



Concordia Discors.

Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter-group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected Neighbourhoods of Five European Cities

Barcelona Background Report

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Preface

The expression “Concordia Discors” comes from one of Latin poet Horace’s epistles and has become paradigmatic of a dynamic state of “discordant harmony”. A fundamental assumption of this project is that integration is a dynamic achievement and it is not a rigid state nor the conceptual opposite of conflict. It is thus necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions inevitably associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively.

Another assumption inspires this project: for all the differences in the ways in which integration issues emerge and are framed around the EU, an undisputable common feature is the decisive importance of cities, both in symbolical and in practical terms, as concrete contexts where integration “succeeds” or “fails”. This decisive role is generally not played by cities as indistinct wholes, but rather by specific quarters within each city which constitute high-visibility testing grounds for integration.

Given these two assumptions, Concordia Discors intends to investigate intergroup relations at quarter level, with the aim of producing a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy-relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes in European cities’ quarters.

- Intergroup relations are viewed as the complex result of the interaction of three fundamental levels:
- Urban and social context and everyday experience of diversity in the quarter.
- Public policies displaying their effects at quarter level, including political and electoral communication strategies.
- Media information and representation flows concerning the quarter level.

The abovementioned dynamics are investigated through two levels of comparison: i) between different quarters within the same city; ii) between quarters located in different cities and countries. We define quarter as any small residential district irrespective of the degree of social integration (Dictionary of Human Geography 2000), whose identity is recognisable by city residents, whereas having an autonomous administrative relevance as such would not be an essential requisite. Within each city the two target quarters both have a relevant percentage of foreign residents, but are differentiated by different levels of apparent intergroup tension, as suggested by preliminary inquiries. By selecting target quarters in this way, we aim at investigating different modes of intergroup relations that go from conflict to cooperation including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

The project involves five European cities, each of which is investigated by a research partner: Torino by FIERI, Nuremberg by efms of the University of Bamberg, Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of Autonomous University of Barcelona, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford and Budapest by TARKI. A sixth partner, EPC, is in charge to support the dissemination and favour the networking with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

This first background report is aimed at reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and at providing some general elements concerning the conflict and cooperation dynamics at work in each area. These aspects will be deepened through the ethnographic fieldwork and illustrated in the final city reports.

Warning: this background report is a working document. Please, do not quote it without the authors’ permission.

1. Contextualizing the city of Barcelona

Barcelona is a Mediterranean coastal city located in North-eastern Spain, relatively close to the French border. Barcelona is capital of Catalonia, a historical nation that today is officially considered an autonomous region within Spain.

In relation to Barcelona's economic sectors, even if it has a long industrial tradition, since the 1980s and 1990s Barcelona is a city mainly devoted to services, including retail commerce, tourism and international trade. However, especially since the 2000s, there are growing innovative sectors linked to cultural, educational and scientific activities, as well as IT and the so-called knowledge economy.

Demographically, Barcelona had 1,619,337 inhabitants in 1 January 2010, according to the Official Local Census (i.e. *Padrón Municipal*), among them 17.46 per cent were foreigners.

Apart from the internal rural-urban Catalan migration movements to Barcelona metropolitan region, during the twentieth century there were two periods of large internal immigration growth (Morén-Alegret, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Pascual-de-Sans, Cardelús and Solana, 2000):

1) From 1916 to 1930 industrial expansion and public works (for example, in infrastructures such as the underground) needed workers who arrived basically from geographically and, sometimes, also culturally close areas (especially, País Valencià and Aragón, but also Murcia and Almería). In this period, the estimated inflow in Catalonia was composed by over 500,000 people;

2) From the 1950s to early 1970s the mass immigration into Barcelona region was from more distant Spanish regions (mostly from Andalucía, Extremadura, Galicia, and Castilla), always with a different language and culture than the Catalan one. Those immigrants spoke Castilian, the unique language then protected by the Spanish state (then under the rule of Franco, who persecuted the other Iberian languages). From 1950 to 1975 the population increase in Catalonia due to immigration is estimated at around 1,400,000 people, largely to work in industry.

On the other hand, foreign immigration to Catalonia increased since the early days of the industrialisation process (during the nineteenth century), when highly skilled workers, employers, and financial investors (and their families) arrived mainly in the Barcelona metropolitan region from northern European countries⁽¹⁾. Already in the late 19th century, the geographer Elisée Reclus considered Barcelona as a 'meeting place of sailors, industrial businessmen and foreigners that arrive from all places in Europe'⁽²⁾. This group is still significant but now they are a minority among the foreign population, although since the 1960s and 1970s high-skilled immigrants from North America and Japan joined North-Western Europeans in such a wealthy and influent collective (Morén-Alegret, 2002).

In relation to the pioneering transcontinental immigration from less developed countries, the following inflows can be underlined (Morén-Alegret, 2002): on the one hand, during the 1960s some African people arrived in Barcelona from Equatorial Guinea (then a Spanish colony); they were an elite group: all of them were young men selected to study in the university or high

¹ Some relevant individuals included in such migratory waves have left a trace in the local sports associative sphere, for instance the Swiss J. Gamper was founder of *Futbol Club Barcelona (Barça)* in 1899, or some British people set up the hockey clubs in Terrassa.

² Colectivo de geógrafos (1980) *Eliseo Reclus. La Geografía al servicio de la vida (antología)*, Barcelona: 711/2, p. 401.

school, with excellent marks in their previous studies. They became the first sub-Saharan Africans to get a university degree and to be naturalised in Spain (Sepa Bonaba, 1993). On the other hand, during that decade, the arrival of diverse students from Latin American countries and from the Mediterranean and Asia also took place, an important number of them related to medical professions. Furthermore, in the 1960s and early 1970s some young male Moroccans (and, less, sub-Saharan Africans) were 'passing through' and working temporarily (in industry) on their way to France or northern European countries. Only a few of them became permanent residents and regrouped their families. In general, this last small group was composed of people that could not cross the French border when it was closed in 1974, and they worked in Barcelona's metropolitan region in industry, construction or the intensive peri-urban agriculture. In the 1970s a significant number of South American political refugees immigrated to Barcelona, mainly professionals from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Domingo et al., 1995). During the 1980s, the influx from Morocco increased with the immigration of young men, thus this nationality became one of the most significant in the city. In the 1990s, family reunion and the arrival of more young Moroccan single men and women have consolidated this community as the most numerous in several districts of the city. During the 1980s, inflows of Philipino women to work in the domestic services, and Chinese immigrants attracted to work in restaurants and catering services took place in Barcelona. In the 1990s, the domestic service also attracted women from Peru, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. The other significant foreigners' group that arrived in Barcelona during the 1990s were immigrants from Pakistan: some of them are owners of small food shops, while others worked distributing gas cylinders, among other activities.

Tab. 1.1 Population in Barcelona city by sex and continents of nationality, 1 January 2000

	Total pop.	Total foreign	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Rest
Both sexes	1,496,266	46,074	12,302	7,169	18,516	7,987	101
Men	699,645	22,333	6,364	4,193	7,278	4,448	49
Women	79,6621	23,742	5,938	2,975	11,237	3,539	52

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Padrón Municipal Revisado

During the early and mid 2000s, there was a big leap of South American immigrants arriving in Barcelona from Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Perú and Argentina (see Table 1.1 and Table 1.2). They were mainly women who were working in domestic service, restaurants, hotels and other services. At the same time, many South American men went to work within the then booming construction sector. The rest of continental origins continued to grow, but Latin American immigration became the most numerous.

Tab. 1.2 Population in Barcelona city by sex and continents of nationality, 1 January 2005

	Total Pop.	Total Foreign	Total EU (25)	Rest Europe	Total Africa	Total America	Total Asia	Rest
Both sexes	1,593,075	219,941	35,141	15,436	19,378	115,130	34,588	268
Men	754,463	115,410	18,859	7,878	12,845	52,454	23,243	131
Women	838,612	104,531	16,282	7,558	6,533	62,676	11,345	137

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Padrón Municipal Revisado

However, during the second half of the 2000s, Asian immigrants, especially, Chinese and Pakistanis, have been the ones with a more significant growth in Barcelona. Asian immigrants are mainly men (although women are on the rise) and, as time goes by, they have been spreading networks of varied businesses, including bars, restaurants, supermarkets, groceries, hairdressers, cybercafes, etc. both 'ethnic' and 'mainstream'. At the same time, during the last years, due to the economic crisis, African and Latin American immigrant population has become almost stagnant when comparing their stock in 2005 and 2010 (see Table 1.2 and Table 1.3).

Table 1.3 Population in Barcelona city by sex and continents of nationality, 1 January 2010

	Total Pop.	Total Foreign	Total Europe	Total EU (27)	Rest Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Rest
Both sexes	1,619,337	282,794	89,191	75,023	14,168	20,774	118,918	53,591	320
Men	770,044	148,358	45,350	38,890	6,460	13,215	53,243	36,385	165
Women	849,293	134,436	43,841	36,133	7,708	7,559	65,675	17,206	155

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Padrón Municipal Revisado

Foreign immigration in Barcelona has mainly been studied at the city level or focusing on particular areas with a lot of mobility such as *El Raval*. However, there are few studies (or none) on foreign immigrants' settlement in most Barcelona neighbourhoods or quarters.

Regarding the administrative subdivisions of Barcelona urban area and the units of analysis considered in this research, it is interesting to pay attention to noted in the Barcelona City Council's Statistical Department web site:

'In 1984 a new territorial division of Barcelona was established (City Council session, January 18, 1984), following the great social and urban transformations of the 1960s and 1970s. The passing of the new division was the end of a process carried out by a citizens' commission in which different entities and administrative bodies, as well as experts, took part. From that date the city of Barcelona is divided into ten municipal districts (...)

Districts

Municipal districts are the largest territorial unit within the city of Barcelona. They are referred to by a number and an official name.

The limits of the ten districts have remained basically stable since 1984, but its subdivision has been modified in 2008. This new subdivision originated by the passing by the City Council of a new subdivision into 73 quarters. Such new subdivision was passed in accordance to article 21 of Barcelona's Municipal Chart, and implies a reorganisation and modification of the organisation and functioning procedures of the districts, as well as an update of the subsequent subdivision into smaller territorial areas.

Thus, the territorial subdivision of the city effective since 2008 is as follows:

- 10 Municipal Districts
- 73 Quarters
- 233 Basic Statistical Areas (*Àrees Estadístiques Bàsiques, AEB*)
- 1.061 Census tracts

Barcelona's quarters

The project whereby the quarters have officially been defined started in 2004, with the aim of establishing a division of the city into significant quarters from an urban and social point of view, as well as creating a territorial framework for the development of urban activities and the provision of facilities and municipal services.

The criteria and conditions used to define the limits of the 73 quarters were the following

- The quarters must be within a given district, whose limits remain unchanged
- The quarters must have a historical identity and/or, be part of the citizens' perception
- A quarter should have an important degree of internal homogeneity and differentiation with respect to others in urban and social terms
- Homogeneous and well defined quarters should not be broken up, except when their dimensions make it necessary (for instance, Dreta de l'Eixample, with 90,000 inhabitants)
- A quarter population should be within 5,000 and 50,000 citizens (with exceptions), in order to avoid large differences among them and, at the same time, guarantee their viability as spaces of living-together and provision of certain services and, urban facilities
- Quarters should have a similar territorial extension
- The definition of quarters should take into account already planned urban growth

In order to identify and fix the limits of the city quarters, the City Council created a working group of 22 members, with different experts (sociologists, lawyers, journalists, geographers, urban planners, economists and architects, among others) as well as representatives of political parties, managers from the districts and municipal officers.

At the same, a process of citizens' participation was opened, so that the most representative city agents, particularly neighbours' associations, could voice their views and demands.

Besides the 73 quarters, [two special areas] were created (Montjuïc and Zona Franca), given their small population and large area. They thus receive a special treatment: when collecting statistical data they are included with an official quarter (Montjuïc within Poble Sec, and Zona Franca within La Marina del Prat), but in territorial terms they can be split and regarded as different entities.

In order to identify the official names of the quarters, the criteria of the Institute of Catalan Studies were accepted. Each quarter is thus identified by an official name, as well a number.

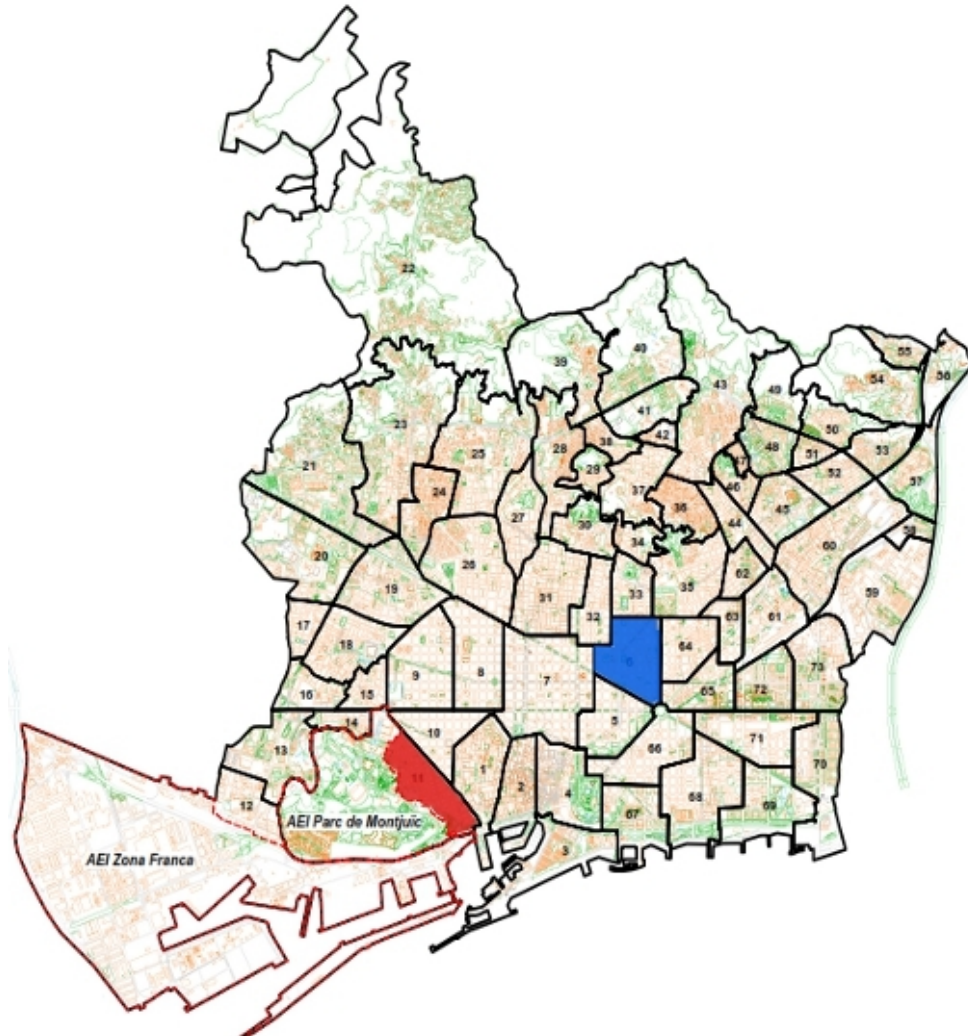
Statistical data for all 73 quarters is available since 2007.¹

(<http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/terri/index.htm>)

Bearing that in mind, two quarters (i.e. quarters) located in two different districts were selected for this project (see Map 1.1). On the one hand, Poble Sec, mainly considered a semi-peripheral working-class quarter situated in Sants-Montjuïc district, with a percentage of foreign residents clearly above the Barcelona average. On the other hand, Sagrada Família,

today mainly considered a semi-central low middle-class quarter placed in Eixample district, with a percentage of foreign residents around the Barcelona average.

