts) with Graph 8 above, and we establish a ranking from 1 to 15, we can establish the dichotomy between the experts and the policy makers. This gives rise to various reflections regarding the relationship between research and policies (the research/policy nexus). There exist what we might call an *expert reality* and a *local reality*. As a whole, the differences are not extremely notable, but there exist indeed some standards that are situated at each extreme (those that the experts consider priorities are considered by the Reci cities the last phases of the process). In Table 7 we see the differences.

Perhaps the major difference emerges from the fact that the experts consider the Political Dimension a priority, whereas in reality the process indicates that it is in the position 13 to 15. This could certainly be interpreted from the view that first a maximum of dimensions must develop before passing to promote a political declaration expressing support of interculturalism. This hypothesis is important, as it can radically change the practical actions and recommendations made up until now. Only through the development of a majority of the dimensions can the political class be convinced to support the process. The exception is perhaps in the city of Barcelona, which follows more closely the way of the experts. On the other hand, the reality shows that the Interdepartmental Dimension is a priority, while the experts do not indicate it as such. This difference is due perhaps to the fact that the experts consider that inter-departmentalism should come

at the end of the process, as a result of having deployed the majority of the dimensions, whereas in reality Reci shows that this action is a priority.

Table 7 - Comparison of Experts' Ranking with Ranking of Reci Cities (from 1 to 15)

		<i>Local Reality (Reci Cities)</i>	<i>Expert Reality (Experts)</i>
<i>Political Activities (PA)</i>	Political Dimension	13	1
	Planning Dimension	1	2
	Communicative Dimension	6	8
	Interdepartmental Dimension	4	14
	Dimension of Information and Knowledge Transfer	7	12
<i>Representation (R)</i>	Leadership Dimension	10	10
	Dimension of Internal Labour	14	5
	Dimension of Internal Trainings	3	11
	Social Dimension	15	7
	Dimension of Presence in Consultative Bodies	12	9
<i>Participation (P)</i>	Dimension of Consultation	5	6
	Dimension of Promoting Participation	2	4
	Dimension Related to Public Announcements	11	13
	Human Rights and Discrimination Dimension	9	3
	Territorial Dimension	8	15

6. General considerations for further research

As the sample of cities is small, these general considerations should be interpreted in terms of tendencies. We begin with two general discussions, and follow with three strong lines for further research. We conclude by proposing the continuation of the study on two major fronts.

At first, a considerably illustrative result is that there exists no ideal profile of an intercultural city. We could say, "A city is not born intercultural, but is made". It is the result of willingness and of favourable conditions. The fact that a city opts for this strategy of managing diversity does not correspond to a socio-demographic pattern, nor an economic one, and does

not depend upon whether we look at the population in general or at the immigrant population in particular.

Nonetheless, to a lesser degree, and awaiting a broader test, at the moment we can say that the results indicate that the variety of rhythms and rates of the process of intercultural governance depends on the context and on variables, such as: the year of initiation of commitment to interculturalism, and political colour of the governing party.

The results of this exploratory study also indicate at least three strong ideas:

1. *Intercultural Governance Threshold:* The Intercultural Governance Index has a threshold, in that actual circumstances prevent reaching 100%. This threshold can be clearly perceived in the category of Representation, whose standards are the least developed, and those that are developed appear during the later phases. There exists a threshold of intercultural governance, directly related to the dimension of Representation and to legal restrictions. The results indicate, as well, that the political activity of promoting a government pact (Political Dimension) is not such a high priority, and this suggests important advice, inasmuch as it also indicates difficulties of representation in social organs such as neighbourhood associations (Social Dimension). This last point is significant, and warrants an exploratory study to help us understand why there exists such difficulty in incorporating immigrants into associations that are as socially representative as those for neighbourhoods, which are so rooted in our local democracy.
2. *Temporal Control of the Process:* Intercultural governance is a process whose development depends on structural, economic, and subjective variables in every city. This process also follows various rhythms, in accordance with the categories of Political Activity, Representation, and Participation.

As an ideal type, we advise that the cities adhere to approaching an intercultural strategy according to the following six priorities:

- I. Design a plan with a clear timeframe and budget, along with an evaluation system (Planning Dimension).
- II. Promote initiatives that motivate immigrants to be active agents and participants in the city's affairs (Dimension of Promoting Participation).

- III. Promote and carry out internal training activities on interculturalism in the city council (Dimension of Internal Trainings).
- IV. Design programmes in different sectors and areas of the city that make explicit mention of following an intercultural strategy (Interdepartmental Dimension).
- V. Open channels of consultation or advice that permit the discussion of basic topics on the municipal agenda regarding diversity (Dimension of Consultation).
- VI. Promote habitual reference to interculturalism in public discourse and in communications by city representatives, and/or design a special website for communicating the plan/programme and intercultural strategies (Communicative Dimension).

3. *Reflection regarding the relationship between the perception of the experts and the reality of the process.* We owe some discussion to considering the perceptions of experts and those of city administrators in establishing priorities, especially surrounding two topics: potential inter-governmental relations, which the experts do not consider a priority, while the cities do; and the immediate promotion of political agreement, which the experts consider a priority but the cities do not. This difference seems significant to me, especially because it challenges the opinions of the experts, who, as advisors, might not be taking into account some contextual variables that the administrators do consider. This would explain why such a large distance is produced between the two aforementioned, conflicting topics.

Lastly, and as final pieces of advice, from the study we can highlight some hypotheses that would be worth further investigation, while expanding the sampling of cities:

- If the ideological variable is significant for understanding the very option of interculturalism, in addition to its import to the rhythm of the process's development;
- Analysing one of the thresholds of governance: the social and its direct relationship to the difficulties that exist in the incorporation of immigrants into neighbourhood associations.

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Intercultural Governance Index: an exploratory study on Spanish cities

Abstract: Though there is a recent debate on interculturalism, most of the academic discussion is basically policy oriented and some recent is normative driven; less is done at the empirical level, trying to theorise current practices. In this framework, we seek to propose and apply an Intercultural Governance Index (Igi), which can allow us to infer an ideal type, in addition to highlighting significant variables and hypotheses. We seek not only to deepen the debate surrounding intercultural policies, offering a framework for study centred on governance, but also to offer points of reflection at the city level, where most of the studies on interculturalism are deployed. This exploratory study has been carried out in nine cities of the Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities (Red Española de Ciudades Interculturales, Reci): Barcelona, Bilbao, Cartagena, Fuenlabrada, Getxo, Parla, Sabadell, San Sebastian, Tenerife. In accordance with a participative methodology following various rounds of discussion, the cities have also contributed to the identification and definition of minimum standards.

Keywords: Interculturalism, Index, Governance, Cities, Discourse, Policies, Spain.