Map 1.1 Location of Poble Sec (red colour) and Sagrada Família (blue colour) in Barcelona

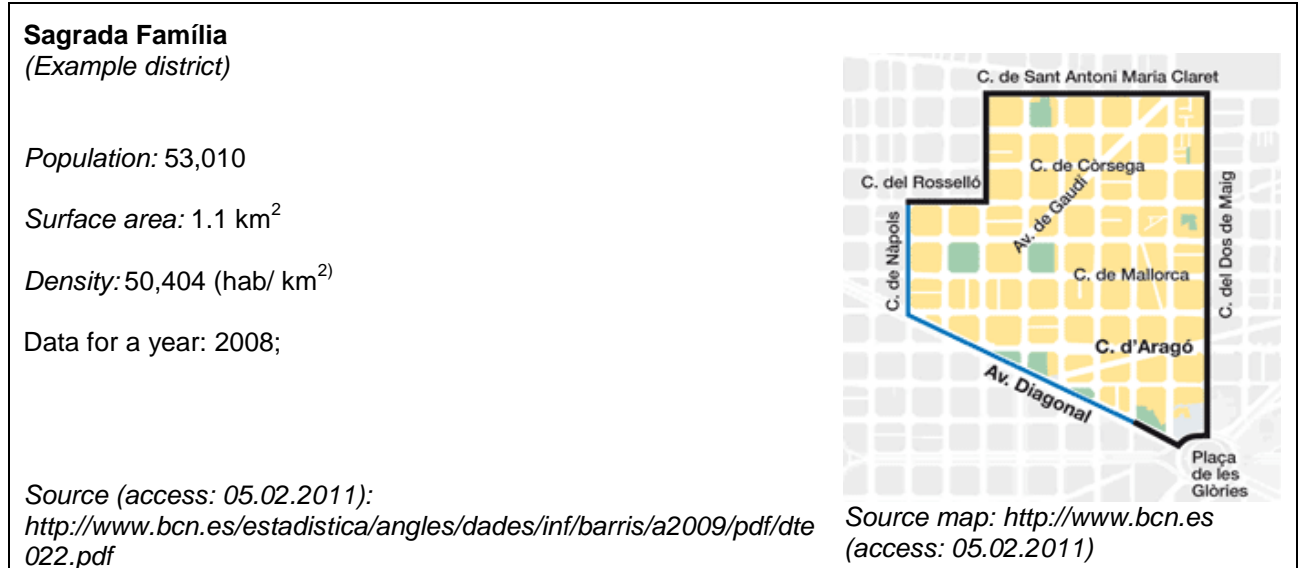


Source: www.bcn.es

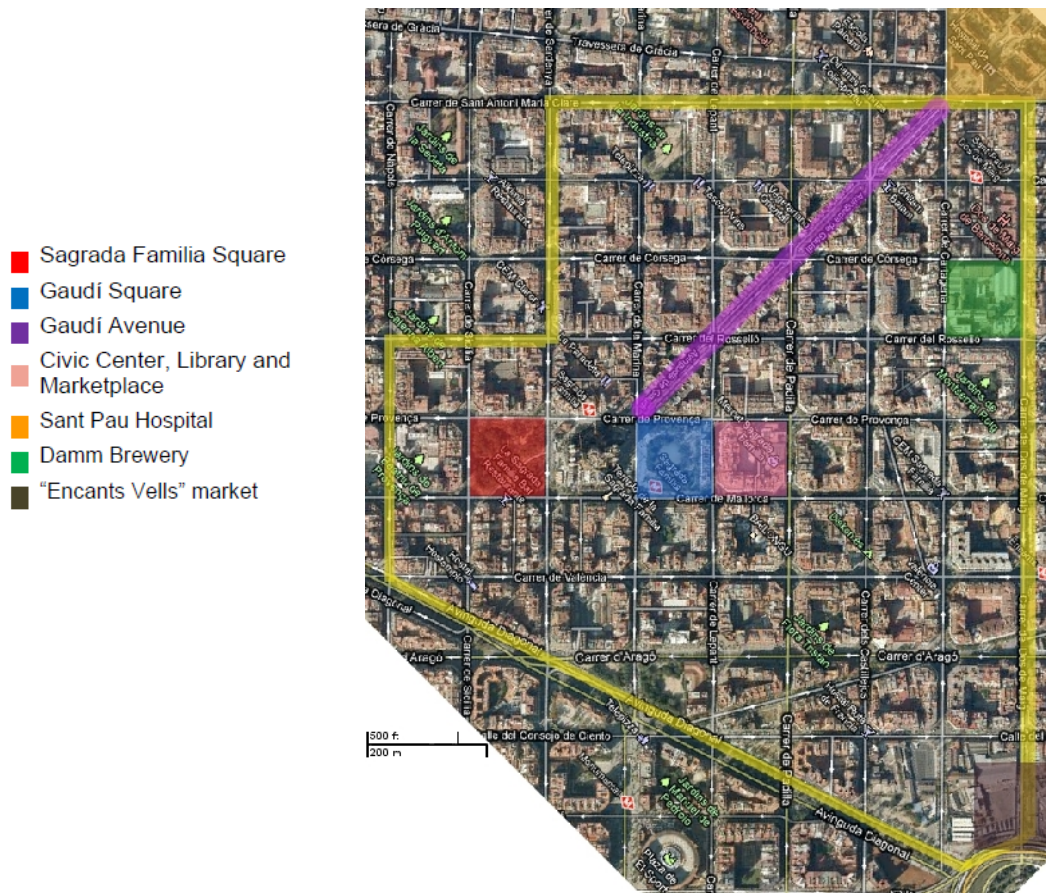
2 Quarter 1: Sagrada Família

2.1 Quarter as urban context

Map 2.1 Sagrada Família.



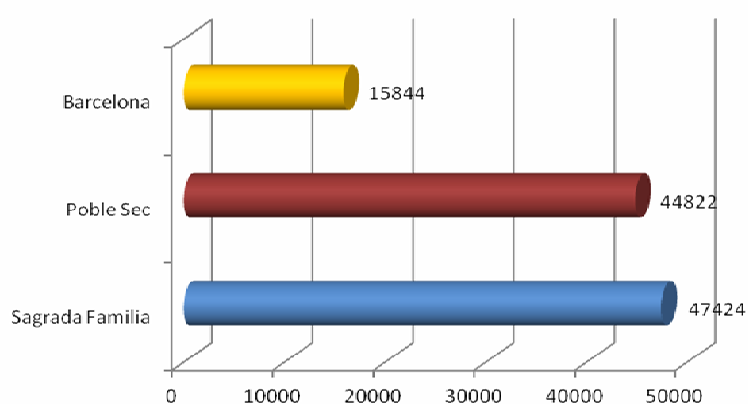
Map 2.2 Significant spaces of the Sagrada Família quarter marked on a satellite image



Source: GRM elaboration, based on map available at: <http://maps.google.es> (access: 23.06.2011)

In Catalan and Castilian languages, the toponym “Sagrada Família” means “Holy Family” and it is a place name given by the homonymous Gaudí temple that is being built in that area since late XIXth century. The construction of the temple started around 1881 in former crop fields belonging to *El Poblet*, a small rural village within the boundaries of *Sant Martí de Provençals* municipality. In 1897, that little populated municipality was absorbed by Barcelona. Many things have changed since then. Today the indicators included in this report underline the high population density in Sagrada Família quarter. Concretely, the population density in this quarter is three times higher than the average density for Barcelona and it is also slightly higher than the population density in Poble Sec quarter, counted even without Montjuïc large leisure area (see Chart 2.1.).

Chart 2.1 Population density (population/km2) in Sagrada Família, Poble Sec and Barcelona as a whole (01.01.2010)



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona

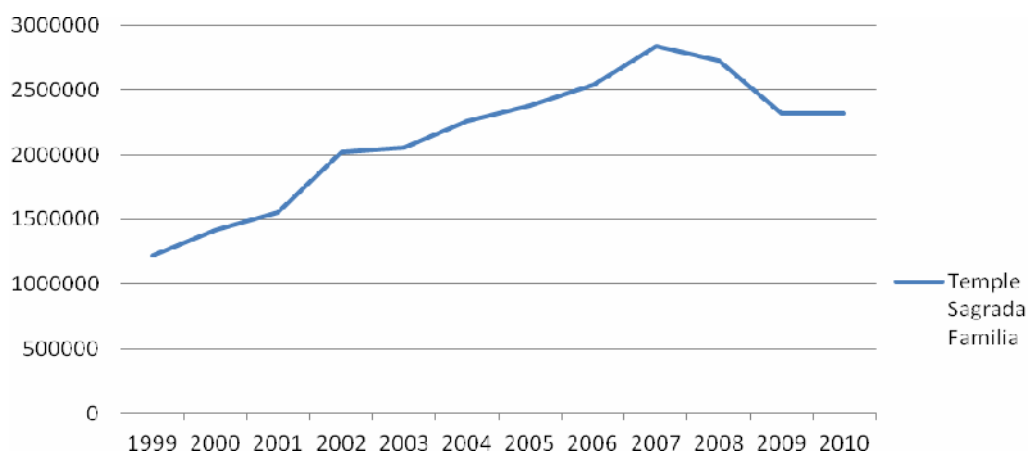
This quarter has mostly a residential character with a relatively well distributed street life. It is also relatively quiet, except most of the touristic area. Another characteristic of the quarter can be related to the fact that most neighbours sleep in the quarter but work and spend their leisure time and weekends outside.

The urban planning in Sagrada Família is characterised by Eixample wide streets that are transit channels for most of Barcelona's car traffic (see Map 2.3.).

The perception of high population density is even worse in the proximity of the Gaudí's temple. This is because of the presence of massive tourism (see Chart 2.3.). The surroundings of Sagrada Família temple host two major squares that are green spaces of the quarter: Plaça Gaudí and Plaça Sagrada Família. Some parts of Marina Street and Provença Street also play an important role. They are closed to traffic in case of local festivities. As mentioned above, both squares have become a passing-by area for thousands of tourists, and that makes them nearly unusable for neighbours. This of course depends on the hour of the day and the touristic season. There are also some exceptions, like: two separated fields to play 'Petanca', a traditional game that is popular among some elder neighbours; the green-point that serves as recycling centre; and an environmental classroom (Aula Ambiental). Anyhow, the touristic flux is seen as causing many inconveniences when it comes to neighbour's use of those squares, the church and other services located right there (metro station, bicycle lanes and other infrastructure). During the exploratory fieldwork, it was also mentioned that one of the repeated neighbour's complains is that the majority of shops, bars and restaurants placed near by Plaça Gaudí and Plaça Sagrada Família are designed just for tourists and they do not reflect neither the local culture nor the needs of local people. It can be significant the opinion of a key informant:

'It is obvious that the Sagrada Família Temple and the squares around it are a very important area of the quarter when it comes to conflicts and it is very emblematic. There are conflicts because it is a very touristic area; the neighbours demand a less touristic quarter (...), and also some activities of the quarter are organised in this area: Marina, Plaça Gaudí, Plaça Sagrada Família. This area is an area of influence of the quarter where everything meets. If there are celebrations, (...) or any polemics, they also take place here. This is because this is an area really mistreated by tourism. (...) The quarter doesn't have a lot of green spaces. The few existing green spaces are occupied by tourism (...) it provokes big conflicts; it is a sensation of discomfort.' (B_SF_NAD_06)

Chart 2.3 Visitors to the Sagrada Família Temple 1999 – 2010



Source: Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Turisme de Barcelona

Another important public place that gathers social life is the Gaudí Avenue. It begins at the Gaudí square and it ends where the 'old' Sant Pau Hospital building is located. That is, according to many interviewees, the most important axis of quarter's life and it has been subject to many changes during the last 25 years. Firstly, being a regular road open to traffic, it hosted many of the quarter's traffic and buses. That was a time when the local commerce throughout the Avenue had its best period. The conversion into a semi-pedestrian avenue brought to life the green area dedicated to families, but surprisingly it also negatively

influenced on local trade. This is probably because of the lack of continuity in the pedestrian alley and the need to pass through many crossings in order to walk along the Avenue. The recent closure (2009) of Sant Pau Hospital took away a flux of about eight thousand people daily from the Avenue. That influenced greatly on the moods among local traders. According to one of the interviewed principal actors, the restoration-construction work at the hospital should be finished soon. The new compound of the old Sant Pau Hospital will host many internationally recognized institutions and companies. It will be also open for the public to visit. This should bring new life into Gaudí Avenue and reactivate the local trade along the street. The quarter's rumours and leaks about the plans of the local government indicate that Gaudí Avenue, after the aforementioned changes, is thought to be one of the most important axes of tourism in Barcelona. Gaudí Avenue in the actual shape, although really appreciated by the youth, is also perceived as very expensive, and, as the entire quarter, it lacks in bars and clubs where the quarter's youth could enjoy night life.

The following important place is a building (also relatively close to the Gaudí square) that hosts the library, the civic centre and the local marketplace. Most cultural and commercial daily life of the quarter takes place in this building and nearby. That is a key location hosting many local shops (similarly to Gaudí Avenue).

Photos 1 and 2 Children and youth in the quarter use every available space for spending their leisure time



Photo 1: Boys playing football on Enamorats street. (Photo: D.W.)



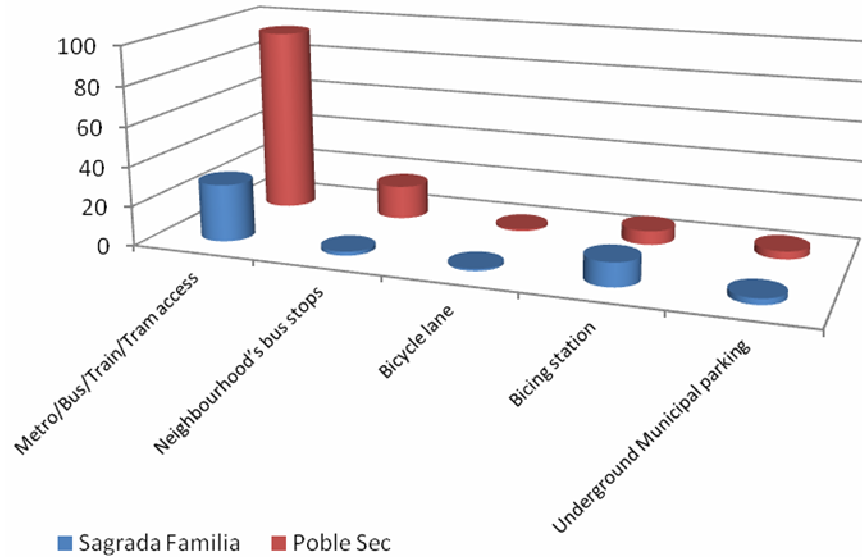
Photo 2: Children playing at the proximities of Jardins de la Indústria square (Photo: D.W.).

Furthermore, another significant, even emblematic, spot for the quarter is the 'old' Damm brewery. Nowadays, it is mainly a place to visit, where one can follow the process of beer production. It is also a place where many music concerts take place. The latter raise some complains from the neighbours in the direct surrounding because of noises during late hours. According to interviewees involved in the cultural life of the quarter, the residential and demographical profile of Sagrada Família imply that there are continuous complains of neighbours when any open-space social events occur, even at early evening hours.

There are also some spaces in the quarter that are perceived as only known by local people. For instance, an important park (in terms of the quarter) is placed at Industria Street with

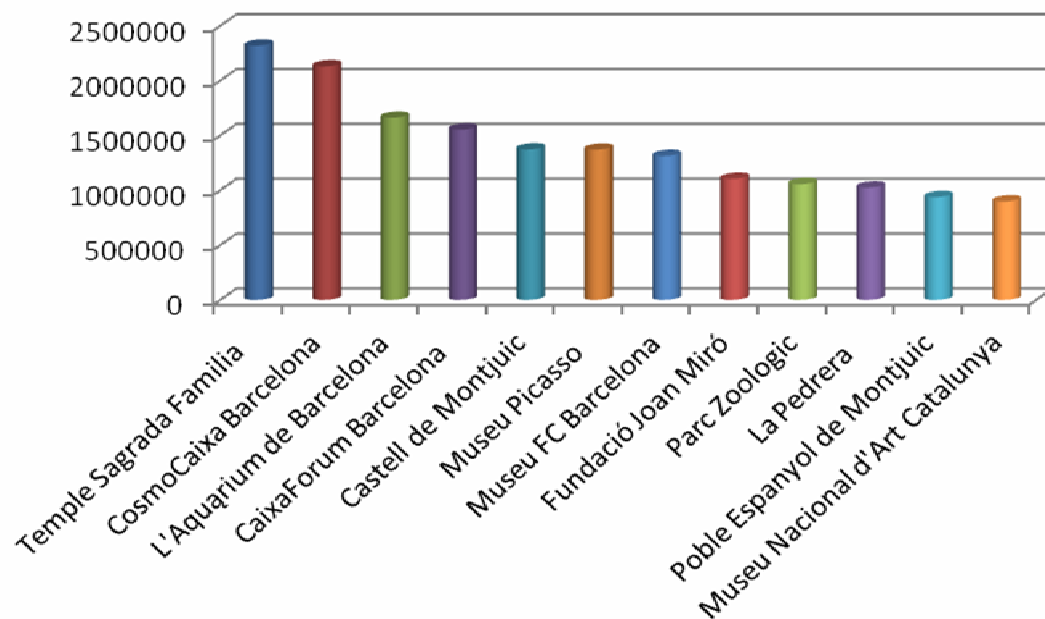
Marina Street: Jardins d'Indústria. Children play football there. On the other hand, within Sant Pau Hospital compound there are also some small parks.

Chart 2.4 The transport infrastructure in the Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters (2009)



Source: *Neighborhood Briefs. Ajuntament de Barcelona.*

In general terms, the quarter is well maintained by the local government. The streets and pavements are in a good shape, it is clean and very well communicated with other parts of Barcelona by multiple lines of metro and bus (see Chart 2.4.). According to the key informants, all that happens because Sagrada Família church is one of the most important touristic destinations in Spain and the local government cares about tourists as a key source of income (see Chart 2.5.). The neighbours realise simultaneously that the quarter gains the attention of public administrations because of tourism, but at the same time public administrations do not follow the requests of the neighbours.

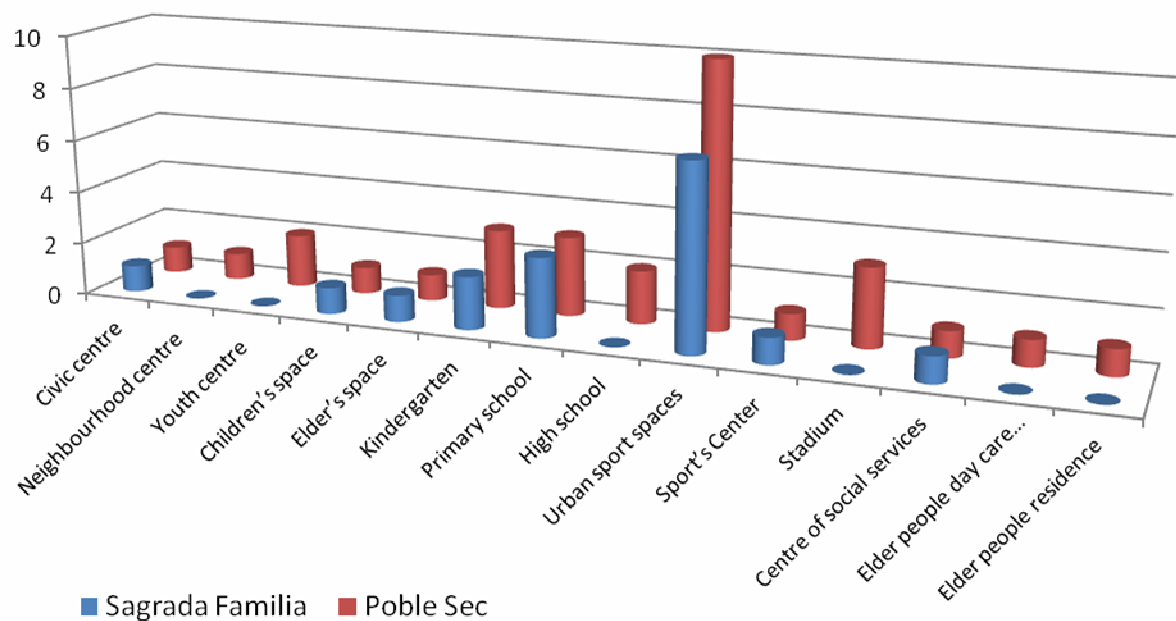
Chart 2.5 The most important touristic spots in Barcelona by number of visitors in 2010

Source: Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Institut Cultura Barcelona. Turisme de Barcelona.

According to several informants interviewed during the exploratory fieldwork, there are some issues that need to be resolved since many years ago and it is extremely hard to get the local government to implement solutions. Those are: a) lack of the sufficient number of public residences for elder people; b) lack of sufficient spaces for young people (nurseries, socio-cultural establishments); c) there is no bus that would communicate the downward part of the quarter with the upward part, where Sant Pau hospital is located. At the opposite, there are also some indications about a very satisfying number of sport facilities and some contradictory comments on the number of schools.

A brief analysis of the statistics included in this report helps to understand informants' opinions about public equipments in the quarter (see Chart 2.6.). A lack of youth centre and high school are visible disadvantages of the quarter when it comes to the needs of the young people. The cadastral numbers show also the relatively small number of the education and cultural premises. The most repeated complains about the insufficient infrastructure dedicated to eldercare are also perfectly mirrored by the statistics that show a lack of the elder people day care centre, elder people residence and other similar facilities. Although statistics and cadastral numbers visualise a lack of stadiums and a small number of sport facilities, this is not reflected in the informants' opinions. It has to be acknowledged that existing Claror Foundation sport centre is a large compound that gathers positive reviews and because of it compensates the lack of other sport facilities in the area. It should also be acknowledged that right out of the quarter's border, there is another large sport centre administrated by the Claror Foundation. This facility serves to another part of the quarter and helps to spread the users.

Chart 2.6 Comparison of selected cultural, educational, social and sport infrastructure in Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters (2009)



Source: *Quarter Briefs. Ajuntament de Barcelona*

The recently founded socio-cultural space Espai 210 is a partial answer to complains on lack of the cultural spaces in the quarter. It hosts some courses, events and initiatives dedicated to the quarter or it is simply a place where neighbours can gather.

Recently, the withdrawing of touristic buses from the area of the Gaudí's church became a very significant demand. The idea is to oblige drivers to park the buses on the car parking situated about a ten-fiveteen minutes' walk from the temple. According to the key informants, that would have many positive outputs i.e.: silencing the area of Gaudí's temple nearest surrounding (now, the noise and traffic are the objects of many complains), allowing the local traders really gain on tourism (now, the tourists only 'drop by' to visit the temple and leave to the other monuments in the centre of the city or other quarters). The most advanced ideas follow into the direction of the complete closure of the entire area of the Plaça Gaudí and Plaça Sagrada Família to the car traffic. The informants' comments about changes in the quarter and the quality of life during the last years are rather positive or unnoticed. The intensification of the tourism flux, the public safety and the closure of many local shops are issues that are perceived as the most negative ones.

Map 2.4 Noise map of the Sagrada Família quarter's central area (07.00 – 21.00 hours), 2007



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona (www.bcn.cat)

Photos 3 and 4: The Sagrada Família Square eighty years ago and now



Photo 3: The Sagrada Família Square, 1932 (Photo: J. Domínguez, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona).

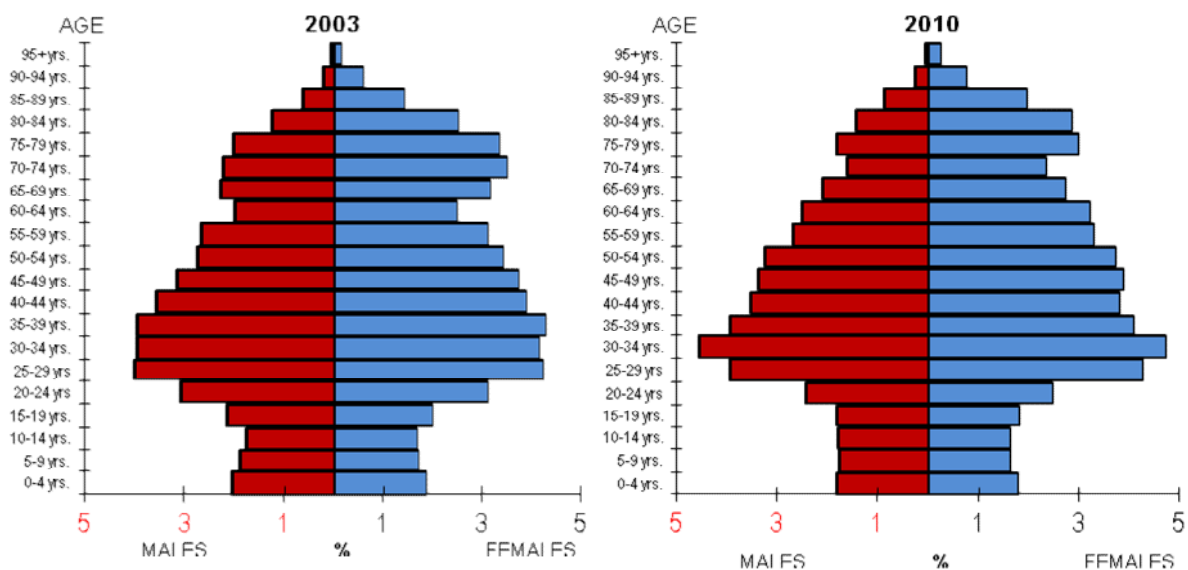


Photo 4: The Sagrada Família Square, 2011 (Photo: D.W.).

2.2 Quarter as social unit

In the 1940s/50s, Sagrada Família was a semi-peripheral area with lots of young families with children. Those people now grew old and constitute the oldest part of the quarter demographic structure. The replacement of the old population with young families is seen as a slow process. The high prices of flats are perceived as the main obstacle to this process. The informants also mention that from the point of view of running a shop, those young adults only can be seen during the late evenings (after young parents finish their jobs) or on Saturdays mornings.

Chart 2.7 The age-sex pyramid of the Sagrada Família quarter (2003 and 2010)



Source: *Continous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona*

This is also a factor explaining that the street life of the quarter is less visible than it was before and that local shops and bars have been losing clients. The economic troubles of the establishments are another often mentioned issue also related not only to ageing population, but also to the current economic crisis.

The statistical data again goes along with the observations of the informants. In the tables inserted in this paper as Annex, it is possible to find figures showing that the average household age for Sagrada Família quarter is higher than this number for the entire Barcelona city and for Poble Sec quarter. The dependency index for elderly people is also slightly higher for the Sagrada Família quarter than for the Barcelona and importantly higher than for the Poble Sec quarter. Also the rate of the single elderly is higher for the Sagrada Família quarter than for Poble Sec quarter and for the entire city. On the other hand, the natural balance rate, migratory balance rate and intra-urban migratory flow rate offer evidences supporting the key informants' remarks that Sagrada Família quarter has not gained rapidly new population. The demographic balance rate for the Sagrada Família quarter constitutes only two-thirds of the Barcelona's rate and visibly less than 50 per cent of the Poble Sec demographic balance rate. Some of the interviewees indicated the high prices of the flats as one of the factors explaining the quarter's depopulation. A quick look at the cadastral figures seems to confirm also that

thesis. The unitary cadastral value and the value of land are visibly higher in Sagrada Família quarter than in Poble Sec quarter and in Barcelona as a whole.

According to some informants, during the last years, the inhabitants lost the sense of quarter identity. In general, the neighbours' relationships have been lost. The growing number of Chinese commercial establishments sometimes is used as an 'excuse' to explain this process of losing quarter identity, but reality is more complex.

2.3 Quarter as migrants' destination

Tab. 2.1 Population by nationality. Sagrada Família. Data for: 01.01.2010

	Sagrada Família	Eixample	Barcelona
Spaniards	83.14%	81.96%	82.54%
Foreigners	16.86%	18.04%	17.46%
Non-EU foreigners	11.86%	11.71%	12.83%

Source: INE database, municipal census official figures [elaborated by GRM] (access: 24.02.2011)

Tab. 2.2 Principal foreign nationalities. Sagrada Família. 2009

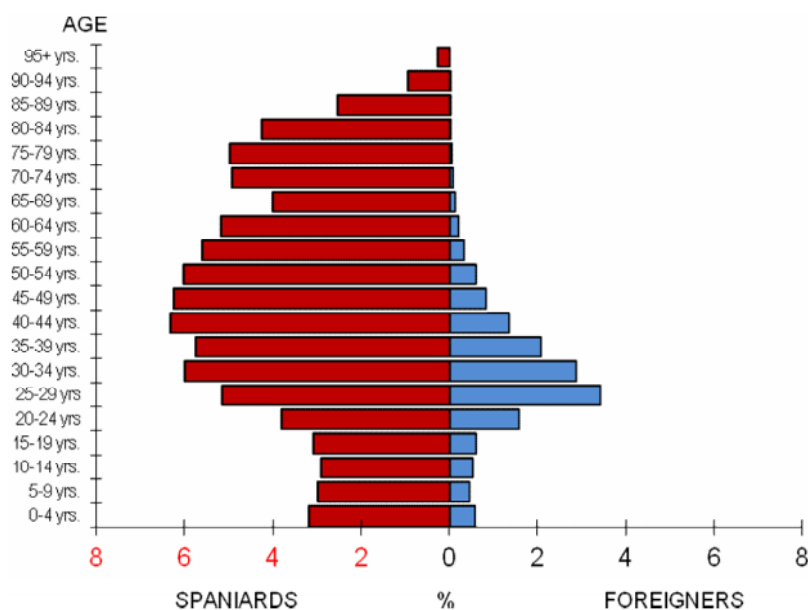
	Sagrada Família	Eixample	Barcelona
1.	Italy 909	Italy 5,538	Italy 22,684
2.	Peru 779	China 4,143	Ecuador 22,210
3.	China 722	France 3,206	Pakistan 17,735

Source: <http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/angles/dades/inf/barris/a2009/pdf/dte022.pdf> (access: 05.02.2011)

Tab. 2.3 Principal foreign nationalities. Sagrada Família. Data for 01.01.2010

	Males	Females	Total
POPULATION TOTAL	23,885	28,282	52,167
Spaniards	19,596	23,774	43,370
Total Foreigners	4,289	4,508	8,797
Eu Community citizens	1,358	1,251	2,609
Germany	118	120	238
Bulgaria	20	18	38
France	181	177	358
Italy	519	400	919
Poland	38	48	86
Portugal	82	75	157
United Kingdom	118	92	210
Romania	93	112	205
European Non-Eu citizens	199	255	454
Russia	29	82	111
Ukraine	37	44	81
Total AFRICA	218	123	341
Argelia	30	19	49
Morocco	152	88	240
Senegal	7	2	9
Total AMERICA	1,901	2,395	4,296
Argentina	156	165	321
Bolivia	175	287	462
Brazil	107	158	265
Colombia	243	308	551
Cuba	62	62	124
Chile	113	104	217
Ecuador	254	341	595
Paraguay	53	95	148
Peru	345	385	730
Dominican Rep.	96	113	209
Uruguay	48	47	95
Venezuela	78	109	187
Total ASIA	606	479	1,085
China	355	339	694
Pakistan	107	20	127
Oceania and Stateless/ Rest	7	5	12

Source: INE Database; Data extracted from the census sections for 1st of January of 2010; <http://www.ine.es> (access: 06.03.2011); Elaboration: GRM

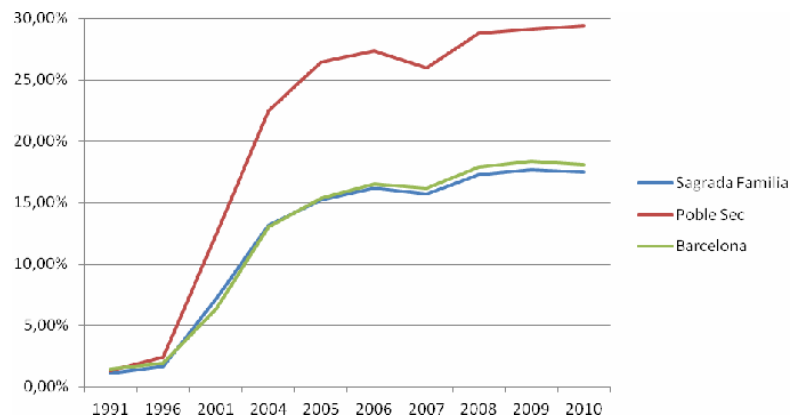
Chart 2.8 The age-nationality pyramid of the Sagrada Família quarter (2010)

Source: *Continous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona*

Going to the main nationalities with presence in the quarter, the indicators describe Italians as the most significant community (even if it is well known that a number of them were born in Argentina). They are followed by Peruvians and Chinese (tables 5 and 6). Other nationalities of Latin-American origin can also be found in the statistics. Together with Peruvians, their number definitely outweighs the number of Chinese and Asian immigrants.

During the last years, there is visible progressive inflow of immigrants. Most of the new immigrants are young. Still the Sagrada Família quarter is not a place with the highest immigrants' presence in Barcelona. The population of the quarter is mixed. There are relevant numbers of exchange students from Europe. They usually spend just a few years here and leave the quarter. The average inflow of immigration, lower than in some other areas of the city, can also be seen in the statistics. The value of the migratory balance rate for Sagrada Família quarter is nearly half of the value of that indicator for Poble Sec. It is also lower than the Barcelona average. A visible difference between Sagrada Família, Poble Sec and Barcelona can also be noted when analysing the indicator of the incidence of the foreign population presence, the percentage of the foreigners and the percentage of the third country foreigners.

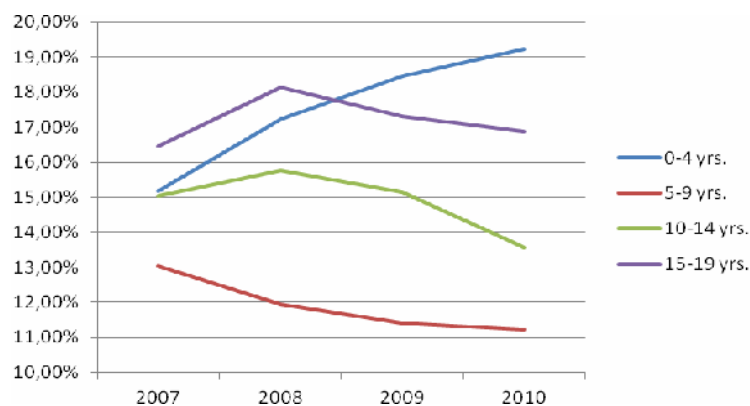
Chart 2.9 The timeline of changes in a proportion of foreigners in total population of the Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters compared to Barcelona. (1991, 1996, 2001, 2004 - 2010)



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona; Cens de població i habitatge 1991, 1996, 2001. Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya.

The Sagrada Família quarter is a touristic area and residential zone with limited number of public spaces. That has an impact on the visibility of immigrants in the quarter. They are fused with the masses of tourists and mainly visible through ethnic bars, restaurants and shops. Recently, it is being said that most students in public schools appear to be immigrants or immigrants' children, native people go to private schools (or semi-private schools, 'concertada') and thus immigration lowers the public education level. According to some, that is happening because the educational system inserts foreign students in the classroom according to age, not to education level. Private schools would make tests and assign students on the base of results. Immigrant students in private or semi-private schools are mainly from China, they can afford it. Latin Americans and Africans go mainly to public schools.

Chart 2.10 The timeline of changes in a proportion of foreigners up to 19 years old in total population of their age group in Sagrada Família quarter (2007-2010)



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona

The data about the average age of the household according to nationality can be also significant. The households with families of foreign origin are, in average, seventeen years

'younger' than the native ones. This difference in case of the mixed households is slightly higher than twelve years. However, the statistics about the proportion of young foreigners in the total population of their age group in the Sagrada Família quarter does not show so high number of foreign youth. During the last four years it did not exceed 20 per cent in any of the age groups (Chart 2.10). The primary data about schooling in Barcelona shows that four out of sixteen public education centres and two out of 29 private education centres in the Eixample district host more than 30 per cent of foreign students. The data about the education of the children between three and sixteen years old show that most of the foreign students are from Latin American and Asian origin (Consorti d'Educació de Barcelona, 2010).

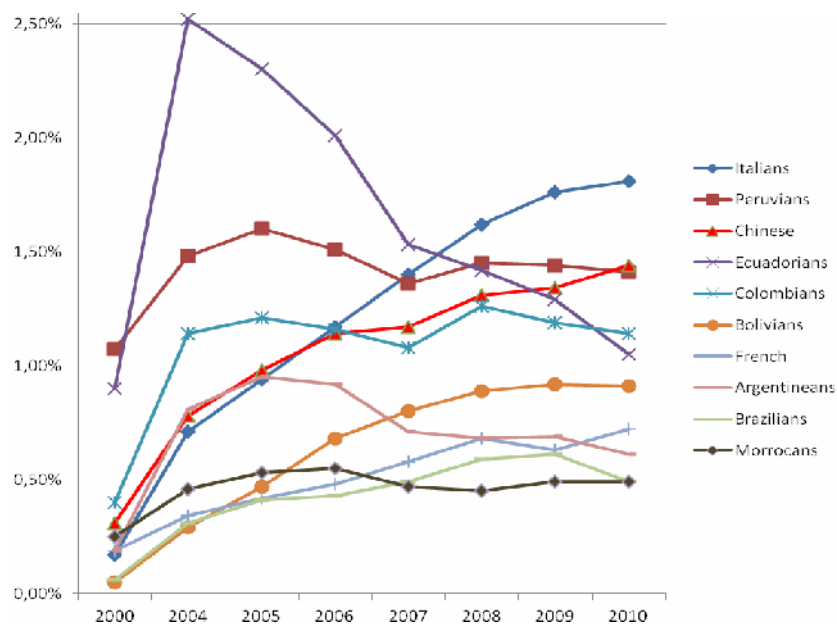
Photos 5, 6, 7, 8 Children of immigrant origin during local festivities, 2011 (Photos: D.W.)



Although the Chinese are not the most numerous foreign nationality, they have been the immigrants group attracting most of the informants' attention during the exploratory fieldwork. They are perceived as those whose presence has increased most during the last years. Their arrival is often described with the rhetoric of a kind of 'flood'. This is an issue with different implications that will be treated in depth on following reports.

The large amount of Chinese shops and bars and foreign-owned businesses in general, although easily noted during the exploratory ethnographic fieldwork, is not reflected in the cadastral statistics. The later show that number of the premises, owned by the foreign physical person, is importantly lower in Sagrada Família quarter than in Poble Sec and it is also lower than in Barcelona as a whole.

Chart 2.11 Timeline of changes in the ten most numerous foreign nationalities (2010) in percentage of total population in the Sagrada Família quarter (2000, 2004-2010)



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona

Other immigrants frequently mentioned by informants are Latin (or South) Americans. They are rarely distinguished by the nationalities and often treated as a uniform group. They are perceived as those who have the longest migratory tradition in the quarter. They are appreciated for:

- a) speaking the Spanish-Castilian language;
- b) cultural similarities;
- c) the highest participation in local associations among all immigrants groups;
- d) the 'colour' that they bring to the quarter.

These are questions that will also be treated more in depth in future reports, altogether with questions related to the presence and the perception of Pakistanis and Central-Eastern European nationalities in the quarter.

Photos 9, 10, 11, 12 The Latin-American immigrants are a visible collective in the quarter



Photo 9: The immigrants from Latin-America often work as eldercare workers. Photo taken on the Provenca street with Padilla. (Photo: D.W.)

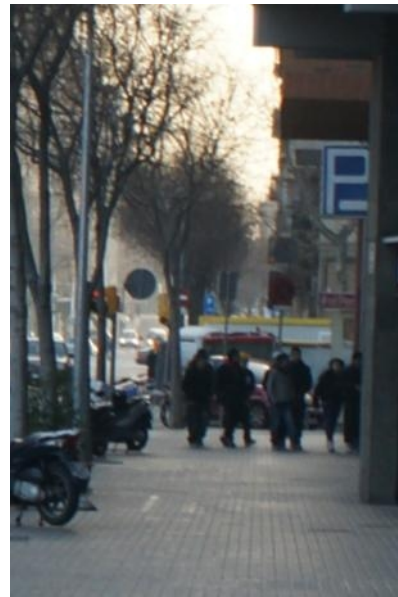


Photo 10: A group of teenagers of Latin-American origin in a 'stigmatized' area: the crossing of Consell de Cent street with Cartagena street (Photo: D.W.).



Photo 11: Local Brazilian bar participating in the neighborhood trade's festivity. (Photo: D.W.)

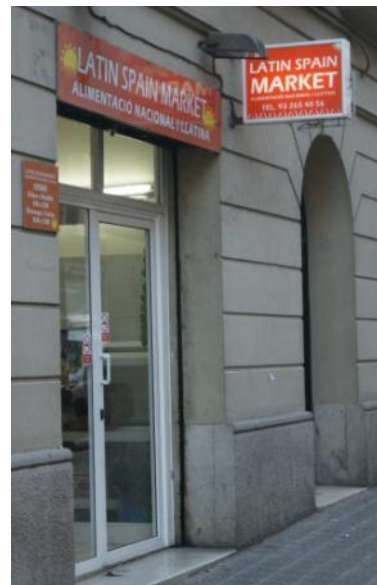


Photo 12: There are several Latin-American grocery stores in the quarter (Photo: D.W.).

2.4 Quarter as arena of inter-group relations

Sagrada Família quarter can be seen as both an area with a developed civil society and a place where neighbours participation in associations is low. It is possible to distinguish several types of participation (or lack of it) among neighbours:

1) People who belong to traditional associations of various kinds: neighbours, commercial, cultural, social, etc. Those people are very active in such civic structures. That include mainly the older neighbours, but there is also an important participation of the youth in the *Castellers* team (i.e. a traditional Catalan cultural group devoted to build human towers) or during the organisation of the quarter's big street festival (i.e. *Festa Major / Fiesta Mayor*):

Photos 13, 14 and 15 The examples of the quarter activities during the festivities



Photo 13: *Castellers* (Photo: D.W.)



Photo 14: *Correfoc* (Photo: D.W.)



Photo 15: Street-market (P: D.W.)

2) Young people who are looking for space for themselves to associate: Those persons are, in general, politically and socially involved. There are some demands about the lack of particular space dedicated to those kinds of associations. They meet at a squatted space named *Ateneu Popular*. In a previous section of this report, some figures that might confirm the validity of the young people claims about the lack of spaces designed for youth activity were noted .

3) Neighbours who only sleep (and sometimes eat) in the quarter: They work and spend leisure time outside. They neither have a possibility nor will to participate in the civil society. Because of the large quarter population, those who do not participate (obviously the prevailing majority) seem to constitute the general trend. Talking about this majority from an optimistic point of view, some informants say that during the last years their passive participation as spectators in local festivities has increased (these activities are free of charge, something attractive in times of economic crisis). On the opposite, there is another point of view considering those passive residents as actors in the current process of identity lose in the quarter.

There are various (five or six according to the informants) traders' associations in the quarter. Some of them seem to have partially jointed structures. It was impossible to create one, large association. The cooperation between these organisations, although exists, it is very difficult

because of various projects, ideas and interests. The multiplicity of traders' associations causes that the contact between local traders and the local administration is hampered.

There are some umbrella organisations that work through the collaboration with and between public services, private entities of civic society and neighbours. They aim to create forums to debate, empower neighbours demands, and seek for projects that could improve future life in the quarter. The most important two are: *Coordinadora de Entitats* and *Pla Comunitari* that exist also in other quarters in Barcelona. The latter consist of thematic worktables on: health, commerce, education and immigration/cultural diversity. It has been developed on the basis of a diagnostic study carried out in the quarter a few years ago. Another new, important and useful figure in the quarter is the *Tècnic de Barri* (Quarter's Technician). This is a person that keeps daily contact between associations, particular neighbours and the local administration. This person usually works on-site; s/he knows key problems of the quarter and has the chance of direct intervention in particular cases.

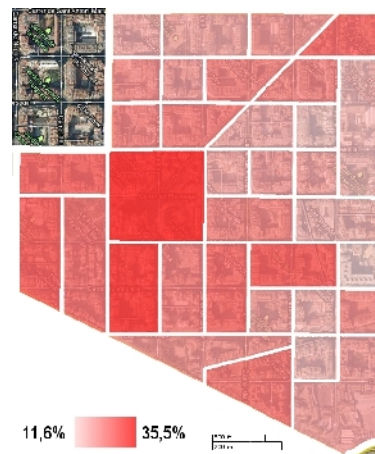
A good example of a very conflictive moment when the neighbours' mobilization brought some effect was the construction of the High Speed Train (AVE) infrastructure. That construction works influenced greatly the trade and the pedestrian/car transit in the affected zone: Mallorca Street, in the area of Padilla and Lepant streets. An association of neighbours affected by the High Speed Train infrastructure construction was set up. It was an informal association (in opposite to the traditional traders associations), but its actions were more dynamic and in a short time it gave way to some outputs: the local government assigned resources to activate the area affected by the construction works.

Most immigrants do not participate in the local civic organisations. This is explained mostly by their long working hours, the lack of knowledge about the quarter, and different cultures. That mainly concerns the Chinese and Pakistani immigrants and the shops owners of those nationalities. The lack of participation of immigrant entrepreneurs in the local trade associations seems to cause serious discomfort among the native traders. It was a topic of various discussions among them. There is an ongoing idea of promoting new legislation that would oblige all traders to participate. Nonetheless, the troubles with 'being heard' within the traders' associations are not only for immigrants but also for young members with innovative ideas. Some associations' boards seem to be closed to new people and ideas.

In general terms, Latin American immigrants are perceived as those who participate more in social organisations. There are also some known cases of European exchange students' participation and isolated cases of (sometimes partial) participation of the immigrants from Senegal or China.

The associations that concentrate most of the socially active immigrants are *Castellers de la Sagrada Família* (a traditional cultural group) and Group of Multicultural Interaction (GIM). The latter has been created in the framework of the *Pla Comunitari* as response to negative rumours about immigration (e.g. immigrants do not pay taxes, etc.). There was an initiative to create a space for new immigrants in the framework of the neighbours' association, but it seems to have apparently failed because of a lack of interest on the part of 'immigrants' themselves.

Map 2.5 The proportion of immigrants in the census sections of Sagrada Família quarter (2010)



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona / Google Maps

Geographically speaking, there are various space-related and group-related issues in the quarter. The most significant ones are the following:

- 1) The area of the *Sagrada Família temple* (the two squares, and the low part of Gaudí Avenue and its surroundings). It is perceived as the only wide open public space of social activity and the unique relatively large green area in the quarter. It is, at the same time, emblematic and problematic for the quarter. This space and the facilities located nearby are perceived as totally collapsed by tourists. The noise and massive flux of people and touristic buses can make neighbours' life unbearable. There were some official demands made in order to cut-off the traffic and to distribute better the touristic flow. Additional issues in that area are: pick-pocketing, groups of young Latin Americans that introduce a sense of insecurity and disturb silence at night, and groups of homeless mainly from Central-Eastern Europe.

Photos 16, 17, 18, 19 The streets in the nearest proximity of the Sagrada Família Temple host a number of immigrants' establishments



Photo 16: Gift shop (Photo: D.W.)



Photo 17: Chinese hairdresser (Photo: D.W.)



Photo 18: Argentinean butcher shop (Photo: D.W.) Photo 19: Polish grocery store (Photo: D.W.)

- 2) Although *Encants Vells* area is perceived by most of the interviewee's as external to the Sagrada Familia quarter, that area is, in fact, placed within the official administrative boundaries of the quarter. *Encants Vells* is seen as problematic and unsafe. This is because of the houses occupied by Romanians and Senegalese immigrants. There is also a problem with the street sale of items that have been stolen or found in the trashcans. Recently that became a problem also in the area of *Encants Nous* (closer to the quarter core). These issues were connected by some interviewees with people of Muslim or Romanian origin.

Photos 20 and 21 The 'civic activity' is widely visible on the streets perceived as the unsafe zones of Sagrada Família quarter: Area of Glories and the crossing of Consell de Cent street with Cartagena street



Photo 20: Banners saying "We want a dignified quarter" are posted in the entire area asking for an improvement of public safety (Photo: D.W.)

Photo 21: Graffiti against 'the police raids' and 'deportations' painted on the doors of the building that is currently undergoing building works. (Photo: D.W.)

- 3) There are comments on the increasing number of street and shop robberies. Those cases are dispersed and take place mostly near to schools. It came up also when talking about the areas of *Encants Vells* and *Encants Nous*. The similar issue came up when talking about Padilla Street in the proximity of the Civic Centre and Gaudí Avenue.
- 4) The abusive use of public facilities by immigrants has been mentioned with the example of the local Health Centre (*Centre d'Atenció Primària, CAP*). The interviewed physician and, at the same time, social-cooperation coordinator who works in CAP denied that there were complains about this issue. At the same time he confirmed that the queues to get to the physician increased during the last years. He said that it could be related to immigration, but he also commented that immigrants are a minority of those who use the health services. He would suggest that increasing number of elder people is the reason for increasing queues:

Another issue related to excessive use of public services by immigrants has been already mentioned above and it concerns the rapidly growing number of immigrant students in the schools. According to one of the interviewed informants who recently finished the school and now compares his school environment with his younger brother, the level of education decreased because of the uneven level of immigrants' children attending the same courses.

- 5) The conflicts about the loud concerts in the 'old' Damm brewery compound seems to be an example of the lack of understanding among the older residents that only 'sleep and eat' in the quarter and the young ones that need a space for public activities and street life. The repeated older neighbours' complains about a excessive noise when organising any kind of open space activity, even at early evening hours correlate with the demands on the lack of open public spaces raised by the associations and the young people.

Photos 22, 23, 24, 25 The Group of Multicultural Interaction (GIM) during a local street festival



Photo 22: The GIM's stand was one of the most visited during the local traders' festivity (Photo: D.W.).



Photo 23: The debate on the multicultural interaction with the participation of a young Muslim woman attracted the attention of the another Muslim woman that passed-by (Photo: D.W.)



Photo 24: 'We are losing our identity!!!', the posters were explaining false rumours about immigrants (Photo: D.W.).



Photo 25: 'Space without rumours', an Asian origin immigrant attracted by the stand (Photo: D.W.).

Apart from specific (micro)sites-related issues, many comments about a decreasing security trend in the quarter have been heard as the main local problem. An example of this trend is the 2011 Quarter Council meeting (*Consell de Barri*). During that annual (or semi-annual) reunion, the topic of security was extremely important and it was repeated by participants as never before. The immigration issue was directly related with this discourse and it was included as a part of complains. However, Sagrada Família, in general terms and in comparison to other quarters is perceived as relatively safe and peaceful quarter. There are some cases of delinquent acts, but in the eyes of many informants those are isolated cases. The interviewees realise that there are quarters that are more unsafe than Sagrada Família. The coexistence with immigrants is also commented in a relatively neutral way.

On the other hand, another key concern is related to the so-called isolated Chinese community too. Apparently, the adult Chinese immigrants do not use the native's shops or services. They are nearly not visible on the street. Those ones who use the health service do not speak the local language, so they need to be accompanied by somebody of their community who do speak at least one of the two local co-official languages. There was also a Chinese translator hired in the local health centre, but working only one day a week. As it was mentioned above, at the general level of neighbours' coexistence, Chinese immigrants do not provoke any problems. What seems to be a potential source of conflict is their rapidly growing economic activity.

The lack of the Chinese's participation brings important tensions, mostly among those interviewees related to local commerce. The various informants indicate that it is a topic in their discussions that Chinese immigrants suddenly own most of the bars in the quarter. The growing number of various types of shops has also been noticed. The issue of Chinese establishments bring to life various levels of discomfort among native traders:

- 1) Chinese purchasing power. It is incomprehensible for some local traders how so many Chinese immigrants are able to rent a large shop that requires a high transfer fee and high rent when the native trader is unable to afford it. And it is even more difficult to understand how it is possible that Chinese immigrants can remain on the market selling extremely cheap products.
- 2) Tax reductions for immigrants. According to some organisations that run activities to stop rumours, there are rumours among native people that immigrants have special

conditions when opening the business (above all: tax reductions) and that is why they are able to stay on the market.

- 3) Poor quality of shops and products. The native traders are afraid of the bad opinion that Chinese shops may bring to the local trade. Since years the Sagrada Família quarter had a relatively high quality of commerce. The arrival of cheap shops that sell goods on the dumping prices and additionally do not care about the design or cleanliness can make damage on the local trade reputation and discourage potential clients.
- 4) Lack of reciprocity. Although Chinese traders make use of the quarter location to open their shops, they neither participate in the local trade associations nor buy at local establishments as other local traders do. However, there are exemptions to the 'rule'.
- 5) Local administration inactivity. There have been issued some demands to introduce limitations on the number of similar shops that could be established in one given street (to avoid the 'flood' of Chinese cheap all-in-one shops) and to introduce the obligation to participate in the local trade associations. Neither of them has been approved. In native traders opinion it is because the local administration counts on the gains from the rent of the shops to Chinese immigrants instead of taking care of native traders.

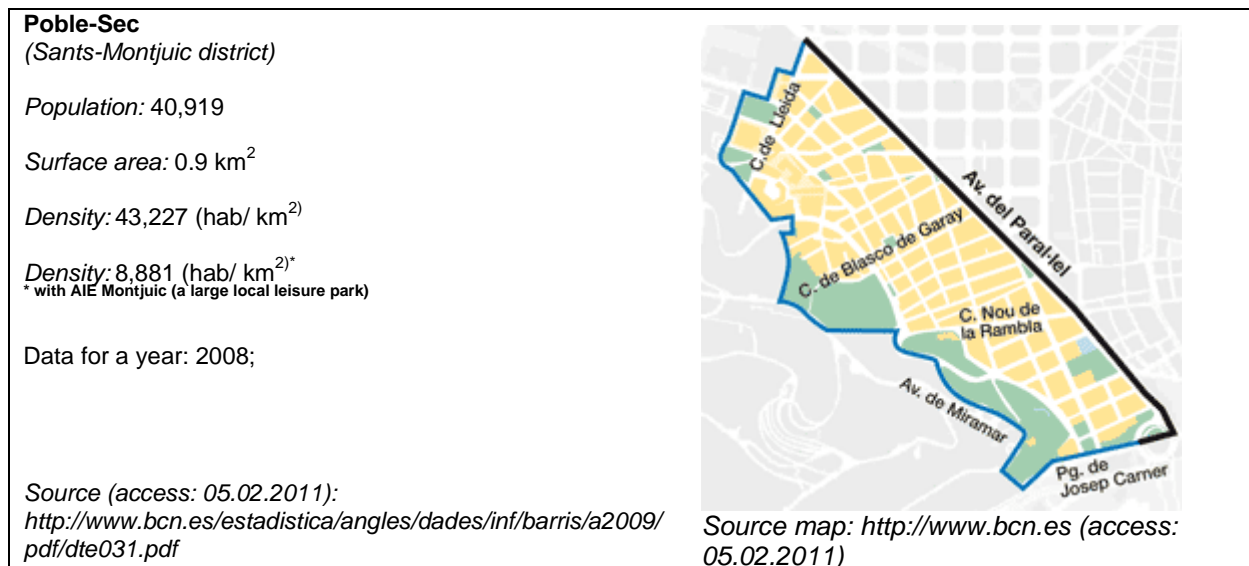
Interestingly, some of those native's opinions on Chinese immigration appear to be confirmed by some immigrants. For instance, a Chinese immigrant who lives since about twenty years ago in the quarter also noted the recent appearance of a large amount of Chinese in the quarter. Another interviewed immigrant, from Pakistan, noted that Chinese are those ones who most rarely use the services of his telecommunication point.

At last but not least, although Latin American are often known to have 'positive' qualities, their presence is also related to the increasing number of shops and people robberies and general insecurity feelings. The incidents mentioned by the interviewees happen equally in the streets and in other public places: Sagrada Família and Gaudí square and Gaudí Avenue. Those incidents are mostly related to groups of youth immigrants that spend their time in public places after dark. Another issue related to Latin American immigrants that create discomfort is that they are perceived as the noisy neighbours that throw out all night long parties with loud music in their flats or public places.

3. Quarter 2: Poble Sec

3.1. Quarter as urban context

Map 3.1: Poble-Sec.



Map 3.2 Significant spaces in Poble Sec quarter marked on a satellite image



Source map: <http://maps.google.es> (access: 23.06.2011)

In Catalan language, the toponym “Poble Sec” means “Dry Village”. In the past, this was a semi-rural area supplying fresh vegetables to Barcelona city and it is ironic that an area that was rich in water until early XIX century is today known as a dry area. However, from 1830 several textile industries were set up nearby and in just twenty years the subterranean water sources were dried (Badenas i Rico, 2006). One of the main characteristics of Poble Sec is that it is a well delimited quarter. The official borders of Poble Sec are quite clear for the interviewees and, at the same time, having defined frontiers is one of the key characteristics of the quarter. Montjuïc Mountain at south-west and Paral·lel Avenue at north-east are clear frontiers, and Lleida street at north-west and Josep Carner street at south-east have also a remarkable importance. It is also relevant to note that the quarter can be divided in three or four areas or sub-quarters: La França Xica, Poble Sec *strictu sensu* and Les Hortes de Sant Bertran and La Satàlia.

Photos 26, 27 and 28 The Montjuïc Mountain and the industrial past are significant features in Poble Sec



Photo 26: The Montjuïc Mountain at the end of Carrer de Mata. (D.W.)



Photo 27 One of the symbols of the quarter, the three chimneys today give name to Parc de les Tres Xemeneies (A.M.).



Photo 28. Author: Josep Domínguez, 1930-1932 (Tres Ximenees). Historical photo courtesy of Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona (AFB)

As a result of this frontiers and the situation within the city being at the same time central but peripheral, close to the old town but outside it and touching Montjuïc Mountain, the relatively little permeability to citizens from other parts of Barcelona, is also noted for some of the interviewees. People who live in Raval do not go often to Poble Sec and Avinguda Paral·lel acts as a barrier for them (i.e. six lanes of car traffic plus two bicycle lanes and one parking row), but not for Poble Sec inhabitants.

This situation has been changing during the last years. Although the majority of the quarter territory is not very frequented by outsiders, there are specific parts of it which are becoming more and more popular during the last years. At the same time, nowadays Poble Sec residents can do, and in fact they do, more daily activities within the aforementioned borders. Some remodelling processes like the reconversion of Blai street / *Carrer Blai* into a pedestrian street (process started during the 1990s decade), respond to the idea of trying that Poble Sec residents perform their activities within Poble Sec. Other urban remodelling processes like the carried out at Plaça del Sortidor, for many the physical and living central point in Poble Sec, has played an important role in the changes experienced in the quarter during the 2000s. *Pla de Barris*³ played an important role in this remodelling process. Also the construction of public infrastructures during the last two decades (such as the Health Centre, CAP; the library; the 'civic centre'; or an elderly people residence) helped to achieve this objective. Additionally, the recent re-aperture of the El Molino theatre, and the project of revitalisation of Avinguda Paral·lel are called to be quite relevant.

³ The *Pla de Barris* is a project that comes out from a law passed by the Catalan parliament, 'La Llei de Barris', and intends to improve the social and urban-architectural situation of some quarters in Catalan towns and cities.



Photo 29: Carrer Blai, converted into a pedestrian street, is becoming to be known as Rambla del Poble Sec. The street gathers an important number of businesses owned by foreigners. (D.W.)



Photo 30: Construction of an underground car park and remodelling of Plaça de les Navas. (A.M.)

These remodelling processes, with Carrer Blai in front of them, altogether with the arrival of young population, internal migration mainly from other parts of the city or the metropolitan area, has lead the quarter to a transformation process. As seen in the figures related to 'Intra-urban migratory flow rate', Poble Sec with 2,033 moves-in over the total population as for January 2009 shows very different figures if compared to Barcelona as a whole (6,210 moves-out). In other words, Poble Sec is a quarter attracting population. Most of the interviewees express the change experienced during the last decade, explaining that this change has converted Poble Sec into a leisure and going out area of the city, transformation that carries out significant changes. As said by *B_PS_NAD_7*:

'Blai street I believe that is the paradigm of what has been the quarter, of what is nowadays the quarter. This is a quarter that more or less is trendy. I mean, [this is a place] where young people come, come to consume, come to meet each other, come to have a good time. Where a lot of people coexist spending much time in the street because, because it is a cultural question, for example' (B_PS_NAD_7).

Related to this change of dynamic, it has to be taken into account that becoming a leisure and night life area has different kind of implications. On the one hand, we find consequences perceived as positive like the economic revitalisation or the arrival of population from other parts of the city, but, on the other hand, we find consequences perceived as negative like the lack of tranquillity for the neighbours living above bars and terraces. Additionally, for some citizens, the aperture of bars, terraces and restaurants in Carrer Blai, has also helped to maintain the order in the street, an order supposedly altered for the insecurity related to foreigners and non-European immigration presence.

Although all these changes have to be noted, it has to be taken into account that as said before, Poble Sec has historically been considered a working-class quarter and, in general, it is still a low income area. According to the Barcelona Department of Statistics as for 30 June 2009, if compared to the Barcelona average family income (100 points), Poble Sec only has 68.7 points, while Sagrada Família has 98.4 points.

In this sense, the question of the need of more public infrastructures cannot be left aside. Several interviewees mentioned this issue, specially the lack of spaces and resources for young people and children; the saturation of the Centre Cívic, the insufficiency of places in the elder care residence; the Adult School closed two years ago without an alternative equipment within the quarter; or the necessity of a 'Punt Omnia', a place with computers to teach people about new technologies; the saturation of the public medical centre, the small library and the schools.

Related to this claimed scarcity of public equipments, for its more than 40,000 inhabitants, Poble Sec has one library, one civic centre, one elders' space, three kindergarten, three primary schools, two high schools, one Health Centre (CAP), one elders day care centre and one elders residence (see: Neighborhoods' briefs, 2009, <http://www.bcn.es>, access: 31.05.2011). Regarding the lack of spaces addressed to young people, although on the indicators appear the existence of two youth centres, these ones are small spaces placed inside other equipments, with restrictions in terms of time and age.

Before ending this section, it is necessary to make a reference to the current economical crisis and its effects on the quarter. There are other processes occurring beyond the increasing impoverishment of some parts of the population and the rise of homelessness. For instance, the owner of a grocery store of Pakistani nationality, when asked about the main changes in the quarter during the three years that he had been living in Poble Sec, he responded that changes have been 'of course' towards a more negative situation because some local businesses were forced to shut down.

3.2. Quarter as social unit

As it was noted in the previous section, the physical situation and the frontiers of the quarter are important factors on the characterization of Poble Sec. These factors play also an important role in two other main characteristics: firstly, its population density (44,822 residents per square kilometre, almost triple than the Barcelona average) and its urban density, without much open spaces inside the quarter except the ones situated in the Montjuïc mountain. And secondly, influenced by the previous, the fact that Poble Sec is a familiar quarter, in the sense that key informants say that almost everybody knows each other.

Although fifteen green spaces and one mayor square can be located within the quarter⁴, thirteen of these green spaces are situated in Montjuïc mountain and the other two are placed in the outskirts of the quarter. Taking into account this data, the lack of public open green spaces within the core quarter seems to be a real fact.

Expressions coined by Poble Sec inhabitants when talking about the main characteristics of the quarter are the following ones: there is a community feeling among its inhabitants, local

⁴ Source: <http://w3.bcn.es/fitxers/sants/diagnosipoblesec.749.pdf>

people know about their neighbours, this is a true quarter life, this is a very united quarter with good relationships, this is a quarter where you can easily feel living in a real quarter or, as said in Catalan, there is *'caliu de barri'* (i.e. this is a warming quarter). But while for some, such characteristics have been put into risk by the arrival of newcomers –both foreign immigrants and internal immigrants-, for others, the settlement of foreign people during the last ten-fifteen years has changed dramatically the situation.

In relation to the community feeling expressed above, the powerful local associative network -- including the Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec that gathers more than 80 organisations, plus other associations outside the Coordinadora -- is another main feature of Poble Sec if compared to other parts of the city. This is an aspect also mentioned in several of the interviews done. In the next table elaborated from data found in the document 'Diagnosi del Poble Sec' edited by the Barcelona City Council in June 2010⁵, we can see a summary of this organisations and entities:

⁵ Source: <http://w3.bcn.es/fitxers/sants/diagnosipoblesec.749.pdf>

Tab. 3.1 Figures of Poble Sec's organisations, June 2010

Neighbours associations	3
Organisations devoted to citizen participation	3
Associations related to education	8
Organisations dedicated to education in leisure time	4
Elderly people organisations	4
Sports associations	20
Traders associations	4
Organisations related to handicapped people	6
Associations of mutual help	2
Women association	1
Organisations related to cooperation and solidarity	18
Inter-cultural organisations	2
Cultural entities	47
Quarter newspaper	1
Organisations related to health issues	4
Religious spaces	11
Environmental associations	3
Non classified organisations	2

Source: 'Diagnosi del Poble Sec' edited by the Barcelona City Council in June 2010



Photo 31:
Concordia House, associations headquarters.



Photo 32:
A human tower built by *Castellers*.(right-hand)

Regarding demographic dynamics of Poble Sec, the quarter has a population aged above the average of Barcelona:

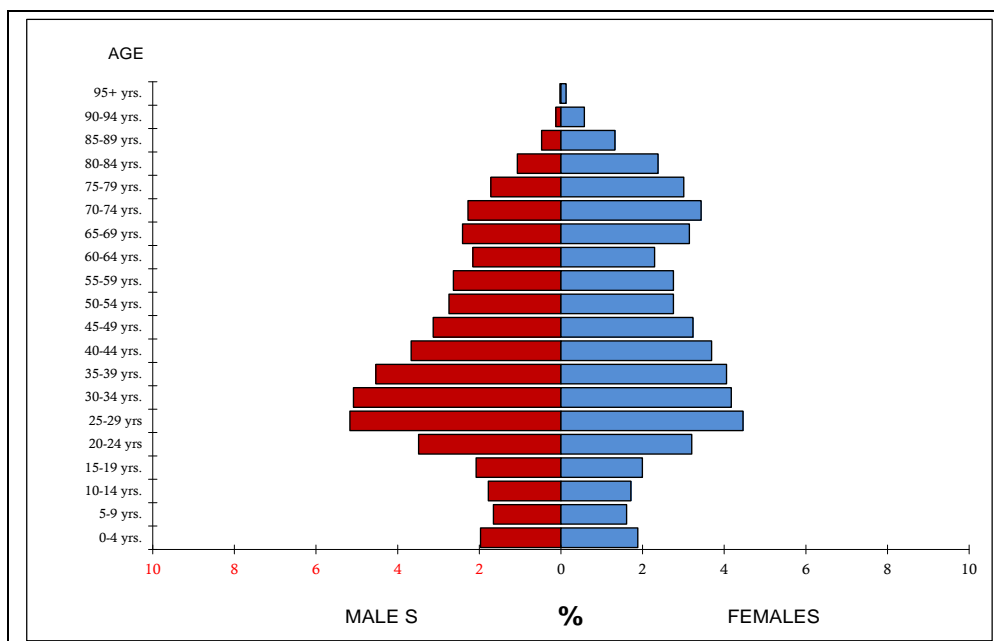
Tab. 3.2 Ageing indicators in Poble Sec

Indicator	Poble Sec	Sants-Montjuic district	Barcelona
Population more than 65 living alone (%)	29.5	25.9	25.2
Above ageing index	55.3	53.3	53.5

Source: Document 'Diagnosi del Poble Sec' edited by the Barcelona Council in June 2010

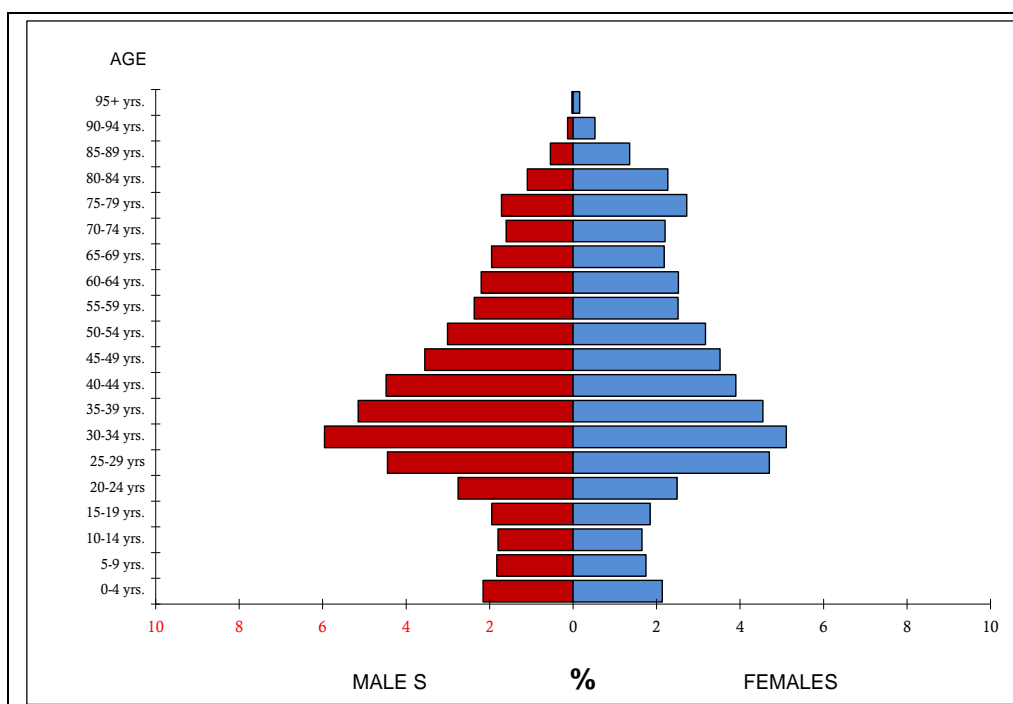
Poble Sec is described also as a quite aged quarter, a fact that the arrival of new population - foreigners and internal immigrants - has started to change. The lost of population occurred during the 1980s and part of the 1990s, and the reversal trend that took place during the last years is also expressed by some actors. In the next charts we can see the evolution of the sex-age pyramid from 2003 to 2010:

**Chart 3.1 The age-sex pyramid of Poble Sec, 2003.
(% of total population)**



Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Source: Continuous Census INE.

**Chart 3.2 The age-sex pyramid of the Poble Sec, 2010.
(percentage of the total population)**



Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Source: Continuous Census INE

3.3. Quarter as migrants' destination

Tab. 3.3 Population by nationality. Poble-Sec. Data for: 01.01.2010

	Poble-Sec	Sants-Montjuic	Barcelona
Spaniards	72.1%	80.26%	82.54%
Foreigners	27.9%	19.74%	17.46%
Non-EU foreigners	21.77%	15.61%	12.83%

Source: INE database, municipal census official figures [elaborated by GRM] (access: 24.02.2011)

Tab. 3.4 Main foreign nationalities. Poble-Sec. 2009

	Poble-Sec	Sants-Montjuic	Barcelona
1.	Pakistan 1,357	Ecuador 3,187	Italy 22,684
2.	Morocco 1,012	Morocco 2,372	Ecuador 22,210
3.	Philippines 982	Pakistan 2,267	Pakistan 17,735

Source: <http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/angles/dades/inf/barris/a2009/pdf/dte031.pdf> (access: 05.02.2011)

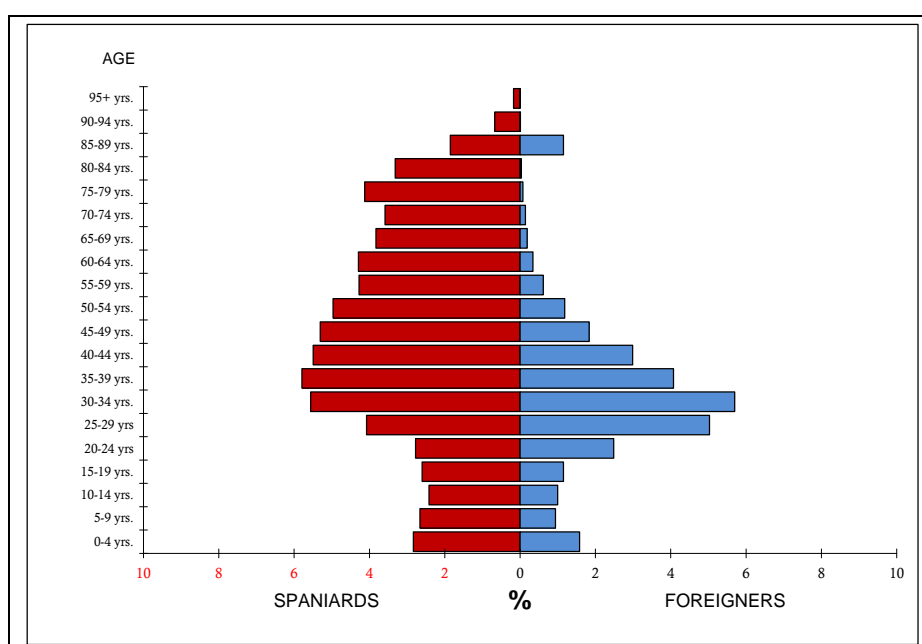
Tab.3.5 Principal foreign nationalities. Poble-Sec. Data for 01.01.2010

	Males	Females	Total
POPULATION TOTAL	19,661	20,679	40,340
Spaniards	13,521	15,563	29,084
Total Foreigners	6,140	5,116	11,256
EU citizens	1,249	1,226	2,475
Germany	109	121	230
Bulgaria	31	33	64
France	236	241	477
Italy	411	321	732
Poland	37	57	94
Portugal	59	62	121
United Kingdom	135	110	245
Romania	80	97	177
European Non-Eu citizens	186	184	370
Russia	34	51	85
Ukraine	38	45	83
Total AFRICA	661	451	1,112
Argelia	72	13	85
Morocco	523	400	923
Nigeria	9	8	17
Senegal	13	3	16
Total AMERICA	1,797	2,140	3,937
Argentina	142	116	258
Bolivia	165	269	434
Brazil	123	161	284
Colombia	256	307	563
Cuba	38	38	76
Chile	77	65	142
Ecuador	306	320	626
Paraguay	32	66	98
Peru	162	181	343
Dominican Rep.	289	350	639
Uruguay	34	27	61
Venezuela	52	44	96
Total ASIA	2,241	1,106	3,347
China	233	229	462
Pakistan	1,084	206	1,290
Oceania and Stateless/ Rest	6	9	15

Source: INE Database; Data extracted from the census sections for 1st of January of 2010; <http://www.ine.es> (access: 06.03.2011); Elaboration: GRM

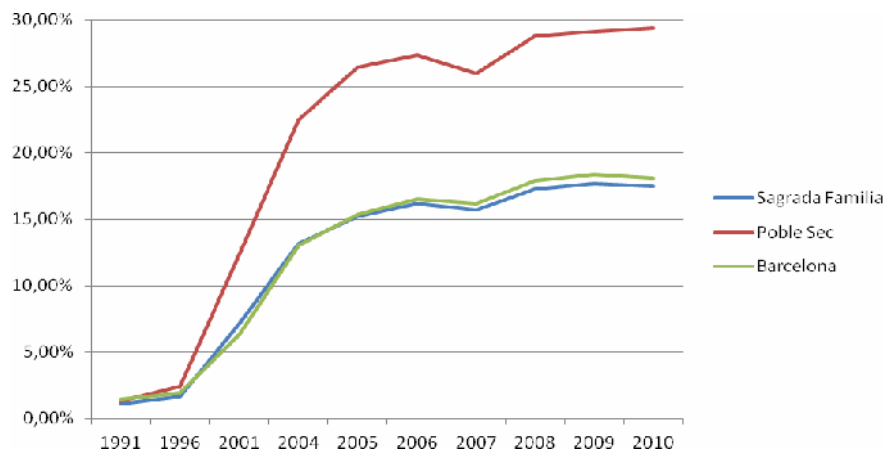
The important arrival of foreign population and their settlement in the quarter appears also as one of the main characteristics of Poble Sec expressed by key informants. It can be highlighted that, according to the municipal census official figures as for January 2010, the percentage of foreign residents in Poble-Sec (27.9 per cent) is clearly above Barcelona's average (17.46 per cent); that most immigrants are third-country nationals; and that the leading nationalities are Pakistanis, Moroccans and Filipinos. If we look at the age pyramid by nationality (below), we can see how the groups of foreigners with more representation, are the ones between 25 and 45 years. It can be observed that the difference in relation to the other age groups is much more important than the difference that we find for the Spanish citizens. In relation to other parts of Barcelona, we can see how Poble Sec has a percentage of foreign population quite above the average of the city from mid 1990s (Chart 3.4):

Chart 3.3 The age-sex pyramid by nationality of the Poble Sec quarter 2010 (30th June) (percentage of the total population)



Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Source: Padró d'habitants.

Chart 3.4 The timeline of changes in a proportion of foreigners in total population of the Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters compared to Barcelona. (1991, 1996, 2001, 2004 - 2010)



Source: Continous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona; Cens de població i habitatge 1991, 1996, 2001. Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya

The migratory wave of the late 1990s and early 2000s, its' not the first migratory wave received by the quarter. During the 1920-1930s and 1960-1950's decades, waves of internal immigrants coming from other parts of Spain arrived and settled down in Poble Sec. In some of the preliminary interviews of this project, those historical immigrants' arrivals are compared with the recent ones:

'And just like in the 50s and 60s or the 30s we were a hosting quarter of other migrations, this time we have been a hosting quarter of this new immigration. And we've withstood, we have paid a price, of course we have paid a high price, because the last time we had many immigrants among us we put them on the Montjuïc Mountain in cardboard or brick barracks. With very few health conditions, no medicine, no doctors, no schools ... (...) Now it has been different. Now what we have done was to shelter them between us. Maybe you knew that your neighbour, in that house lived there ten people, when maybe it was for six ... And this is the issue. We have paid the price of having them between us. But at the same time we did our best to avoid they went to the barracks, because it doesn't happen again. And to work with them. An important part of what we have done the associative movement has been trying to work with them... (B_PS_NAD_7)

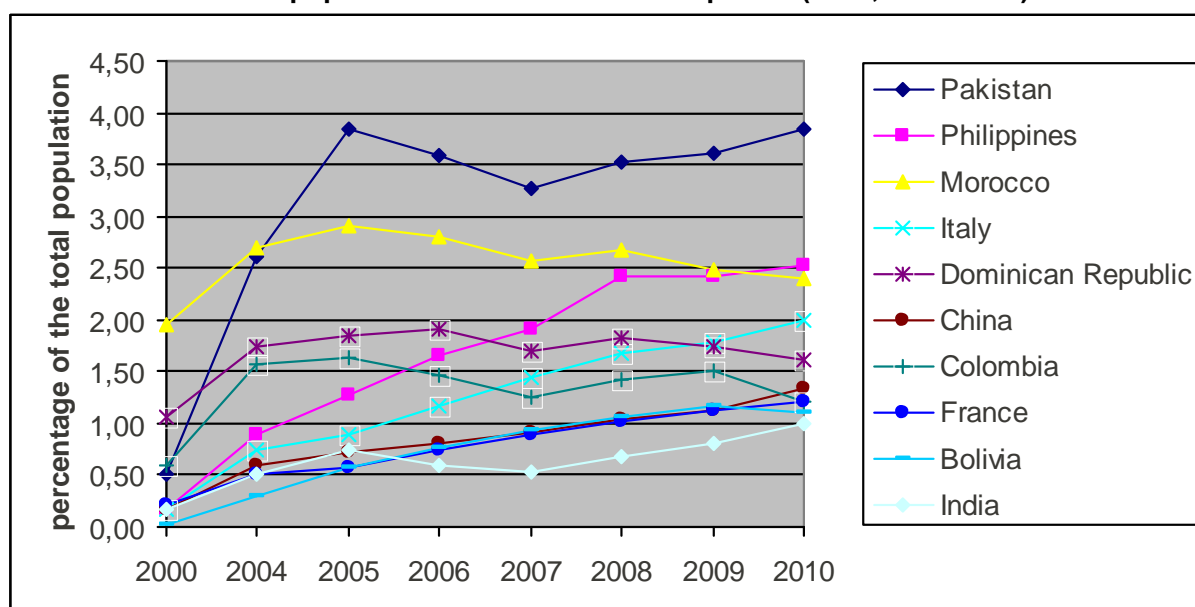
With positive or negative connotations, almost all of the interviewees contacted during the first stage of the project mention the question of the important arrival of foreign population and their establishment in the quarter when asked to define the quarter itself. As it was explained in the previous point, there are several opinions about the consequences of the settlement of this foreign population depending on which social actors are asked. For some of them, although the difficulties and the necessity of keep working, can be said that the coexistence, the interrelation and living together between communities is improving day after day; that these arrivals have culturally enriched the quarter; and that an equilibrium between natives and newcomers, foreigners and not, has been found. But on the contrary, for others, these arrivals have broken the essence of Poble Sec and the good coexistence.

It is necessary to note that although having a positive opinion about the migratory phenomenon, some of those interviewees stress the necessity to keep on working to improve the situation: the need to assign more resources to reach such objective and the need to

invest in public equipments, as the ones noted in section 3.1, are claimed to the administration.

When talking about the quarter as migrant's destination, the differences between the immigrated communities with presence in the quarter appear as one of the relevant issues. According to the official data on 1st January 2010⁶ (see the table above), Pakistanis were the foreign nationality with more presence in the quarter with 1,290 inhabitants, followed by Philipinos and Moroccans. Dominicans appear also as one of the nationalities with more presence in the quarter, the fifth, behind Italians. In the following chart, we can see the evolution from 2000 to 2010 of the top ten nationalities with more presence in Poble Sec in 2010. It can be noted that all the nationalities increase their numbers, but nationalities like Moroccan, Dominicans and Colombians, suffer different fluctuations along this period. The increase of Pakistanis is especially relevant, with an spectacular arrival during the first part of the decade. The continued arrival of Philipinos along these years is also remarkable:

Chart 3.5 The timeline of changes in a proportion of ten most numerous nationalities (2010) in total population of the in Poble Sec quarter (2000, 2004-2010)



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona

Regarding the Pakistani collective, an immigrant community that owns numerous shops in the quarter, the perception is that they are mainly concerned about their business and there is no conflict between them and the natives or other immigrant collectives. A different question appears when talking about the Latin American communities, and especially about the Dominican collective. From some sectors of the quarter, the preoccupation concerning these nationals appears powerfully in the interviews with an important negative stigmatization. It has to be pointed out that the population of South-American origin residing in Poble Sec is quite important. In 2010 there were 639 registered Dominican immigrants and they were the fourth foreign nationality with more presence in the quarter; Ecuadorians were the fifth with 626;

⁶ Source: INE Database; Data extracted from the census sections for 1st of January of 2010; <http://www.ine.es> (access: 06.03.2011);

Colombians with 563 were the sixth; Bolivians were the ninth with 434, and Peruvians the tenth with 343.



Photo 33: 'Latino' bar-restaurant in Poeta Cabanyes street. (A.M.)



Photo 34: One of the numerous grocery shops owned by Pakistanis in Poble Sec. (A.M.).

Tab. 3.6 Principal South-American nationalities. Poble-Sec. Data for 01.01.2010

	Males	Females	Total
POPULATION TOTAL	19,661	20,679	40,340
Spaniards	13,521	15,563	29,084
Total Foreigners	6,140	5116	11,256
Total AMERICA	1,797	2,140	3,937
Argentina	142	116	258
Bolivia	165	269	434
Brazil	123	161	284
Colombia	256	307	563
Cuba	38	38	76
Chile	77	65	142
Ecuador	306	320	626
Paraguay	32	66	98
Peru	162	181	343
Dominican Rep.	289	350	639
Uruguay	34	27	61
Venezuela	52	44	96

Source: INE Database; Data extracted from the census sections for 1st of January of 2010; <http://www.ine.es> (access: 06.03.2011); Elaboration: GRM

Regarding the specific places of the quarter where the presence of population with foreign origin is more visible in the streets, the agreement about the main sites is quite important, although there are some differences depending on the interviewees. In any case, the four places presented below are the most repeated ones during the preliminary interviews with local stakeholders:

Blai street and its different corners, specially the one with Carrer Margarit. Presence of South-American population, mainly young people with Dominican origin. Presence perceived as a conflictive from some sectors of the quarter.

Parc de les Tres Xemeneies. Meeting place with a high demand of use from a variety of collectives (also official administrative demands of use). Pakistanis playing cricket during the weekends. Drug selling behind a big wall. There is a new remodelling project although the current park was inaugurated ten years ago.

Bella Dorita square, in front the El Molino theatre. Locally known as *Plaça del Molino*, there is a little conflict about its name. Different nationalities use that square. During the interviews, the presence of South-Americans and Gipsy-Rumanian is mentioned.

Sortidor square (*Plaça del Sortidor*). The neuralgic and physical centre of the quarter. A very lively square in the centre of Poble Sec. Foreign population is mixed with natives. At 5 p.m., when kids exit the school situated there, the square becomes even more lively.



Photo 35: Carrer Blai, recently started to know as 'Rambla del Poble Sec' (D.W.)



Photo 36: Parc de les Tres Xemeneies (D.W.)



Photo 37: Plaça del Sortidor during an activity organized by Communitarian Development Plan. (A.M.)



Photo 38: Plaça Bella Dorita with El Molino Theatre, another of the symbols of Poble Sec. (D.W.)

3.4. Quarter as arena of intergroup relations

As expressed in the previous sections, this quarter is characterized by a powerful associative network and a so-called 'familiar atmosphere' that allows some knowledge between neighbours. In addition, Poble Sec has an historical experience of immigration arrivals. These factors can a priori be considered as positive in order to achieve a satisfactory integration process into Barcelona's society, favouring the overcoming of conflicts and facilitating cooperation.

It has to be taken into account that the 'familiar atmosphere' of the quarter can also represent a potential source of conflict. The changes that has supposed the arrival of newcomers can be seen as a threat to this 'familiar' atmosphere, the quarter life or the aforementioned 'cali de barri'.

Specific questions like the noise in the streets and the dirtiness in the quarter appear as potential sources of conflict. But these questions do not go alone. The conflicts that have turn up are often linked to the arrival of immigration. Some sectors of the society say that noise and dirtiness are derived from the massive arrival of foreign population, added to a lack of policies addressed to improve interrelation between communities. Unemployment, poverty and social class differences can be seen as sources of conflict too.

Map 3.3 The noise map of the Poble Sec quarter's central area (07.00 – 21.00 hours), 2007



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona (www.bcn.cat).

Noise is one of the main sources of conflict in the quarter. This is a problem caused by different factors: buildings are not isolated, streets are narrow, etc. Nights and, especially, summer nights are quite problematic. Plaça del Sortidor is one of the main problematic places. In Carrer Blai there is an agreement with the terraces for closing at midnight. It is seen as a big improvement, but it not solves completely the problem because there are young people (both

natives and immigrants) at the corners until later. Here appears another time the need of spaces for the youth. Immigrants are not the only ones in causing noise, but it is visible that there are groups of Dominicans who stay in the corners of Carrer Blai after the bars and restaurants have closed.

Another source of conflict that appears in some of the interviews is the feeling that there is a lack of safety in the quarter. Looking at the number of crimes per 1,000 inhabitants (next table), although there is not available data by quarters, we can see how the Sants-Montjuïc district presents figures close to the Barcelona's average and Eixample district. They are both very far away from the district with more crimes, Ciutat Vella district, with 33 crimes per 1,000 inhabitants in 2009:

Tab. 3.7 N° Crimes / total population x 1000 (2009)

Eixample district	8.2
Sants-Montjuïc district	6.1
Barcelona	7.07

Source: Statistics Department, Barcelona City Council.

The perception of a lack of safety in Poble Sec in some cases is linked directly to the arrival of immigration. More police presence can be seen for some actors as one of the solutions to improve this situation. In fact, when asked about the positive changes experienced in the quarter during the last years, some people mention the increasing of police presence. As it was noted above, in Poble Sec there are very different opinions about immigration, its consequences and the ways of living together. This can also be seen as a potential source of conflict between natives with opposite points of view.

As commented in the previous point, cultural differences are sometimes perceived as a factor that lies at the bottom of conflicts and potential sources of conflict. This question emerges with special transcendence when talking about Dominicans with its life in the street. This key issue will be tackled in future reports.

In order to smooth the cultural differences that can be a source of conflict, some projects had been designed and implemented in the quarter during the last years. The very rich network of associations of Poble Sec has facilitated the creation of projects which try to induct native residents and members of different collectives to interact more between them. It can be said that these projects are reinforcing or complementing the role played by spaces of great importance, like schools, shops or other businesses, stairs of the buildings,... the interactions produced in associations like the *Castellers del Poble Sec* or others, etc. All of them are perceived as useful and necessary for making negative clichés and stereotypes disappear.

At this stage, it is worthwhile to give some data about some projects and organisations because they represent an important part of the 'quarter as arena of cooperation':

On one hand, we find *Pla Comunitari del Poble Sec* (i.e. Poble Sec Communitarian Plan). It was set up in 2005 but its origins go back to 2000. The project began from a group of organisations, integrated by neighbours, professionals and independent people who were concerned about the difficulties that people with few resources could suffer and, above all, about the arrival of people from other origins in this territory. Facilitating the integration of

newcomers has always been among the priorities of that Plan. Also thinking about unemployed and needy people, this group created a platform called *Plataforma Poble Sec per a Tothom*. The platform was linked to the *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec*, although it was born separately. Nowadays they share things like *Número de Identificación Fiscal* (NIF) as association (i.e. VAT number), but they work separately. *Pla Comunitari* has several commissions: health, labour, interrelation and mutual knowledge, youth and childhood.

In a parallel way and six years after the official creation of the *Pla Comunitari*, in 2010 *Taula de Convivència* was set up. It was created from the local administration, with political will and with the support of different associations of the quarter. Their intention was to gather representatives of different communities with presence in the quarter. This is an initiative criticised by some of the actors interviewed for not taking into account the work done from the *Pla Comunitari* and because it can be interpreted as a political and electoral strategic movement.

Another problem unveiled during the first stage of the investigation refers to the role played for two of the larger organisations with more presence in the quarter: the *Associació de Veïns del Poble Sec* and *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble Sec*. Beyond the fact that that these two organisations have different visions about the quarter (like on migration), there is a more important question. This question refers to the feeling perceived by some actors that from these umbrella organisations (i.e. associations supposed to host all the neighbours and all the associations together), there is no interest in listening some voices appeared during the last years from young sectors. This can be considered as a weakness when talking about the quarter as arena of cooperation.

Referring to political parties and elections, it is worthwhile to mention the presence of political parties with anti-immigrant stances. Although they did not obtain political representation in the local elections held on 22 May 2011 and they did not reach the levels obtained in other Catalan cities, *Plataforma per Catalunya* (PxC), with a xenophobic discourse has increased notably its presence in the Sants-Montjuïc district and in the city of Barcelona during the last elections. In the next table we can see their results, and even if they are not very important, it has to be noted that their increasing of votes from 2007 to 2011 is very remarkable (almost ten times higher) and that their percentage of votes in Sants-Montjuïc district is much more important than in most districts of Barcelona. There are other political parties with anti-immigrant stances (including mainstream PP) but PxC has been the most outstanding one mainly focusing on anti-immigration topics so far. This is an issue to be taken into account and that needs to be followed with attention in the Catalan political scene as a whole:

Tab. 3.8 N° and percentage of votes for Plataforma per Catalunya (political party with anti-immigrant stances)

	Barcelona	Eixample district	Sants-Montjuïc district
<i>Local elections 2007</i>	351 0.06%	81 0.08%	50 0.08%
<i>Local elections 2011</i>	3,402 0.56%	381 0.36%	486 0.78%

At last but not least, in this background report is necessary to mention the quarter newspaper *ZonaSec* (<http://zonasec.blogspot.com>), managed from the Coordinadora del Poble Sec and with over fifteen years of history. During the preliminary interviews, it has been mentioned as a positive factor for cooperation and solution of conflicts.

4. Conclusions. A comparative summary

In the next paragraphs a comparative summary of the main differences and similarities found in Sagrada Família and Poble Sec quarters is presented:

Regarding the urban context, Sagrada Família is a semi-central quarter placed in Eixample district. Poble Sec is a semi-peripheral quarter located in Sants-Montjuïc District that is relatively close to the city centre and the old town but that is separated from them by a wide avenue (Parallel Av. performs as border).

Concerning the quarter borders, Poble Sec has four very clear definite frontiers (Plaça Espanya, Montjuïc Mountain, the sea port and Parallel Avenue), being that fact one of its geographical characteristics. In contrast, Sagrada Família is merged within Eixample district, the quarter frontiers are relatively well known but they are easily crossed. In this sense, in Sagrada Família, the inflow of people from outside the quarter is enormous and emphasised especially in the area of the Sagrada Família temple (tourists inflows and car traffic are underlined). On the other side, in Poble sec, in general, there are not many visits of people from outside of the quarter. However, during the last years there is a process of on-going change in a few streets that are becoming part of the leisure and night life scene of the city. In contrast, in Sagrada Família there are just a few night life establishments and a few activities for the youth.

Sagrada Família and Poble Sec are both densely populated quarters, but while the first one has wide streets with a lot of car traffic within the quarter (passing-through area), the second one has narrow streets and little car traffic within the quarter (although there is a lot of cars traffic in Parallel Avenue, i.e. in one of the quarter's borders).

Concerning the communications of the quarters, in general both are well communicated with other parts of Barcelona. Sagrada Família, for its situation within the city and the kind of streets it is a kind of cross-roads area. In contrast, some Poble Sec upper areas are cul-de-sacs because of Montjuïc Mountain and they are relatively far away from the metro stations.

Sagrada Família has a lack of open and green spaces, specially a lack of spaces for celebrating local festivities and social activities in general. On the other side, Poble Sec has also the same lack of open and green spaces within the quarter, but it has the Montjuïc mountain park in one of its borders and the Tres Xemeneies park in one of its ends.

One similitude between both quarters is the perception of a lack of public equipments in the quarter, especially spaces and resources for young people and children, and places for elder people. In the case of Poble Sec, there is not any adults' school and the health centre and the library seem to be too small for the needs of the quarter.

Talking about the housing stocks, Sagrada Família is mostly composed by tenements of up to six floors, generally apartments of good quality, in some cases divided in smaller flats. They were built in different periods, mainly from the urbanisation of the quarter in the late 19th century and early 20th century to the 1970s and 1980s. Some parts of the quarter, especially the squares' inner spaces have been remodelled by creation of new gardens during the last decade with the *Pla de Barris*. On the other hand, Poble Sec is composed by a mixture of different kinds of housing stock. In the northern-lower part, touching Parallel avenue, we can find big blocks of flats of medium quality built during 1970s and 1980s. In the central part, little blocks of flats build in different periods and qualities, from the first half of the 20th century,

mainly older than the first ones. In the higher part, on the side of Montjuïc Mountain, there are more expensive flats and also houses with gardens build during early 20th century. Some parts of the quarter have been remodelled during the last decade with the *Pla de Barris*.

Related to economic aspects, in both quarters, the economic crisis has lead to closures of some commercial establishments. While in Sagrada Família most shops and bars in the area of the temple are dedicated to mass tourism, in Poble Sec in general, tourism is not very relevant.

In relation to the social context, both quarters are very densely populated areas, clearly above the Barcelona average that was 15,977.7 inhabitants/km² in 2010.

On the one hand, Sagrada Família has a population of 52,167 inhabitants, a density of 47,424 inhabitants/km² and 16.86 per cent of foreign population (2010). On the other hand, Poble Sec has a population of 40,340 inhabitants, a density of 43,227 inhabitants/km² and a 27.9 per cent of foreign population (2010).

Sagrada Família can be considered mainly a middle-class quarter, with high prices of real estate that slow down the arrival of young families and immigrant residents. On the other hand, Poble Sec is mainly a working class quarter with lower real state prices, but during the last decade the quarter has attracted some young middle class population.

In Sagrada Família neighbours participate little in the local social life. Many of them only sleep in the quarter and spend their spare time and working hours outside. The quarter lost its historical identity because of its residential character and the lack of social participation. That can be identified as one of the main differences between both quarters, because in Poble Sec there is a lot of social life. The quarter is very 'familiar'. The sensation of proximity among inhabitants is high. However, some early stage interviewees indicated that the quarters' identity is disappearing with the immigrants' inflow.

In this sense, another difference is that, although in Sagrada Família there is a high number of associations, just a few neighbours participate in their activities. In contrast, in Poble Sec the associative life is very well developed, involving a wide range of people and activities. There are a lot of associations with a dynamic and permanent social life.

Both in Poble Sec and Sagrada Família the figure of elder people is high, but in different degrees: the population over 64 years represents 22.13% in Sagrada Família and 18.5% per cent in Poble Sec. Also in both quarters that is steadily changing with the inflow of young natives and immigrants.

Regarding the quarters as migrants' destination places, the internal migration into the territories of today's Sagrada Familia was seen already in the 19th century. In those days the quarters name was "El Poblet" and it hosted mainly rural immigrants attracted with the manufacturing work, better paid and more stable than work in the fields. Apart of immigrants from Catalan mountains and plains, there were some workers from the following regions of Spain: Valencia, Andalusia, Aragon, Murcia and Galicia. Those of them who lived in Eixample worked mainly as carpenters, locksmiths, domestic services and builders. That brought the worker's character to the quarter and resulted with setting up the headquarters of some manufacturing companies in here. Significant immigrant flows were also those who arrived because of the construction of the first Universal Exposition held in Barcelona in 1888. Many of those who came during that period, decided to stay in the city after the Exposition was over. Although, at the beginning of the 20th century immigration slowed down, it grew up again with

the second International Exposition of 1929. During this time, blocks of flats began to replace small houses and there was a general improvement of infrastructure which later fuelled inflows of the small bourgeoisie to the quarter. Although the urban housing pressure provoked the disappearance of many manufacturing businesses, there were still a number of factories in the 1960s and 1970s. During that time the classes in Sagrada Família were roughly divided between small bourgeoisie, medium-classes (professionals, traders, officials) and workers with some qualifications. During this time there were in the quarter immigrants from other parts of Catalonia, but also from Valencia, Murcia, Baleares, Andalusia, Castile, Extremadura, Aragon, Canaries and North Africa (Spaniards) and some foreigners (Ligüerre, 2007).

On the other hand, Poble Sec has received population from all the different migratory waves settled in Barcelona during the last century. Apart from the internal rural-urban Catalan migration movements to Barcelona metropolitan region, during the twentieth century there were two periods of large internal immigration growth: From 1916 to 1930 industrial expansion and public works needed workers who arrived basically from geographically close areas within Spain. From the 1950s to early 1975s the mass immigration into Barcelona region was from more distant Spanish regions. In late 1990s early 2000s, it starts another inflow composed by international immigrants, mainly from Morocco, a variety of South American countries and Asian countries like Pakistan and China.

In Sagrada Família, the most present foreign nationalities are Italians (10.45% of the foreign population), Peruvians (8.3%), Chinese (7.89%), Ecuadorians (6.76%) and Colombians (6.25%), while, from the interviews carried out until the moment, the immigrant groups perceived as the most present ones are Latin Americans, Chinese, Pakistanis, Eastern Europeans and Italians. On the other hand, in Poble Sec, the most present foreign nationalities are Pakistanis (11.45%), Moroccans (8.1%), Italians (6.4%), Dominicans (5.86%) and Ecuadorians (5.55%), while from the interviews carried out in the first stage of the fieldwork, the immigrant groups perceived as the most present ones are Moroccans, Pakistanis, Dominicans, Gypsy-Romanians.

According to the stakeholders interviewed during the first stage of the fieldwork, one difference comparing both quarters concerning the presence of immigration is that while in Sagrada Família immigrants are not very visible in the street because the massive presence of tourists, the fact of being crossed by main wide streets and the residential character of the quarter, in Poble Sec immigrants are very visible in some streets daily and during weekends.

In Sagrada Família the negatively stigmatized collectives are Latin Americans (noise and insecurity); Chinese (flood of the commercial establishments of poor quality, closed community, do not participate); Pakistanis (poor quality of commercial establishments; closed community, do not participate); Eastern European, above all Rumanians and Ukrainians (beggars, insecurity, alcohol consumption). In this quarter, the collectives not stigmatized, ascribed to positive or neutral features are Latin Americans (friendly, open, speak Spanish language, associative); and Chinese (do not cause problems of security).

In Poble Sec, the negatively stigmatized collectives are mainly Dominicans (noise and insecurity) and Gypsy-Romanians (beggars, insecurity). On the other hand, the collectives that are not stigmatized and that are ascribed to positive or neutral features are Pakistanis (apparently, they do not cause any problems; they are mainly concerned about their business).

At last but not least, regarding inter-group relations, for some local publications and the interviewed stakeholders, the main perceived problems are the same in both quarters: noise and insecurity. In Poble Sec there are some interviewees who indicated that the quarter's identity is disappearing because of the immigrants' inflow. There are also some complains about: noise, dirtiness and insecurity that are sometimes related to the immigrants inflow. In Sagrada Família, natives underline that immigrants do not participate in the social life of the quarter.

In both quarters the activity of *Coordinadora d'Entitats* and the Neighbours' Associations is positively mentioned, although in Sagrada Família not many neighbours participate in them. In Poble Sec there is a lot of social life, the quarter is very "familiar", and the sensation of proximity between inhabitants is high. In both quarters there are community projects like the Communitarian Plan and the Table of Coexistence which are frameworks for associations to cooperate, in order to improve the quarter and to manage immigration issues.

In Poble Sec there is a monthly quarter magazine called 'ZonaSec'. It is considered as a very useful tool and it can be a positive factor for cooperation and for finding solutions to conflicts.

Annex 1. Comparative approach to available quantitative and qualitative indicators in Sagrada Familia, Poble Sec and Barcelona as a whole

A.1.1 QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT

				Quar. 1* Sagrada Familia	Quar. 2* Poble Sec	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)*	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)*	City * Barcelona
Quantitative items	Definitions and notes	Year	Source of data					
Sectors, types, distribution of local				n/a	n/a			n/a
Real estate prices	Cadastral Value, Value of Land, Value of Construction	2010	www.bcn.es	Cadastral value: 682,8; Value of land: 455,6; Value of construction plus services: 227,2;	Cadastral value: 524,6; Value of land: 293,8; Value of construction plus services: 230,8;			656,6; Value of land: 393,8; Value of construction plus services:
Qualitative items								
Location of the quarter in the city (central, peripheral, etc.)				Semi-central quarter placed in Eixample district. Its current limits are semi-artificial and do not coincide with perceived barriers of the quarter. It is merged with other quarters of district. The most visible barrier is Diagonal Avenue.	Semi-peripheral quarter. Close to the city centre and the old town, but separate of them by a barrier like Parallel avenue and next to a peripheral area like the Montjuïc Mountain.			
Prevailing urban and economic functions of the quarter (touristic area, industrial)				Dormitory-residential area with the most visited touristic spot of Barcelona, the Sagrada Familia church.	Residential area with some parts becoming a leisure and going out areas of the city.			
Texture of urban fabric, road and transport connections with the outside				Densely populated, but wide streets. Lack of open and green spaces. A lot of car traffic within the quarter (passing-through area). Well connected by public transport (metro and bus).	Densely populated and narrow streets. Lack of open and green spaces within the quarter, but Montjuïc mountain park nearby. Little car traffic within the quarter, but a lot of cars traffic in Parallel avenue, i.e. in one of the borders. Well connected by public transport (metro on the borders).			

<p>Quality of housing stock, housing regimes, extension of urban blight and requalification processes</p>				<p>Mostly tenements of up to six floors. The apartments of good quality, in some cases divided in smaller flats. Different periods of building, from the urbanisation of the quarter in late 19th century, early 20th, to 1970's and 80's decades. Some parts of the quarter, especially the squares' inner spaces have been remodelled by creation of new gardens during the last decade with the Pla de Barris.</p>	<p>Mixture of different kind of housing stock. In the northern-lower part, touching Paral·lel avenue, big blocks of flats of medium quality built during 1970s, 80s. In the central part, little blocks build in different periods, from the first half of the 20th century, mainly older than the first ones. In the higher part, on the side of Montjuïc mountain, more expensive flats, and aslo houses with gardens build during early 20th century. Some parts of the quarter have been remodelled during the last decade with the Pla de Barris.</p>			
<p>Availability of meeting spaces including entertainment places (cinemas/theatres, libraries, etc.)</p>				<p>There is a lack of meeting spaces (especially outdoors), only partially solved with the aperture of some resources like Espai 210. Although there are not a lot of cinemas and theatres within the quarter, its good connections and central situation allow to have a quickly access to these kind of services.</p>	<p>Paral·lel avenue, one of the borders of Poble Sec, has been historically one of areas of Barcelona to see theatre and cinema.</p>			
<p>Availability of welfare services (education, social action, security)</p>				<p>There is a perceived lack of public equipments in the quarter (especially: spaces and resources for young people and children, and places for elder people). There are continous mobilizations on those issues, but with no succes.</p>	<p>There is a lack of public equipments in the quarter (especially: spaces and resources for young people and children, places for elder people, and an adult school). The health centre and the library are too small for the needs of the quarter.</p>			
<p>Trade (shops, malls, open markets, etc.)</p>				<p>Big concentration of tourist shops, bars and restaurants in the Sagrada Familia temple area of influence. Some of them owned by foreigners. There is a lot of chinese owned shops and bars in the entire quarter and some latinamerican food shops. Permanent market of food and an important open market in the south-east part of the quarter every Saturday.</p>	<p>Little shops, quite a lot of grocery shops owned by Pakistanis. In Blai street bars and restaurants with terraces opened during the last decade.</p>			

A.1.2. QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT

				Quar. 1* Sagrada Familia	Quar. 2* Poble Sec	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)*	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)*	City * Barcelon
Quantitative items+A16	Definitions and notes	Year	Source of data					
Total population	The residents	2010	www.bcn.es	52,167	40,340			1,619,337
Population composition by age (0-14; 15-17; 18- 64; 65 years old or over)	% of the total population	2010	www.bcn.es					
0-14				10.45%	11.31%			12.05%
15-17				2.16%	2.17%			2.34%
18-64				65.26%	68.01%			65.04%
65 years old or over				22.13%	18.50%			20.57%
Population composition by sex (M; F)	% of the total population	2009	www.bcn.es					
Male				45.79%	48.74%			47.55%
Female				54.21%	51.26%			52.45%
Population composition by year of arrival in the city and in the neighbourhood (0-5 years; 6-10 years; 11 years and over)				n/a	n/a			n/a
Annual variation of the population	[(population t1- population t0)/population t0]*100	2009- 2010	www.bcn.es	-0,881	0,292			-0,464
Population/km2	The residents /km2	2010	www.bcn.es	47424	44822			15844
Natural balance rate	[(birth- death)/total population]*100	2009	www.bcn.es	-3,608	0,148			-0,698
Immigration rate	(foreign immigrants / total population) *100	2009	www.bcn.es	294,687	264,903			315,044
Demographic balance rate	[(population t1- population t0)/population t0]*100	2009	www.bcn.es	11,871	28,146			17,817
Average income or wage of nationals and foreigners**	The relative index that is a comparison with Barcelona's average income (100 points). Only general data, no nationals/foreign ers data.	2009	www.bcn.es	98.4	68.7			100

Employment rates of nationals and foreigners**				n/a	n/a			n/a
Unemployment rates of nationals and foreigners**	Registered unemployment	2010	www.bcn.es	n/a	n/a			NATIONALS: 77.961%; FOREIGNERS: 22.907%
Percentage of nationals and foreigners employed in highly qualified occupations**				n/a	n/a			n/a
Percentage of nationals and foreigners enrolled in higher education (senior high school, college, university)**	Only total population data for quarters (no foreigners separatedly). Data about foreigners only on city level	2010	www.bcn.es					
Did not study				4,415	4,079			165,993 ; 5,786 foreigners
Primary school				9,089	11,076			319,861; 65,312 foreigners
Secondary school				20,11	14,364			593,328; 103,523 foreigners
Higher education degree				12,957	6,584			339,991; 76,965 foreigners
University				38	24			1,352; 13 foreigners
Percentage of total population claiming or receiving economic assistance	Index created according to the following schema: [(Retired + disabled) / total population] * 10.000 Only general data, no nationals/foreigners data.	2010	www.bcn.es	79772	113.83			95458
Reporting of anti-social behaviour and crime rate with special attention to violent crimes	Nº Crimes / total population x 1000	2009	Statistics Department, Barcelona City Council			8.2	6.1	7.07

	Quar. 1* Sagrada Familia	Quar. 2* Poble Sec
Qualitative items		
Class composition	Mainly middle-class quarter. High prices of real estate slows down the arrival of young families and immigrant residents.	Mainly working class quarter. During the last decade attracting some young middle class population.
Types of social capital (bonding, bridging, social links)	The dormitory population is interested basically in peace and quite relax after work. The class structure cause that many of the inhabitants leave town during the weekends. The lack of places of interactions impide building bonds within youth and older residents.	The belonging sense of Poble Sec inhabitants is one of the main characteristics of the quarter. The name of the quarter, referring to the quarter as a town, says quite a lot about its types of social capital. Poble Sec works in some cases as a little town with its networks, etc.
Strength and closure/openness of social institutions (associations, unions, housing organisations, etc.)	The lack of places for organized activities does make building participation patterns difficult. There are some associations like neighbours association or trade associations that are open to new participants. There are also spaces like Espai 210, Civic Center, Excursionist Association or Castellers that are organising activities. On the other hand there are issues with mutual understanding among various organisations. Also there is an issue of the peace and quiet interfering raised by neighbours if one of the organisations creates an open event. The good example of cooperation problems is the existence of a number of trade associations when in other cases there is one association of this kind in the quarter.	In Poble Sec exists an important cultural and social associative network. These associative network has played an important role in the integration of the newcomers settled in the quarter. Also the quarter feeling, the feeling of living in a 'real' quarter, plays an important role in the relations between its citizens.
Presence and types of inflows of outsiders (migrants, tourists, night life users, gentrifiers, etc.)	The most perceived outsiders are the tourists that are massively present in the central and most important open space of the quarter. The number of tourists interfere with the perception of the immigrants. Those are visible mainly through the commercial establishments (chinese and pakistani) or as the ones that take care of the older residents (latinamericans). Also some passing-by latinamerican immigrant seems to be visible and they are seen as a threat. They often do not live in the quarter, but move through it and occasionally provoke dangerous or disrupting situations in the public places. The Senegalese and Rumanian squatters and Eastern European homeless also got some attention from the neighbors. The night life is perceived rather as scarce in the entertainment's offer. The good transport empowers, especially young ones, to travel to other parts of the city in order to socialize.	In Poble Sec coexist different inflows of immigrants. From the immigrants arrived from other parts of Spain during the first and the second part of the last century, to the new inflow of international immigrants of the 2000s. Also during the last decade, the quarter has become a leisure and going out area of the city, appearing some tourists and settling citizens that could be qualified as gentrifiers. Some of the last are EU immigrants.

Strength and closure/openness of social institutions (associations, unions, housing organisations, etc.)	The lack of places for organized activities does make building participation patterns difficult. There are some associations like neighbours association or trade associations that are open to new participants. There are also spaces like Espai 210, Civic Center, Excursionist Association or Castellers that are organising activities. On the other hand there are issues with mutual understanding among various organisations. Also there is an issue of the peace and quiet interfering raised by neighbours if one of the organisations creates an open event. The good example of cooperation problems is the existence of a number of trade associations when in other cases there is one association of this kind in the quarter. Those who participate often indicate that immigrants that are present in the quarter do not engage in the community.	In Poble Sec exists an important cultural and social associative network. These associative network has played an important role in the integration of newcomers settled in the quarter. Also the quarter feeling, the feeling of living in a 'real' quarter, plays an important role in the relations between its citizens.
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A.1.3. QUARTERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION

Quantitative items	Definitions and notes	Year	Source of data	Quar. 1* Sagrada Familia	Quar. 2* Poble Sec	City * Barcelona
Migratory balance rate	[(immigrants – emigrants) / total population] *1000	2009	Continuous Municipal Census	15,479	27,998	18,515
Immigration rate	(immigrants / foreign population) *1000	2009	Continuous Municipal Census	294,687	264,903	315,044
Proportion of people with foreign citizenship in total population			Continuous Municipal Census	16.86%	27.9%	17.46%
Proportion of born in foreign countries in total population			Continuous Municipal Census	20.99%	32.8%	20.97%
Proportion of people with an ethnic background in total populations				n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by nationality (first five nationalities and proportion of each of them in the total foreign population)		2010	Continuous Municipal Census			
				Italy 10.45%	Pakistan 11.45%	Italy 8.07%
				Peru 8.3%	Morocco 8.1%	Ecuador 7.12%
				China 7.89%	Italy 6.4%	Pakistan 6.33%
				Ecuador 6.76%	Dominican Republic 5.68%	Bolivia 5.46%
				Colombia 6.25%	Ecuador 5.55%	Peru 5.18%

Population composition by country of birth (first five countries of birth and proportion of each of them in the total population born abroad)		2010	Continuous Municipal Census			
				n/a	n/a	Ecuador 7.62%
				n/a	n/a	Peru 6.92%
				n/a	n/a	Argentina 6.76%
				n/a	n/a	Pakistan 5.26%
				n/a	n/a	Colombia 5.26%
Population composition by minority ethnic background (first five minority ethnic groups and proportion of each)				n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by religion				n/a	n/a	n/a
Proportion of migrants arrived < 5-10 years (recent migrants)				n/a	n/a	n/a

	Quar. 1* Sagrada Familia	Quar. 2* Poble Sec
Qualitative items		
Earlier immigration history	The internal migration into the territories of today's Sagrada Familia was seen already in the 19th century. In those days the quarters name was "El Poblet" and it hosted mainly rural immigrants. Apart of Catalan immigrants, there were some workers from the following regions of Spain: Valencia, Andalusia, Aragon, Murcia and Galicia. Although, at the beginning of the 20th century immigration slowed down, it grew up again with the second International Exposition of 1929. During this time, blocks of flats begin to replace small houses and there was a general improvement of infrastructure what resulted in future with inflow of small bourgeoisie to the quarter. During that time the classes to be fin in Sagrada Familia were divided among: small bourgeoisie, medium-classes (professionals, traders, officials) and workers with some qualifications. During this time there were in the quarter immigrants from other parts of Catalonia, but also from: Valencia, Murcia, Baleares, Andalusia, Castile, Extremadura, Aragon, Canaries and North Africa (Spaniards) and some foreigners.	Poble Sec has received population from all the different migratory waves settled in Barcelona during the last century. Apart from the internal rural-urban Catalan migration movements to Barcelona metropolitan region, during the twentieth century there were two periods of large internal immigration growth: From 1916 to 1930 industrial expansion and public works needed workers who arrived basically from geographically close areas within Spain (estimated inflow in Catalonia by over 500,000 people). From the 1950s to early 1975s the mass immigration into Barcelona region was from more distant Spanish regions (increase estimated at around 1,400,000 people, largely to work in industry). Late 1990s early 2000s, starts another inflow composed by international immigrants, mainly from Morocco, a variety of South American countries and Asian countries like Pakistan and China.
Immigrants' profile (blue collars, traders and shop keepers, families, single men/women, etc.)	The Latinamericans (especially women) that work taking care of older people are important part of quarters landscape. The chinese traders (mostly families) open a lot shops and take over bars and restaurants in the quarter. Some Pakistani and Latinamerican grocery stores can be found. There is also a number of high skilled workers (singles and families). They are mostly EU nationals and of Latinamerican origin. There are groups of Latinamerican youth that spend their time on the streets and squares. There is also a group of homeless (single men) Polish and Eastern Europeans that drink alcohol in Sagrada Familia square.	Although the difficulty in defining the immigrants' profile in Poble Sec, it can be said that among South American nationalities, women use to work in domestic services, while men, like Moroccans used to work in construction or related activities. There is a quantity of Pakistanis owners of little food shops mainly, but also cybercafes, employing other Pakistanis. The jobs related to tourism like restaurants and hotels are quite usual among third country nationals.
Visibility of immigrants	The visibility of immigrants is interfered by the tourists inflow. The immigrants are mostly visible through their big number (Italians, Chinese, Latinamericans) commercial establishments (Chinese, Pakistanis), characteristic type of job they perform (Latinamericans taking care of older residents) or unconventional behaviours (Senegalese and Romanian squatters and garbage collectors, Eastern European homeless drinking alcohol in the square). On the other hand there is some conciousness of immigrants' invisibility because of they similar apperance and behaviour (Central European high skilled workers).	In Poble Sec, the immigration received during the last two decades it can be said that is quite visible. The food shops and cybercafes owned by Pakistanis have been replacaing old business in the quarter and population with Pakistani origin is quite visible on the streets. South American nationalities are also quite visible on the streets of the quarter. The use of the public space that these last ones do, helps in this visibility.
Main markers of intergroup boundaries (nationality, area of origin, skin colour, religion, length of residence in the quarter, etc.)	Again, the intergroup boundaries are strongly interferred with tourists presence. Nonetheless, the most visible patterns are that chinese community is the one that is most separated from the quarters life and the Latinamerican immigrants are those to be seen are the most keen to participate. Although, the later also create their own groups according to origin. Apart of immigrants, it seems that there is an important pattern of older, long-lasting residents to participate in the organisations and to keep power in the way that young ones do not have enough influence on the structures even if they are interested in activity and participation. When it comes to the mixture of those features, the language seems to constitute an important boundary. Those immigrants who only speak Spanish and do not speak Catalan seems to be discouraged from participation. The case of the open criticism in frames of one of the associations because of the lack of the language knowledge have been also detected.	The intergroup boundaries are not quite clear in Poble Sec. In Blai street all nationalities are quite visible, but Latin-Americans, specially Dominicans are always visible in some corners, while Pakistanis own different shops in this street. A little group of Romanians gather in Bella Dorita square. Pakistanis gather to pray on Fridays in a basketball court situaetd in the Tres Xemeneies Park and are quite visible around there.

A.1.4. QUARTERS AS ARENA OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

			Quar. 1* Sagrada Familia	Quar. 2* Poble Sec	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)*	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)*	City * Barcelona
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source of data</i>					
(Police) Reporting of racist and			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Votes for political parties with anti-immigrant stances in the EU/national/regional/municipal /district election in target	2007; 2010	Local elections results					
Local elections 2007 (Plataforma per Catalunya district results)					81 votes, 0.08% of the votes	50 votes, 0.08% of the votes	351 votes, 0.06% of the votes
Local elections May 2011 (Plataforma per Catalunya district results)					381 votes, 0.36% of the votes	486 votes, 0.78% of the votes	3,402 votes, 0.56% of the votes
Number and /or proportion of non profit organisations working around immigration	2009	Neighborhood s' briefs, 2009	2 (out of about 30 organisations coordinated in the quarter)	18 (out of about 150 organisations in the quarter)			n/a

<i>Qualitative items</i>		
Main issues of cooperation and conflicts (small business, use of public or semipublic spaces, access to welfare services, public safety, lifestyles, etc.)	Associative network but with not high participation. Conflict around the tourist buses visiting the temple. Big amount of businesses addressed to tourism. Also possible sources of conflict are the burgling detected in some areas of the quarter like 'Encants' market. The concerts in the Old Damm brewery can be seen also as possible sources of conflict. There are projects like the Communitarian Plan (that includes a Group of Multicultural Interaction) and the Table of Coexistence which are frameworks for associations to cooperate, in order to improve the quarter.	Strong associative network and experience with historical inflows of immigrants as cooperation items. There is a conflict around the use of public spaces, specially with the Latin-American collective. Conflict also with the noise on the streets, related to the use of public space done by Latin-American groups mainly, but also by the terraces of the bars. For some neighbours, there is also an insecurity feeling related to immigrants, mainly to gipsy-Rumanians. Drug selling and consumption in Tres Xemenies is also seen as an important source of conflict. There are projects like the Communitarian Plan (that includes a Group of Multicultural Interaction) and the Table of Coexistence which are frameworks for associations to cooperate, in order to improve the quarter.

Annex 2 Selected sites of interaction

As it has been seen in the previous pages, there are various key sites of interaction in each quarter that would need further research. Among them, there are sites where inter-group relations may take place in a higher degree and where some public conflicts have been acknowledged. The composition of groups can be a changing and overlapping one: Third-country foreign immigrants, EU immigrants, internal immigrants, natives, tourists, gentrifiers, passing-byers, locals, etc.

In Sagrada Família quarter, the three main sites of interaction where the fieldwork will continue are the following ones:

- 1) The area of the *Sagrada Família temple* (the two squares, and the low part of Gaudí Avenue and its surroundings). It is perceived as the only wide open public space of social activity and the unique relatively large green zone in the quarter. It is, at the same time, emblematic and problematic for the quarter. This space and the facilities located nearby are perceived as totally collapsed by tourists. The noise and massive flux of people and touristic buses can make neighbours' life unbearable. There were some official demands made in order to cut-off the traffic and to distribute better the touristic flow. Additional issues in that area are: pick-pocketing, groups of young Latin Americans that introduce a sense of insecurity and disturb silence at night, and groups of homeless mainly from Eastern Europe.
- 2) *Encants Vells* is perceived as problematic and unsafe. This is because of the houses occupied by Romanians and Senegalese immigrants. There is also a problem with the street sale of items that have been stolen or found in the trashcans. Recently that became a problem also in the area of *Encants Nous* (closer to the quarter core).
- 3) In *Padilla Street near the Civic Centre and Gaudí Avenue* there are comments on the increasing number of street and shop robberies.

On the other hand, in Poble Sec quarter the three main sites of interaction where the fieldwork will continue are the following ones:

- 4) Blai street (*Carrer Blai*) and its different corners, specially the one with Carrer Margarit. Presence of South-American population, mainly young people with Dominican origin. Presence perceived as a conflictive from some sectors in the quarter.
- 5) *Parc de les Tres Xemeneies*. Meeting place with a high demand of use from a variety of collectives (including administrative demands of use). Pakistanis playing

cricket during weekends, while other groups also play there. Drug selling behind a big wall.

- 6) *Sortidor square (Plaça del Sortidor)*. *The neuralgic and physical centre of the quarter. A very lively square in the centre of Poble Sec. Foreign population is mixed with natives. At 5 p.m., at the exit of the school situated there, the square becomes more lively.*

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